Henry Albery, Polly Lohmann, Laurien Zurhake (eds.)

Continuities and Changes
of Meaning

DWJ_vol. 1

2016

Impressum

Table of Contents

Preface:
Continuities and Changes of Meaning

Henry Albery, Polly Lohmann, Laurien Zurhake

It is our pleasure to introduce the Distant Worlds Journal (DWJ), an online peer-reviewed journal established especially for presenting the research of early-career scholars on the ancient world. In seeking to encompass a broad range of distinct academic fields, each edition of the DWJ takes as its starting point a question or specific topic pertinent to the diverse disciplines engaged in the study of ancient cultures. In our opening edition, "Continuities and Changes of Meaning", we thus wish to take up a question that both scrutinises and captures the very essence of scholarly endeavour: how does the meaning of an object change – or resist change? – throughout its "life" both in the past and, as an object of academic research, in the present? It was our aim in choosing this topic to not only address the changing functions, contexts, and interpretations of objects in antiquity, but also to problematise our own modes of interpreting the (material and textual) remains of societies temporally distant from our own.

The practice of speaking of a "life" of objects and providing them with a biography derives from the field of artefact studies. In this volume we refer to objects in the broadest sense: all manner of artefacts, texts, symbols, and images are objects – in short, anything and everything made by human hands which carries meaning. This meaning can be symbolic or practical; it can be abstractly conceived or closely bound to the actual use of the object in daily life. Trying to recognise and understand this meaning is a challenge that everyone working on past societies has to face. Since we cannot speak directly with members of these societies and ask them questions, we attempt to glean insight into their modes of thought and behaviour by "asking" the things they made and used – these are the sources upon which we base our knowledge. Unfortunately, these objects do not speak for themselves: the same object could have an entirely different meaning in different societies or even be given different meanings by different people within the same society. An object could be created for a specific purpose, but later be reused for a different purpose, either because the new owners did not know of or because they intentionally changed the object's former function. It is this dynamic that is the topic of the opening paper, "Biographies of Things" by Professor Anthony Harding, currently guest professor at the Graduate School for Ancient Studies "Distant Worlds" at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität of Munich. In his essay, Harding elucidates the theoretical framework concerned with the life of objects or "things", and examines the value in considering a given object in multiple contexts – its "birth, life, and death".

The lifecycles of ancient objects do not end with antiquity: after being excavated, they become objects of scholarly interest and are then given (assumed, reconstructed) meanings which they may never have had before. The difficulty in reconstructing an object's meaning is frequently exacerbated when the archaeological context has been lost or disturbed or when the conceptual, i.e. cultural context is particularly unclear. To make it even more complicated, (literary) texts often survive only as later copies and drawings or photographs are sometimes all that remains of images such as wallpaintings. Despite being closely attached to the concretely physical objects onto which they were written or painted, the abstract ideas conveyed by images and texts could travel and multiply. During their travels, they were transformed and underwent changes in form, language, and style. Reception studies therefore give important insights into how meaning could change over time or be changed intentionally, and are accordingly also represented in this volume. Silvia Salin explains the re-edition of Assyrian therapeutic texts and the difficulties which they presented to Neo-Assyrian and Mesopotamian scholars. Michael T. Miller analyses the reception of the patriarch Enoch and the changes and consistencies of this figure in the course of 2000 years. Nina Gschwind presents her thoughts on the reception of the Psalmic topos of "seeing God" in the Book of Job and the consequences this has for the relationship between Job and God. Anastasia-Stavroula Valtadorou looks at the authorship of the Greek tragedy *Rhesus*, and handles the provocative question of how much we, as scholars, form meaning by following our own preconceptions. In a theoretical paper, Olivier Dufault examines the anachronistic usages of the term "magic" and asks how we can apply our modern concept of magic to antiquity.

In the field of artefact studies, Marek Verčík follows the lifecycle of Assyrian armour-scales that were dedicated as votive offerings in the sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma (Asia Minor). Even after their context and practical use had changed, the scales retained their symbolic meaning; they constituted valuable and exotic gifts for the god by virtue of their Near-Eastern origin and the high social status of their former owners. In her article on grave goods from Hellenistic Etruria, Raffaella Da Vela analyses the changing function of three vessel types. Michael Kiefer shows changes of meaning in synchronic terms in his study of the multi-functionality of rooms in late-Roman houses. Robinson Peter Krämer investigates the extended function of Greek archaic sanctuaries as "trade ports", which resulted in significant economic and socio-cultural changes. In his paper on late Bronze Age material culture, Fabian Heil revisits the scholarly assumption of the "maritime aspect" of Cyprus, and in their discussion of the figure with a bow appearing on Gandhāran reliefs of Śākyamuni's "Great Departure", Robert Arlt and Satomi Hiyama bring new textual evidence to bear on the much-debated identity of this figure.[1]

The call for papers for the first volume elicited a strong response, and as the wide range of topics, disciplines, and material shows, there is a widespread interest in engaging with the construction of meaning and the biographies of objects from different perspectives. Although the papers might at first sight seem quite disparate, all address the same fundamental questions: to what extent are we able to understand the meaning of an

---

[1] Responsibility for obtaining image permissions is solely that of the individual authors. The Distant Worlds Journal does not accept liability for the images published in this volume.

object, and what exactly do we know about a given ancient culture? All of the essays contained in this volume show that objects are constructed, defined, and endowed with meaning entirely by the consumer.

Ascertaining the relation between meanings and objects is a highly thorny issue that dictates the way in which we construct our knowledge about life in the past. At a rather intrinsic level, then, this complex of meaning informs, consciously or unconsciously, all scholarly endeavours, and thus returning to the question of meaning itself is a necessary component of the scholarly process, a self-reflexive re-examination reaching to the heart of what we think and claim to know.

Each paper in this edition therefore examines the culturally embedded meaning of a specific object or corpus of objects. The papers are not arranged chronologically, geographically or by discipline, but according to the material they approach (artefacts, texts, and images). The volume offers the reader two possibilities: whilst those interested in a specific subject or ancient society can gain unique insights into the meaning of an object relevant for a specific discipline, era, or culture, scholars wishing to explore multiple spheres of interest can see how the process of accessing meaning is achieved within different individual disciplines. Together, our authors both reflect and systematise the complexities involved in understanding the continuities and changes of the meaning of objects.

The idea for this interdisciplinary journal was born out of the Munich Graduate School for Ancient Studies "Distant Worlds", and we would like to thank the Graduate School and in particular its Chair, Professor Martin Hose, for enabling us to make this idea a reality. During the process of establishing the journal and working on this first volume, numerous people have generously invested their time and showed great support: we would especially like to thank the members of our Advisory Board and the scholars all over the world who have acted as peer-reviewers. The Heidelberg University Library has, in cooperation with the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, kindly offered to host our journal at the academic online publishing platform Propyläum, and we are grateful to both for their support. We are also grateful to Ricardo Posdijk, who skilfully created the DWJ logo to reflect the distant-yet-not-so-distant worlds that we all seek to understand more deeply. Last but not least, our many thanks go to the entire Editorial Board, to the authors for their contributions to this volume, and to Claire Müller for her meticulous proof-reading. All mistakes remain, of course, our own.

Munich, April 2016

Introduction:
Biographies of Things

Anthony Harding

How do things relate to people? This is a much-discussed topic of recent years. While it originally lay in the domain of sociologists and anthropologists, it has now very much entered the intellectual world of anyone who deals with material culture, in whatever form. The study of objects is also intimately related to other debates, for instance over agency, art, the life histories of people, and the interplay between things and people.

As an archaeologist, I am used to looking at objects and considering when and where they were made, by whom, and for what purpose; also what happened to them when they were considered to be at the end of their 'use-lives' (which may not mean 'useless' in the sense of non-functional, merely that they were no longer needed for their original purpose). In all these ways one can consider an artefact to have had a 'life'. The life of an artefact is different from the life of a biological being in various ways, however. An artefact cannot assume a physical existence without, ultimately, commands from a human actor (I ignore for present purposes the facility at making 'tools' which some animals show); although one may object that in today's world, and increasingly in tomorrow's, robots make things, robots can (so far) only make things under the orders of humans. However entangled the world of humans and the world of objects, artefacts are what the word says: objects made through human 'art' or skill.

Objects, things, can be referred to in various ways; the term one uses gives some indica-tion of what the author intends. Thus the anthropologist Daniel Miller writes a book called simply 'Stuff'[1] – actually about the reasons why people accumulate things – and another about the 'comfort of things';[2] Marie Kondo[3] writes books about how to 'spark joy' by 'de-cluttering', also known as 'tidying up', i.e. getting rid of things (no doubt essential in tiny Japanese apartments); the joy of de-cluttering extending to people as well as things, since some of her clients have got rid of the 'clutter' that was their husbands. Most people in ordinary life probably do not think about what objects mean or what their life consists of; they do their shopping, buy their 'stuff', and take it home, where it lives until someone decides to spark joy by de-cluttering it.

But stuff is more than what we accumulate in our lives. Objects, artefacts, play a role in all that we do; hence the assertion, now a familiar trope, that people and objects are

---

[1]   Miller 2010.
[2]   Miller 2009.
[3]   Kondo 2014; Kondo 2016.

entangled;[4] this metaphor of entanglement is of course also used in quantum physics to express the relationship between particles that cannot be measured separately but only as a system (Schrödinger's *Verschränkung*). I am not sure whether the social scientists who developed the notion of entanglement in modern artefact studies consciously took the metaphor over from physics or not; to me its adoption smacks not a little of pretentiousness, since there are easier ways to express human-object relationships in the English language.

The study of object biographies is usually taken as going back to a seminal paper by Kopytoff.[5] Here are some of the questions that Kopytoff asked near the beginning of the paper:

- What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its [an object's] 'status' and in the period and culture [from which it emanates]?

- How are these possibilities realised?

- Where does the thing come from and who made it?

- What has been its career so far?

- What are the recognised 'ages' or 'periods' in the thing's 'life' and what are cultural markers for them?

- How does the thing's use change with its age?

- What happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?

All these are questions which archaeologists now recognise as regular aspects of our attempts at understanding the role of objects in past societies. Kopytoff gives the example of the changing role of a house, or the different status of a car in the US or Africa.

He also considers the whole question of commoditisation, the process by which 'things' do or do not become 'commodities'; not my present concern, though important in the understanding of material culture, past and present. But the distinction between the different role of things in small-scale and complex societies is an important one; in the former, which is what I as a prehistorian work with, things were mostly what Kopytoff calls 'singular', that is, things that are protected from commoditisation – which is not to say, of course, that some items did not become commoditised during prehistory. Metals, in ingot form, for instance, may have been one such.

Janet Hoskins has considered the relationship between agency and object biographies in a number of articles and books. In her 1998 book she used the example of a group of women and men narrating their lives through their possessions; in this work she was trying 'to define a new category of "biographical objects", which occupy one pole of the continuum between gifts and commodities and are endowed with the personal characteristics of their owners'.[6] Subsequently she has referred to several 'experiments with biographical writing about objects', dividing them into two dominant forms:

(1) those 'object biographies' which begin with ethnographic research, and which thus try to render a narrative of how certain objects are perceived by the persons that they are linked to, and (2) efforts to 'interrogate objects themselves' which begin with historical or archaeological research, and try to make mute objects 'speak' by placing them in a historical context, linking them to written

---

4   Hodder 2012.
5   Kopytoff 1986.

6   Hoskins 1998.

sources such as diaries, store inventories, trade records, etc.[7]

The first she sees as mainly practiced by anthropologists, the second by archaeologists. She herself clearly belongs to the first group. For archaeologists she cites the work of Lynn Meskell (Egyptian burial practices)[8] and David Fontijn (bronze depositions in the Netherlands)[9]. She also considers how the work of Alfred Gell has influenced the debate about the role of art and artefacts.[10]

To what extent is it really possible for those working on remote periods of the past to 'interrogate objects themselves'? Isn't it inevitable that we will be reduced to guesswork, to speculation, about things which are essentially unknowable? This depends, of course, on your view about what can truly be 'known' about the ancient past, particularly that part of it not enlightened by textual sources. This is a debate that has been running for at least thirty years, ever since the reaction to the scientific, or New, or processual, turn in archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s. Some reacted to what they saw as the aridity of scientifically oriented archaeology by attempting to write a story of the past based on de-constructing the thought processes involved, and then re-constructing them through devices such as narrative. A typical work in this genre is that by Mark Edmonds, who unapologetically wrote a book on the Neolithic without any *apparatus criticus*, starting each chapter with a narrative, or imagined scene in the Neolithic world he was describing.[11] Another well-known example is the report on the fieldwork at Leskernick, Cornwall,

by Barbara Bender, Christopher Tilley and Susan Hamilton,[12] where the strictly archaeological information is submerged in a 'narrative' – of the excavation as much as of the ancient past being investigated. Obviously these narratives are not matters that can be 'known', but that was not the intention of the exercise.

Modern artefact studies in fact have a range of sophisticated means of providing information about the past – and thus about their own lives. Some of these come from advances in compositional analysis, which enables us to pin down where and how they were made; but others relate rather to the identification of 'home areas' where particular types were dominant, and distribution patterns that give information on the same artefacts outside their home area. Studies of Middle Bronze Age women's clothing ornaments are a classic case.[13] I have myself attempted to do similar things for other objects with a particularly personal use, such as razors.[14] Of course, in the strict sense these are not 'known' nor can they be; but as with scientific hypotheses, it would seem unreasonable to withhold provisional assent to a belief in what they appear to be telling us, until such time as further investigations prove otherwise.

Returning to what Marie Kondo calls de-cluttering, one wonders to what extent the widespread practice of disposing of apparently usable objects in ancient times can be illuminated through such a notion. In Bronze Age studies, where I work, enormous quantities of bronze were deposited in the ground and never recovered. There has been a long debate

[7]　Hoskins 2006, 78.
[8]　Meskell 2004.
[9]　Fontijn 2002.
[10]　Gell 1998.
[11]　Edmonds 1999.
[12]　Bender – Hamilton – Tilley 1997.
[13]　Wels-Weyrauch 1989.
[14]　Harding 2000, 191f.

over the reasons for this (hiding valuables in times of trouble, storing scrap metal for re-use, gifts to the gods, etc), without any one explanation accounting for all instances. One explanation that has been advanced might amount to de-cluttering: simply getting rid of things that had been superceded, for instance getting rid of bronze objects as superior iron ones became common. Actually I doubt this can account for more than a tiny amount of the total, but the idea of simply 'getting rid of stuff' is a persuasive notion, whatever the ultimate cause.

It is quite obvious that objects in the past, as in the present, came into being, had a use-life, and went out of use. You can call it birth, life and death if you like. Given the 'entangled' nature of our relationship with objects, it is how they interacted with people, what they tell us about the lives of the humans who created, used, and disposed of them, that we are trying to elucidate. In this sense, the life of objects is no more nor less than the life of humans, of ourselves.

Bibliography

Bender – Hamilton – Tilley 1997
B. Bender – S. Hamilton – C. Tilley, Leskernick: Stone Worlds; Alternative Narratives; Nested Landscapes. Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society 63, 1997, 147–178

Edmonds 1999
M. Edmonds, Ancestral Geographies of the Neolithic. Landscapes, Monuments and Memory (London 1999)

Fontijn 2002
D. Fontijn, Sacrificial Landscapes: Cultural Biographies of Persons, Objects and 'Natural' Places in the Bronze Age of the Southern Netherlands, c. 2300–600 BC (Leiden 2002)

Gell 1998
A. Gell, Art and Agency: a New Anthropological Theory (Oxford 1998)

Harding 2000
A. Harding, European Societies in the Bronze Age (Cambridge 2000)

Hodder 2012
I. Hodder, Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things (Chichester 2012)

Hoskins 1998
J. Hoskins, Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives (London 1998)

Hoskins 2006
J. Hoskins, Agency, Biography and Objects, in: C. Tilley – W. Keane – S. Küchler – M. Rowlands – P. Spyer (eds.), Handbook of Material Culture (London 2006) 74–84

Kondo 2014
M. Kondo, The Life-Changing Magic of Tidying Up: The Japanese Art of Decluttering and Organizing (Emeryville 2014)

Kondo 2016
M. Kondo, Spark Joy: An Illustrated Master Class on the Art of Organizing and Tidying Up (Emeryville 2016)

Kopytoff 1986
I. Kopytoff, The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process, in: A. Appadurai (ed.), The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective (Cambridge 1986) 64–91

Meskell 2004
L. Meskell, Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt. Material Biographies Past and Present (Oxford – New York 2004)

Miller 2009
D. Miller, The Comfort of Things (Cambridge 2009)

Miller 2010
D. Miller, Stuff: Compulsive Hoarding and the Meaning of Things (Cambridge 2010)

Wels-Weyrauch 1989
U. Wels-Weyrauch, Mittelbronzezeitliche Frauentrachten in Süddeutschland (Beziehungen zur Hagenauer Gruppierung), in: Dynamique du bronze moyen en Europe occidentale (Paris 1989) 119–134

Nichts als Schrott?
Nahöstliche Panzerschuppen aus dem Apollon-Heiligtum in Didyma

Marek Verčík

Abstract: Die zahlreichen Eisenfunde aus den griechischen Heiligtümern, der primären Quelle zur materiellen Kultur des archaischen Griechenlands, erfuhren bislang nur wenig Beachtung, denn ihr häufig schlechter Erhaltungszustand ermöglichte es nur selten, sie kunsthistorisch anzusprechen. Erst die jüngsten Aufarbeitungen der Fundkomplexe aus Olympia zeigten ihre Aussagekraft. In diesem Kontext ist auch die geplante Vorlage der Eisenfunde aus dem Apollon-Heiligtum von Didyma zu verstehen. Unter ihnen verdienen 20 spezifische Plättchen rechteckigen Formates erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit – sie wurden allesamt als Panzerschuppen neuassyrischen Typus identifiziert. Ihr ursprünglich funktionaler sowie statuskennzeichnender Charakter, als eine für assyrische, schwerbewaffnete Eliteneinheiten bestimmte Panzerung, ist jedoch nicht mit dem Fundkontext als Weihung innerhalb eines ionischen kultischen Bezirks in Einklang zu bringen. Im Folgenden wird daher versucht, mithilfe des Ansatzes der Objektbiographien die einzelnen, chronologisch versetzten Deutungsebenen dieser Gegenstände zu dekonstruieren und gleichzeitig die damit verbundenen sozio-kulturellen Räume zu konzeptualisieren.

„Unansehnliche Fundstücke aus Eisen führen in Publikationen bedeutender Grabungsplätze Griechenlands und Italiens in aller Regel ein Schattendasein". Mit dieser Feststellung eröffnete H. Baitinger[1] seine Abhandlung zu eisernen Werkzeugen und Geräten aus Olympia und skizzierte somit treffend den aktuellen Mangel in der archäologischen Erforschung der ägäischen Region des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Zu einseitig wurde bislang der Fokus bei der Auswertung der Metallfunde auf die aus Bronze oder verschiedenen Edelmetallen gefertigten Gegenstände gelegt. Die zahlenmäßig am häufigsten überlieferten Objekte aus Eisen erfuhren dagegen kaum eine detailliertere Beachtung, da ihr meist schlechter Erhaltungszustand eine kunsthistorische Analyse nur selten ermöglicht. Angesichts der alltäglichen Verwendung von Eisengegenständen im profanen sowie sakralen Bereich – als Werkzeug, Ausrüstung, Kultgerät oder Votive – erscheint aber eine solche „stiefmütterliche" Behandlung dieser Funde sehr merkwürdig. Das zeigen in aller Deutlichkeit die wenigen, immer noch singulären Publikationen, welche konkrete Auskunft über das wirtschaftliche, kultische oder soziale Leben griechischer Städte[2] und Kultorte[3] geben. Es stellen sich weitere Fragen, wenn man die Aussagekraft dieser Objekte in Bezug auf ihre Relevanz innerhalb der unterschiedlichen, untereinander kommunizierenden sozio-kulturellen Räume betrachtet. In diesem Rahmen ist auch die hier prä-

---

[1] Baitinger 2009, 1.

[2] Korinth (Davidson 1952); Pergamon und Priene (Gaitzsch 2005); Olynth (Robinson 1941).

[3] Delos (Deonna 1938); Olympia (Baitinger 2001, 2009); Philia (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002).

sentierte Behandlung von ausgewählten Eisenfunden aus dem ionischen Heiligtum von Didyma zu verstehen.[4] Sie hat zum Ziel, nicht nur den Gebrauch der Eisenobjekte und die Dauer sowie die Intensität ihrer Nutzung zu erläutern, sondern zugleich den Wandel ihrer Bedeutung von der Herstellung zur Konsumption bis hin zu ihrer Niederlegung oder ihres Recyclings zu erfassen. Somit soll ein Beitrag zur besseren Wahrnehmung einer Fundgattung geleistet werden, die einen zentralen Teil der materiellen Kultur aus der griechischen *Oikumene* darstellt.

Abb. 1 Didyma. Der jüngere, hellenistische Apollon-Tempel von Osten (nach Slawisch 2013, Abb. 1).

Das extraurbane Heiligtum von Didyma liegt an der Westküste Kleinasiens, etwa 20 km südlich von Milet **(Abb. 1)**. Sein Zentrum bildete die Orakelstätte des Apollon, dessen ältester Kultbau um 700 v. Chr. am Ort einer den Kult konstituierenden heiligen Quelle errichtet wurde. In kürzester Zeit erlangte das Orakel einen überregionalen, durch Schriftquellen bezeugten Bekanntheitsgrad, der sich auch in den kostbaren Weihungen fremder Herrscher widerspie-

gelte.[5] Der nach der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. errichtete Apollon-Tempel, welcher zu den größten Sakralbauten seiner Zeit gehörte, ist entsprechender Ausdruck der Blütezeit dieser Orakelstätte. In dieser Periode war das Heiligtum in den Händen des Priestergeschlechtes der Branchiden und blieb es bis in die Zeit der Perserkriege.[6] Im Zuge der Niederschlagung des Ionischen Aufstandes[7] oder des Rückzuges der Perser aus Griechenland unter Xerxes[8] wurde der archaische Tempel ausgeplündert und zerstört.[9] Danach scheint ein Bedeutungsverlust stattgefunden zu haben und erst 160 Jahre später, in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., wurde der Kultbetrieb im Heiligtum wieder aufgenommen – diesmal jedoch unter der Vorherrschaft der Stadt Milet.[10]

Obwohl die Orakelstätte von Didyma nach Ausweis der schriftlichen Überlieferung vor allem in der archaischen Zeit von weitreichender Bedeutung gewesen sein muss, fehlten bis vor wenigen Jahren archäologische Zeugnisse aus der Frühzeit des Heiligtums.[11]

---

[4] Für die Möglichkeit der Aufarbeitung der Eisenfunde aus dem Apollon-Heiligtum in Didyma will ich mich bei der Grabungsleiterin, Prof. Helga Bumke (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) und dem vorigen Grabungsleiter, Prof. Andreas E. Furtwängler, bedanken. Die Vorlage der Eisenfunde erfolgt als Bestandteil einer zusammenfassenden Publikation der beiden Grabungen (s. u.) in den kommenden Jahren.

[5] So wurde das Orakel von dem lydischen König Kroisos (Hdt. 1, 146) und dem ägyptischen Pharao Necho II. (Hdt. 2, 159) aufgesucht.

[6] Hdt. 1, 46, 2. 1, 92, 2. 1, 157, 3. 1, 159, 4. 2, 159, 3. 5, 36, 3. 6, 19, 2–3.

[7] Hdt. 6, 19.

[8] Strab. 14, 1, 5. 18, 1, 43.

[9] Dagegen Tuchelt 1988, 434, der aufgrund fehlender archäologischer Befunde für die Perserzerstörung diese an sich infrage stellte.

[10] Zur Diskussion, ob die Orakelstätte bereits vor den Ereignissen der Perserkriege zu Milet gehörte oder die Verwaltung von den Milesiern erst danach übernommen wurde s. Tuchelt 1988, 430–433; Breder u. a. 2012, 181 mit weiterer Literatur.

[11] Die zahlreichen Kleinfunde der Grabungen in den Jahren 1905–1913 sind größtenteils vor ihrer Bearbeitung verloren gegangen. Daher konnte bei dieser Frage bislang nur auf einige Baureste im Tempelareal und zumeist stark fragmentierte Skulpturen ohne bekannten Auf-
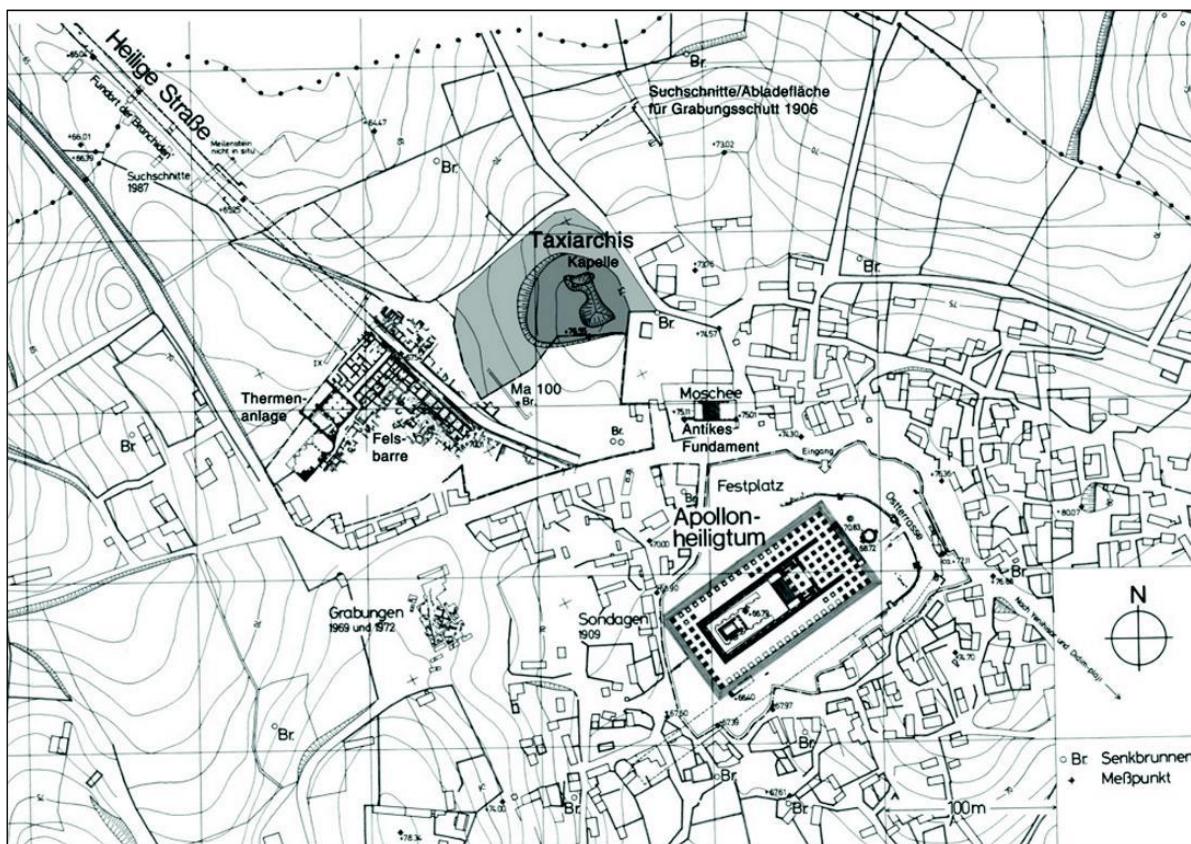
**Abb. 2 Didyma. Topographischer Übersichtsplan** (nach Bumke 2013, Abb. 1).
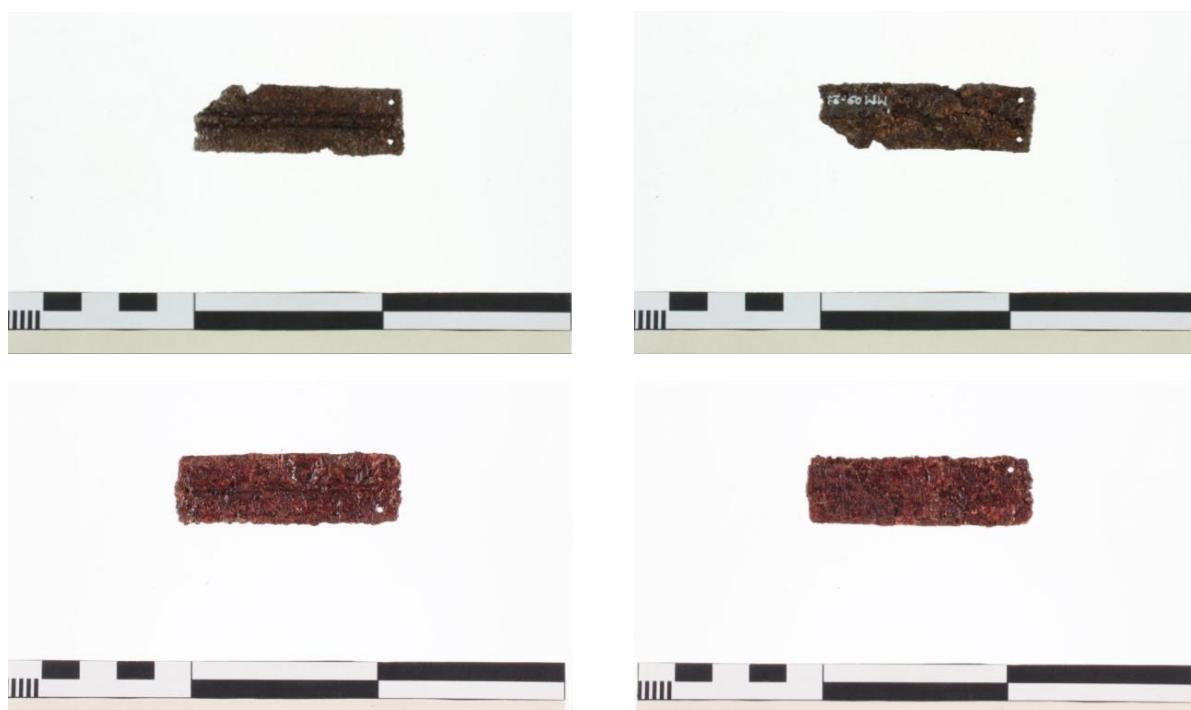
Abb. 3a–d Didyma, „Taxiarchis-Hügel". Rechteckige Panzerschuppen neuassyrischen Typs. Oben: MM09–29 (Vorder- und Rückseite) – unten: MM09–242 (Vorder- und Rückseite) (Zeichnungen und Fotos der Didyma-Grabung).

stellungskontext verwiesen werden. Zusammenfassend dazu s. Tuchelt 2007.

Erst die erneuten Untersuchungen im Areal des monumentalen, bis in die Spätantike aufrecht stehenden Apollon-Tempels[12] und auf dem nahe gelegenen sog. Taxiarchis-Hügel[13] brachten zahlreiche Votive archaischer Zeit hervor **(Abb. 2)**. Diese übertreffen nicht nur in ihrer Zahl die bislang bekannten Fundkomplexe aus Didyma, sondern lassen auch die „überregionalen" Klientel und Kontakte der Kultstätte innerhalb des mediterranen Kommunikationsraumes deutlich erkennen.[14] Aufgrund der Beschaffenheit und des Spektrums der Funde kann zudem davon ausgegangen werden, dass es sich – zumindest bei den Befunden auf dem Taxiarchis-Hügel[15] – durchgehend um „Heiligtumsinventar" handelt. So weisen die aus den versiegelten archaischen Schichten[16] geborgenen Votivreste eine hohe Konzentra-

tion und einen ausgesprochen fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustand auf, welche typisch für den sog. Heiligtumsabfall sind. Dieser setzt sich vor allem aus alten bzw. abgeräumten und absichtsvoll zerstörten Weihgaben zusammen, die als Eigentum der Gottheit im Heiligtum verbleiben mussten. Nicht zuletzt treten als besonders prägnante Form intentioneller Zerstörung zahlreiche gefaltete und verbogene Metallgegenstände in Erscheinung. Unter diesen verdienen 20 rechteckige, aus dünnem Eisenblech gefertigte Plättchen mit charakteristischer Mittelrippe eine erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit: Denn sie können allesamt als Panzerschuppen einer neuassyrischen Schutzrüstung identifiziert werden, welche bislang aus der griechischen *Oikumene* nicht bekannt war **(Abb. 3 a–d)**.

Bei den besagten Panzerschuppen handelt es sich um rechteckige Plättchen länglicher Form, mit höchstwahrscheinlich standardisierten Maßen. Trotz der fragmentierten Erhaltung lässt sich bei allen Exemplaren eine Länge von rund 50 mm und eine Breite von 18–20 mm nachweisen; nur zwei Objekte weichen mit ihrer Breite um 25 mm von dem restlichen Fundspektrum ab.[17] Das hervorstechende Merkmal dieser Plättchen ist die massive, zentral angebrachte Längsleiste, die jedoch nicht bis zu den beiden Kurzseiten hineinreicht. In dem so entstandenen Zwischenraum befanden sich jeweils zwei oder drei durchgestanzte Löcher, die bei der Freilegung in der Regel durch den Rost verschlossen wurden. Sie dienten zur Befestigung der Plättchen auf einem organischen, aus Leder oder Leinen bestehenden Unterteil.[18] Alle Exemplare wurden entweder aus

---

[12] Die archäologische Untersuchung wurde in den Jahren 2004 – 2007 von Prof. Andreas E. Furtwängler (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle / DAI Istanbul) durchgeführt. Vorläufige Zusammenfassungen in Furtwängler 2009, Slawisch 2013.

[13] Die Grabungen fanden im Rahmen des Projektes „Kulte im Kult" der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Künste in den Jahren 2000, 2001, 2003 und 2009 unter der Leitung von Prof. Helga Bumke statt. Dazu s. zuletzt Bumke 2013.

[14] Unter den Funden ist der Anteil von sog. importierten Weihungen relativ hoch. Dazu zählen die attische, korinthische, lakonische, chiotische sowie lydische und etruskische Keramik, ebenso wie zypriotische und nahöstliche Kleinfunde und Aegyptiaca. Zu Funden aus dem Taxiarchis-Hügel s. Bumke 2008a, 91–94; zu „fremden" Artefakten aus der Tempel-Grabung vgl. zuletzt Slawisch 2009.

[15] Bumke 2013, 337.

[16] Während die Funde aus dem Areal des Apollon-Tempels aus den Planierungsschichten oder Auffüllungen der späteren Bauten stammen, wurden die archaischen Schichten auf dem Taxiarchis-Hügel in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. durch eine zur Befestigung der Gelände eingebrachte Kalksteinblockage regelrecht verschlossen und vor den späteren Eingriffen aufbewahrt. Zur Stratigraphie vgl. die vorläufige Beschreibung in Bumke 2013, 335, 336 Abb. 2.

[17] Es handelt sich um die Panzerschuppen mit den Inventarnummern 05-AC-KFX und 05-AB.

[18] Reste organischer Unterlagen sind bislang nur aus dem Gebiet nördlich des Schwarzen Meeres bekannt. Dazu vgl. Černenko 2006, 9.

einem Blechstück geschmiedet, wobei die gewölbte Mittelleiste direkt ausgehämmert wurde, oder sie bestanden aus einem flachen Korpus und einer zusätzlich angebrachten pyramidenförmigen Rippe.[19] In beiden Fällen war diese Gestaltung rein funktional: Durch die Leiste, die sich durchgehend 2–3 mm über den mittleren Teil der dünnen Plättchen hebt, wurde die strukturelle Integrität der kritischen, für einen Bruch anfälligen Stelle verstärkt.

Eine erste Durchsicht der Vergleichsstücke birgt in Bezug auf die Herkunft der Funde eine verwirrende Vielfalt an Möglichkeiten. Kommen doch die mit einer Mittelleiste versehenen, eisernen Panzerschuppen bereits ab dem frühen 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. in mehreren Regionen des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes vor. Aus der Ägäis waren bislang dagegen nur die bronzenen Pendants dieser Schutzrüstung bekannt, die allesamt in den Zeitraum vom 14.–9. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datiert sind, und in ihrer Form denen aus dem Nahen Osten ähneln.[20] Daher betonte A. Snodgrass[21] zu Recht den östlichen Einfluss bei ihrer Entstehung. Die massiven, bronzenen Panzerschuppen weisen ein sehr ähnliches, rechteckiges Format mit einer abgerundeten Kurzseite und einer kurzen Zentralleiste auf. Sie wurden auf der Unterlage mithilfe der auf beiden Kurzseiten oder in der Mitte angeordneten Löchern starr befestigt. Dadurch bildeten die einzelnen Besatzteile eine relativ steife Panzerrüstung, die häufig bis zum Knie hinabreichte und optional mit langen oder kurzen Ärmeln versehen wurde. Zahlreiche nahöstliche Ab-

bildungen, schriftliche Quellen sowie Funde erlauben es, diese bis in das 16./15. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datierte, östliche Rüstungsgattung gut zu rekonstruieren.[22]

Zum Beginn des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. erscheint parallel zur alten eine neue Konstruktion des Schuppenbesatzes, die den starren Rüstungen mehr Flexibilität verlieh. Die abgerundeten Plättchen mit Mittelleiste werden nun miteinander und nur in einzelnen, durch enge organische Leisten getrennten Reihen auf der Unterlage befestigt. Für die Rekonstruktion der Panzer mit solchem Besatz sind, neben den wenigen nahöstlichen Funden, insbesondere die Palastreliefs aus assyrischen Residenzen im nördlichen Mesopotamien von großem Wert (**Abb. 4a**).[23]
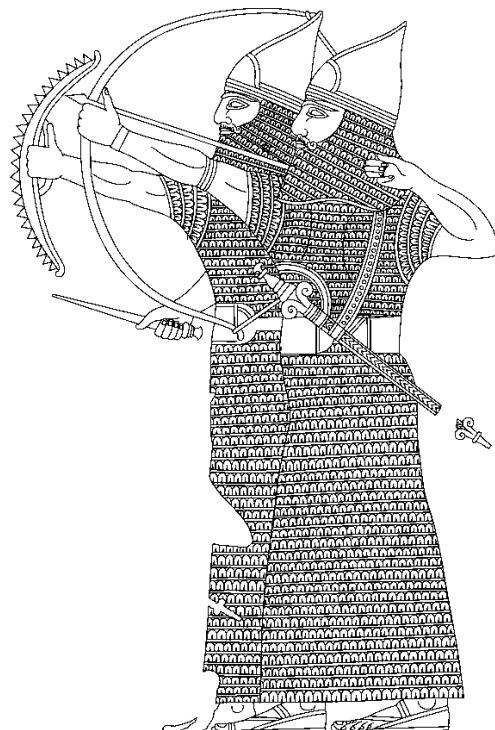
Abb. 4a Assyrische Bogenschützen mit Schuppenbesatz, Nimrud, Palast des Assurnasirpal II (nach Dezsö 2012, Pl. 28.90).

---

[19] Welche Technik beim Schmieden von Panzerschuppen verwendet wurde, und ob sie aus Stahl oder aufgekohltem Roheisen bestehen, lässt sich erst nach den entsprechenden archäometallurgischen Analysen feststellen.

[20] Katalog der einzelnen Orte mit weiterer Literaturangaben in Jarva 1995, 38.

[21] Snodgrass 1964, 85.

[22] Dezsö 2004.

[23] Funde und Reliefs zusammenfassend mit weiterer Literatur in Dezsö 2004, 322.

Denn die Darstellungen von Kriegszügen
der neuassyrischen Könige vermitteln uns
nicht nur die Form der Schutzrüstung, ihre
Größe und Gebrauch, sondern lassen auch
auf ihre weitere waffentechnische Entwick-
lung schließen. Anstelle der langen Schup-
penpanzer, welche die Bogenschützen zu
Fuß und die Streitwagenschützen in der Zeit
des Assurnasirpal II. (883–859 v. Chr.) und
des Salmanassar III. (858–824 v. Chr.) tru-
gen, sind ab der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahr-
hunderts v. Chr. auf den Darstellungen
schwerbewaffnete Einheiten mit einem neu-
en, kürzeren Panzer abgebildet **(Abb. 4b–c)**.
Es handelt sich um eine Kompositrüstung,
die aus mehreren, unterschiedlich großen
organischen Streifen besteht, welche die
einzelnen Reihen von jetzt ausschließlich
rechteckigen Plättchen ergänzen[24] – die Än-
derung der Konstruktion ging also parallel
mit der Anpassung der Form der Panzer-
schuppen einher. Spätestens nach der Mili-
tärreform des Sanherib (705–680 v. Chr.)
ersetzte der leichtere Kompositpanzer die
ältere, massive Schuppenrüstung, die so-
wohl aus bronzenen als auch eisernen Pan-
zerplättchen bestand. Nunmehr wurde bei
der Herstellung der Panzerrüstung der neu-
assyrischen königlichen Einheiten (*kiṣir
šarrūti*) allein das Eisen verwendet, wobei
die bronzenen Schuppenpanzer zumindest
bei den Provinzialeinheiten weiterhin im
Gebrauch blieben.[25]

---

[24] Der singuläre Fund eines jüngeren und morpho-
logisch leicht geänderten Panzers aus Gordion
dokumentiert diese Konstruktion, auch wenn
die organischen Teile sich nicht mehr erhalten
haben. Der Panzer wird in das 5. Jahrhundert v.
Chr. datiert. Vgl. Young 1956, Taf. 86, 22.

[25] Die Militärreform des Sanherib betraf ebenso
die generelle militärische Doktrin wie die Stan-
dardisierung der Waffen und Ausrüstung und
die Einführung von neuen Waffengattungen.
Dazu vgl. Dezsö 2012, 102–103.

**Abb. 4b–c Assyrische Schild- und Speerträger
mit Kompositrüstung, b: Ninive, Palast des San-
herib; c: Ninive, Palast des Assurbanipal** (nach
Dezsö 2012, Pl. 32.102; Pl. 35.117).

Eine andere Befestigungsart weisen zu guter Letzt kleine, bronzene oder eiserne Panzerschuppen mit Mittelleiste auf, welche ab dem 7./6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. besondere Beliebtheit im nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet erlangten. Obwohl sie lange Zeit mit nomadischen Völkern der Kimmerer und Skythen in Verbindung gebracht wurden[26], stammen sie wohl aus dem medisch-persischen Raum, von wo aus sie sich schnell im ganzen Nahen Osten und Ägypten verbreiteten.[27] Ihr Vorkommen in Lydien[28] und Phrygien[29] steht dabei ausschließlich im Zusammenhang mit der persischen Expansion. Grund für die rasche Verbreitung waren die verbesserten Eigenschaften der aus solchen Panzerschuppen bestehenden Schutzrüstung angesichts der gestiegenen Durschlagkraft der neuen Komposit-Reflexbögen.[30] Im Unterschied zu vorigen Formen wurden diese Panzerschuppen mithilfe der Durchbohrungen nur auf einer der Kurzseiten befestigt. Dadurch war eine Anordnung der Panzerschuppen in mehreren horizontalen, sich aber gleichzeitig überlappenden Reihen möglich, ohne dass der so entstandene Besatz starr wäre. Ein so gefertigter, beweglicher Schutz bestand manchenorts aus drei Metallschichten. Die Zahl der Schichten sowie die eigentliche Form und Größe der Panzerschuppen hingen von der Position und Funktion des Panzerbesatzes ab, wie es die Originalfunde aus dem skythischen Bereich in aller Deutlichkeit zeigen.[31] Während die rechteckigen Plättchen den Oberarm-, Schulter- oder Hüftbereich schützten, bildeten die Schuppen mit abgerundetem Unterteil den Besatz der Brust und des Rückenpanzers. Diese Konstruktion ermöglichte zudem, den Schuppenbesatz mit organischen Materialien besser zu kombinieren, womit die Flexibilität der Kompositrüstung zusätzlich verstärkt wurde. Dies präsentieren die in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. einsetzenden Darstellungen der griechischen Vasenmalerei anschaulich.[32] Auf ihnen ist der griechische Kompositpanzer mit charakteristischen Schulterklappen (*epomides*) und Schuppenbesatz versehen.[33] Er besteht aus kleinen beweglichen Panzerschuppen, welche die am meisten gefährdeten Bereiche – Brust und Hüften – schützen. Die Plättchen sind mit oder ohne Mittelrippe dargestellt und ihre Farbigkeit lässt auf die Verwendung von unterschiedlichen Metallen schließen. Dies bestätigen auch die früheren, vereinzelten Funde bronzener und silberner Panzerschuppen aus Olympia und Delphi, die nicht später als ins 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zu datieren sind.[34]

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass, ausgehend von den morphologischen und funktionellen Eigenschaften der in Didyma gefundenen Panzerschuppen, folgende Vergleichsbeispiele infrage kommen: Zum einen sind es die Darstellungen auf den assyrischen Reliefs[35] der „Imperialen Periode" (745–612 v. Chr.) sowie die Exemplare aus den städtischen Kontexten des 8./7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus Kuyunjik[36] und Nim-

---

[26] Zusammenfassend s. Snodgrass 1999.
[27] Ivantchik 2001, 257–258; Černenko 2006.
[28] Waldbaum 1974, 40.
[29] McClellan 1988, 125.
[30] Ivantchik 2001, 258.
[31] Černenko 2006, 1–59.
[32] Darstellungen des Schuppenbesatzes der griechischen Panzer mit weiterer Literatur in Muth 2008, Abb. 14. 26. 31. 41. 45. 54. 66. 68–69. 83. 86. 88. 128. 132. 135. 140. 144. 161a. 163. 188. 195–196a. 201. 215. 219–220. 222–223a. 236. 239. 266. 270. 275. 290–291a. 294. 295. 318. 355. 396. 400. 424. 428.
[33] Zum griechischen Kompositpanzer s. Jarva 1995, 37.
[34] Snodgrass 1964, 85; Jarva 1995, 38.
[35] Index der Reliefs mit weiterer Literatur s. Dezsö 2012.
[36] Dezsö 2004, 323.

rūd[37] in Mesopotamien. Zum anderen wurden Parallelstücke in den mit Assyrern assoziierten Schichten im ägyptischen Memphis[38] sowie im Zerstörungshorizont von Lachisch in Syrien,[39] und im urartäischen Hasanlā[40] gefunden. Die kleinen beweglichen Plättchen auf den attischen Vasendarstellungen der spätarchaischen Zeit lassen sich im Hinblick auf ihre Konstruktion nicht mit den didymäischen Funden verbinden. Es ist deshalb vertretbar zu behaupten, dass die rechteckigen, dünnen, aus Eisen gefertigten Panzerschuppen mit Mittelleiste aus Didyma die Reste von Kompositpanzern nahöstlichen Typus darstellen. Für die Annahme, dass die Metallschuppen nicht den Besatz von ausschließlich einer Schutzrüstung bildeten, die gewöhnlich aus mehreren Tausend Plättchen bestehen konnte,[41] spricht ihre Verteilung über alle Fundschichten auf dem Taxiarchis-Hügel. Auf welchen Wegen und aus welchen Gründen die aus Osten stammenden Panzer ins „fremde" Apollon-Heiligtum von Didyma kamen, soll im zweiten Teil des Beitrages erörtert werden.

Aussagen zur Bedeutung und Intention der Niederlegung von Artefakten im Kontext eines Kultortes erwiesen sich in der bisherigen archäologischen Forschung immer als besonders schwierig oder kontrovers und wurden nicht selten vermieden.[42] Zumal der Charakter der archäologischen Quellen, die uns häufig als fragmentierte Artefakte zur Verfügung stehen, dies nur selten gestattet, oder aber die gewöhnliche, materialbezo-

gene Auswertung der Funde es nur bedingt ermöglichte. Fragt man aber gezielt nach der Bedeutung der Artefakte, welche über ihre Materialität hinausgeht, und ihre damit verbundenen Nutzungen innerhalb eines soziokulturellen Raumes, eröffnen sich neue Interpretationsmöglichkeiten, wie es die Studien zur Materialität der Dinge und insbesondere der Objektbiographie im vergangenen Jahrzehnt in aller Deutlichkeit zeigten.[43] Dabei kommt die Schlüsselrolle den Kontexten zu, in denen die Funde zutage treten. Weil die Bedeutungen einzelner Objekte in archäologischen Befunden nicht erhalten geblieben sind, müssen sie über die Überreste von Handlungen bzw. von Konventionen im Umgang mit den Dingen erschlossen werden. Auf diese Weise ließe sich eine „agency" der Objekte erkennen, die stets inhärent sozial ist.[44] Dadurch spiegelt sie nicht nur die Absicht des jeweiligen Akteurs, des Herstellers oder des Verbrauchers, wider, sondern sie erlaubt auch, die gesellschaftlichen Bindungen innerhalb oder zwischen verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen zumindest zu skizzieren.[45] Darauf aufbauend soll im Folgenden versucht werden, die „Lebenszeit" der Panzerschuppen von Didyma in den jeweiligen chronologischen und räumlichen Kontexten zu dekonstruieren und gleichzeitig damit ihre soziokulturelle Bedeutung zu konzeptualisieren.

Die aus Eisen gefertigten, rechteckigen Panzerschuppen bildeten, wie oben in aller Kürze dargestellt, den Besatz der Schutzrüstung von schwerbewaffneten Einheiten im neu-

---

[37] Zerstörungsschicht des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., s. Stronach 1958, Taf. 34, 4.

[38] Dezsö 2004, 323.

[39] Datiert ins 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr., s. Tufnell 1953, Taf. 58, 11–12.

[40] Hasanlu, Schicht IV. Vgl. Muscarella 1988, Abb. 62.

[41] Černenko 2006, 12.

[42] Zur Diskussion über die Waffenfunde in griechischen Heiligtümern vgl. Frielinghaus 2011; Baitinger 2011.

[43] Hoskins 1998; Langdon 2001; Knapp – van Dommelen 2010; Steel 2013.

[44] Strathern 1988, 178–9; dazu vgl. auch Bourdieu 1972.

[45] So auch Hoskins 1998, 9: „Biographical objects share our lives with us, and if they gradually deteriorate and fade with the years, we recognize our own aging in the mirror of these personal possessions."

assyrischen Reich während der „Imperialen Periode" (745–612 v. Chr.). Die gepanzerten Bogenschützen, Lanzenträger, Schleuderer und die Reiterei stellten die schlagkräftigste Truppe der assyrischen Könige dar und wurden, wie man aus den Reliefs in Nimrūd, Horsābād und Niniveh entnehmen kann, in einem königlichen Korps organisiert. Sie wurden einheitlich ausgerüstet, trainiert und ihre Mitglieder waren professionelle Krieger.[46] Im Unterschied zu regulären und auxiliaren Einheiten wurden sie als Eliteeinheit nah der Residenzstadt stationiert und direkt dem König untergeordnet, zumal sich aus ihnen die königlichen Leibwächter und die niedrigeren Offiziere und Verwaltungsbeamte rekrutierten.[47] Dies belegen mehrere Tausend Panzerschuppen, die in der Residenzstadt Nimrūd freigelegt wurden.[48] Darüber hinaus dokumentiert dieser Fund in aller Deutlichkeit auch die enge Verbindung zwischen einer sozialen Gruppe mit hohem gesellschaftlichem Status im assyrischen Reich und der einzig von deren Angehörigen getragenen Rüstung. Es lässt sich daher postulieren, dass die eisernen Schuppenpanzer eine ähnliche, mit Status behaftete Aura umgab wie ihre Träger. Sie wurden zum Statussymbol und somit definierten sie und bildete die innerhalb Assyriens gültige soziale Differenzierung ab.

Es wäre freilich falsch, anhand der Funde rechteckiger Panzerschuppen mit der charakteristischen Mittelleiste in Didyma die Anwesenheit von neuassyrischen Truppen an der westlichen Küste Kleinasiens zu begründen. Vielmehr sind diese, eindeutig als nahöstlich zu identifizierenden Objekte, im Kontext weiterer qualitätsvoller Kleinfunde gleicher Provenienz aus den ostgriechischen

Heiligtümern archaischer Zeit zu sehen.[49] Zu diesen gehören zahlreiche Metallgefäße syro-phönizischer bzw. zypriotischer Herkunft, Bronze- und Elfenbeinfiguren, bronzene Glocken sowie einzelne Militaria wie assyrische oder assyrisch beeinflusste Keulen[50], Pferdegeschirr aus Samos[51], Rhodos[52] und dem milesischen Athenaheiligtum.[53] Sie alle weisen auf die engen Kontakte zwischen der Ägäis und dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum und Mesopotamien hin, die sich ab dem 9. Jahrhundert v. Chr. allmählich intensivierten. Im extraurbanen Heiligtum von Didyma kommen die frühesten „östlichen" Importe, eine bronzene Besstatuette und der Rest eines Bronzebeckens mit Lotushenkeln, bereits in den ältesten, spätestens ins 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. datierten Schichten am Apollon-Tempel vor.[54] In den gleichen zeitlichen Kontext sind auch die frühesten Funde der Panzerschuppen (MM09-242) aus dem Taxiarchis-Hügel zu setzen, die im ersten der drei dominierenden Bodenhorizonte (hellbraun-sandige Schicht) freigelegt wurden. Es handelt sich demnach um einen Befund, der neben den zahlreichen Angaben der schriftlichen Überlieferung nun als weiteres archäologisches Zeugnis für die überregionalen Kontakte und Bedeutung des didymäischen Heiligtums im 7. und 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. gelten kann.

Darüber hinaus werfen die Funde assyrischer Panzerschuppen im Kontext des Heiligtums eine Frage auf, wie die inhaltliche Beziehung zwischen diesen Gegenständen und ihrem Auffindungsort zu deuten ist. Die

---

[46] Dezsö 2012, 23.
[47] Dezsö 2012, 119. 144.
[48] Dazu s. o. Anm. 37.

[49] Dazu s. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985; Klebinder-Gauß 2007; Mylonopoulos 2008; Bumke 2008a; Crielaard 2015, 358 Anm. 41.
[50] Liste der orientalischen Keulen, mit weiterer Literatur, s. Slawisch 2009, 198 Anm. 29.
[51] Kyrieleis – Röllig 1988.
[52] Donder 1980, 28–32.
[53] Held 2000, 131–134.
[54] Bumke 2008b, 88–89.

einzelnen Panzerschuppen, die ursprünglich zweifelllos komplette Rüstungen bildeten, treten in Didyma neben anderen zahlreichen Waffenfunden stark intentionell beschädigt und durchgehend in allen archaischen Schichten auf.[55] Aus diesem Grund können sie ohne jeden Zweifel als Weihung bezeichnet werden, wodurch sich für die weitere Interpretation gleichzeitig zwei mögliche, sich überlappende Deutungsebenen eröffnen. Zum einen bezeugen die Weihgeschenke die Dankbarkeit für die Gunst und Gaben der Gottheit. Da das extraurbane Heiligtum von Didyma eine Orakelstätte des Apollon war, liegt es nahe, die große Zahl an Waffenweihungen mit dem dort ansässigen Orakel zu verbinden. Diesen Umstand bezeugen nicht nur weitere, besonders waffenreiche Kultstätten des Apollons in Delphi oder Kalapodi, sondern er lässt sich auch an zahlreichen Weihinschriften privater und staatlicher Herkunft ablesen.[56] Damit nimmt das Heiligtum in Didyma eine besondere Stellung unter den Kultstätten an der ostägäischen Küste ein, wo Waffenweihungen nur selten vorkommen, und ähnelt mit seinem Fundspektrum eher den peloponnesischen Heiligtümern. In diesen stellten die Waffenweihungen in erster Linie persönliches Besitztum dar, die zur Steigerung des Prestiges einer Kriegerelite geweiht wurden.[57] Somit wird die zweite wichtige Rolle der Kultstätte angedeutet: die Selbstdarstellung eigener Frömmigkeit im öffentlichen Raum, den das Heiligtum als zentraler Ort einer

Gemeinschaft verkörperte. Die geweihten Objekte trugen zugleich zur Steigerung des individuellen, persönlichen Ansehens als auch des Heiligtumes selbst bei. So ist die Bedeutung der Weihung des Leinenpanzers durch Pharao Necho II. nach der Schlacht bei Megiddo 609 v. Chr. in das Heiligtum von Didyma im Werk Herodots ersichtlich.[58] Auch wenn bei den eher unscheinbaren Panzerschuppen zwar nicht davon ausgegangen werden kann, dass sie eine ähnliche Wirkung hatten, so ist aber zumindest ein hoher sozialer Stellenwert der Panzerschuppen für den Weihenden zu vermuten. Denn die entsprechenden Mittel für und das Interesse am Erwerb von nahöstlichen Produkten waren in der archaischen Zeit stark limitiert. Betrachtet man zudem den inhaltlichen Kontext der Panzerschuppen als eine Waffenweihung, so wird ihre prestigetragende Funktion noch sichtbarer; sie stellen eine dynamische, distinktive Komponente dar, mit der die Selbstwahrnehmung der Söldner ausgedrückt und ihre Stellung in der Gesellschaft allgemein sowie im Rahmen eines *agons* innerhalb der aristokratischen Kriegerelite aktiv gestaltet wurde. Ob sich dadurch auch Informationen zur Identität der Weihenden gewinnen lassen, soll im letzten Teil erörtert werden.

Betrachtet man den Fund der Panzerschuppen im Apollon-Heiligtum von Didyma im Kontext der überregionalen Kontakte zwischen dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum und der Ägäis in der archaischen Zeit, so stellen sich umgehend Fragen nach ihrem Charakter. In der Forschung geht man diesbezüglich fast immer davon aus, dass Händler diesen Transfer geleistet haben müssen.[59] Wie jedoch Iris von Bredow[60] in ihrer Studie zu Transportrouten von „östlichen" Impor-

---

[55] Pfeilspitzen, die gerne in der Forschung als Indikator der kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen verwendet wurden, kommen in Didyma verstärkt erst in der Ascheschicht auf dem Taxiarchis-Hügel vor.

[56] Baitinger 2011, 158.

[57] Zur Sitte der Waffenweihgaben in Griechenland vgl. zuletzt Baitinger 2011. Generell konnte Baitinger 2011, 155–156 beobachten, dass die Waffenweihungen in Ostgriechenland einen geringeren Stellenwert als in Mittel- und Südgriechenland hatten.

[58] Hdt. 2, 159.

[59] Boardman 2000, 61; Papadopoulos 2014.

[60] Von Bredow 2012.

ten überzeugend darlegen konnte, spielt der Handel zwischen Griechenland und dem Nahen Osten erst ab dem 7./6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. eine gewichtigere Rolle.[61] In der früharchaischen Zeit hinderte die strenge Regelung der kommerziellen Tätigkeit an der kleinasiatischen Südküste und in der Levante durch die assyrische Herrschaft die Griechen daran, in die seit der Bronzezeit etablierten Handelsnetzwerke einzudringen.[62] Anstelle von Händlern schreibt von Bredow dem auf Gastgeschenken basierenden Austausch, der *xenia*, und den aristokratischen Anführern der griechischen Söldner als den Trägern der Panzer eine entscheidende Rolle zu.[63] Ausgehend von den Fundkontexten der Panzerschuppen assyrischen Typus in der Orakelstätte von Didyma liegt nun die Annahme nahe, auch diese Objektgruppe mit den im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. aus dem Nahen Osten heimkehrenden Söldnern zu verbinden.[64] Ihre Tätigkeit und Rückkehr aus dem Dienst der Könige im Osten sowie ihr dort erworbener Reichtum wird gleichfalls durch griechische als auch assyrische Schriftquellen entsprechend bezeugt. Mehrere Dokumente assyrischer Provenienz aus der Zeit des frühen 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. beschreiben die Angriffe griechischer (*Iavo-*

nes) Piraten und Räuber auf die syrische Küste.[65] So musste Sanherib in Jahren 696/694 v. Chr. gegen diese Gefahr ins Feld ziehen und nach ihrer endgültigen Niederlage gliederte er sie in das assyrische Heer ein.[66] Es überrascht daher nicht, wenn es ab diesem Zeitpunkt auch für Griechen möglich war, in den einzelnen Truppen innerhalb des neuassyrischen Reiches zu dienen.[67] An dieser Stelle würde ich einen weiteren Schritt machen und mutmaßen wollen, dass folglich ebenso eine Eingliederung der Einzelnen in die nahöstliche, starke Hierarchie, mit der entsprechenden Übernahme von bestimmten Statussymbolen – in diesem Fall eine Rüstung mit eisernen Panzerschuppen – vorstellbar war. Ein Abbild dieser komplizierten und im Einzelfall nicht rekonstruierbarer Rezeption von Wertvorstellungen liefert eine um einige Jahrzehnte jüngere, mit Inschrift versehene Weihung – ein Würfelhocker – des Pedon aus Priene, der in Ägypten zunächst als Söldner, dann als ziviler Beamter Karriere gemacht hatte.[68]

Wie lassen sich nun die Funde assyrischer Panzerschuppen – und somit wohl auch komplette Panzer – im Kontext des ostgriechischen Apollon-Heiligtum von Didyma erklären und welche Bedeutung haftet dieser Objektgruppe in Bezug auf unser Verständnis der materiellen Kultur griechischer *Oikumene* der archaischen Zeit an? Trotz der

---

[61] So wird häufig auch der Anstieg der Importe in dieser Periode in ostgriechischen Heiligtümern im Zusammenhang mit der um 600 v. Chr. erfolgten Gründung von *Naucratis* im Delta des Nil gesehen. Dazu vgl. zusammenfassen Bumke 2008a; 2008b.

[62] Von Bredow 2012, 42–43.

[63] Von Bredow 2012, 47. Zum aristokratischen Charakter des frühen griechischen Söldnertums und dessen Rolle innerhalb der ostmediterranen Netzwerke vgl. zuletzt Bettalli 2013.

[64] Gegen ihre Verbindung mit den im Ägypten tätigen griechischen Söldnern spricht der Umstand, dass die Schutzrüstung dieses Typs ausschließlich in assyrischen Kontexten des 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. vorkommt. Die ägyptischen Krieger der Saite-Zeit verwendeten vorwiegend einen Panzer der medisch-persischen Konstruktion bzw. die griechische Bronzerüstung. Dazu vgl. Gnirs 2004, Verčík 2014.

[65] Zusammenfassend zu assyrischen Inventaren zu *Iovanes* s. Rollinger 2001, 237–243; ergänzt um Saggs 2001, 166–167. Zu griechischen Räubern vgl. auch Luraghi 2006 und Hale 2013.

[66] Lanfranchi 2000, 28; Luraghy 2006, 33.

[67] Assyrer haben, soweit man weiß, zwar keine griechischen Söldner in den Königlichen Korp eingegliedert. Die Überwachung der Küste war jedoch speziellen Einheiten übertragen, die dem jeweiligen assyrischen Statthalter unterstanden. Dazu vgl. Dezsö 2012, 69–75.

[68] Zur Weihung von Perdon s. zuletzt Lubos 2009, 407 Nr. 28. 411 Nr. 77. – Zur Identität und Interaktion der griechischen Söldner im Nahen Osten und Ägypten s. Trundle 1999.

beschränkten Aussagenmöglichkeiten der
archäologischen Quellen ist ein Wandel in
der Nutzung und der Funktion dieser Rüs-
tungsgattung bemerkbar, der durch die Re-
konstruktion ihrer „Lebenszeit" fassbar
wird. So zeigt sich, dass die Schuppenpan-
zer dieses Typus innerhalb des ursprüngli-
chen Nutzungskontextes im assyrischen
Reich neben der praktischen auch eine dis-
tinktive Funktion als Statussymbol innehat-
ten. Durch den Transfer in einen anderen
sozio-kulturellen Raum behielten sie zwar
weiterhin ihre distinktive Funktion, ihre
Bedeutung wurde aber nicht mehr hierar-
chisch von oben konstituiert, sondern sehr
privat innerhalb einer speziellen sozialen
Gruppe – der Söldner – zum Ausdruck ge-
bracht. Ausschlaggebend dafür waren jetzt
nicht nur ihre anspruchsvolle Herstellung
und Funktion als Abzeichen der Truppenzu-
gehörigkeit, sondern vor allem die Tatsache,
dass sie ein nahöstliches Produkt darstellten
und mit ihrem exotischen Aussehen auf die
Lebenswege oder Erfahrungen der Träger,
der Söldner, hinwiesen. Die Panzer assyri-
schen Typus, welche uns als rechteckige
Panzerschuppen mit der Mittelleiste erhalten
geblieben sind, wandelten sich also von ei-
nem Statussymbol zu einem Abzeichnen des
persönlichen Prestiges innerhalb des sich
neu formierenden Milieus der *Polis*. In ih-
rem letzten Schritt wurden sie als Weihun-
gen im Heiligtum zur Schau gestellt und
damit einer Gottheit übergeben – durch das
Extrapolieren ihres Lebenslaufes wird also
auch die sozio-kulturelle Bedeutung der
kleinen, unansehnlichen Eisenklumpen aus
den griechischen Heiligtümern rekonstruier-
bar.[69]

---

[69] Die aktuell erschienene Studie von J. P.
Crielaard (2015) zu bronzenen Becken und Pferde-
geschirr östlicher Provenienz in den griechischen
Heiligtümern archaischer Zeit konnte erst nach der
Fertigstellung des Manuskriptes berücksichtigt
werden. Nichtsdestotrotz ist hier anzumerken, dass
der Autor durch die Anwendung gleicher Methode
der Objektbiographie zu vergleichbaren Ergebnis-
sen kam: "It is this and other biographical aspects
that characterize these classes of items as powerful
things in motion" (Crielaard 2015, 364).

Bibliografie

Baitinger 2001
H. Baitinger, Die Angriffswaffen aus Olympia, OF 29 (Berlin 2001)

Baitinger 2009
H. Baitinger, Werkzeuge und Geräte aus Olympia, OF 32 (Berlin 2007)

Baitinger 2011
H. Baitinger, Waffenweihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern (Mainz 2011)

Bourdieu 1972
P. Bourdieu, Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique (Paris 1972)

Bettalli 2013
M. Bettalli, Mercenari. Il mestiere delle armi nel mondo greco antico: età arcaica e classica (Rom 2013)

Boardman 2000
J. Boardman, The Greeks Overseas. Their Early Colonies and Trade (London 2000)

Breder u. a. 2012
J. Breder – H. Bumke – I. Kaiser – U. Weber, „Kulte im Kult" – Der sakrale Mikrokosmos in extraurbanen griechischen Heiligtümern am Beispiel von Didyma. Erste Ergebnisse, Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica 2, 2012, 181–187

Bumke 2008a
H. Bumke, Fremde Votive oder fremde Dedikanten? Ägyptische Weihgaben in Ionischen Heiligtümern und ihr Zeugniswert für Kulturtransfer, in: L.-M. Günther (Hg.), Tryphe und Kultritual im archaischen Kleinasien – ex oriente luxuria? (Wiesbaden 2008) 11–31

Bumke 2008b
H. Bumke, Zeugnisse für Kulturtransfer aus dem archaischen Apollonheiligtum von Didyma, in: R. Bol – U. Höckmann – P. Schollmeyer (Hg.), Kult(ur)kontakte (Rahden 2008) 87–96

Bumke 2013
H. Bumke, Der archaische Heiligtumsbefund vom „Taxiarchis-Hügel" in Didyma und sein Zeugniswert für die Rekonstruktion „ritueller Mahlzeiten", in: I. Gerlach – R. Dietrich (Hg.), Sanktuar und Ritual (Rahden 2013) 335–342

Černenko 2006
E. V. Černenko, Die Schutzwaffen der Skythen (Stuttgart 2006)

Crielaard 2015
J. P. Crielaard, Powerful Things in Motion: A Biographical Approach to Eastern Elite Goods in Greek Sanctuaries, in: E. Kistler - B. Öhlinger - M. Mohr - M. Hoernes (Hg.), Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption. Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World, Proceedings of the International Conference in Innsbruck, 20th–23rd March 2012 (Wiesbaden 2015) 351–372

Davidson 1952
G. R. Davidson, The Minor Objects, Corinth XII (Princeton 1952)

Deonna 1938
W. Deonna, Le mobilier déliens, Délos XVIII (Paris 1938)

Dezsö 2004
T. Dezsö, „Panzer", in: D. O. Edzar (Hg.), Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, Band 10: Pabilsag(a) – Panzer (Berlin 2004) 319–323

Dezsö 2012
T. Dezsö, The Assyrian Army. The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army as Reconstructed from the Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Cuneiform Sources. Infantry, Antiqua et Orientalia 2 (Budapest 2012)

Donder 1980
H. Donder, Zaumzeug in Griechenland und Cypern, PBF 16, 3 (München 1980)

Einicke u. a. 2009
R. Einicke – S. Lehmann – H. Löhr – G. Mehnert – A. Mehnert – A. Slawisch (Hg.), Zurück zum Gegenstand. Festschrift für Andreas E. Furtwängler (Langenweißbach 2009)

Frielinghaus 2011
H. Frielinghaus, Die Helme von Olympia. Ein Beitrag zu Waffenweihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern, OF 33 (Berlin 2011)

Furtwängler 2009
A. Furtwängler, Didyma: Ein Überblick über die jüngeren Forschungen, Colloquium Anatolicum 8, 2009, 1–17

Gaitzsch 2005
W. Gaitzsch, Eisenfunde aus Pergamon. Geräte, Werkzeuge und Waffen, PF 14 (Berlin 2005)

Gerlach – Dietrich 2013
I. Gerlach – R. Dietrich (Hg.), Sanktuar und Ritual. Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund (Rahden 2013)

Gnirs 2004
A. M. Gnirs, Militärwesen, in: S. Petschel (Hg.), Pharao siegt immer. Krieg und Frieden im Alten Ägypten (Bönen 2004) 72–76

Hale 2013
J. R. Hale, Not Patriots, not Farmers, not Amateurs. Greek Soldiers of Fortune and the Origins of Hoplite Warfare, in: D. Kagan – G. Viggiano (Hg.), Men of Bronze. Hoplite Warfare in Ancient Greece (Princeton 2013) 176–193

Held 2000
W. Held, Das Heiligtum der Athena in Milet (Mainz 2000)

Hoskins 1998
J. Hoskins, Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives (New York – London 1998)

Ivantchik 2001
A. I. Ivantchik, Kimmerier und Skythen. Kulturhistorische und chronologische Probleme der Archäologie der osteuropäischen Steppen und Kaukasiens in vor- und frühskythischer Zeit (Moskau 2001)

Jarva 1995
E. Jarva, Archaiologia on Archaic Greek Body Armour (Rovaniemi 1995)

Knapp – van Dommelen 2010
A. B. Knapp – P. van Dommelen, Material Connections: Mobility, Materiality and Mediterranean Identities, in: P. van Dommelen – A. B. Knapp (Hg.), Material Connections in the Ancient Mediterranean: Mobility, Materiality and Mediterranean Identities (London 2010) 1–18

Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985
I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, Fremde Weihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern vom 8. bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., JbRGZM 32, 1985, 215–254

Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002
    I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, Kleinfunde aus dem Athena Itonia-Heiligtum bei Philia in Thessalien (Bonn 2002)

Klebinder-Gauß 2007
    G. Klebinder-Gauß, Bronzefunde aus dem Artemision von Ephesos, FiE 12/3 (Wien 2007)

Kyrieleis – Röllig 1988
    H. Kyrieleis – W. Röllig, Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck aus dem Heraion von Samos, AA 103, 1988, 37–75

Langdon 2001
    S. Langdon, Beyond the Grave. Biographies from Early Greece, AJA 105, 2001, 579–606

Lanfranchi 2000
    G. B. Lanfranchi, The Ideological and Political Impact of the Assyrian Imperial Expansion on the Greek World in the 8th and 7th Centuries B.C., in: S. Aro – R. M. Withing (Hg.), The Heirs of Assyria (Helsinki 2000) 7–34

Lubos 2009
    M. Lubos, Weihungen griechischer Söldner in Didyma, in: Einicke u. a. 2009, 405–414

Luraghi 2006
    N. Luraghi, Traders, Pirates, Warriors. The Proto-History of Greek Mercenary Soldiers in the Eastern Mediterranean, Phoenix 60, 2006, 21–47

McClellan 1988
    J. A. McClellan, The Iron Objects from Gordion. A Typological and Functional Analysis (Ann Arbour 1988)

Mylonopoulos 2008
    J. Mylonopoulos, „Fremde" Weihungen in Heiligtümern der Ostägäis im 7. und 6. Jh. v. Chr., in: A. Kyriatsoulis (Hg.), Austausch von Gütern, Ideen und Technologien in der Ägäis und im östlichen Mittelmeer. Von der prähistorischen bis zu der archaischen Zeit (Weilheim) 363–386

Muscarella 1988
    O. W. Muscarella, Bronze and Iron. Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York 1988)

Muth 2008
    S. Muth, Gewalt im Bild. Das Phänomen der medialen Gewalt im Athen des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (Berlin – New York 2008)

Papadopoulos 2014
    J. Papadopoulos, Greece in the early iron age. Mobility, Commodities, Polities and Literacy, in: B. Knapp – P. van Dommelen (Hg.), The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean (Cambridge 2014) 178–196

Robinson 1941
    D. M. Robinson, Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds, Olynthus VIII (Baltimore 1941)

Rollinger 2001,
    R. Rollinger, The Ancient Greeks and the Impact of the Ancient Near East: Textual Evidence and Historical Perspective (ca. 750–650 B.C.), in: R. M. Whiting (Hg.), Mythology and Mythologies: Methodological Approaches to Intercultural Influences (Helsinki 2001) 233–264

Saggs 2001
    H. W. F. Sags, The Nimrud Letters (London 2001)

Slawisch 2009
    A. Slawisch, Eine runde Sache: Zu einem Fragment einer Bronzekeule aus Didyma, in: Einicke u. a. 2009, 195–204

Slawisch 2013
    A. Slawisch, Didyma. Untersuchungen zur sakralen Topographie und baulichen Entwicklung des Kernheiligtums vom 8.–4. Jh. v. Chr., in: I. Gerlach – R. Dietrich (Hg.), Sanktuar und Ritual (Rahden 2013) 53–60

Snodgrass 1964
    A. Snodgrass, Early Greek Armour and Weapons (Edinburgh 1964)

Snodgrass 1999
    A. Snodgrass, Arms and Armor of the Greeks (Baltimore 1999)

Stronach 1958
    D. Stronach, Metal Objects from the 1957 Excavations at Nimrud, Iraq 20, 1958, 169–181

Steel 2013
    L. Steel, Materiality and Consumption in the Bronze Age Mediterranean (New York – London 2013)

Strathern 1988
    M. Strathern, The Gender of the Gift (Berkeley 1988)

Trundle 1999
    M. Trundle, Identity and Community among Greek Mercenaries in the Classical World. 700–322 B.C., The Ancient Bulletin 13, 1999, 28–38

Tuchelt 1988
    K. Tuchelt, Die Perserzerstörung von Branchidai-Didyma und ihre Folgen archäologisch betrachtet, AA 1988, 427–438

Tuchelt 2007
    K. Tuchelt, Überlegungen zum archaischen Didyma, in: J. Cobet (Hg.), Frühes Ionien. Eine Bestandsaufnahme, MilForsch 5 (Mainz 2007) 393–412

Tufnell 1953
    O. Tufnell, Lachisch III. Tell ed-Duweir. The Iron Age (London 1953)

Verčík 2014
    M. Verčík, Die barbarischen Einflüsse in der griechischen Bewaffnung (Rahden 2014)

Young 1956
    R. S. Young, The Campaign of Gordion. Preliminary Report, 1955, AJA 60, 1956, 249–266

Waldbaum 1974
    J. C. Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis (Cambridge 1974)

Cultural Transmission and Semantic Change of Ceramic Forms in Grave Goods of Hellenistic Etruria

Raffaella Da Vela

Abstract: This contribution addresses semantic change in ceramics as connected to identity construction. With three case studies from Hellenistic Etruria, beaked *situlae*, *lagynoi* and *amphorae*, I aim to answer the following research question: How can a change of vessel functions in funerary contexts express the changing cultural identities of the deceased and their family? The choice of funerary contexts allows an approximation of the change of meaning through the analysis of the distance between daily life and ritual function of the objects. Each case study presents a different relationship between changing meaning and identity construction: the beaked *situlae*, related to the social identity of new social layers; the *amphorae*, related to local cultural identities during the process of Romanisation; and the *lagynoi*, related to the construction of multicultural identities in new-founded agricultural settlements. The distinct patterns of the three forms suggest the possibility of analysing stratified and complex societies by the study of changing meaning.

This article approaches the semantic change of some grave goods in funerary contexts of Hellenistic Etruria as a consequence of a global process of cultural transmission which affected Etruscan and Italic cultures[1] during the Hellenistic period. The process of adopting the Latin language and roman institutions in Etruria, especially in the inland and northern part of the region, engaged a complexity of layers. Each layer involved the local communities in the selective and distinctive adoption of new lifestyles.[2] The Punic wars and the following unification of the economic system of the western Mediterranean represent a breaking point in the social structure of many Etruscan communities. This break effected a change which involved many aspects of the material culture. Three case studies are selected and isolated to analyse specific research questions which are stated at the beginning of each paragraph and relate to the construction of local identities and their transformation during this period. The evolution of the historical situation and the relevant social layers will be briefly indicated in the examination of each example.

By referring to semantic change here I mean changes that involve the meaning of an object. This meaning is shared in a social context and goes beyond the object itself.[3] As

---

[1] For the definition of pre-Roman Italian culture as Etruscan and Italic see Turfa 2011, 1.

[2] Terrenato 1998, 20–27. 54. 94. Bradley 2007, 298. However, I cannot agree with Bradley about the possibility of connecting the diffusion of black gloss pottery with a cultural spread of Roman lifestyle.

[3] For the semantic concept in cognitive archaeology see Abramiuk 2012, 49–94, in particular 87.

'cultural transmission' I assume a process of transfer of information, in form of know-how, ideas, behaviours and other cultural contents between individuals or groups with different cultural backgrounds.[4] My contribution seeks to show how the semantic change of some ceramic forms relates to local cultural identities.[5] By 'cultural identity', I refer to the collective identities of the local communities, referring to the definition of social identity proposed by Hall (2012) as "the internalization within the individual of the knowledge that she or he belongs to a broader social group, along with the value and significance that are attached to such affiliation".[6] The change of meaning results from an interaction between globally or transregionally transmitted models and local cultural needs, which can be archaeologically detected by the analysis of the reconfigured function of objects within funerary goods.

Cultural Transmission and Change of Meaning

A precondition for cultural transmission is a contact between at least two individuals or group of individuals with different cultural backgrounds. Through this directed or undirected contact, some cultural contents (ideas, images, forms) may pass from an emittent to

a recipient.[7] The transmission is frequently mediated by people (agents of transmission) or circulating objects (vectors).[8] This process can be traced archaeologically just through its effects (phenomena). One can observe some phenomena of cultural transmission in material culture, in particular in the morphology of objects and in cultural behaviours, e.g. in choices related to consumption, in funerary rituals and in architectural designs.[9] This process involves many components: the knowledge of the models, the availability of people with an appropriate technical know-how to elaborate those, as well as the selection or manipulation of the symbolic value of the transmitted content.

For the study of these processes, I elaborated a model with three different modes of transmission: the simple, the reciprocate and the multivariate transmission (**fig. 1**).[10] A simple transmission follows a linear process, in which the content is transmitted by the emitter to a recipient. This simple transmission (**fig. 1a**) can be directed, if emitter and recipient had a contact, or undirected, if the process of transmission flows through other subjects which have a function of intermediation between emitter and recipient. In the case of mediation, the content of the transmission is very frequently modified. A reciprocal transmission (**fig. 1b**) consists in the transmission by the emitter to the recipient of some cultural contents, which are worked

---

4   Eerkens – Lipo 2007, 240–243; Ulf 2011a, 517.
5   I refer especially to the concept of cultural identity as dynamic construction of collective identity, as in Gruen 2011, 1–9, as well as a cohesive group within a network of individual plural identities, as in Ulf 2011b, 475–477. For the evolution of Italic identities at the end of the Romanisation process see Turfa 2011, 2. With the term Romanisation I mean here the process of adoption of Roman political institutions and Latin as an official language in Etruria, as following Terrenato 1998, 54. 94. For the role played by material culture in the construction of collective identity (an image that a group constructs to allow the identification of its members) see Versluys 2013, 431 with further bibliography.
6   Hall 2012, 351.

7   For the possibility of distinguishing different cultures in the ancient world see Ulf 2009, 82. For a synthesis of a model of cultural transmission flowing between emittents (called transmitters) and recipients see Ulf 2011a, 514.
8   On the mediators of transmission see Ulf 2009, 86. Agency theory is discussed by Ulf in his contribution (2011) 475f. For the role of objects and ideas as vectors see Ulf 2011a, 517.
9   On the choices related to architectural decoration see Maschek 2014.
10   Da Vela 2014, 18–20.

on by the recipient and, in a second moment, transmitted back to the emitter in their new form. A multivariate transmission does not have a unique emitter. Its contents have a large diffusion in the global dimension and are frequently defined as *koinè* phenomena. This kind of transmission is the result of repeated and frequent contacts between a large number of actors within a geographic area. Every actor becomes at the same moment emitter and recipient. A multivariate cultural transmission can be related to a homogeneous set of contents (one-mode multivariate transmission), or be transversal to different sets of contents (multi-level multivariate transmission) or cause a chain reaction (chain-reaction multivariate transmission). This form of transmission cannot occur without changing the transmitted object, because it results from an entanglement of different sources within them and with the culture of the recipient **(fig. 1c)**.

|	
	a. Simple (directed)
	a. Simple (mediated)
	b. Reciprocate
	c. Multivariate
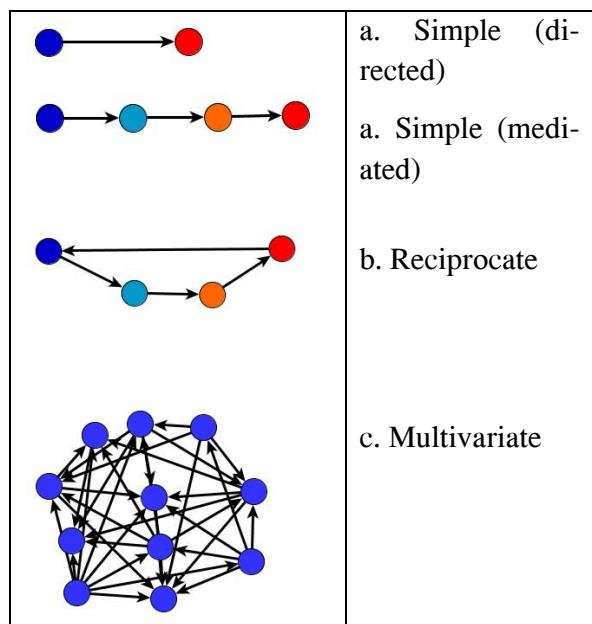
Fig. 1 Scheme of the modes of cultural transmission (model of the author. Graphic elaboration with the Software Visone 3.9.2. Emitters in blue, recipients in red, mediators in orange).

A change can affect morphological and/or semantic aspects of the transmitted content and is normally a response to a different know-how or cultural background, in the form of adaptation to new needs of the recipient culture, or in the form of innovation or selection.[11] A common form of this change is semantic, which can result from the interaction between the transmitted content and new uses by the recipient. This semantic change is analysed through three examples of transmission, related to the following classes of materials in Etruria: beaked *situlae*, *amphorae* and *lagynoi*. All of them can be referred to as multivariate transmission. Here I analyse the impact of multivariate cultural transmission on the change of meaning in the funerary use of these ceramic classes. The mode of the transmission is therefore important because it enables the condition of the change of meaning: a change of meaning is common in contents, which are transmitted in a multivariate mode, because this mode implicates a local re-elaboration of contents, transmitted by a plurality of emitters, with an high frequency of inputs.[12]

Change of function and change of meaning

The functions of these three vessel types in their funerary contexts can be detected through their association and position in the tomb, and as such their change of meaning

---

[11] I intentionally avoid the use of terms such as hybridisation and syncretism, because, as Ulf (2011a, 471) makes clear, there are no pure cultures which can be assumed as a starting point to evaluate such concepts.

[12] For the influence of the mode of transmission on the selection of the transmitted contents and in the speed of the transmission see Bettinger – Garvey – Tushingham 2015, 249–253. In my model, the multivariate transmission presents a higher frequency of contacts and consequently affects the speed and the intensity of the change.

in funerary ritual can be analysed. What is the relationship between change of function and change of meaning? In the case of grave goods, objects no longer have their uses in daily life but assume a symbolic meaning. In becoming a grave good, every object changes meaning. The distance of the function of the object from its function in the daily life of the reference culture describes the nature of the semantic change.

Each case study represents a different relationship between change of meaning and expression of identity. The first case, the beaked *situlae*, concerns the affirmation of a new social identity within the Etruscan culture. The second case, the funerary deposition of commercial *amphorae*, is related to the re-construction of the cultural identity in Apuanic Liguria.[13] The third case, the funerary use of *lagynoi*, regards the expression of a multilayer identity within a new multicultural society with a shared background.

I deal especially with the meaning of beaked *situlae* in funerary depositions because previous studies did not take the contexts of these objects into consideration.[14] The presence of beaked *situlae* in Hellenistic graves assumes a precise social connotation related to the upper social segment. Because the other two case studies are of materials that have been carefully studied in contexts and connotations,[15] I present selected examples only to compare their semantic changes in specific cultural contexts.

Change of meaning of beaked *situlae* and social connotations

The first case study suggests chronologically distinct patterns in the change of meaning of beaked *situlae* as grave goods in Hellenistic Etruria. These patterns imply a chronological and geographic oscillation in meaning, relating to the social position of the deceased and, consequently, to the communication system within the local communities. Beaked *situlae* are stamnoid or bell *situlae* with two parallel bridge-shaped handles. Both handles end in applique-figures.[16] One of these figures, in shape of a protome or two juxtaposed heads, forms a beak **(fig. 2)**. In correspondence with this beak, the body of the *situla* is carved as a filter.[17] Beaked *situlae* were produced in bronze, ceramic (in the production of silver-glazed and black-glazed pottery and in the overpainted Gnathia style) and, rarely, in lead. The form has a chronological range between the 4th and the 2nd century BCE.[18] The question of the origin of this form has generated a long discussion within the scientific community. The first beaked *situlae* were variously attributed to Apulian, Etruscan, Greek or Thracian potters.[19]

---

[13] By construction of cultural identity I mean the process of intentional differentiation through specific and repeated behaviours, reflected in archaeological material, see Izzet 2007, 210.

[14] See below n. 19.

[15] For *amphorae* see Maggiani 1979; Pieri 1997. For *lagynoi* see Sciarma 2005.

[16] The selection of the subjects is strongly limited: heads of lions, satyrs, slaves or Athena, as well as theatre masks.

[17] For this reason, Zahlhaas (1971, 97f.) suggests that these vases were used during banquets to pour wine.

[18] The chronological seriation of this form into different production classes was fixed by Gisela Zahlhaas (1971).

[19] Schröder (1914, 20f.) writes: „Die in Italien gefundenen Exemplare können griechische Importe, unteritalisch-griechische Fabrikation oder einheimische Nachahmung griechischer Ware sein. […] Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Griechen die Ihnen wohlgefällige Form von den Italikern übernommen, mit ihrem Formengefühl durchdrungen und mit griechischen Ornamenten überzogen haben". See also Hill 1965, 115–121. A discussion of the transmission of the model in Italy was advanced by Stéphanie Boucher (1973, 79–81; 85–96). In 1985

Fig. 2a–b a) Black-glazed beaked *situla* of the Volterran Workshop Malacena (De Puma 2013, 209 Fig. 6.47). **b) Overpainted beaked *situla* with decoration in Gnathia-style from Populonia** (after D. Zinelli, Situla a vernice nera sovra dipinta, in: Paolucci 2003, 63).

To examine the principal reasons for the change of meaning of beaked *situlae* in Etruria, I will analyse three geographic and cultural contexts: the coastal area, the territory of Volterra, and the internal zone of the Lake Trasimene **(fig. 3)**.

(1) In the coastal area, beaked *situlae* occur sporadically in the necropoleis of Caere, Populonia and Aleria; at Caere, in the necropolis of Banditaccia, a beaked *situla* with Gnathia decoration associated with local overpainted banquet ceramic of the 3rd century BCE.[20]

A circle indicates clay *situlae*; a square metallic *situlae*. The contexts before the Punic Wars are shown in red, during the Punic Wars in orange, and after the Punic Wars in green. This event caused a break in the social structures of the local communities.

1. San Gimignano, La Ripa; 2. Casole d'Elsa, Colonna; 3. Montepitti; 4. Populonia, S. Cerbone; 5. Populonia, Campo del Debbio; 6. Populonia, Poggio e Piano delle Granate; 7. Perugia, Monte Luce; 8. Gioiella; 9. Sarteano, Pianacce; 10. Chiusi, Colle Lucioli; 11. Sarteano, Mulin Canale; 12. Todi; 13. Vetulonia, Costa Murata; 14. Roselle, Collina

Fig. 3 Distribution of beaked *situlae* in northern and central Etruria (both funerary and non-funerary contexts).

Milena Candela (1985, 24–71) proposed a revision of the chronology of this objects and gave a synthesis of the history of the studies. Her article sparked a reaction by Lili Byvanck-Quarels van Ufford (1986, 208–211), who proposed a Bithinic origin of the shape, in reference to her own article about the cultural influences between Etruria, Ionia and Bithinia related to the production of the bell *situlae* (Byvanck-Quarels van Ufford 1966). For a focus on the ceramic production in Gnathia style, see Schauenburg 1981, 462–488. A probable multivariate transmission *ante litteram* was suggested by Giuseppina Carlotta Cianferoni (1992, 15) describing the situlae of Populonia.

The particular significance of these grave goods lies in an inscribed black-glazed cup with a dedication in Greek. Such inscriptions are atypical of Etruscan funerary contexts, and their presence, in few cases, on the local ceramic of Caere has been related to a presence of immigrated people.[21] Com-

---

20 Tomb 356 in Ricci 1955, 846f. fig. 191, n. 16.

21 This inscription was a common dedication for black-glazed pottery and Genucilia plate in the Caeretan temple of Hera (Bellelli 2014, 286f.). The same inscription in Greek is attested in some Genucilia plates from Caere, which were

pared to other Etruscan funerary contexts,[22] the presence of a beaked *situla* in Gnathia style, probably imported from Apulia or Campania, could suggest a strong relationship between the choices of the family owner of the tomb, the family who owned the tomb and the south of Italy.

At Populonia, black-glazed *situlae* with overpainted decoration in Gnathia Style were found in the necropolis of Campo del Debbio,[23] while lead beaked *situlae*, associated with overpainted banquet ceramics in Gnathia style and other metallic goods of the banquet set, were laid in the necropoleis of S. Cerbone, Piano, and Poggio delle Granate, between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century BCE.[24] Two bronze beaked *situlae* were part of the grave goods of a rich isolated tomb in the necropolis of Montepitti,[25] associated with bronze strigils and a lead tiara with golden pendants, which has parallels exclusively in

southern Italy.[26] This tomb is attributed to the local agrarian aristocracy with commercial interests in the western Mediterranean.

At Aléria, a single family tomb, Tomb 53, contained beaked *situlae*, replicated in five exemplars.[27] The hypogeal chamber tomb was in use between the end of the 4th and the first quarter of the 3rd century BCE. The numerous associated grave goods were representative of Volterran production, in particular a *krater* of the Clusium-Volaterrae Group and *skyphoi* of the northern Group Ferrara T585, of south Etruscan (Torcop and Fantasma Group) and Campanian production. One of these *situlae* was associated with an overpainted *lebes gamikos* and gold jewellery. This tomb has a clear aristocratic connotation and refers to a social position justified by the commercial influence of the family. The presence of the *lebes gamikos* and of many objects, which are specific not just of the production, but also of the funerary culture of Volterra,[28] suggests an endogamic relationship between the owner of the tomb and the correspondent urban aristocracy. Further, we cannot exclude the possibility that the family itself had Volterran origins.[29]

(2) In the territory of cultural influence of Volterra itself, beaked *situlae* were found inland, in Valdelsa. This area is an interconnected region for Volterran trade and com-

---

attributed to Greeks (Colonna 2004, fig. 13, 94). The author refers the presence of this inscription in two other tombs (id., 77).

[22] For the deposition of vessels of the homeland in Etruscan tombs, where Campanian people were buried, see Benassai 2002, 525–540.

[23] At Campo del Debbio, a beaked *situla* in Gnathia-Stile was associated with overpainted ceramics made in south Etruria and a commercial *amphora*, in a tomb of the first half of the 3rd century BCE (De Agostino 1957, 46–50 figs. 62–72; Fedeli 1983, 353–356 n. 224; Costantini 2004, 167).

[24] S. Cerbone, Podere Casone: Tomb 2/1922 in Minto 1925, 347–366; De Agostino 1955/1956, 255–268; De Agostino 1958, 28–35, figs. 1–5; De Agostino 1961, 63–82; 85 n. 12. Piano delle Granate: Tomb b/1922, featuring a gold tiara in the grave goods, in Minto 1917, 71f. 80f.; De Agostino 1961, 96–102, figs. 33–42; Poggio delle Granate: in Minto 1917, 80f.; Cianferoni 1992, 20.

[25] The date of the necropolis is estimated at the second half of the 3rd century BCE or at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE.

[26] Falchi 1895, 334–338; Gamurrini 1895, 338; Minto 1943, 351f., n. 12–12b.

[27] Jehasse – Jehasse 1973, 269 n.752, Pl. 110 ; 270 n. 753; 281 n. 817, Pl. 110 ; 282 n. 818; 295 n. 899, Pl. 129.

[28] As the *krater* of the Clusium-Volaterrae Group and the *skyphoi* of the Ferrara T585 Group.

[29] The presence of immigrated Volterran families, based on the association of the grave goods and on the choice of cinerary urns, has been suggested in other coastal centres, e.g. Castiglioncello: Massa 2000, 50f.; Vada Volterrana: Ciacci 2000, 71–88. Rocca Pannocchieschi: Ciacci 2000, 71–88.

mercial interests, with links to the south, in the direction of the Trasimenic area, as well as to the east towards the territory of Fiesole. Two necropoleis in this geographical cross-roads present bronze beaked *situlae* as grave goods. Unfortunately, they are both without context: one was found at Cellole (San Gimignano),[30] the other one at Colonna (Casole d'Elsa).[31] Both *situlae* can be related to local aristocratic families from Volterra or with endogamic connections to this city. The power of these families is often related to agrarian possession, which may be deduced from the position of their funerary monuments: huge tumuli, isolated in the countryside, with a strong symbolic tie to the land.[32] The presence of these bronze *situlae*, with a Mediterranean distribution, therefore suggests the possibility that these aristocracies represented themselves with symbols of commercial power and activity. In this case, the change of meaning is realised within the symbol of consumption of wine in the banquet and does not correspond to a shift in the function of the *situlae*.

The traditional semantic system of the upper class assumes a new level of stratification here. The deposition of "exotic" rich objects is not just a means of affirming the social position and the power of the deceased and his family, but it becomes a way to indicate maritime trade as source of this role and power. Through the choice of beaked *situlae*, these families express their sense of belonging to a new aristocracy which appeared in Volterra in the first half of the 3rd century BCE and which based its power on a well-planned economic network in the western Mediterranean and along the inland routes towards Rome. The new aristocracy regenerated itself through intermarriages with the local middle classes and gained acceptance and support from aristocratic families who fled from the Po Valley because of the pressure of Celtic peoples.[33]

(3) In inland Etruria, the territory around the Lake Trasimene presents the highest frequency of beaked *situlae* in funerary contexts, with some parallels in the near Umbria, e.g. in the Peschiera necropolis of Todi, one of the richest necropoleis of the Hellenistic Umbria, where the grave goods present an high quantity of gold jewellery in association with Etruscan vessels.[34] At Perugia, Tomb 1 of the necropolis of Monteluce contains a bronze beaked *situla*, in a context dated between the second half of the 4th century BCE and the beginning of the 3rd.[35] On the other side of the Lake Trasimene, some contexts with beaked *situlae* are preserved in the surrounds of Chiusi, in two necropoleis which are related to a new form of occupation of the land, the dispersal agricultural settlements, founded in the empty countryside during the Punic Wars.[36] In the necropolis of Gioiella, Le Vigne, with a dating between the second half of the 3rd and the second half of the 2nd century BCE, a burial recess contained a bronze beaked *situla*, which was associated with an alabas-

---

[30] The totality of the grave goods is here referred to banquet and symposium in Chigi 1880, 243; Ragazzini 2013, 1–79.
[31] Chigi Zondadari 1877, 302; Acconcia 2012, 32 n. 96.
[32] Luhmann 1998, 695–697. Giulierini 2011, 149.

[33] Maggiani 2007, 156–158.
[34] Tomb VI in Candela 1985, 29 n. 22. The tomb is the richest of the city and can be connected to the local nobility. In these grave goods, a materialisation of the beaked *situlae* as symbolic object gives some hints regarding the social and economic role of their consumers, as in DeMarrais – Castillio – Earle 1996, 17f.; Earle 1997, 144.
[35] Paoletti 1923, 25–38.
[36] Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 177; Giulierini 2011, 151; Salvadori 2014, 64. Both necropoleis have tombs in the form of a long *dromos* with a certain number of independent burial recesses (*loculi*-tomb).

ter urn and a bronze flask.[37] Two other contexts in the territory of Chiusi belong to the necropolis of Sarteano, with chamber tombs of the 3rd and 2nd century BCE. Here, the burial recesses in the *dromoi* were assigned to depositions of people belonging to the households of noble families.[38] A bronze beaked *situla* was found in the necropolis of Pianacce,[39] and a second one in the necropolis of Mulin Canale.[40]

The most interesting example of change of use and consequently of semantic change for *situlae* concerns an exemplar of the Cambi Collection, unfortunately out of context, but clearly distinct in its function, thanks to the remains of cremation conserved within (**fig. 4**).[41] The large clay beaked *situla*, which imitated some Volsinian examples in silver-ceramic,[42] served as a cinerary vase. The new function of the object implies a change of meaning, reflected in its morphological aspects. The spout is atrophic and loses its primary function because the inside strainer is missing and the relief header assumes a mere decorative function. In this case, the cultural transmission of the form of the beaked *situla* affected both the change of meaning and correlated morphological change of the object, in the process of its (re)production. A grave good connected to a specific function in the ritual of symposium of the upper class thus became a cinerary urn. The specific Etruscan background for this choice could be a reason of this change

of meaning because the use of *krater* as a cinerary vase is common in Etruria in the first Hellenistic period.[43]
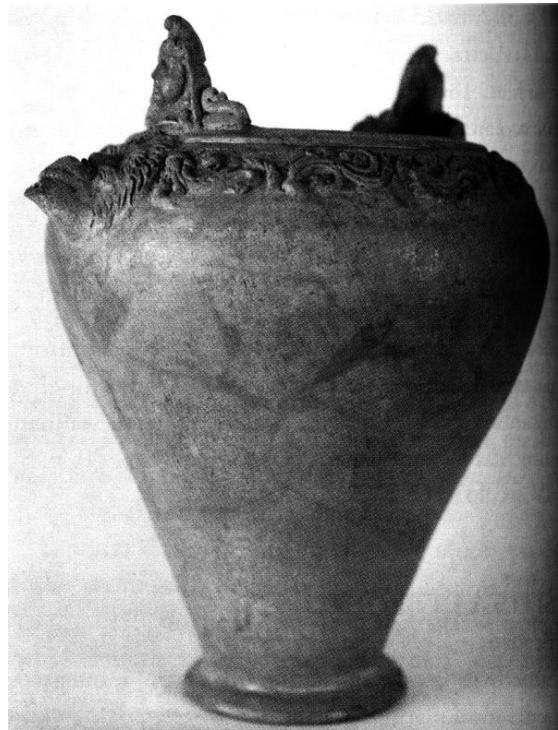
Fig. 4 *Situla* from the collection Cambi (from G. Paolucci, Situla, in: Paolucci 2003, 62).

To summarise, in a first phase, at the end of the 4th and in the first half of the 3rd century BCE, these *situlae* in bronze or in the clay version in Gnathia style were a prerogative of elite behaviours of the upper social layers, connoted as an agrarian and commercial aristocracy in the territory of Volterra and Perugia and in the coastal cities. The production centres of bronze *situlae* were probably located in Central Etruria, but they had strong formal contacts with the Mediterranean production, Macedonian in particular,[44] while clay *situlae* were imported from Apulia, with Campanian intermediaries, or were

---

[37] Burial recess nr. 4 of the Tomb 8 in Ponzi Bonomi 1977, 107f.

[38] For this conceptualisation of household and family in pre-modern societies see Luhmann 1998, 697–700. For the social position of the loculi-tombs see Salvadori 2014, 70.

[39] Tomb 7 in Minetti 2008a, 125–136; Minetti 2008b, 557–561; Minetti 2012.

[40] Minetti 1997, 90 fig. 92.

[41] Paolucci 2003, 62.

[42] For the silver-ceramic beaked *situlae* of Volsinii see Candela 1985, 54.

[43] E.g. the *kelebai* (Pasquinucci 1968). About the use of *situlae* as cinerary vase see Giuliani Pomes 1954, 150f.

[44] It may be possible to suggest a migration of artists or artisans from Macedonia or Apulia.

locally imitated.[45] In many cases, bronze beaked *situlae* had a strong social connection to the personal and geographic mobility of aristocratic families. In this first phase, beaked *situlae* functioned both as a grave goods and cinerary vases, with this last association seeming to be a semantic assimilation with the local tradition of cinerary *kraters*.

In a second phase, between the second half of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BCE, the beaked *situla* became a status symbol for new social elements, which expressed themselves as part of the upper social layer. This new social segment is the result of a social mobility of immigrated elements and of rich families of the "middle class", which were incorporated into the old aristocracies, probably attempting to conserve their existence in the critical period of the Punic Wars.[46] The ceramic beaked *situlae* presented, in this second phase, reduced dimensions and they exclusively functioned as banquet vessels for mixing wine. One can suppose that the importation of Gnathia *situlae* produced in south Italy into coastal centres contributed to a standardisation of their meaning within Etruscan grave goods. In this second phase, some importations of metallic *situlae* from Campania as replacements of the local dismissed productions can be related to the conservative nobility, in the function of self-representation. Their position within the grave goods of the old aristocracy maintains a convivial connotation as reinforcement of the traditional values, linked with the banquet as a cohesive social ritual of the upper layers, as well as being an important element of the funerary ideology.[47]

In conclusion, the formal changes of beaked *situlae* relate to changes in function and meaning, and serve mostly to express a particular social identity in the phase of regeneration of the upper social layers.

In this first case study, the change in meaning assumes an intercultural function, namely to connect members of Italic and Etruscan elites, as well as a cohesive function within the Etruscan society, performing the dynamics of emulation and distinction between lower and upper social segments.

Change of meaning of *amphorae* in funerary contexts and the re-construction of cultural identity

The second case study proposes the semantic change's dependence on the cultural background of the recipients of the cultural transmission, through the analysis of the role of commercial *amphorae* in the funerary assemblages of the northern Etruscan communities, in comparison with their role in the funerary contexts of neighbouring Apuanic Ligurian settlements.

In Etruscan Hellenistic funerary contexts, the deposition of Greco-Italic, Corinthian or Punic *amphorae*[48] as grave goods is common to coastal and inland centres **(fig. 5)**.[49]

---

[45] Imported from Tarent or Campania and their local imitations (Bruni 1992, 68).

[46] For the social mobility in the upper social stratum as an autopoietic character if the aristocracy see Luhmann 1998, 697f.

[47] I refer here to the usage of funerary banquets and the numerous representations of banquets in the Otherworld. See Santoro 1985, 36; Camporeale 2000, 177–179.

[48] Tarquinia, Calvario: Tomb 842 in Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996, 49–91; Sarteano, La Palazzina in Minetti – Rastrelli 2001.

[49] E.g. in the Trasimenic area (Chiusi, Poggio Renzo in Levi 1932/1933, 14–32; Città della Pieve, Butarone Alto in Bruschetti 1993, 440–450; Montepulciano, Martiena in Paolucci 2001, 51–88; Sarteano, La Palazzina: Minetti – Rastrelli 2001); in coastal centres (Castglioncello, Pian dei Lupi; Castiglioncello, via Tripoli e Asmara in Gambogi – Palladino 1999, 108–

Fig. 5 Commercial *amphorae* in funerary context in Etruria and Apuanic Liguria (based on Google Earth. *Amphorae* as wine containers are marked with a white circle, *amphorae* as a cinerary urn containers with a red circle).

158; Livorno in Arbeid 2009, 231f.; Populonia, S. Cerbone: Tombs 1/1908, 1924-25, 26/1908, 27/1908, 32/1908 in Milani 1908, 200–203; Minto 1925, 366–370; Populonia, Campo del Debbio in Costantini 2004, 167; Populonia, Le Grotte: Tombs 1/1965, 2/1965, 8/1965, 9/1965, Tombs μ, 13, 14, in Romualdi – Settesoldi 2009, 50–65 ; Populonia, Piano e Poggio delle Granate: Tombs 1/1915, 2/1915, b/1922 in Minto 1917, 71f. 80f.; Minto 1923, 146f.; Vada, Il Poggetto: Tomb C in Massa 1974, 31–74) at Volterra and in its territory (Badia Montebradoni: Tomb 61/13 in Fiumi 1972, 100–106. Il Portone: Tombs 1970/O in Cristofani 1973, 271; Tomb n/1874 in Cinci 1874, 231–236; San Gimignano, La Ripa: Cellole tb. Alfa 1959 in Caputo et. Al. 1959, 222f.; Sovicille, Poggio Luco: Tombs 16, 17 in Acconcia 2012, 84) and with a larger chronological range (350–100 BCE) at Tarquinia (Necropolis del Calvario: Tombs 842, 1577, 1588, 1686, 1718, 1786, 5430, 5433, 5434, 5612, 6100 in Cavagnaro Cagnoni 1996; at Castel d'Asso in Colonna – Di Paolo Colonna 1970, 224. 245).

They are frequently associated with banquet sets, in a primary relation with their use as a transport and storage wine-vase. A secondary meaning can indicate the wish of the family of the deceased to reference a familiar tradition in Mediterranean commerce or the assumption of the lifestyles of the Italic upper social layers as the consumers of high-quality wine from specific regions. This last meaning is suggested by the depositional associations in the coastal centres.[50]

In Etruria, *amphorae* are used as cinerary vases only in exceptional cases, and this use was probably related to some particular meaning, as in the Tomb 6093/50 of the necropolis of Fondo Scataglini at Tarquinia **(fig. 6)**.

[50] In particular in the necropolis of Populonia, Le Grotte, where the graves belong to the commercial "middle-class" and to some group of Volterran origin living into the coastal centre (Romualdi 1992, 200; Romualdi 2009, 14f.).
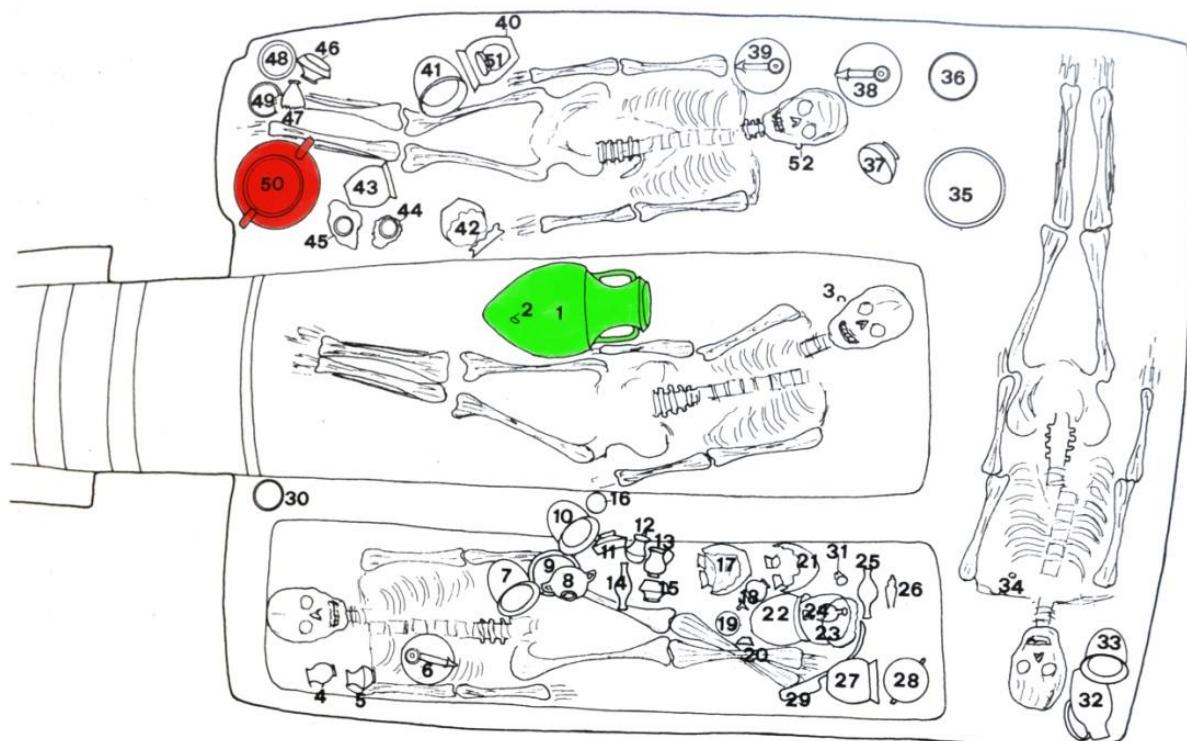
Fig. 6 *Amphorae* as cinerary urn and *coenotaphium* in the Tomb 6093/50 of the Fondo Scataglini in Tarquinia (Cavagnaro Vanoni 1986, fig. 116, 338).

This chamber tomb was topographically isolated and had an exceptional character within the necropolis. Four deceased individuals were buried with an inhumation ritual, and three with a cremation ritual; their ashes were deposited in two *ollae* and an *amphora*. All three cremated were adult males. The cinerary Etruscan *amphora* was placed near the feet of an inhumed female. The peculiarity of this tomb is the presence of a second *amphora* as a grave good of another female inhumation, which was positioned in the central corridor. This *amphora* was of a Greco-Italic type, while the cinerary *amphora* was Etruscan and contained a jasper scarab with an engraving of two fighting knights (*equites*). The grave goods allow this tomb to be dated in the range of 325–190 BCE.[51] The position of the two *amphorae* with respect to the female and the

unique case of deposition of the scarab suggests the use as a cinerary urn of a male who died far away.[52] The second *amphora*, locally produced, would in this case be a *coenotaphium* for a member of the family, with a semantic extension of its funerary meaning.

A different situation, the consequence of a new social assessment, can be seen in the Bruscalupo and Paradiso necropoleis of the agricultural centre of Vaiano, near Chiusi **(fig. 5)**. The settlement, which was founded anew after the Punic Wars, had a multicultural connotation, as indicated by the linguistic and prosopographic aspects of the funerary inscriptions.[53] The complexity in

---

[51] Tomb 6093/50 in Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996, 336–348.

[52] The two knights depicted on the scarab could suggest this male's role in the upper class as well as the occasion of his death in military action.

[53] See above. The multicultural connotation is confirmed by epigraphic and prosopographic sources, as in Benelli 2009a, 154; Benelli 2009b, 307.

the perception of cultural identities within the local communities is reflected in the use of commercial *amphorae* as cinerary vases, in changeover with local urns in the necropolis of Bruscalupo and their traditional use as a grave goods in the nearby necropolis of Paradiso, where the intentional break of their handle recalls the traditional local use for the defunctionalisation of biconic and canopic urns.[54]

In conclusion, in Etruria, the deposition of *amphorae* in funerary contexts had a variable meaning, with strong emphasis on its function as a wine container in aristocratic banquets. Their use as a cinerary vase appears as a social phenomenon just after the Punic Wars, in new multicultural settlements.

A picture of this shift of meaning in the funerary deposition of commercial *amphorae* and of its relationship with the construction of the cultural identity emerges from the comparison of their function in the Apuanic Ligurian necropoleis,[55] with their role in the northern Etruscan necropoleis at the frontier territories with Ligurian.[56] The presence of a mixed form of burials in these northern Etruscan centres shows, that people with different proveniences and cultural backgrounds were living together in the local communities.[57]

In the late Ligurian culture, between the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, several burials have

Greco-Italic *amphorae* that were cut and reused to contain cinerary *olla* (**fig. 7**), while in the neighbouring land of Etruria, Greco-Italic *amphorae* were deposited as grave goods in relation to the consumption of wine in the symposium.
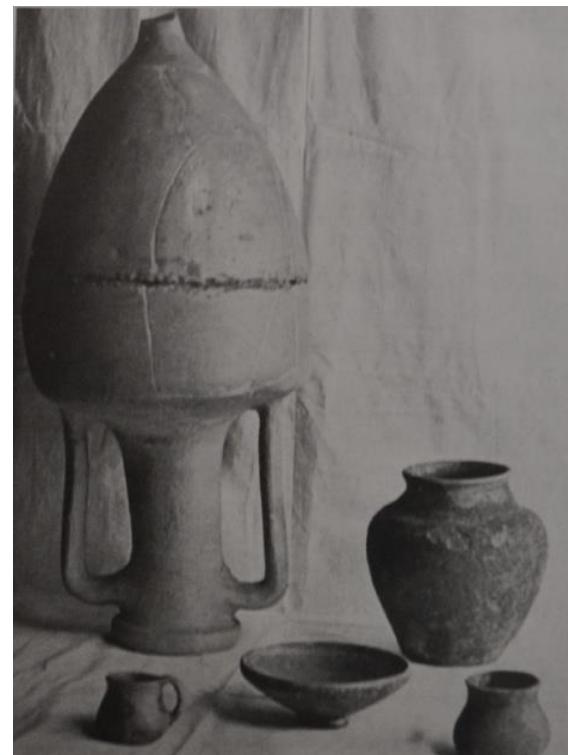
Fig. 7 Apuanic Ligurian burials with cut *amphora* as a container of the cinerary vase (fig. 7a from Maggiani 2013, fig. 1, 250. Fig. 7b author's photograph from the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Villa Guinigi, Lucca, Tomb from Marlia di Ponticello, 170–130 BCE. Authorisation of the Soprintendenza per le Belle Arti e il Paesaggio per le Province di Lucca e Massa Carrara, depository of image rights).

---

[54]   Vaiano, Bruscalupo in Gamurrini 1891a, 223–231; Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, c.413f.; Pagnotta 1984, 41–46; Vaiano, Paradiso: Fiorelli 1876, 52f.

[55]   For general references concerning the Apuanic Ligurian and the relationship between material culture and ancient sources see Maggiani 2004, 369–371.

[56]   S. Miniato, Fontevivo in Ciampoltrini 2014; Scandicci, Olmo in Rastrelli 2002, 128f.

[57]   Maggiani 1979, 99f.; Maggiani 2013, 233–249.

This burial form appeared in Liguria in several necropoleis in a changeover from the traditional chest of stone-plates, and has been frequently interpreted as a consequence of the cultural contact between Ligurian communities and Roman colonies.[58] The result is a renewal of the traditional burial ritual, in which the principal local choices (incineration, cinerary *olla* protected by a cist, deposition of intentionally broken weapons, Celtic fibulae) are carefully preserved. The cut *amphora* as a clay-cist gradually became a distinct element of some social layers within the Ligurian culture of the period, particularly the frontier zone with Etruria in the communities settled north of river Arno. The introduction of *amphorae* and of their content in the lifestyle of the upper Ligurian classes has been related to their contact with Roman and Etruscan elites.[59] Their secondary use as funerary cist can be instead interpreted as a marker of the construction of a new Apuanic Ligurian cultural identity.[60] We could consider, e.g., the grave goods of two frontier communities, at Bizzarrino and at San Miniato, Fonte Vivo **(fig. 5)**. The choices of the local families in relation to their cultural identities are properly indicated in the function of the *amphorae* in their graves. In the necropolis of Bizzarrino,[61] the *amphora* has the functional connotation of the Ligurian necropolis of the near Valle del Serchio (as Marlia and Bizzarrino: fig. 5); for the necropolis of S. Miniato Fonte Vivo, southern of river Arno, this use can be only supposed.[62] The connotations of the funerary goods are closely similar to these of the proximate Etruscan tombs of the northern *ager Volaterranum*. Both communities occupied an area displaying cultural exchanges, intercultural marriages and intense commercial contacts.[63] The funerary *amphorae* became an element of distinctive identification with respect to the Etruscan families of Volterra, settled on the same territory, who deposited this vase as part of the banquet set **(fig. 8)**.[64]

---

[58] The use of this container was therefore unusual in the local tradition before the foundation of Luni (Maggiani 1979, 99f.; Pieri 1997, 39).

[59] This change has been noted in the food habits of this classes (Menchelli 2007, 189f.).

[60] A construction which relates to only some social layers within the Apuanic Ligurian communities.

[61] Maggiani 1979, 100.

[62] Ciampoltrini 2014, 34 with references.

[63] Maggiani 2013, 236–243.

[64] A nearby geographical area in the same chronological range (second half of the 3rd – first half of the 2nd century BCE), the necropoleis of the Greek colony of Ampurias, which was an *emporion* with a multicultural footprint (at least Greek, Iberian and Phoenician), shows a third distinct use of *amphorae* in funerary context: Greco-Punic and locally produced *amphorae* are used exclusively as a grave case in the inhumation ritual of children. In this case, the function, formally close to the Ligurian example, is not specially connected to the construction or the distinction of local identity because their use in the necropoleis continues a local tradition consolidated since the Archaic period (Almagro 1953; Bonjoan: Tombs 49 and 68 in Almagro 1953, 147. 202. Granada: Tomb 14 in Almagro 1953, 224. 245. Archaic children graves in *amphora*: necropolis of Martí, tbs. 1. 2, 47; tbs. 12. 13, 51; tb. 18, 54; tb. 42, 67; tbs. 68. 69. 70, 78; tbs. 88. 89, 89; tb. 93, 91; tb. 106, 98; tbs. 114. 115, 105; tbs. 119. 120, 106; tb.123, 107; tbs. 124. 125, 108; tbs.127. 128, 109).

Fig. 8 Apuanic Ligurian and northern Etruscan funerary contexts with commercial *amphorae* (based on Google Earth. *Amphorae* as wine-containers are marked with a white circle; *amphorae* as cinerary-urn cists with a red circle).

To summarise these observations on the change of meaning in the cultural transmission of *amphorae* in funerary context, a semantic shift to cinerary urn or to a constitutional part of the cinerary monument could reflect the desire of local communities to identify themselves through specific and distinct behaviours. During the late Hellenistic period, Ligurian upper social segments attempted to reconstruct their cultural identities by reworking the function of *amphorae* in funerary context.[65]

Change of meaning of *lagynoi* and the construction of a multicultural identity

The third case study compares the function and the meaning of *lagynoi* in selected late-Hellenistic funerary contexts in Central Italy, to emphasise the relationship between cultural transmission, the following semantic change and the sense of cultural identity of local communities. My argument rests on the new position of the *lagynoi* in the graves of settlements with a high presence of Italic elements, where these vessels play a significant role for the commemoration rituals at the tomb.

---

[65] I refer in particular to the wish to create a new cultural tradition within the Ligurian elites as a „normative instrument, to be used as a survival strategy for cultural identity in time of crisis" (Versluys 2013, 431).

A meaning of the *lagynoi* is connected with wine and the cult of Dionysus,[66] frequently attested in south of Italy,[67] as in the necropo-

belong to south and central Etruria, in particular to Tarquinia,[73] Chiusi and its *ager*, e.g. in the Barcaccia Tomb,[74] in the Mar-
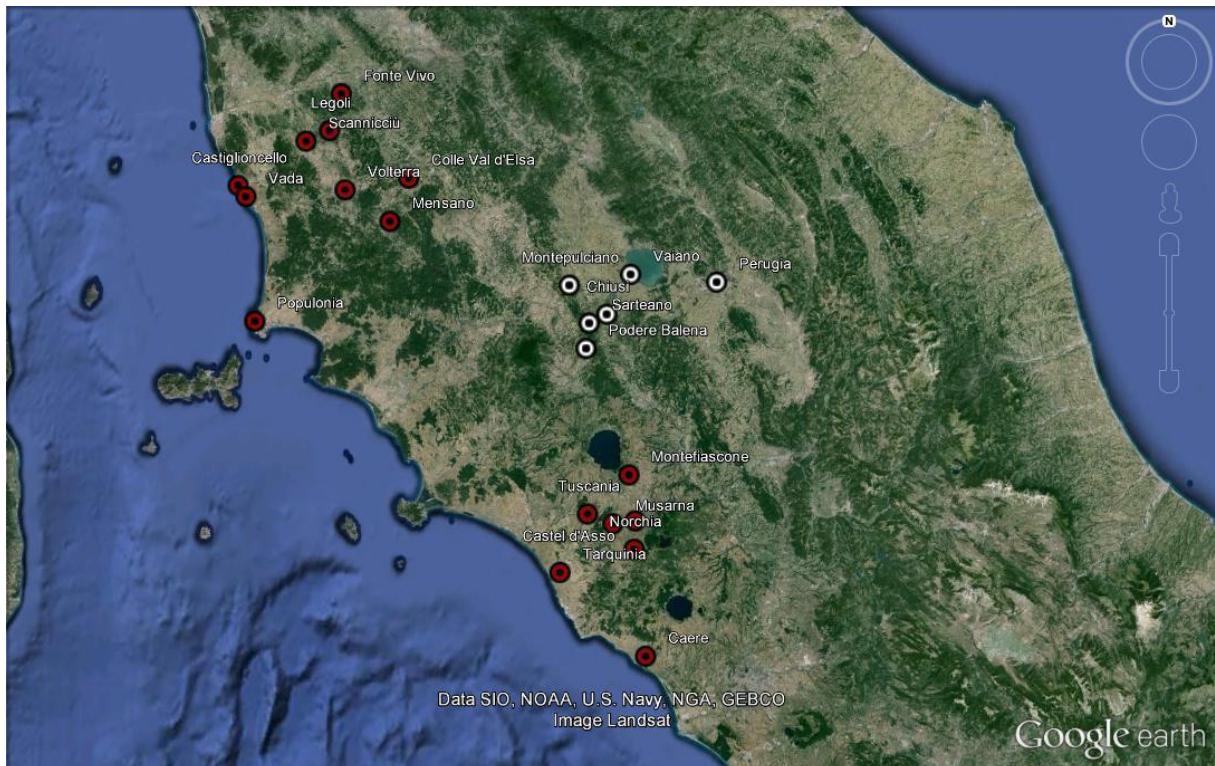
Fig. 9 Distribution of *lagynoi* in Etruscan funerary contexts (based on Google Earth. *Lagynoi* featured as part of the banquet set are marked with a red circle; *lagynoi* as a ritual vessel in the commemoration, with a white circle).

leis of Tarent,[68] Arpi,[69] Metapontum,[70] Herakleia,[71] Tursi and in the northern coastal Picene community on the Adriatic, e.g. at Ancona.[72]

Lagynoi are present in several Etruscan funerary contexts between the 3rd and the 1st century BCE, were they are part of the banquet set, probably functioning as wine vessels, as suggested by the worldly uses of the grave goods **(fig. 9)**. The earliest examples

cianella necropolis,[75] at Montepulciano, Martiena,[76] at Sarteano Mulin Canale,[77] in the grave chamber with *loculi* in the *dromos* of Le Palazze,[78] and in the tomb with *loculi* of La Paccianese.[79] Grave good assemblages with *lagynoi* pertain frequently to local

---

66 See Pierobon 1979 with references.
67 Sciarma 2005, 227–231.
68 Tarent Tombs in Hempel 2001, 168–216.
69 Ipogeo delle anfore in Mazzei 1995, 157.
70 Necropolis of Crucinia, Tomb 324 in De Siena 1993, 126–135.
71 Tombs 92. 119. 608 and 13 in Giardino 1993, 152–168, and Tomb G of S. Maria d'Anglona in the *chora* in Bianco 1993, 197–207.
72 Mercando 1976, 160–176.

73 Tarquinia, necropolis del Calvario: Tombs 752. 842. 1588. 1686. 1718. 1786. 5430. 5433. 5434. 5512. 5521. 5612. 6093 in Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996, 29–348.
74 The tomb, dated between the end of the 3rd century and the first quarter of the 2nd century BCE presents a rich funerary deposition with many imports from Volterra. See Paolucci – Mintetti 2000, 212; Albani 2004/2005, 60–63; Albani 2010, 63–85.
75 Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, 315–333.
76 Paolucci 2001, 51–88.
77 Minetti 1997, 90–102.
78 Minetti – Paolucci 2010, 40–50.
79 Martelli 2007, 424–430.

families, as indicated by the numerous funerary inscriptions on urns, and on the tiles which locked the *loculi*. Through the prosopographic analysis of these contexts, it is possible to link the presence of *lagynoi* with an Italic character of the local communities, which had become part of the local elite through targeted marriage strategies. In particular, the presence in these tombs of family names as *Umrana*, *Herini* and *Latini* attest to this renewal of the local aristocracy.[80]

In central Italy, particularly in Etruria and Umbria, there was a gradual evolution in the use of the *lagynoi*: in the chamber tomb of *Cai Cutu* in the necropolis of Monte Luce of Perugia, the deposition of *lagynoi* seems to follow a precise ritual, in connection with cinerary urns **(fig. 10)**.[81] In the organisation of the space inside of this articulated chamber tomb, several tuff stone urns of the family member were deposed on the benches, and *lagynoi* were left in front of them as well as *unguentaria* and strigils, sometime directly touching the urn. In comparison with south Italian and earlier Etruscan contexts, a fixed recurrence in their position suggests the possibility of a codified ritual use.

The possibility of a secondary deposition of *lagynoi* in later Etruscan contexts is also suggested by their position in grave corridors, e.g. in the tomb 5433 of the Calvario necropolis in Tarquinia, also, in this case, associated with *unguentaria*.[82] In the inland necropolis of Castel d'Asso, their meaning as a last present for the dead is indicated by

their deposition on the sarcophagus and not inside[83] or at the centre of the grave cellar.[84]
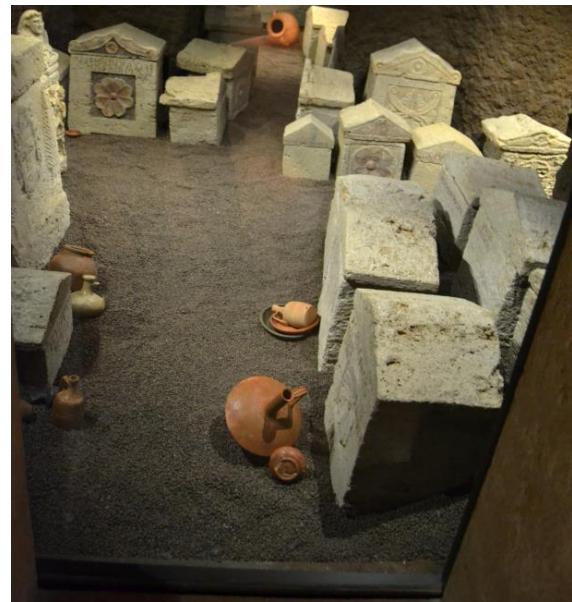
Fig. 10 *Lagynoi* in front of the cinerary urns in the Tomb of *Cai Cutu* in the Necropolis of Monteluce, Perugia (author's photograph of the reconstructed context in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Perugia. Authorisation of the Polo Museale dell'Umbria, depository of image rights).

The change of meaning can be analysed in the necropoleis of the Trasimenic area with *loculi*-graves. The recent publication concerning Podere Balena **(fig. 9)**, where several inscriptions were incised on the burial-tiles, permits assigning the social level of the owner of the *loculi* and the general structure of the relate society[85] as well as the ritual deposition of the *lagynoi*. In the necropolis the *lagynoi* were always deposited into the *dromos*, outside of the burial recess, in standing position, sometime in contact with the closing tile **(fig. 11)**. This placement, interpreted as the ritual closure of the tomb[86], could be a commemoration, as sug-

---

[80] Benelli 2009b, 303–322; Benelli 2012, 303–322; Berrendonner 2001/2002, 67–78.

[81] Feruglio 2002, 475–495.

[82] Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996, 200–207.

[83] E.g. in Grave 27a in Colonna – Di Paolo Colonna 1970, 201f.

[84] E.g. in Grave 34 in Colonna – Di Paolo Colonna 1970, 216.

[85] Maggiani 2014, 51–57; Salvadori 2014, 69f.; Shepherd 2014, 36–41.

[86] Faralli 2014, 43f.

gested by the later chronology of the *lagynoi* in comparison with the grave goods and the urns inside the related *loculi* **(fig. 12)**.[87]
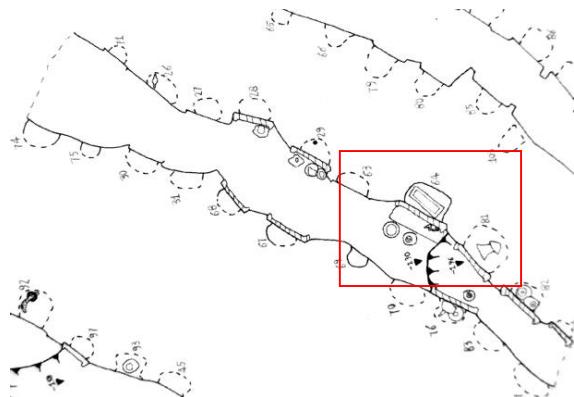

Fig. 11 Position of the *lagynoi* in the *dromos*-Tomb 4 of the necropolis Podere Balena (Siena) (Tuci 2014, attached plate).

Fig. 12 *Lagynoi* in front of the closing-tile of the burial recesses 76 and 29 of the *dromos*-Tomb 4 (Faralli 2014, figs. 20. 43).

This change in the use and meaning of *lagynoi* in the Etruscan communities is not homogeneous throughout the region, but it is a local, circumscribed, subregional phenomenon. Within the same chronological range, in the inland communities the *lagynoi* assume a specific ritual function; in the *ager Volaterranus* and in the coastal area they maintain their primary meaning as a banquet

vessel,[88] e.g. in the tomb of Legoli (Pisa), where they were deposited on the funerary bench with black-glazed *oinochoai*, *kylikes*, cups and *paterae,*[89] as well as in the urban necropolis of Volterra, Il Portone,[90] in the coastal necropolis of Vada,[91] and in the necropoleis of Castiglioncello, villa Patrone,[92] and Populonia, Piano delle Granate.[93]

In this third case study, the change of meaning seems to be linked with a specific new cultural context, located in the agricultural area of Chiusi and in the surrounding of Lake Trasimene. Here, the change of meaning of the *lagynos* in funerary ritual corresponds to a modification in the organisation of the local communities and with the integration or interaction in an Etruscan cultural area of non-local elements of population, as attested by the numerous inscriptions.[94] The change of meaning, in this case, performs the construction of a multicultural collective identity through a new and shared form of the funerary ritual, assumed by Etruscan, non-Etruscan and intercultural families.[95]

---

[87] E.g. in the tomb *dromos* 4, burial recess 29, where a black-glazed cup inside the recess is dated to the second quarter of the 2nd century BCE and the *lagynoi* can be dated in the first half of the 1st century BCE.

[88] For a catalogue of the associations between *lagynoi* and wine sets at Volterra and in its *ager,* see Sciarma 2005, 253–256, fig. 36.

[89] Bruni 1999a; Bruni 2004; Bruni 2008c; Levi 1931, 512; Michelucci 1979, 83.

[90] Portone, Luoghino: Tomb n/1874, in a context with black-glazed ceramic imported from Cales (Cinci 1874, 231–236). Also attested at Tomb R/1971, within a rich good grave composition of banquet vases dated to the end of the 2nd century and including a coin of Mamertini (Cristofani 1975, 25–31).

[91] In assosciation with a pitch and *unguentaria*: Massa 1974, 31–74.

[92] Tomb I in Massa 1974, 25–31.

[93] Tomb 3/1915 in Minto 1917, 72f.; Romualdi 1985, 186f.

[94] Maggiani 2014, 51–57.

[95] For a cross-cultural analysis of the formation of shared funerary culture in multicultural settings see Petersen 2011, 172–175.

Change of meaning and cultural identity

A consequence of the cultural transmission is a selection and/or reconfiguration of the meaning of objects. The analysed case studies have shown a strong relationship between this semantic change and the construction of collective cultural identities. In the first case study, the change of meaning of beaked *situlae* is an expression of the upper social segments of the Etruscan society to underline its role within international cultural and economic contexts. In the case study of commercial *amphorae* in funerary contexts, the comparison between Etruscan and Ligurian behaviours indicates the potentiality of the intentional change of meaning for the definition and (re)construction of ethnic or local identities. During the unification of the economic and political system due to the process of Romanisation, the *amphorae* circulating in the supply chain are deposited in Etruscan tombs as elements of the banquet set, while in Apuanic Ligurian assemblages, the transport vessels are recycled as containers of cinerary urns. In the third case study, concerning the use of *lagynoi* in funerary ritual, the change of the role and of the semantic value of the object resulted from the coexistence of people with different cultural backgrounds. These people are living together and interacting in multicultural communities, the newly founded agricultural settlements around the Lake Trasimene. In their collective necropolis, the *lagynoi*, which were part of the banquet assemblage in the Etruscan tradition, were charged with an additional ritual function for the commemoration of the deceased.

In conclusion, a tendency exists for the semantic change of transmitted forms to preserve, perform or promote some aspects of the local identities. The morphology or the decorative themes of the objects were transferred by the cultural background of the emittents, while the function and the meaning of the objects themselves were reconfigured by the recipients, who had different needs and communicative intentions. The transformation of collective cultural identities, especially of local identities in relation with global phenomena, e.g. the process of unification of the institutional and economic structures under the hegemony of Rome, effected a change in the social role and value of objects. Under the pressure of the economic and political change, the change of meaning assumed a specific performative function for the (re)construction of the identities of local communities and of emerging social layers. The semantic shift became a part of the process of the negotiation of the local identities with the centralised identity affected by the Romanisation process.[96]

The study of the change of meaning of some contextualised classes of materials, as well as the comparison of their differences and similarities, permits a detection of different patterns of response to global challenges within local communities. The individuation of the reasons and the development of semantic changes become therefore a general and reliable category to analyse interactions within complex systems in their spatial and chronological dynamics.

---

[96] For this process of negotiation of identity, in particular in Umbria, see Wallace-Hadrill 2012, 376.

Acknowledgements

Bibliography

Acconcia 2012
  V. Acconcia, Paesaggi etruschi in terra di Siena. L'agro tra Volterra e Chiusi dall'età del Ferro all'età romana, BARIntSer 2422 (Oxford 2012)

Albani 2004/2005
  E. Albani, Due collezioni archeologiche private a Chiusi, AnnAcEtr 31, 2004/2005, 60–63

Albani 2010
  E. Albani, Tombe della Barcaccia 1 e 2 (Scavi 1911), in: Minetti – Paolucci 2010, 63–85

Almagro 1953
  M. Almagro, Las necrópolis de Ampurias I. Introducción y necrópolis Griegas: Monografías ampuritanas 3 (Barcelona 1953)

Abramiuk 2012
  M. A. Abramiuk , Concepts and Their Reconstruction in Cognitive Archaeology, in: M. A. Abramiuk, The Foundations of Cognitive Archaeology (Cambridge MA 2012) 49–94

Arbeid 2009
  B. Arbeid, Schede, in: S. Bruni (ed.), Alle origini di Livorno. L'età etrusca. L'età romana. Catalogo della mostra di Livorno (Firenze 2009) 199–236

Bellelli 20014
  V. Bellelli, Il "Tempio di Hera", in: F. Gaultier – L. Haumesser – P. Santoro – V. Bellelli – A. Russo Tagliente – R. Cosentino (ed.), Gli Etruschi e il Mediterraneo. La città di Cerveteri. Exhibition Catalogue Rome (Rome 2014) 286–287

Benassai 2002
  R. Banassai, Un cinerario campano a Perugia, AnnFaina 9, 2002, 525–540

Benelli 2009a
  E. Benelli, Alla ricerca delle aristocrazie chiusine, in: M.-L. Haack (ed.), Écritures, cultures, societés dans les nécropoles d'Italie ancienne, Atti del Convegno Parigi 2007 (Bordeaux 2009) 135–159

Benelli 2009b
  E. Benelli, La società chiusina tra la guerra annibalica e l'età di Augusto. Osservazioni archeologiche ed epigrafiche, Ostraka 18, 2009, 303–322

Benelli 2012
  E. Benelli, Matrimoni misti e identità in cambiamento. Chiusi da città etrusca a municipio romano, in: S. Marchesini (ed.), Matrimoni misti. Una via per l'integrazione tra i popoli. Mixed Marriages. A Way to Integration among Peoples. Acts of the Multidisciplinary International Convention of Verona – Trento 2011 (Trento 2012) 103–112

Berrendonner 2007
C. Berrendonner, La società di Chiusi ellenistica e la sua immagine. Il contributo delle necropoli alla cono-
scenza delle strutture sociali, EtrSt 10, 2007, 67–78

Bettinger – Garvey – Tushingham 2015
L. R. Bettinger – R. Garvey – S. Tushingham, Hunter-Gatherers. Archaeological and Evolutionary Theory
(New York 2015)

Bianchi Bandinelli 1925
R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Clusium. Ricerche archeologiche e topografiche su Chiusi e il suo territorio in età
etrusca, MonAnt 30 (Rome 1925)

Bianco 1993
S. Bianco, La Chora di Herakleia. Tursi, S. Maria d'Anglona, in: L. De Lachenal (ed.), Da Leukania a Lu-
cania. La Lucania centro-occidentale fra Pirro e i Giulio Claudii. Exhibition Catalog Venosa (Rome 1993)
197–207

Boucher 1973
S. Boucher, Trajets terrestres du commerce étrusque aux Ve et IVe siècle avant J.-C., RA 1973, 79–86

Bradley 2007
G. Bradley, Romanization: the End of Peoples of Italy?, in: G. Bradley – E. Isayev – C. Riva (eds.), Ancient
Italy. Regions without Boundaries (Exeter 2007) 295–322

Bruni 1992
S. Bruni, Le ceramiche con decorazione sovradipinta, in: A. Romualdi (ed.), Populonia in età ellenistica. I
materiali delle necropoli. Atti del Seminario di Firenze 1986 (Firenze 1992) 58–109

Bruni 1999
S. Bruni (ed.), Legoli. Un centro minore del territorio volterrano. Contributo allo studio del popolamento
etrusco nella media Val d'Era (Peccioli 1999)

Bruni 2004
S. Bruni, Archäologisches Museum Peccioli (Ospedaletto 2004)

Bruni 2008
S. Bruni (ed.), Museo Archeologico di Peccioli (Peccioli 2008)

Bruschetti 1993
P. Bruschetti, Recenti scoperte nel territorio chiusino orientale, in: G. Maetzke (ed.), La civiltà di Chiusi e
del suo territorio, Atti del XVII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici Chianciano Terme 28 maggio – 1 giu-
gno 1989 (Florence 1993) 439–450

Byvanck-Quarels van Ufford 1966
L. Byvanck-Quarels van Ufford, Quelques remarques sur les relations entre l'Ionie grecque, la Thrace et
l'Italie méridionale, BABesch 41, 1966, 34–49

Byvanck-Quarels van Ufford 1986
L. Byvanck-Quarels van Ufford, Réponse à l'étude "Situle a beccuccio. Origine e Diffusione" (1985), BA-
Besch 61, 1986, 208–211

Camporeale 2000
G. Camporeale, Gli Etruschi. Storia e Civiltà (Torino 2000)

Candela 1985
M. Candela, Situle metalliche e ceramiche a beccuccio nel IV e III sec. a.C. Origine e diffusione, BABesch
60, 1985, 24–71

Caputo u. a. 1959
G. Caputo – G. Monaco – F. Rittatore – M. Bizzarri – A. Talocchini, Rassegna degli scavi e delle scoperte, StEtr 27, 1959, 222–223

Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996
L. Cavagnaro Vanoni (ed.), Tombe tarquiniesi di età ellenistica. Catalogo di ventisei tombe a camera scoperte dalla Fondazione Lerici in località Calvario, Studia Archaeologica 82 (Rome 1996)

Chigi 1880
B. Chigi, Casole d'Elsa, NSc 1880, 243–246

Chigi Zondadari 1877
B. Chigi Zondadari, Casole in val d'Elsa, Comune di Colle val d'Elsa, Comune di Monteriggioni, Comune di Poggibonsi, Comune di Castellina in Chianti, Comune di Sinalunga, NSc 1877, 302–304

Ciacci 2000
A. Ciacci, Un bollo doliare etrusco da Rocchette Pannocchieschi, AnnSiena 21, 2000, 71–88

Ciampoltrini 2014
G. Ciampoltrini (ed.), Gli Etruschi a San Miniato. Gli scavi nell'area della cattedrale e il sepolcreto di Fonte Vivo a ottanta anni dalla scoperta (1934–2014) (Bientina 2014)

Cianferoni 1992
G. C. Cianferoni, I reperti metallici, in: A. Romualdi (ed.), Populonia in età ellenistica. I materiali delle necropoli. Atti del Convegno di Firenze 1986 (Florence 1992)

Cinci 1874
A. Cinci, Scavi di Volterra, BdI 1874, 229–236

Colonna 2004
G. Colonna, I Greci di Caere, AnnFaina 11, 2004, 69–94

Colonna – Di Paolo Colonna 1970
G. Colonna – E. Di Paolo Colonna, Castel d'Asso. Le necropoli Rupestri dell'Etruria meridionale (Rome 1970)

Costantini 2004
A. Costantini, Anfore greco-italiche, MatPop 3, 2004, 164–175

Cristofani 1973
M. Cristofani (ed.), Volterra, scavi 1969–1971, NSc 1973 Suppl.

Cristofani 1975
M. Cristofani, Volterra (Pisa). Scavi nella necropoli del Portone (1971). Tomba ellenistica, NSc 1975, 5–35

Da Vela 2014
R. Da Vela, Trasmissione culturale dall'Italia meridionale all'Etruria settentrionale in età ellenistica (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn 2014)

De Agostino 1955/1956
A. De Agostino, Nuovi contributi all'archeologia di Populonia, StEtr 24, 1955/1956, 255–268

De Agostino 1957
A. De Agostino, Populonia (Livorno). Scoperte archeologiche nella necropoli negli anni 1954–1956, NSc 1957, 1–52

De Agostino 1958
A. De Agostino, La nuova tomba a edicola a Populonia, StEtr 26, 1958, 27–35

De Agostino 1961
    A. De Agostino, Populonia (Livorno). Scoperte archeologiche nella necropoli negli anni 1957–60, NSc
    1961, 63–102

DeMarrais – Castillo – Earle 1996
    E. DeMarrais – L. J. Castillo – T. Earle, Ideology, Materialization and Power Strategies, Current Anthro-
    pology 37, 15–31

De Puma 2013
    R. D. De Puma (ed.), Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven 2013)

De Siena 1993
    A. De Siena, Metaponto, Crucinia, Necropoli urbana, in: L. De Lachenal (ed.), Da Leukania a Lucania. La
    Lucania centro-occidentale fra Pirro e i Giulio Claudii. Exhibition Catalog Venosa (Rome 1993) 126–135

Earle 1997
    T. Earle, How Chiefs Come to power. The Political Economy in Prehistory (Stanford 1997)

Eerkens – Lipo 2007
    J. W. Eerkens – C. P. Lipo, Cultural Transmission Theory and the Archaeological Record: Providing Con-
    text to Understanding Variation and Temporal Changes in Material Culture, JArchRes 15, 2007, 239–274

Falchi 1895
    I. Falchi, Campiglia Marittima. Di un'antica necropoli riconosciuta sull'alto di Monte Pitti, NSc 1895, 334–
    338

Faralli 2014
    S. Faralli, Aspetti del rito funerario nella necropoli di Balena, in: M. Salvini (ed.) Etruschi e Romani a San
    Casciano dei Bagni. Le Stanze Cassianensi (Rome 2014) 42–45

Fedeli 1983
    F. Fedeli, Populonia. Storia e territorio (Florence 1983)

Feruglio 2002
    A. E. Feruglio, La tomba dei Cai Cutu e le urne cinerarie perugine di età ellenistica, AnnFaina 9, 2002,
    475–496

Fiorelli 1876
    G. Fiorelli, Chiusi, NSc 1876, 35–36

Fiumi 1972
    E. Fiumi, Volterra. Gli scavi degli anni 1960–1965 nell'area della necropoli di Badia, NSc 1972, 52–136

Gambogi – Palladino 1999
    P. Cambogi – S. Palladino (eds.), Castiglioncello. La necropoli ritrovata. Cento anni di Scoperte e Scavi
    (1896–1897) (Rosignano 1999)

Gamurrini 1891
    G. F. Gamurrini, Castiglione del lago, di una necropoli etrusca scoperta in contrada Bruscalupo, NSc 1891,
    223–231

Gamurrini 1895
    G. F. Gamurrini, Di una iscrizione etrusca scoperta a Monte Pitti, Nsc 1895, 338–340

Giardino 1993
    L. Giardino, Herakleia. Necropoli meridionale, in: L. De Lachenal (ed.), Da Leukania a Lucania. La Luca-
    nia centro-occidentale fra Pirro e i Giulio Claudii. Exhibition Catalog Venosa (Rome 1993) 151–185

Giuliani Pomes 1954
   M. V. Giuliani Pomes, Cronologia delle situle rinvenute in Etruria, StEtr 23, 1954, 149–194

Giulierini 2011
   P. Giulierini, I centri etruschi dall'Arno al Clanis: Fiesole, Arezzo e Cortona, in: P. Bruschetti – F. Gaultier
   – P. Giulierini – L. Haumesser (eds.), Gli Etruschi dall'Arno al Tevere. Le collezioni del Louvre a Cortona.
   Catalogo della mostra Cortona (Ginevra 2011) 117–141

Gruen 2011
   E. S. Gruen (ed.), Cultural identity in the ancient Mediterranean (Los Angeles 2011)

Hall 2012
   J. M. Hall, The Creation and the Expression of Identity. The Greek World, in: S.E. Alcock – R. Osborne
   (eds.), Classical Archaeology (Chichester 2012[2]) 350–367

Häussler 2007
   R. Häussler, At the Margins of Italy. Celts and Ligurians in North-West Italy, in: G. Bradley – E. Isayev –
   C. Riva (eds.) Ancient Italy. Regions without Boundaries (Exeter 2007) 45–78

Hempel 2001
   K. G. Hempel, Die Nekropole von Tarent im 2. und 1. Jahrhundert vor Christus. Studien zur materiellen
   Kultur. La necropoli di Taranto nel II e I sec. a.C. Studi sulla cultura materiale (Taranto 2001)

Hill 1965
   D. K. Hill, A Group of Etruscan Bronze Situlae, AJA 69, 1965, 115–121

Izzet 2007
   V. Izzet, The Archaeology of Etruscan Society (Cambridge 2007)

Jehasse – Jehasse 1973
   J. Jehasse – L. Jehasse, La nécropole préromaine d'Aléria (1960–1968), Gallia Suppl. 25 (Paris 1973)

Levi 1931
   D. Levi, Rassegna degli scavi e delle scoperte, StEtr 5, 1931, 510–522

Levi 1932/1933
   D. Levi, La tomba della Pellegrina a Chiusi. Studi sulla scultura etrusca di età ellenistica, RIA 4, 1932/1933,
   7–60. 101–144

Luhmann 1998
   N. Luhmann, Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft (Frankfurt am Main 1998)

Maggiani 1979
   A. Maggiani, Liguri orientali. La situazione archeologica in età ellenistica, RStLig 45, 1979, 73–101

Maggiani 2004
   A. Maggiani, I Liguri Apuani, in: R. C. De Marinis – G. Spadea, I Liguri. Exhibition Catalog (Ginevra–
   Milano 2004) 369–371

Maggiani 2007
   A. Maggiani, La tomba Inghirami, in: G. Cateni (ed.), Gli Etruschi di Volterra. Capolavori dai grandi musei
   europei. Exhibition Catalogue Volterra (Volterra 2007) 156–158

Maggiani 2013
   A. Maggiani, Mercenari liguri?, AnnFaina 20, 2013, 233–255

Maggiani 2014
A. Maggiani, La necropoli di Balena. Una comunità rurale alla periferia del territorio di Chiusi in età medio e tardo ellenistica (II–I sec. a.C.), in: M. Salvini (ed.), Etruschi e Romani a San Casciano dei Bagni. Le Stanze Cassianensi (Rome 2014) 51–57

Martelli 2007
A. Martelli, Chiusi (SI). Necropoli della Paccianese: contesti funerari etruschi presso la cava in località Bizzacchere, NotATosc 3, 2007, 424–430

Maschek 2014
D. Maschek, Der Tempel neue Kleider? Rezeptionsästhetische und semantische Aspekte von Bauornamentik im spätrepublikanischen Mittelitalien, in: J. Lipps – D. Maschek (eds.) Antike Bauornamentik. Grenze und Möglichkeiten ihrer Erforschung. Studien zur antiken Stadt 12 (Wiesbaden 2014) 181–202

Massa 1974
M. Massa, Tombe tardo-repubblicane di Castiglioncello di Vada, RStLig 40, 1974, 25–74

Massa 2000
M. Massa, L'urna di Velia Cerinei, in: E. Regoli – N. Terrenato (eds.), Guida al Museo Archeologico di Rosignano Marittimo. Paesaggi e insediamenti in Val di Cecina (Siena 2000)

Mazzei 1995
M. Mazzei, Arpi. L'ipogeo della Medusa e la necropoli (Bari 1995)

Menchelli 2007
S. Menchelli, Caccabi, patellae, mortaria. La romanizzazione come acquisizione di nuovi modelli alimentari in: R. De Marinis – G. Spadea (eds.), Ancora sui Liguri. Un antico popolo europeo tra Alpi e Mediterraneo (Genoa 2007) 189–190

Mercando 1976
L. Mercando, L'ellenismo nel Piceno, in: P. Zanker (ed.), Hellenismus in Mittelitalien, Kolloquium Göttingen 5.–9. Juni 1974 (Göttingen 1976) 160–218

Michelucci 1979
M. Michelucci, Un contesto tombale dell'agro volterrano al Museo di San Matteo di Pisa, in: G. Maetzke – G. Mori – F. Arata – C. Ciano (eds.), Studi per Enrico Fiumi (Pisa 1979) 83–98

Milani 1908
L. A. Milani, Populonia. Relazione preliminare sulla prima campagna degli scavi governativi di Populonia nel comune di Piombino, NSc 1908, 200–231

Minetti 1997
A. Minetti (ed.), Museo civico archeologico di Sarteano (Siena 1997)

Minetti 2008
A. Minetti, Sculture funerarie in pietra fetida dalla necropoli delle Pianacce di Sarteano, StEtr 74, 2008, 125–136

Minetti 2008b
A. Minetti, Sarteano (SI). La necropoli delle Pianacce. Campagna di scavo 2008, NotATosc 4, 2008, 557–561

Minetti 2012
A. Minetti (ed.), La necropoli delle Pianacce nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Sarteano (Siena 2012)

Minetti – Paolucci 2010
A. Minetti – G. Paolucci (eds.), Grandi archeologi del Novecento. Ricerche tra Preistoria e Medioevo nell'Agro chiusino (Firenze 2010)

Minetti – Rastrelli 2001
A. Minetti – A. Rastrelli, La necropoli della Palazzina nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Sarteano (Siena 2001)

Minto 1917
A. Minto, Populonia. Relazione intorno agli scavi governativi eseguiti nel 1915, NSc 1917, 69–93

Minto 1923
A. Minto, Populonia. Relazione sugli scavi archeologici governativi del 1922, NSc 1923, 127–160

Minto 1925
A. Minto, Populonia. Scavi e scoperte fortuite nella località di Porto Baratti durante il 1924–25, NSc 1925, 346–373

Minto 1943
A. Minto, Populonia (Florence 1943)

Pagnotta 1984
W. Pagnotta, L'antiquarium di Castiglione del Lago e l'ager chiusino orientale (Rome 1984)

Paoletti 1923
A. Paoletti, Studi su Perugia etrusca. Necropoli del Frontone, di Monteluce, dello Sperandio (Perugia 1923)

Paolucci 2001
G. Paolucci, Tomba etrusca scoperta a Montepulciano nel 1865, AnnAcEtr 29, 1999–2001, 51–96

Paolucci 2003
G. Paolucci (ed.), L'Acqua degli dei. Immagini di fontane, vasellame, culti salutari e in grotta. Catalogo della mostra di Chianciano Terme (Montepulciano 2003)

Paolucci – Minetti 2000
G. Paolucci – A. Minetti, Le necropoli chiusine di età ellenistica, in: A. Rastrelli (ed.), Chiusi etrusca (Chiusi 2000) 204–220

Pasquinucci 1968
M. Pasquinucci, Le kelebai volterrane. Studi dell'Ateneo pisano 1 (Pisa 1968)

Petersen 2011
J. H. Petersen, Constructing Identities in Multicultural Milieux, in: M. Gleba – H. W. Horsnæs (eds.), Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities (Oxford 2011) 167–176

Pieri 1997
E. Pieri, Tombe liguri di età ellenistica, in: A. Milanese – A. Patera – E. Pieri (eds.), Larciano. Museo e territorio (Rome 1997)

Pierobon 1979
R. Pierobon, Lagynos. Funzione e forma, RStLig 45, 1979, 27–50

Ponzi Bonomi 1977
L. Ponzi Bonomi, Recenti scoperte nell'agro chiusino, la necropoli di Gioiella, in: M. Cristofani – M. Martelli (eds.), Caratteri dell'Ellenismo nelle urne etrusche, Atti dell'incontro di studi Siena 1976 (Florence 1977) 103–109

Ragazzini 2013
S. Ragazzini, La necropoli de La Ripa di Cellole nel contesto della Valdelsa del periodo ellenistico. Considerazioni preliminari, MiscStorVald 118, 2013, 1–79

Rastrelli 2002
A. Rastrelli, Nuovi rinvenimenti in Toscana, EtrSt 9, 2002, 123–131

Ricci 1955
G. Ricci, Necropoli della Banditaccia. Zona A "del Recinto", MonAnt 42, 1955, 201–1047

Romualdi 1985
A. Romualdi, Il popolamento in età ellenistica a Populonia. Le necropoli, in: G. Camporeale (ed.), L'Etruria
mineraria. Exhibition Catalog Portoferraio – Massa M.ma – Populonia (Milan 1985) 185–214

Romualdi 1992
A. Romualdi (ed.), Populonia in età ellenistica. I materiali delle necropoli. Atti del Seminario di Firenze
1986 (Florence 1992)

Romualdi 2009
A. Romualdi, Introduzione, in: Romualdi – Settesoldi 2009, 13–17

Romualdi – Settesoldi 2009
A. Romualdi – R. Settesoldi (eds.), Populonia, la necropoli delle Grotte. Lo scavo dell'area della Cava
1997/1998 (Pisa 2009)

Salvadori 2014
E. Salvadori, Le tombe con nicchiotti di Chiusi e del territorio chiusino, in: M. Salvini (ed.), Etruschi e Ro-
mani a San Casciano dei Bagni. Le Stanze Cassianensi (Rome 2014) 61–75

Santoro 1985
P. Santoro, s.v. Banchetto, in: M. Cristofani, Dizionario della civiltà etrusca (Firenze 1985) 35–36

Schauenburg 1981
K. Schauenburg, Zu unteritalischen Situlen, AA 1981, 462–488

Schröder 1914
B. Schröder, Griechische Bronzeeimer im Berliner Antiquarium, BWPr 74 (Berlin 1914)

Sciarma 2005
A. Sciarma, La diffusione delle lagynoi nelle tombe etrusche tardo-ellenistiche, Ostraka 14, 2005, 209–277

Shepherd 2014
E. J. Shepherd, le tegole della necropoli di Balena, in: M. Salvini (ed.), Etruschi e Romani a San Casciano
dei Bagni. Le Stanze Cassianensi (Rome 2014) 36–41

Stek 2013
T. D. Stek, Material Culture, Italic Identities and the Romanization of Italy, in: J. De Rose Evans (ed.), A
Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic (Chichester 2013) 337–353

Terrenato 1998
N. Terrenato, The Romanization of Italy: global acculturation or cultural bricolage?, in: C. Forcey – J. Haw-
thorne – R. Witcher (eds.), TRAC 97 : Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology
Conference which formed part of the Second International Roman Archaeology Conference (Notthingam
1997) 20–27

Terrenato 1998a
N. Terrenato, *Tam Firmum Municipium*: The Romanization of Volaterrae and its cultural implications, JRS
88, 1998, 94–114

Tuci 2014
D. Tuci, Lo scavo della necropoli di Podere Balena, in: M. Salvini (ed.) Etruschi e Romani a San Casciano
dei Bagni. Le Stanze Cassianensi (Rome 2014) 21–26

Turfa 2011
J. M. Turfa, Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities – and Beyond, in: M. Gleba – H. W.
Horsnæs (eds.), Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities (Oxford 2011) 1–6

Ulf 2009

C. Ulf, Rethinking Cultural Contacts, AWE 8, 2009, 81–132

Ulf 2011a

C. Ulf, Appendix 1. Rethinking Cultural Contacts, in: R. Rollinger – K. Schnegg (eds.), Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel (Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2014) 507–566

Ulf 2011b

C. Ulf, Eine Typologie von kulturellen Kontaktzonen, in: R. Rollinger – K. Schnegg (eds.), Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel (Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2014) 469–504

Versluys 2013

M. J. Versluys, Material Culture and Identity in the Late Roman Republic (c. 200–c. 20), in: J. DeRose Evans (ed.), A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic (Chichester 2013) 429–440

Villa D'Amelio 1963

P. Villa d'Amelio, S. Giuliano. Scavi e scoperte nella necropoli dal 1957 al 1959, NSc 1963, 1–76

Wallace-Hadrill 2012

A. Wallace-Hadrill, The Creation and the Expression of Identity. The Roman World, in: S.E. Alcock – R. Osborne (eds.), Classical Archaeology [2](Chichester 2012) 368–393

Warden 2013

G. Warden, The Importance of Being Elite: The Archaeology of Identity in Etruria (500–200), in: J. DeRose Evans (ed.), A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic (Chichester 2013) 354–368

Zahlhaas 1971

G. Zahlhaas, Großgriechische und römische Metalleimer (Munich 1971)

Räume als Träger wechselnder Bedeutungen.
Die Gestaltung spätrömischer Empfangssäle im
Kontext von *salutatio* und *convivium*

Michael Kiefer

Abstract: Für Angehörige der (spät)römischen Eliten war der eigene Wohnsitz ein zentrales Medium der Statusrepräsentation. Die spätantike *domus*, mit ihrem Fokus auf großen, aufwändig gestalteten Empfangssälen, diente als Bühne für eine Vielzahl an Handlungen, bei denen Hausherr und Gäste miteinander interagierten. Architektur und Dekor der Räume waren dabei gezielt darauf abgestimmt, die verschiedenen Akteure an ihrem jeweiligen Platz innerhalb der spätrömischen Sozialhierarchie zu verorten. Einzelne Besucher standen jedoch in einem jeweils ganz unterschiedlichen Verhältnis zum Hausherren und trafen zu ganz verschiedenen Anlässen mit ihm zusammen. Der Morgenempfang von Klienten, die *salutatio*, und das abendliche Gastmahl, das *convivium*, unterschieden sich sowohl hinsichtlich ihrer Teilnehmer als auch ihres Ablaufs, fanden aber oft in den selben oder sehr ähnlichen Räumen statt. Anhand dieser beiden Anlässe wird deutlich, wie die Gestaltung spätantiker Empfangsräume auf die verschiedenen Handlungen und Akteure Bezug nahm und mit welchen visuellen Strategien in abweichenden Kontexten die jeweils erwünschte Bedeutung kodiert wurde.

Versucht man zu verstehen, welche Wirkung ein antikes Bauwerk auf seinen zeitgenössischen Besucher hatte, ist es unerlässlich, sich vor Augen zu führen, welche Handlungen dieser in ihm vollführte. Architektur und die in ihr ablaufenden Handlungen, ob rituell oder ganz banal, stehen zwangsläufig in einem engen Wechselverhältnis zueinander.[1] Bis heute legen Architekten oder Auftraggeber den von ihnen gestalteten Raum zumeist so an, dass er bestimmte Aktionen, die in ihm stattfinden sollen, bereits antizipiert. So stellt ein universitärer Hörsaal im Idealfall sowohl genug Sitzplätze für eine mehr oder minder große Hörerschaft zur Verfügung als auch einen Ort, von dem aus diese den Dozenten gut sehen und vor allem verstehen kann. Im Inneren einer Kirche existieren für gewöhnlich feste Plätze für den Wortgottesdienst und die Eucharistie. Umgekehrt beeinflusst Architektur aber auch ganz direkt, wie Menschen in ihr agieren. Bewegungsmuster müssen sich unweigerlich nach der Platzierung von Zugängen oder Abschrankungen richten. Die wenigsten Dozenten werden ihre Vorlesung von der hintersten Bank des Hörsaals aus halten wollen und ein Priester wird sich normalerweise hüten, die Eucharistie irgendwo anders als am Altar zu feiern.

Nicht zuletzt erlaubt es die architektonische Gestaltung auch, Handlungen mit besonderer Bedeutung aufzuladen und soziale Realitäten in ihnen sichtbar werden zu lassen.[2]

---

[1] Lukken – Searle 1993, 62–63.

[2] S. hierzu v.a. Bourdieu 1991 für die Verbindung zwischen physischem und "sozialem Raum" (*espace social*).

Der Gegensatz zwischen Vermittler und Empfängern von Informationen manifestiert sich im Gegenüber von Dozent und Zuhörern im Hörsaal. Die herausgehobene Stellung von Mitgliedern des christlichen Klerus gegenüber ihrer Gemeinde offenbart sich auch darin, dass sich während des Gottesdienstes zumeist nur Erstere im Altarraum aufhalten. Wie stark solche Hierarchisierungen betont oder heruntergespielt werden, ist ebenfalls mit architektonischen Mitteln steuerbar. Ein hoch aufragender Altar am Ende eines langgestreckten Kirchenraums inszeniert die Eucharistie völlig anders als ein niedriger, weiter im Zentrum gelegener, der von den Plätzen der Gemeindemitglieder umgeben ist.[3]

Verkompliziert wird das Wechselverhältnis von Architektur und Handlung noch dadurch, dass ein und derselbe architektonische Raum unter Umständen die Bühne für eine ganze Reihe verschiedener Abläufe bilden kann. Eine Möglichkeit, damit umzugehen, ist die Unterteilung eines Bauwerks in verschiedene Einheiten, die sowohl physisch als auch funktional voneinander geschieden sind. Ein modernes Einfamilienhaus verfügt beispielsweise über eine Vielzahl an Räumen, die bereits durch ihre Bezeichnung als Wohn-, Arbeits-, Kinder- oder Elternschlafzimmer Auskunft über ihre unterschiedliche Nutzung geben. Dieselben Räume für verschiedene Handlungen zu verwenden, ist dadurch aber natürlich nicht ausgeschlossen. Beim Besuch von Bekannten kann etwa ein Arbeitszimmer schnell zum Gästeschlafzimmer werden. Auch ist zu bedenken, dass die Aufteilung des Wohnraums in recht klar voneinander zu trennende Funktionsräume eine verhältnismäßig junge Entwicklung ist, die sich kaum vor dem 18. Jahrhundert beobachten lässt.[4] Vormoderne Hausarchitektur zeichnet sich demgegenüber häufig durch die Multifunktionalität ihrer einzelnen Räume aus, die somit in unterschiedlichen Kontexten ganz verschiedene Bedeutungen bekommen konnten. Beobachten lässt sich dies z.B. an den Wohnhäusern der Eliten des Römischen Reichs. Die verschiedenen Teile eines Anwesens waren hier Schauplätze für eine ganze Reihe von Handlungen sowohl repräsentativer als auch profaner Natur. Wo abends gespeist worden war, konnte man nachts schlafen. Ein prächtiger Innenhof konnte vom Hausherren genauso zum Empfang seiner Klienten genutzt werden wie zum Lagern von Vorratsgefäßen oder als Ort handwerklicher Tätigkeiten seiner Sklaven. Doch längst nicht alle diese Handlungen fanden bei der Gestaltung der einzelnen Räume auch Berücksichtigung. Gerade die verschiedenen wirtschaftlichen Verrichtungen sind für Archäologen meist nicht über die Architektur oder den Dekor der Zimmer, sondern mittels Kleinfundanalysen innerhalb des Hauses zu lokalisieren.[5] Andere Aspekte des häuslichen Alltags wurden dagegen priorisiert, indem man die Ausgestaltung der Räume auf sie Bezug nehmen ließ.

Unter den verschiedenen Tätigkeiten, die über den Tag verteilt in einer großen römischen *domus* abliefen, kam dem Empfang von Besuchern eine besondere Bedeutung zu. Für einen Angehörigen der Elite war der

---

[3]   Kieckhefer 2004 für die unterschiedlichen Arten, wie Kirchenarchitektur den in ihr stattfindenden Gottesdienst mit Bedeutung aufladen kann, besonders 63–96 zu den Mitteln, mit welchen der Fokus auf Altar und Eucharistie, Kanzel und Wortgottesdienst oder auch auf die versammelte Gemeinde gelegt werden kann.

[4]   Hier dürfte ein Zusammenhang bestehen mit der zunehmenden Ausgliederung der Arbeitswelt aus dem Wohnbereich und der Entwicklung des letzteren zu einem Ort individueller Privatheit. Dickmann 1999, 23–25, unter Bezugnahme auf Habermas 1982 und Möller 1981.

[5]   Berry 1997.

eigene Wohnsitz eines der wichtigsten Medien der Statusrepräsentation. Größe und Pracht seines Anwesens standen in direkter Beziehung zu seiner Stellung innerhalb der römischen Gesellschaft.[6] Besuchern einen Eindruck hiervon zu vermitteln, war also wesentlich. Die richtige Inszenierung des Zusammentreffens von Hausherr und Gästen dürfte sicher einer der Hauptaspekte gewesen sein, die bei der Gestaltung der aufwändigsten Räume des Hauses eine Rolle spielten.

Einzelne Besucher standen jedoch in einem jeweils ganz unterschiedlichen Verhältnis zum Gastgeber und interagierten bei recht verschiedenen Anlässen mit ihm. Das Aufeinandertreffen zweier Senatoren erzeugte einen gänzlich anderen Kontext als der Empfang eines Klienten bei seinem *dominus*. Die Empfangsräume römischer Häuser mussten idealerweise für jede dieser verschiedenartigen Formen der Interaktion einen angemessenen Rahmen bieten. Um zu beleuchten, wie dies konkret von statten gehen konnte, ist es nötig, den Blick etwas zu verengen. Aus der langen und durchaus wechselvollen Geschichte der Hausarchitektur römischer Eliten soll zunächst deren letzte Phase, also der Residenzbau der Spätantike, ein wenig genauer betrachtet werden. Wie im ersten Teil dieser Untersuchung zu zeigen sein wird, waren die privaten Empfangssäle dieser Periode in besonderem Maße darauf ausgelegt, eine möglichst eindrucksvolle Kulisse für den Empfang von Gästen zu liefern. Der Einsatz

von bildlichen Darstellungen spielte dabei eine genauso große Rolle wie die Einführung neuer komplexer Architekturformen in den römischen Hausbau. Um zu zeigen, welche unterschiedlichen Wirkungen diese Räume in ganz konkreten Alltagssituationen entfalteten, sollen dann in einem zweiten Schritt zwei Handlungen, bei denen Hausherr und Gäste im Haus miteinander interagierten, exemplarisch herausgegriffen werden: der morgendliche Empfang von Klienten, die *salutatio*, und das abendliche Gastmahl, das *convivium*. Zunächst aber zur Bühne, auf der sich diese abspielten.

Das eigene Haus als Zierde der Stadt

Ein Befund aus dem spätantiken Halikarnassos kann einen guten ersten Eindruck von der Wohnkultur der spätrömischer Elite vermitteln. Das zu Beginn der 1990er Jahre von türkisch-dänischen Archäologen ergrabene Haus des Charidemos war um einen zentralen Hof herum angelegt, um den sich mehrere großzügige Räume gruppierten (**Abb. 1**).[7]
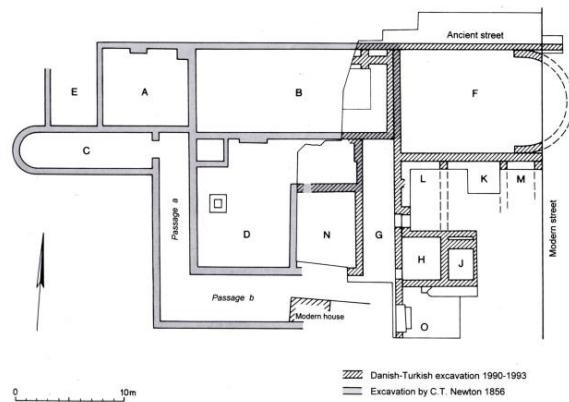
Abb. 1 Haus des Charidemos in Halikarnassos, Plan (nach Poulsen, 11 Abb. 2).

---

[6] So erfährt man bei Cic. off. 1,139, dass das Haus eines angesehenen Mannes in jedem Fall über genug Platz für seine zahlreiche Klientel zu verfügen hatte. Fiel jene nicht ganz so zahlreich aus und stand das dementsprechend zu große Anwesen weitgehend leer, warf dies ein eher schlechtes Licht auf seinen Besitzer. Cicero lässt es sich nicht nehmen, anzumerken, dass Letzteres auf viele seiner Zeitgenossen zutraf.

[7] Poulsen 1995; Poulsen 1997; Teile der Anlage waren bereits bei Ausgrabungen Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts freigelegt worden.

Abb. 2 Atalante und Meleager bei der Jagd, Bodenmosaik aus Saal B im Haus des Charidemos (nach Poulsen 1997, 13 Abb. 5).

Von deren Ausstattungsluxus zeugen vor allem die erhaltenen Mosaikböden. So konnten Besucher in einem großen Saal (B) im Norden des Anwesens unter anderem eine Darstellung der Heroen Atalante und Meleager bei der Jagd bestaunen. In einer symmetrischen Komposition stoßen beide hoch zu Ross auf ihre im Zentrum dargestellte Beute zu (**Abb. 2**). Doch nicht der aus dem Mythos bekannte Kalydonische Eber ist Ziel von Meleagers Speer und Atalantes Pfeil, sondern es sind zwei Löwen, die sich den beiden entgegenstürzen. Die Abweichungen von der ansonsten üblichen Ikonographie würden die Identifikation der Szene erheblich erschweren, doch lassen Namensbeischriften keinen Zweifel daran, dass es sich bei den abgebildeten Jägern um das mythologische Liebespaar handelt.[8]

Wandte man sich von dem Mosaik aus nach Osten, so gelangte man in einen weiteren großen Saal (F), bei dem es sich wohl um den primären Empfangsraum des Anwesens handelte. Knapp 10 m breit und 16 m lang schloss er auf der dem Eingang gegenüberliegenden Schmalseite mit einer breiten Apsis ab. Auch hier war der Boden mit einem – diesmal rein anikonischen – Mosaik geschmückt (**Abb. 3**).
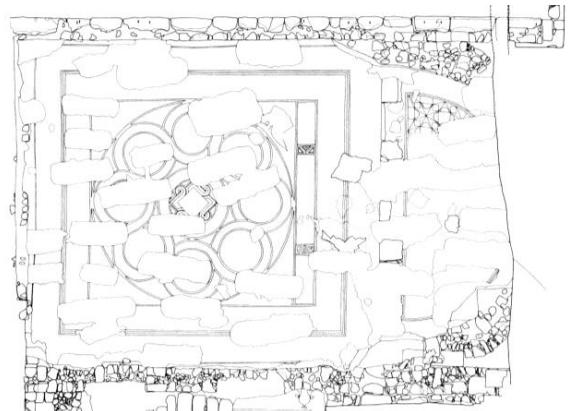
Abb. 3 Apsidensaal F aus dem Haus des Chari-demos (nach Poulsen 2012, 182 Abb. 8).

---

[8]   In ganz ähnlicher Weise wird der Mythos in einem Bodenmosaik aus dem frühen 4. Jahrhundert. n. Chr. in der sog. Konstantinischen Villa bei Antiocheia am Orontes modifiziert. Hier treten beide Jäger zu Fuß auf. Anders als in Halikarnassos hat Meleager diesmal tatsächlich einen Eber gestellt, auch wenn dessen Größe im Vergleich zur mythischen Vorlage etwas zu wünschen übrig lässt. Atalante dagegen zielt mit ihrem Bogen auch hier auf einen heranspringenden Löwen. Dass die Pointe der ursprünglichen Handlung auf diese Weise beein-

trächtigt wird – Atalante verwundet den Eber als erste und bekommt daher von Meleager die Trophäe zugesprochen – nahm man offenbar in Kauf. Raeck 1992, 72–73; allgemein zu Meleager-Darstellungen in der Spätantike: id., 71–98.

Eine vor der Apsis angebrachte achtzeilige Inschrift berichtet vom Stifter der Anlage, einem gewissen Charidemos:

> Tritt vor und bezeuge deine Zustimmung /
> ohne Verzögerung mit deinen hell leuchtenden Augen. Ich präsentiere einen /
> vielgestaltigen Körper aus Stein, zu einem Mosaik gefügt, ein Körper, den kunstfertige Männer /
> beim Ausbreiten des Bodens überall strahlen ließen, /
> auf dass das reich gestaltete Antlitz des hoch aufragenden Gebäudes / die Stadt an vielen Orten bekannt mache. /
> Was zuvor in erbärmlichem Zustand war, ließ Charidemos /
> in mühseliger Arbeit und unter enormen Kosten wieder aufrichten.[9]

Diese wortreichen Ausführungen sind durchdrungen von den Konventionen des antiken Euergetismus. Der Stifter versichert uns, dass die für den Bau aufgewandten Anstrengungen und Kosten enorm gewesen seien, aber zum Ruhm der eigenen Heimatstadt hatte er sie natürlich trotzdem auf sich genommen. Vergleichbare Inschriften fanden sich damals bereits seit Jahrhunderten an den großen öffentlichen Bauten der Städte im Mittelmeerraum – alle gestiftet von städtischen Patrioten wie Charidemos. Das besondere hier aber ist, dass eben nicht an den Bau eines Theaters oder eines Nymphäums erinnert wird. Es war sein eigenes Anwesen, das Charidemos von Grund auf hatte wiederherstellen lassen. Dies stellt er jedoch in den Kontext der

Verschönerung der Stadt Halikarnassos und nicht in den einer Vermehrung von privatem Wohnluxus.

Charidemos lag damit ganz im Trend seiner Zeit. In bis dahin unerreichtem Maß wurden spätantike Residenzen nach Art des öffentlichen Raums in Szene gesetzt. So konnte man im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. in den Vorhöfen und Eingangsbereichen der großen senatorischen Paläste Roms die zahlreichen Ehreninschriften bewundern, die dankbare Korporationen, Kollegien und Provinzgemeinden ihren Förderern dort wie auf einem öffentlichen Platz gewidmet hatten.[10] Die großen Empfangsräume waren dekoriert mit bildlichen Darstellungen, die den sozialen Status der Hausbesitzer betonten. Jagdmosaiken oder die Darstellung mythologischer Heldentaten waren dafür besonders gut geeignet. Im Meleager-Atalante-Mosaik aus Halikarnassos, das beide Themen kombiniert, wurde der Mythos so aktualisiert, dass er den Repräsentationsbedürfnissen der spätrömischen Aristokratie bestmöglich entsprach. Meleager trägt ein zeitgenössisches Gewand, eine Dalmatika; die Jagd zu Pferde zeugt von dem hervorgehobenen Status, den er und seine Begleiterin innehatten. Auch die beiden Löwen, die den mythologischen Eber ersetzen, lassen sich so erklären. Der Kampf gegen Panther oder Löwen war ein häufig wiederkehrendes Thema in der Mosaikkunst spätantiker Häuser, das ihre Besitzer als Angehörige einer exklusiven Schicht auswies, welche das – wohl weitgehend imaginäre – Privileg der Raubkatzenjagd für sich in Anspruch nehmen konnte.

Zumindest für die Mosaiken Nordafrikas konnte Katherine Dunbabin feststellen, dass es sich bei den häufigen Raubtierdarstellungen um eine Neuerung des späteren 3.

---

9   Isager 1995, 210.

10   Niquet 2000, 22–33.

Jahrhunderts n. Chr. handelt, da zuvor eher Jagdszenen dominiert hatten, auf denen etwas alltäglicher vorkommendes Wild verfolgt wurde.[11] Nimmt man keinen sprunghaften Anstieg der Löwen- und Pantherpopulation im Spätrömischen Reich an, so kann man davon ausgehen, dass sich hier ein subtiler Wandel in der Repräsentationskultur innerhalb des antiken Hauses andeutet. Die Raubkatzenjagd mag dem in der Spätantike gesteigerten Bedürfnis der Elite nach Statusrepräsentation im eigenen Haus besser entsprochen haben. Dieser Wandel lässt sich auch bei anderen Bildthemen feststellen. Bis ins 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. hinein waren die großen Empfangsräume in den Stadthäusern und Villen des Mittelmeerraums vor allem mit Bildwerken ausgeschmückt worden, die ein heiter entspanntes Lebensgefühl propagierten.[12] Darstellungen erotischen Inhalts oder auch solche, die den übermäßigen Genuss von Wein zum Thema hatten, entführten den Betrachter in eine Welt des ausgelassenen Lebensgenusses. Auf den Wandgemälden pompejanischer Häuser der frühen Kaiserzeit feiern leicht bekleidete junge Männer und Frauen ausschweifende Feste.[13] In dem aus severischer Zeit stammenden Haus des Dionysos im galiläischen Sepphoris konnten Besucher einen Trinkwettstreit zwischen dem namensgebenden Gott des Weines und seinem Halbbruder Herakles bewundern, welcher wenig überraschend mit der Niederlage des Halbgottes endet.[14] All diese Bilder be-

schworen einen spezifischen Bereich im Leben der römischen Oberschicht, das *otium*. Es beschrieb einen Zustand privater Zurückgezogenheit, den man zur Erholung oder auch zur philosophischen Kontemplation nutzen konnte. In jedem Fall stand er im Gegensatz zum Auftreten in der Öffentlichkeit und zur politischen Betätigung, dem *negotium*. Ziel war sicher auch bei dieser Art von Bildern, den hervorgehobenen sozialen Status der Hausbesitzer zu verdeutlichen, konnten es sich doch nur Angehörige der Oberschicht leisten, auf diese Weise die Pflichten des Alltags für einige Zeit hinter sich zu lassen. Doch wurden ihre Anwesen dabei dezidiert als Orte inszeniert, die sich vom öffentlichen Raum der Stadt abhoben.

Im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. begann sich die häusliche Bilderwelt in dieser Hinsicht merklich zu verändern. Noch immer wurden Darstellungen erotischen Inhalts in Auftrag gegeben, doch beschränkten sie sich nun häufig auf die intimeren Bereiche der Anwesen.[15] Spätantiken Gastmahlsdarstellungen fehlt sowohl die sexuelle Komponente als auch der nahezu ausschließliche Fokus auf den Genuss von Wein, welche die pompejanischen Beispiele ausgezeichnet hatten.[16] Tugenden wie *virtus*, *dignitas* und *auctoritas*, die mit der repräsentativ-öffentlichen Ideenwelt in Verbindung standen, wurden nun in den großen Empfangsräumen in den Vordergrund gestellt. Im während des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. entstandenen großen Trikonchos der Villa von Piazza Armerina auf Sizilien geschah dies beispielsweise

---

[11] Dunbabin 1978, 49.

[12] Muth 1998, 265–290.

[13] Vgl. Dunbabin 2003, 53–56; Roller 2003, 389–393 sowie Roller 2006, 45–80, wo einige Beispiele detaillierter besprochen werden.

[14] Talgam – Weiss 2004, 110–112; daneben wir auch hier die erotische Beziehung zwischen Mann und Frau thematisiert, wenn auch in einem jeweils sehr unterschiedlichen Licht. Ein Bildfeld zeigt die Hochzeit zwischen Dionysos und Ariadne, bezeugt von Eros und Mitgliedern des *Thiasos*. Düsterer dagegen erscheint die

Szene, in der ein trunkener Herakles versucht, eine junge Frau zu vergewaltigen, möglicherweise Auge, die spätere Mutter des Heros Telephos.

[15] Vgl. Muth 1998, 265–290.

[16] S. hierzu beispielsweise die um 300 n. Chr. entstandene Gastmahlsszene aus dem sog. Haus des Orpheus in Sepphoris, welche bei Dunbabin 2003, 166–168 besprochen wird.

durch einen Rückgriff auf den Sagenkreis um Herakles.[17] Hier wurde nicht wie in Sepphoris der unterlegene Trinkgenosse des Dionysos vorgestellt, sondern der unbesiegbare Überwinder zahlloser Bestien, deren geschundene Leiber sich im Mosaik über den Boden des Saales verteilten.[18] Andere Mosaiken der Villa referieren noch direkter auf die aristokratische Repräsentation im öffentlichen Raum. Im sog. Mosaik der Großen Jagd, das eine der Portiken der Anlage zierte, werden unter Aufsicht des Besitzers der Villa unzählige exotische Tiere zusammengetrieben, um nach Übersee verschifft zu werden und später bei Circusspielen als Unterhaltung zu dienen.[19] Eine andere Seite dieser Spektakel, die großen Wagenrennen, wurde dem Besucher dagegen präsentiert, wenn er die Vorhalle des Badegebäudes der Villa betrat.[20] Das Ausrichten derartiger Großveranstaltungen war in der Spätantike zu einer der wichtigsten Formen der Selbstdarstellung städtischer Eliten geworden und hatte in dieser Hinsicht das Stiften monumentaler Großbauten, öffentlicher Inschriften oder Ehrenstatuen bei weitem überflügelt.[21] Ihre Darstellung in den großen Repräsentationsräumen spätantiker Residenzen verdeutlicht, wie sehr diese mittlerweile als Teil des öffentlichen Raums inszeniert wurden.

Auch auf architektonischem Gebiet eröffnete die Spätantike neue Horizonte in der Gestaltung römischer Häuser. Bereits seit Beginn der Kaiserzeit waren die zentralen Empfangssäle aristokratischer Residenzen kontinuierlich größer geworden.[22] An Höhe überragten sie schon bald die umliegenden Räume und waren somit schon von außen als wichtigste Teile des Hauses erkennbar. In ihrem Inneren konnten immer größere Zahlen von Gästen gleichzeitig empfangen werden. Ihr Grundriss blieb dabei über die ersten zwei bis drei Jahrhunderte der Kaiserzeit weitgehend derselbe: ein Rechteck, mit dem Haupteingang an einer der Schmalseiten.[23] Die Spätantike zeichnet sich demgegenüber durch eine deutlich größere Variabilität an Raumlösungen aus. Die am weitesten verbreitete Neuerung ist uns bereits im Saal F des Hauses des Charidemos (**Abb. 1**) begegnet, der an seiner östlichen Schmalseite, gegenüber dem Haupteingang, auf voller Breite mit einer tiefen Apsis abschloss. Vergleichbare Apsidensäle fanden sich in Privathäusern vereinzelt bereits im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr., im kaiserlichen Bereich sogar schon in der *Domus Flavia* am Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.[24] Ab dem späteren 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. wurden sie dagegen zu einem derart markanten Kennzeichen aristokratischer Residenzbauten, dass Beat Brenk in einem Aufsatz von 1998/99 von

---

[17] Carandini u. a. 1982, 311–325; Dunbabin 1999, 136–138, Abb. 139.

[18] Weitere Beispiele, die den beschriebenen Wandel im Repertoire der häuslichen Mythenbilder belegen bei Muth 1998.

[19] Vinicio Gentili 1999b, 76–108, Abb. 1.

[20] Id.y 220–232, Abb. 1.

[21] Zum Wandel in der Repräsentationskultur spätrömischer Eliten weg von großen Stiftungen im öffentlichen Raum und hin zu mehr performativen Formen der Selbstdarstellung s. Borg – Witschel 2001 und darauf aufbauend ähnlich noch einmal Borg 2007.

[22] Für den Beginn dieses Prozesses im frühen 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. s. Dickmann 1999, 322–331, sowie für die weitere Entwicklung bis zum Beginn der Spätantike Dunbabin 2003, 36–43.

[23] S. hierzu etwa Dickmann 1999, 215–219 mit Beispielen aus dem spätrepublikanischen Pompeji.

[24] Bereits im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. entstandene Apsidensäle fanden sich beispielsweise in Wohneinheit 6 des Hanghauses 2 in Ephesos (Thür 2008, 1060–1062) oder in der Villa von Bad Kreuznach in Rheinland-Pfalz (Cüppers – Bernhard 1990, 321–324). In seinen Briefen berichtet Plinius der Jüngere von einem *cubiculum in hapsida curvatum* in seiner Villa Laurentium, das ihm allerdings als Arbeitszimmer und kleine Bibliothek diente (Plin. epist. 2,17,8). Zur *Domus Flavia* s. beispielsweise Zanker 2004.

einer regelrechten „Apsidomanie" der spät-
antiken Architekten spricht.[25] Eine Erweite-
rung erfuhr dieser Raumtyp in Gestalt der
sog. Trikonchoi, bei denen zusätzlich zu der
gegenüber dem Eingang gelegenen Haupt-
apsis zwei weitere an die Seitenwände ange-
fügt waren. Beispielhaft hierfür kann der so
bezeichnete Saal aus der Villa von Piazza
Armerina stehen, dessen Bodenmosaik oben
besprochen wurde. Er schloss sich östlich an
das zweitgrößte Peristyl des Komplexes an.
Eine große Freitreppe und ein breites Portal
mit zwei eingestellten Säulen gewährten
Eingang zu einem 11,80 x 12,20 m messen-
den Zentralraum von nahezu quadratischem
Grundriss, in dessen Nord-, Ost- und Süd-
wand sich je eine ca. 7,20 m breite gestelzte
Rundapsis öffnete.[26] Noch spektakulärer und
auch deutlich seltener waren Säle, die über
mehr als drei Apsiden verfügten. Grob las-
sen sie sich in zwei Kategorien einteilen.
Zum einen konnten die Seitenwände der
Säle deutlich verlängert werden, um so Platz
für weitere Apsiden zu schaffen. Diese Lö-
sung war beispielsweise im sog. Haus des
Bacchus im nordafrikanischen Cuicul ge-
wählt worden.[27] Es verfügte bereits über
einen großen apsidalen Empfangssaal, als
vermutlich in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahr-
hunderts n. Chr. ein zweiter, gewaltiger Re-
präsentationsraum langrechteckigen Grund-
risses an der Nordwestseite des Anwesens
hinzugefügt wurde. In den Wänden dieser
26,80 m langen und 17,10 m breiten Halle
öffneten sich sieben über 4m breite, gestelz-
te Halbrundapsiden, jeweils drei davon an
den Langseiten. Ausgestattet mit einem der-
artigen Saal konnte es das Anwesen an Mo-
numentalität ohne weiteres mit den im Nor-
den angrenzenden öffentlichen Thermen
aufnehmen und stellte gleichzeitig alle ande-

ren Häuser der Stadt bei weitem in den
Schatten. Ähnlich eindrucksvoll war der
Stadtpalast, den sich der *praepositus sacri
cubiculi* Antiochos im frühen 5. Jahrhundert
n. Chr. in Konstantinopel in unmittelbarer
Nachbarschaft zum Hippodrom hatte errich-
ten lassen.[28] Weitläufig angelegt und ur-
sprünglich vermutlich von Gärten umgeben,
erinnert die ganze Anlage mehr an eine
ländliche Villa als an eine *domus* mitten im
Zentrum einer der größten Städte des
Reichs. An dieser Stelle von besonderem
Interesse ist der große Empfangssaal, der
sich im Scheitelpunkt der großen *sigma*-
förmigen Portikus im Süden der Anlage öff-
nete. Im Gegensatz zu den bisher bespro-
chenen Räumen besaß er einen polygonalen,
genauer sechseckigen Grundriss. Mit Aus-
nahme des Eingangsbereichs verfügte jede
seiner sechs Seiten über eine 7,65 m breite
Apsis. Die große Kuppel, mit der der Saal
überdacht war, dürfte endgültig zu einem
Raumeindruck beigetragen haben, der dem
öffentlicher Bauten in nichts nachstand.

Alles zusammengenommen gaben die
Häuser spätantiker Aristokraten also eine
außerordentlich wirkungsvolle Bühne für
die Selbstinszenierung ihrer Besitzer ab.
Damit, deren sozialen Status gegenüber
Besuchern zu proklamieren, war es jedoch
noch nicht getan. Stattdessen war es
vielmehr möglich, jeden der Akteure im
Haus an seinem jeweiligen Platz innerhalb
der römischen Sozialhierarchie zu verorten.
Dies wurde nicht allein von der architek-
tonischen und künstlerischen Gestaltung der
Räume geleistet, sondern auch durch die in
diesen Räumen praktizierten Handlungen
erreicht. Eine besondere Rolle in dieser
Hinsicht spielten der morgendliche Empfang

---

[25] Brenk – Pensabene 1998–1999, 287–288; hier
    für die spätantiken Bauten Ostias verwendet.
[26] Vinicio Gentili 1999a, 208–212.
[27] Lassus 1971; Blanchard-Lemée 1981.

[28] Naumann – Belting 1966; der Auftraggeber
    lässt sich dank einer Inschrift auf einer Säulen-
    basis aus dem Palast identifizieren; zu seiner
    Person s. Greatrex – Bardill 1996.

von Klienten, die *salutatio*, und das abendliche Gastmahl, das *convivium*. Auf welche Weise diese beiden Handlungen innerhalb der großen spätantiken Empfangssäle inszeniert wurden, soll im Folgenden besprochen werden.

Salutatio und *convivium* im spätantiken Haus

Die *salutatio* und das *convivium* gehörten zu den wichtigsten regelmäßig wiederkehrenden Ereignissen im sozialen Leben eines Angehörigen der römischen Oberschicht. Genau wie die physische Ausgestaltung seines Hauses bezeugten sie seine herausgehobene Stellung innerhalb der römischen Gesellschaft. Bei beiden ging es in erster Linie um die Interaktion mit Besuchern von außerhalb des Hauses. Allerdings setzte der Hausherr seine Gäste jeweils in eine recht unterschiedliche Beziehung zu sich selbst. Auch involvierten beide Handlungen recht unterschiedliche Gruppen von Menschen.

Der allmorgendliche Empfang einer großen Anzahl von Klienten und Bittstellern in den Häusern der römischen Elite war bereits seit den Tagen der späten Republik üblich und auch in der Spätantike noch allgemein verbreitet.[29] Personen aus den verschiedensten Gesellschaftsschichten versammelten sich hierbei bereits ab Sonnenaufgang im Haus des *dominus*, um ihm ihre Aufwartung zu machen und eventuell um eine Gefälligkeit zu bitten. Den Zugang zum Anwesen sowie zum Hausherren selbst regelte dabei eine Reihe von spezialisierten Sklaven und Hausdienern. Um überhaupt hinein zu gelangen, musste man zunächst vom Türhüter, dem *ianitor* bzw. *ostiarius*, eingelassen werden.[30] Da es bei der großen Anzahl an Gäs

ten schwer gewesen sein dürfte, den Überblick zu behalten, stand dem *dominus* ein *nomenclator* zur Seite, dessen Aufgabe es war, die Namen der Besucher zu kennen und seinem Herren bei Bedarf zuzuflüstern.[31] Die Rolle des *cubicularius* schließlich, der in antiken Quellen ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit der *salutatio* Erwähnung findet, bleibt etwas unklar, doch scheint er in bestimmten Fällen den unmittelbaren Zugang zum Hausherrn geregelt zu haben.[32] Diese verschiedenen Mittelsmänner dürften zweifellos dazu beigetragen haben, die symbolische Distanz zwischen dem *dominus* und seinen Gästen zu erhöhen.

Ohnehin handelte es sich bei der *salutatio* um eine zutiefst asymmetrische Form der Interaktion. Für den Hausherrn ging es in erster Linie um die Anhäufung von sozialem Kapital. Ein jeder Morgen mit Besuchern gefülltes Haus unterstrich seine gesellschaftliche Stellung und machte seinen weitreichenden Einfluss unmittelbar sichtbar.[33] Seine Gäste konnten ihm dabei kaum auf Augenhöhe begegnen, schon allein, weil sie häufig als Bittsteller vor ihn traten. Spätantike Quellen erwähnen dementsprechend regelmäßig den Hochmut der Patrone gegenüber ihren Gästen. Der gallische Bischof Valerianus von Cemenelum berichtet etwa im 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr., es sei nicht selten vorgekommen, dass Klienten, die zur *salutatio* erschienen, vor verschlossener Tür hätten

[29] Goldbeck 2010; für die *salutatio* in der Spätantike s. Krause 1987, 21–23.

[30] Schneider 1914; Schnayder 1968; Goldbeck 2010, 100–101.

[31] Bernert 1936; Vogt 1978; Goldbeck 2010, 101–103.

[32] Rostowzew 1901; Gizewski 1997; Winterling 1999, 100–101 nur zu den kaiserlichen *cubicularii*; Goldbeck 2010, 103–104.

[33] Zur Zeit der Republik hatte die *salutatio* für den *dominus* noch einen ganz handfesten Vorteil. Sie festigte die Bindung zu seiner politischen Klientel, deren Stimmen für ihn bei der Wahl hoher Staatsämter von großem Wert waren. Mit Entstehung des Kaisertums fiel dieser Aspekt weg, da das Volk nun keinen Einfluss mehr auf die Vergabe von Ämtern mehr nahm. Goldbeck 2010, 264–277.

warten müssen, gleichzeitig aber auch schon für ein einmaliges Fernbleiben von der Morgenbegrüßung Vorhaltungen zu erwarten hatten.[34] In seinem in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. entstandenen Geschichtswerk entlarvt Ammianus Marcellinus die stadtrömischen Senatoren, wenn er beschreibt, wie diese ihre Gäste zwar mit ausgesuchter Freundlichkeit empfingen, deren Namen und Gesichter unmittelbar darauf aber schon wieder vergaßen.[35] Für die Besucher stellte die *salutatio* somit in erster Linie eine Erniedrigung dar, und das sogar bzw. gerade, wenn es sich bei ihnen selbst um Angehörige höherer Gesellschaftsschichten handelte. Dass sich etwa Senatoren dazu herabließen, Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. eine Audienz bei dem Eunuchen Eutropius zu besuchen, schildert der Dichter Claudian als Ausdruck tiefer Dekadenz.[36] Als *praepositus sacri cubiculi* kontrollierte dieser jedoch den Zugang zu Kaiser Arcadius und stellte damit die allermeisten Senatoren an Einfluss bei weitem in den Schatten. Hierin zeigt sich, warum es auch Angehörige der römischen Elite auf sich nehmen konnten, bei einer *salutatio* zu erscheinen. Verbindungen zu einflussreichen Persönlichkeiten – und damit wenigstens indirekt auch zum Kaiserhof – zu knüpfen, war nämlich die einzige Möglichkeit, für hohe Ämter in der Reichsverwaltung in Frage zu kommen. Für die meisten Teilnehmer des Morgenempfangs stand dies jedoch sicher kaum in Aussicht. Doch auch sie konnten davon profitieren, dem Hausherren ihre Aufwartung zu machen. So war es beispielsweise nicht selten, dass der Gastgeber Geldgeschenke, sog. *sportulae*, unter den Anwesenden verteilte.[37] Besonders

begehrt, weil relativ selten, waren Einladungen zu den abendlichen Gastmählern, den *convivia*.[38] Sie ermöglichten es, aus der Masse der morgendlichen Besucher herauszutreten und mit dem Gastgeber in deutlich kleinerem Kreis zu interagieren.

Wie die *salutatio* hatte sich auch das *convivium* in seiner typischen Form bereits in der römischen Republik ausgebildet. Idealtypisch handelte es sich beim aristokratischen Gastmahl um ein geselliges Zusammensein unter Freunden, doch spielten Standesdenken und politische Erwägungen auch hier eine gewichtige Rolle. Gegenseitige Einladungen waren geeignet, politische Bündnisse einzuleiten und waren oft der Rahmen für Absprachen unter Partnern.[39] Für den Gastgeber bot sich die Chance, den eigenen Reichtum in Szene zu setzen, wenn auch immer unter der Gefahr, unangemessen verschwenderisch zu wirken. Ammianus Marcellinus zufolge ließen es sich beispielsweise einige stadtrömische Senatoren seiner Zeit nicht nehmen, die großen Mengen an aufgetischten Speisen vor den Augen ihrer Gäste wiegen zu lassen, sodass niemandem ein Zweifel an ihrer Großzügigkeit bleiben konnte.[40] Verglichen mit der *salutatio* fehlte beim *convivium* die starke Polarisierung zwischen Gastgeber und Besuchern, obwohl auch hier peinlich genau darauf geachtet wurde, die verschiedenen Teilnehmer in eine hierarchische Beziehung zueinander zu setzen. Streng geregelte Sitzordnungen und die unterschiedliche Verteilung von Speise und Trank machten soziale Abstu-

---

[34] Val. Cem. hom. 14,4 (Migne, Patrologia Latina 52,736).

[35] Amm. 14,6,12–13.

[36] Claud. in Eutr. 2,63.

[37] Goldbeck 2010, 174–187.

[38] Schnurbusch 2011, 190–191 geht davon aus, dass die Einladung von Klienten zum Gastmahl eher eine Ausnahme darstellte.

[39] Zu den sozialen und politischen Aspekten des römischen *convivium*: id., 181–253.

[40] Amm. 28,4,13. Ammianus zieht die geschilderte Szene genüsslich ins Lächerliche, wie er auch an anderer Stelle die Gastmähler von Roms Senatoren als Ausdruck ihrer Verschwendungssucht anprangert: Amm. 14,6,16.

fungen für alle sichtbar. Bereits für das 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. belegt Plutarch, dass den einzelnen Plätzen an der Tafel ganz spezifische Wertigkeiten zugeschrieben wurden.[41] Auch die Teilnehmer eines Gastmahls, zu dem der weströmische Kaiser Maiorian im Jahr 461 n. Chr. nach Arles geladen hatte, waren genau dem Rang entsprechend, den sie innerhalb der spätrömischen Ämterhierarchie einnahmen, um den Tisch herum platziert.[42] Ein spezifisches Merkmal der antiken Gastmahlskultur war die Sitte, im Liegen zu speisen. Bei Tisch zu liegen, aufgestützt auf den linken Arm, war ein Zeichen von verfeinerter Kultur und privilegiertem Status. Dies wird vor allem dann deutlich, wenn man sich vor Augen hält, dass diese sehr passive Körperhaltung meist auch die Anwesenheit von Bediensteten nötig mach-te, die sich an Stelle des Liegenden bewegten, beispielsweise indem sie Speisen hereintrugen.[43] Gerade im Kontrast zwischen den ruhenden Gästen und dem geschäftig hin und her eilenden Hauspersonal manifestierte sich die herausgehobene gesellschaftliche Position der ersten Gruppe. Anders als bei der *salutatio*, wo Dienstpersonal dazu eingesetzt wurde, um Distanz zwischen dem *dominus* und seinen Besuchern zu schaffen, diente es hier dazu, beide als Teile einer grundsätzlich einheitlichen Gruppe auszuweisen.

Bevor nun geklärt werden kann, inwiefern die Architektur spätrömischer Häuser auf die Inszenierung dieser beiden recht unterschiedlichen Handlungen einwirkte, ist jedoch zunächst danach zu fragen, wo genau *salutatio* und *convivium* sich eigentlich abspielten. Für erstere stellt sich dies als einigermaßen problematisch dar. Zwar kann

man für die Zeit der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit noch recht sicher davon ausgehen, dass es in erster Linie die im Eingangsbereich der Häuser gelegenen Atrien und die direkt an sie anschließenden Räume waren, die bei der *salutatio* genutzt wurden.[44] Für die Spätantike lassen die Quellen eine vergleichbare Lokalisierung der Morgenbegrüßung in einem spezifischen Teil des Hauses jedoch nicht zu, zumal Atrien bereits seit dem 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. nicht mehr zum Repertoire römischer Anwesen gehörten. Bereits für die frühe Kaiserzeit stellen Jens-Arne Dickmann und ihm folgend Henner von Hesberg eine zunehmende Zurücknahme prachtvoller Eingangssituationen zugunsten einer reicheren Ausgestaltung der tiefer im Haus gelegenen Teile fest, eine Art „Introversion“ der römischen *domus*.[45] Eventuell lösten bereits damals die immer größer werdenden Repräsentationsräume im Inneren des Hauses die Atrien als Schauplatz der *salutatio* ab. Simon Ellis geht zumindest für das 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr., als die Atrien bereits endgültig verschwunden waren, von einer solchen Entwicklung aus.[46]

Die dann in der Spätantike so weit verbreiteten Apsidensäle dürften bestens geeignet gewesen sein, das asymmetrische Verhältnis zwischen Gastgeber und Besucher, welches bei der *salutatio* vorlag, zu unterstreichen. Ihre normalerweise herausragende Größe erlaubte eine Nutzung durch große Personengruppen. Während sich im rechteckigen Raumteil die Gäste versammeln konnten, dürfte die Apsis dem *dominus* vorbehalten gewesen sein. Apsiden als Mittel der Auszeichnung besonders prestigeträchtiger Orte, Gegenstände oder Personen hatten in der

---

[41] Plut. quaest. conv. 1,3 (mor. 619 B–F).
[42] Sidon. ep. 1,11,10; s. hierzu Ellis 1988, 575 und Ellis 1997, 50.
[43] Vgl. Dickmann 2011.

[44] Goldbeck 2010, 135–146.
[45] Dickmann 1999, 299–374; Hesberg 2005, 41–45.
[46] Ellis 2000, 68–69.

römischen Kunst eine lange Tradition.[47] Mit der *Domus Flavia* hielt die Apsis auch in die profane kaiserliche Repräsentationsarchitektur Einzug und betonte hier die Person des Herrschers.[48] Ihre große Zeit innerhalb der römischen Architekturgeschichte brach dann zweifellos mit Beginn der Spätantike an, wie sich bereits anhand des Teilgebietes der Hausarchitektur gezeigt hat. Beispiele für die hierarchisierende Funktion der Apsiden in spätrömischer Zeit sind etwa die Plätze des Klerus auf dem *Synthronon* im für Laien unzugänglichen Presbyterium spätantiker Kirchenräume oder der Platz des Kaisers in der Apsis der großen palatialen Empfangsräume.[49] Saß der *dominus* bei der *salutatio* in der Mittelachse der Apsis seinen Gästen gegenüber, so bediente er sich damit einer architektonischen Sprache, die diesen nur zu gut bekannt gewesen sein dürfte.

Beim Ermitteln des architektonischen Rahmens des spätantiken Gastmahls sind wir auf weitaus weniger Spekulation angewiesen. Anders als die *convivia* der Republik und der Kaiserzeit fanden die Gastmähler der Spätantike nicht auf rechtwinklig zueinander aufgestellten, geraden Liegen statt, sondern auf als *stibadia* oder *accubita* bezeichneten Möbeln, über deren Aussehen uns in erster Linie spätantike Bildzeugnisse unterrichten.[50] Mehrere sich zu einer Schmalseite hin verjüngende Liegen wurden an ihren Langseiten miteinander verbunden und bildeten

so ein halbkreisförmiges Möbelstück. Aufgrund ihrer Form bot sich diese Form der Möblierung hervorragend für die Aufstellung in einer Apsis an, sofern diese nur groß genug war. Belege dafür, dass Apsiden in der Tat als Aufstellungsorte für *stibadia* genutzt wurden, liefert die Archäologie. So wurde in einer stadtrömischen *domus* des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Zwickel zwischen dem Venus und Roma Tempel im Norden, dem Titusbogen im Westen und dem Palatin im Süden bei Ausgrabungsarbeiten eine fest installierte aufgemauerte *stibadium*-Liege in der Apsis des zentralen Empfangsraums freigelegt.[51]

Sowohl die *salutatio* als auch das *convivium* konnten also mutmaßlich in den großen Apsidensälen der spätrömischen Residenzen veranstaltet werden. Simon Ellis geht hier jedoch von einer funktionalen Trennung zwischen solchen Räumen, die für den Morgenempfang genutzt wurden und denen, in denen Gastmähler abgehalten wurden, aus. Als Beleg hierfür dient ihm eine Gruppe spätantiker Residenzen, die jeweils über zwei separate Apsidensäle verfügten, wobei der in der Nähe des Eingangsbereiches gelegene der *salutatio* und der tiefer im Haus befindliche dem *convivium* gedient hätte.[52] Damit wäre in der Spätantike eine Art Rückkehr zu den Verhältnissen der Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit zu konstatieren, als die Klienten unmittelbar im Eingangsbereich der Häuser empfangen wurden. Eine solche

---

[47]   Bereits in augusteischer Zeit tauchen Apsiden in den Tempeln der Venus Genetrix und des Mars Ultor auf den Fora des Caesar und des Augustus als optische Rahmung der Kultbilder auf. Tamm 1963, 147–182 mit einer Reihe weiterer Beispiele für den Einsatz von Apsiden in der römischen Architektur bis Domitian; Leppin – Ziemssen 2007, 81.

[48]   Zanker 2002, 111–114; Zanker 2004, 92–96.

[49]   Zur Kirchenarchitektur: Verstegen 2009, 575; zur Palastarchitektur: Leppin – Ziemssen 2007, 82–84.

[50]   Dunbabin 1991, 128–131; Dunbabin 1996, 74; Dunbabin 2003, 43–46, 164–169.

[51]   Guidobaldi – Guiglia Guidobaldi 1983, 230–238. Die Autoren interpretieren den Befund allerdings als *nymphaeum*, aufgrund eines in das *stibadium* eingebauten Wasserspiels. Derartige Installationen sind jedoch in der spätantiken Gastmahlarchitektur nicht unbedingt ungewöhnlich. S. Morvillez 2008.

[52]   Ellis 1985; Ellis 1991, bes. 120 Abb. 1. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören beispielsweise der sog. Palast des Dux im libyschen Apollonia (Goodchild 1976) oder der sog. Bischofspalast im karischen Aphrodisias (Berenfeld 2002; Berenfeld 2009).

Ausdifferenzierung in der Nutzung der einzelnen Apsidensäle dürfte allerdings kaum die Regel in der spätantiken Hausarchitektur gewesen sein, da bei der überwiegenden Mehrheit der spätrömischen Residenzen maximal ein solcher Raum zur Verfügung stand oder aber, wo es doch mehrere gab, keiner in auffälliger Weise in den Eingangsbereich gesetzt war.[53] Es kann also davon ausgegangen werden, dass in vielen spätantiken Häusern dieselben Apsidensäle sowohl für die *salutatio* als auch das *convivium* Verwendung fanden.

Wie genau nun gestaltete sich die architektonische Inszenierung des spätantiken Gastmahls? Durch die Platzierung der Speisenden in der Apsis wurde ein großer Teil des Raumes freigelassen, sodass hier mehr als genug Platz blieb für die vielfältigen Tätigkeiten des Dienstpersonals. Diese reichten vom Hereintragen von Speisen bis zur Aufführung musikalischer oder akrobatischer Unterhaltungsprogramme.[54] Katherine Dunbabin sieht in dieser Zweiteilung des Raums in einen Bereich für die Gäste und einen für das Personal den Hauptgrund, für die spätantike Sitte in Apsiden zu speisen.[55] Letztere wurden zu einer Art Zuschauerraum, während der davor gelegene Bereich das Auftreten der Dienerschaft wie eine Bühne effektvoll in Szene setzte. Es stellt sich allerdings die Frage, wieso ausgerechnet die architektonisch aufwändige Form der Apsis für diesen Zuschauerraum gewählt wurde, wo doch eine einfache Verlängerung des Raumes nach hinten einen vergleichbaren Effekt gehabt hätte. Auch wäre der besondere visuelle Eindruck der Apsis gewissermaßen verschenkt gewesen, wenn die Gäste nur aus ihr

herausblicken sollten. Simon Ellis vertritt daher die gegenteilige These, dass es die Apsiden gewesen seien, die als eine Art Bühne dienten, auf denen sich die Gastmahlsteilnehmer in Szene setzen konnten.[56] Beim Gastmahl stellt sich allerdings die Frage, wer eigentlich das intendierte Publikum für diese Bühne gewesen sein soll, wenn die Gäste auf ihr Platz genommen hatten. Übrig bleibt eigentlich nur noch die Dienerschaft, doch war diese wohl eher ein Medium der Selbstrepräsentation des Gastgebers als eigenständiger Empfänger von Botschaften.

Um die Probleme beider Thesen auflösen zu können, lohnt es sich, sich nicht allein auf den Zeitpunkt des Gastmahls zu konzentrieren, an dem die Gäste bereits ihre Plätze in der Apsis eingenommen hatten, sondern auch den Moment zu betrachten, an dem sie zum ersten Mal den Raum betraten. Dass dieser für die Inszenierung des ganzen Ablaufs von kritischer Bedeutung war, legt unter anderem die Fußbodengestaltung vieler Apsidensäle nahe. Der Dekor dort war vielfach so gestaltet, dass er nicht von der Apsis sondern von der Eingangsseite aus lesbar war.[57]

Bei diesem Moment des Eintretens in den Raum dürfte nun auch die Apsis ihre Wirkung auf die geladenen Gäste entfaltet haben. In diesem Fall überfing sie nicht eine Person oder einen besonderen Gegenstand, sondern vielmehr einen Freiraum, nämlich die leeren Liegen, die die Gäste erwarteten.

---

[53] Kritisch daher auch Bowes 2010, 42–46.
[54] Zu den verschiedenen Formen convivialer Unterhaltung s. Bonaria 1983; Jones 1991; D'Arms 1999; Schnurbusch 2011, 106–107, 169–177.
[55] Dunbabin 1996, 78; ähnlich auch Bowes 2010, 57.

[56] Ellis 1997, 46.
[57] Dies gilt z. B. für die Mosaikinschrift im Saal F des Hauses des Charidemos in Halikarnassos (s.o.). Auch solche Bilder, deren Thematik explizit mit dem *convivium* in Verbindung stand, waren häufig zum Eingang hin ausgerichtet. So z. B. das sog. Musikantinnenmosaik aus einem Apsidensaal im syrischen Mariamin, welches eine Gruppe von beim Gastmahl auftretenden Musikerinnen zeigt (Böhm 1998; Dunbabin 1999, 170–171).

Die meist langgestreckte Gestalt der Apsidensäle lenkte den Weg der Gastmahlsteilnehmer gleichzeitig auf diesen Freiraum hin zu. Ihnen wurde damit implizit klar gemacht, dass sie sogleich einen besonders privilegierten Platz einnehmen würden. Auf diese Weise nutzten die spätantiken Architekten geschickt visuelle Strategien aus dem Bereich der öffentlichen Architektur für die Inszenierung des Gastmahls.

Fazit

Abschließend soll noch einmal zusammengefasst werden, wie im spätantiken Haus die weitgehend statische Gestaltung der Empfangsräume mit den in ihnen stattfindenden und ständig wechselnden Handlungen zusammenwirken konnte, um jeweils unterschiedliche Bedeutungen zu kodieren. Bereits aufgrund ihrer architektonischen wie dekorativen Gestaltung besaßen die Apsidensäle spätantiker Elitenwohnhäuser einen Informationsgehalt, der für den damaligen Rezipienten unschwer zu entziffern gewesen sein dürfte. Die Proklamierung von sozialem Status war ein kontinuierlich wiederkehrendes Thema. Die in ihnen oder um sie herum angebrachten bildlichen Darstellungen führten dem Betrachter den Wertekanon der spätrömischen Aristokratie eindrücklich vor Augen. Sie bezeugten die aufwändigen öffentlichen Spektakel, welche die Eliten des Reiches finanzierten, vermittelten einen Eindruck vom Reichtum, der diesen zur Verfügung stand und hoben ihre Auftraggeber sogar auf eine Stufe mit den Heroen des antiken Mythos. Tugenden wie *virtus*, *dignitas* und *auctoritas*, die auch für die Repräsentation der Eliten im öffentlich-städtischen Kontext von zentraler Bedeutung waren, wurden in den privaten Empfangsräumen allenthalben propagiert. Auch die Architektur dieser Säle nahm deutliche Anleihen bei der Gestaltung öffentlicher Monumentalbauten. Gerade die Apsis war dem

spätantiken Betrachter als Zeichen bekannt, das Hierarchien betonte und die in ihm aufgestellten Objekte oder agierenden Personen visuell überhöhte.

Mittels unterschiedlicher Handlungen konnte die Aussagekraft dieser Empfangssäle nochmals konkretisiert und den jeweiligen Umständen angemessen angepasst werden. Sozialer Status wurde über die Platzierung innerhalb des physischen Raumes sichtbar gemacht. Bei der *salutatio* dürfte der *dominus* die zeichenhafte Wirkung der Apsis ausschließlich auf sich selbst bezogen haben, verstärkt dadurch, dass er vermutlich in ihrer Mittelachse platziert war. Die statusbetonenden Elemente in der Gestaltung des Raumes wurden damit in erster Linie auf den Hausherren projiziert, während seine ihm gegenüberstehenden Gäste ausgeschlossen und ihm klar untergeordnet blieben. Der asymmetrische Charakter der Interaktion war überdeutlich. Beim *convivium* setzte man die Wirkung der Apsis dagegen in entgegengesetzter Weise ein. Hier wurde der von ihr geschaffene, privilegierte Bereich den Gästen nicht nur vor Augen geführt sondern ihnen auch zugänglich gemacht. Auf diese Weise wurden auch sie als Mitglieder der herausgehobenen Gesellschaftsschicht inszeniert, deren Werte in der Gestaltung der Repräsentationssäle gefeiert wurden. Hierarchische Unterschiede waren zwar auch beim Gastmahl ganz klar gekennzeichnet, wurden aber durch das propagierte Idealbild vom geselligen Zusammensein unter Freunden stark abgemildert.

Am Beispiel der spätantiken Hausarchitektur zeigt sich, in welch hohem Maß der Handlungskontext, in den ein antiker Betrachter eingebunden war, bestimmt haben dürfte, auf welche Weise er architektonische Räume wahrnahm. Sowohl bei der *salutatio* als auch beim *convivium* war die für die

jeweilige Situation angemessene Wirkung bereits in der architektonisch-dekorativen Gestaltung der Empfangsräume angelegt.

Doch erst in Verbindung mit bestimmten Aktionen wurde sie gewissermaßen aktiviert und für die Rezipienten präzise erfahrbar.

Bibliografie

Berenfeld 2002
    M. L. Berenfeld, The Bishop's Palace at Aphrodisias (New York 2002)

Berenfeld 2009
    M. L. Berenfeld, The Triconch House and the Predecessors of the Bishop's Palace at Aphrodisias, AJA 113, 2009, 203–229

Bernert 1936
    RE XVII 1 (1936) 817–820 s. v. Nomenclator (E. Bernert)

Berry 1997
    J. Berry, Household Artefacts: Towards a Re-interpretation of Roman Domestic Space, in: Laurence – Wallace-Hadrill 1991, 183–195

Blanchard-Lemée 1981
    M. Blanchard-Lemée, La Maison de Bacchus à Djemila. Architecture et décor d'une grande demeure provinciale à la fin de l'Antiquité, BAParis 17, 1981, 131–143

Böhm 1998
    G. Böhm, "Quid acetabulorum tinnitus?". Bemerkungen zum Musikantinnen-Mosaik in Hama und zu einer Miniatur der sog. Wiener Genesis, MSpätAByz 1, 1998, 47–73

Bonaria 1983
    M. Bonaria, La musica conviviale dal mondo latino antico al medioevo, in: Spettacoli conviviali dall'antichità classica alle corti italiane del '400. Atti del VII convegno di studio: Viterbo, 27–30 maggio 1982 (Viterbo 1983) 119–147

Borg – Witschel 2001
    B. Borg – C. Witschel, Veränderungen im Repräsentationsverhalten der römischen Eliten während des 3. Jhs. n. Chr., in: G. Alföldy – S. Panciera (Hg.), Inschriftliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung in der römischen Welt, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 36 (Stuttgart 2001) 48–120

Borg 2007
    B. Borg, Bilder für die Ewigkeit oder glanzvoller Auftritt? Zum Repräsentationsverhalten der stadtrömischen Eliten im dritten Jahrhundert nach Christus, in: F. A. Bauer – C. Witschel (Hg.), Statuen in der Spätantike, Spätantike, frühes Christentum, Byzanz. Reihe B, Studien und Perspektiven 23 (Wiesbaden 2007) 43–77

Bourdieu 1991
    P. Bourdieu, Physischer, sozialer und angeeigneter physischer Raum, in: M. Wentz (Hg.), Stadt-Räume, Zukunft des Städtischen (Frankfurt – New York 1991) 25–34

Bowes 2010
    K. D. Bowes, Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire, Duckworth Debates in Archaeology (London 2010)

Brenk – Pensabene 1998–1999
    B. Brenk – P. Pensabene, Christliche Basilika oder christliche Domus der Tigriniani?, Boreas 21–22, 1998–1999, 271–299

Carandini u. a. 1982
    A. Carandini – A. Ricci – M. de Vos Raaijmakers – M. C. Keith, Filosofiana. La villa di Piazza Armerina. The Image of a Roman Aristocrat at the Time of Constantine (Palermo 1982)

Cüppers – Bernhard 1990
    H. Cüppers – H. Bernhard, Die Römer in Rheinland-Pfalz (Stuttgart 1990)

D'Arms 1999
    J. H. D'Arms, Performing Culture: The Roman Spectacle and the Banquets of the Powerful, in: B. A.
    Bergmann – C. Kondoleon (Hg.), The Art of Ancient Spectacle, Studies in the History of Art Symposium
    Papers / Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts 34 (Washington – New Haven – London 1999) 301–
    319

Dickmann 1999
    J.-A. Dickmann, Domus frequentata. Anspruchsvolles Wohnen im pompejanischen Stadthaus, Studien zur
    antiken Stadt 4 (München 1999)

Dickmann 2011
    J.-A. Dickmann, Die Benutzung römischen Tafelgeschirrs beim Gelage, in: J.-A. Dickmann – H. Meller
    (Hg.), Pompeji – Nola – Herculaneum. Katastrophen am Vesuv (Ausstellung "Pompeji - Nola -
    Herculaneum. Katastrophen am Vesuv", 9. Dezember 2011 – 8. Juni 2012) (München 2011) 266–276

Dunbabin 1978
    K. M. D. Dunbabin, The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage, Oxford
    Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford – New York 1978)

Dunbabin 1991
    K. M. D. Dunbabin, Triclinium and Stibadium, in: W. J. Slater (Hg.), Dining in a Classical Context (Ann
    Arbor 1991) 121–148

Dunbabin 1996
    K. M. D. Dunbabin, Convivial Spaces: Dining and Entertainment in the Roman villa, JRA 9, 1996, 66–80

Dunbabin 1999
    K. M. D. Dunbabin, Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World (Cambridge, New York 1999)

Dunbabin 2003
    K. M. D. Dunbabin, The Roman Banquet. Images of Conviviality (New York 2003)

Ellis 1985
    S. P. Ellis, "The Palace of the Dux" at Apollonia and Related Houses, in: G. Barker – J. A. Lloyd – J. M.
    Reynolds (Hg.), Cyrenaica in Antiquity, BAR International Series 236 (Oxford 1985) 15–25

Ellis 1988
    S. P. Ellis, The End of the Roman House, AJA 92, 1988, 565–576

Ellis 1991
    S. P. Ellis, Power, Architecture and Decor: How the Late Roman Aristocrat Appeared to his Guests, in: E. K.
    Gazda – A. E. Haeckl (Hg.), Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New Perspectives on the Architecture and
    Decor of the domus, villa, and insula (Ann Arbor 1991) 117–134

Ellis 1997
    S. P. Ellis, Late-antique Dining: Architecture, Furnishings and Behavior, in: Laurence – Wallace-Hadrill
    1997, 41–51

Ellis 2000
    S. P. Ellis, Roman Housing (London 2000)

Gizewski 1997
    DNP 3 (1997) 227 s. v. Cubicularius (C. Gizewski)

Goldbeck 2010
  F. Goldbeck, Salutationes. Die Morgenbegrüssungen in Rom in der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit, Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte. Beihefte n.F., Bd. 16 (Berlin 2010)

Goodchild 1976
  R. G. Goodchild, The Palace of the Dux, in: J. H. Humphrey (Hg.), Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene. Excavations by the University of Michigan 1965–1967, Libya antiqua Supplements 4 (Tripoli 1976) 245–265

Greatrex – Bardill 1996
  G. Greatrex – J. Bardill, Antiochus the "Praepositus": A Persian Eunuch at the Court of Theodosius II, DOP 50, 1996, 171–197

Guidobaldi – Guiglia Guidobaldi 1983
  F. Guidobaldi – A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, Pavimenti marmorei di Roma dal IV al IX secolo, Studi di antichità cristiana 36 (Vatikanstadt 1983)

Habermas 1982
  J. Habermas, Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft (Frankfurt am Main 1982)

Hesberg 2005
  H. von Hesberg, Die Häuser der Senatoren in Rom, in: W. Eck – M. Heil (Hg.), Senatores populi Romani. Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht: Kolloquium der Prosopographia Imperii Romani vom 11.–13. Juni 2004, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 40 (Stuttgart 2005) 19–52

Isager 1995
  S. Isager, Pagans in Late Roman Halikarnassos II. The Voice of the Inscriptions, Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens 1, 1995, 209–219

Jones 1991
  C. P. Jones, Dinner Theater, in: W. J. Slater (Hg.), Dining in a Classical Context (Ann Arbor 1991) 185–198

Kieckhefer 2004
  R. Kieckhefer, Theology in Stone. Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkeley (New York – Oxford 2004)

Krause 1987
  J.-U. Krause, Spätantike Patronatsformen im Westen des Römischen Reiches, Vestigia 38 (München 1987)

Lassus 1971
  J. Lassus, La salle à sept absides de Djemila-Cuicul, AntAfr 5, 1971, 193–207

Laurence – Wallace-Hadrill 1997
  R. Laurence – A. Wallace-Hadrill (Hg.), Domestic Space in the Roman world. Pompeii and Beyond, JRA Suppl. 22 (Portsmouth, RI 1997)

Leppin – Ziemssen 2007
  H. Leppin – H. Ziemssen, Maxentius. Der letzte Kaiser in Rom (Darmstadt 2007)

Lukken – Searle 1993
  G. Lukken – M. Searle, Semiotics and Church Architecture. Applying the Semiotics of A. J. Greimas and the Paris School to the Analysis of Church Buildings (Kampen 1993)

Möller 1981
  H. R. Möller, Innenräume, Aussenwelten. Studien zur Darstellung bürgerlicher Privatheit in Kunst und Warenwerbung (Giessen 1981)

Morvillez 2008

E. Morvillez, Les sigma-fontaines dans l'Antiquité tardive, in: K. Vössing (Hg.), Das Römische Bankett im Spiegel der Altertumswissenschaften. Internationales Kolloquium 5.–6. Oktober 2005, Schloss Mickeln, Düsseldorf (Stuttgart 2008) 37–54

Muth 1998

S. Muth, Erleben von Raum – Leben im Raum. Zur Funktion mythologischer Mosaikbilder in der römisch-kaiserzeitlichen Wohnarchitektur, Archäologie und Geschichte 10 (Heidelberg 1998)

Naumann – Belting 1966

R. Naumann – H. Belting, Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken, Istanbuler Forschungen 25 (Berlin 1966)

Niquet 2000

H. Niquet, Monumenta virtutum titulique. Senatorische Selbstdarstellung im spätantiken Rom im Spiegel der epigraphischen Denkmäler, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 34 (Stuttgart 2000)

Poulsen 1995

B. Poulsen, Pagans in Late Roman Halikarnassos I. The Interpretation of a Recently Excavated Building, Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens 1, 1995, 193–208

Poulsen 1997

B. Poulsen, The City Personifications in the Late "Roman Villa" in Halikarnassos, in: S. Isager – B. Poulsen (Hg.), Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity, Halicarnassian Studies 2 (Odense 1997) 9–23

Poulsen 2012

B. Poulsen, Patrons and Viewers: Reading Mosaics in Late Antiquity, in: S. Birk – B. Poulsen (Hg.), Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity (Aarhus 2012) 167–187

Raeck 1992

W. Raeck, Modernisierte Mythen. Zum Umgang der Spätantike mit klassischen Bildthemen (Stuttgart 1992)

Roller 2003

M. B. Roller, Horizontal Women: Posture and Sex in the Roman Convivium, AJPh 124, 2003, 377–422

Roller 2006

M. B. Roller, Dining Posture in Ancient Rome. Bodies, Values, and Status (Princeton, N.J 2006)

Rostowzew 1901

RE IV 2 (1901) 1734–1737 s. v. a Cubiculo, Cubicularius (M. I. Rostowzew)

Schnayder 1968

J. Schnayder, De servis quibus domini Graeci et Romani tamquam ianitoribus utebantur, Meander 23, 1968, 14–28

Schneider 1914

RE IX 1 (1914) 692–693 s. v. Ianitor (K. Schneider)

Schnurbusch 2011

D. Schnurbusch, Convivium. Form und Bedeutung aristokratischer Geselligkeit in der römischen Antike, Geschichte 219 (Stuttgart 2011)

Talgam – Weiss 2004

R. Talgam – Z. Weiss, The Mosaics of the House of Dionysos at Sepphoris. Excavated by E. M. Meyers, E. Netzer and C. L. Meyers, Qedem 44 (Jerusalem 2004)

Tamm 1963

B. Tamm, Auditorium and Palatium. A Study on Assembly-Rooms in Roman Palaces during the 1. Century B.C. and the 1. Century A.D., Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology 2 (Stockholm 1963)

Thür 2008

H. Thür, Zum Stadtpalast des Dionysospriesters C. Flavius Furius Aptus im Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos, in: C. Franek (Hg.), Thiasos. Festschrift für Erwin Pochmarski zum 65. Geburtstag, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Archäologie der Karl- Franzens-Universität Graz 10 (Wien 2008) 1057–1072

Verstegen 2009

U. Verstegen, Die symbolische Raumordnung frühchristlicher Basiliken des 4. bis 6. Jahrhunderts. Zur Interdependenz von Architektur, Liturgie und Raumausstattung, RACr 85, 2009, 567–600

Vinicio Gentili 1999

G. Vinicio Gentili, La Villa romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol. 1 (Ancona 1999)

Vinicio Gentili 1999b

G. Vinicio Gentili, La Villa romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol. 3 (Ancona 1999)

Vogt 1978

J. Vogt, Nomenclator. Vom Lautsprecher zum Namensverarbeiter, Gymnasium 85, 1978, 327–338

Winterling 1999

A. Winterling, Aula Caesaris. Studien zur Institutionalisierung des römischen Kaiserhofes in der Zeit von Augustus bis Commodus (31 v. Chr.–192 n. Chr.) (München 1999)

Zanker 2002

P. Zanker, Domitian's Palace on the Palatine and the Imperial Image, in: A. K. Bowman (Hg.), Representations of Empire. Rome and the Mediterranean World, Proceedings of the British Academy 114 (Oxford – New York 2002) 105–130

Zanker 2004

P. Zanker, Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin als Monument kaiserlicher Selbstdarstellung, in: A. Hoffmann – U. Wulf (Hg.), Die Kaiserpaläste auf dem Palatin in Rom. Das Zentrum der römischen Welt und seine Bauten, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz 2004) 86–99

Trading Goods – Trading Gods. Greek Sanctuaries in the Mediterranean and their Role as *emporia* and 'Ports of Trade' (7th–6th Century BCE)

Robinson Peter Krämer

Abstract: Greek sanctuaries are well known primarily as places within the community to feast and worship the gods. Since the late 7th century BCE, certain sanctuaries, such as Gravisca, Pyrgi or Naukratis, were founded in frontier zones, where they provided access to other cultural groups and featured peculiar economic characteristics. Karl Polanyi defined these sanctuaries as 'ports of trade'. Sanctuaries with the function as 'ports of trade' or '*emporia*', typically do not consist of large settlement structures, but offer features for trade and exchange, a protecting neutrality, and function as a gateway between at least two parties. The archaeological record indicates an important Greek presence in 'ports of trade' situated in frontier zones. Additionally, administrative structures and exchanged goods suggest a completely transformed trading strategy from the late 7th/early 6th century BCE onwards. This paper argues that '*emporia*' were the key institution for the beginning of an intensive Mediterranean long distance trade in the Classical World.

Introduction

Although Greek sanctuaries had different topographic, architectural, cultic and functional features, generally they were centrally located within a *polis*, which highlighted its identity. Often, these cult places defined the *polis'* territory, frontier and social space, or as Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, the sacred landscape of all Greek city-states.[1] The economic functions of these sanctuaries ('temple economy') were based on endowments, ownership of land and livestock, and the provision of religious services (e.g. sale of priesthoods or healing and oracle services).[2] During the late 7th and 6th century BCE, however, new types of Greek sanctuaries were established: 'ports of trade' or *emporia*, located in frontier zones to other cultural groups and used primarily for trade.

emporia and ‚ports of trade‘

The term *emporion* comes from the ancient Greek word ἐμπόριον, which means 'trading post' and it can be found several times in Herodotus' Histories.[3] With the studies of Karl Lehmann-Hartleben[4], this term became a *terminus technicus* for harbours and trade centers, which functioned as neutral ex-

---

[1] Cole 1995; de Polignac 1995; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000b; Funke 2009; Funke – Haake 2013.

[2] Rosenberger 2002; Horster 2004; Papazarkadas 2011.

[3] The term ἐμπόριον can be found in the following passages of Herodotus: 1, 165, 1; 2, 178–179 (about Naukratis); 3, 5, 2 (about trading posts in the Levant); 4, 20, 1 (about Kremnoi); 4, 24 (about Borysthenes and other trading posts in Pontos); 4, 108, 2; 4, 152, 3 (about Tartessos); 7, 158, 2; 9, 106, 3. For other ancient usages see Casevitz 1993; Counillon 1993; Étienne 1993.

[4] Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, esp. 28–45.

change places between at least two parties without local settlement structures. Karl Polanyi identified the term *emporion* from Classical studies with his general concept of 'ports of trade', which he applied to many cultures and societies.[5] Despite some striking differences, both terms are widely used in similar ways by scholars of Classical studies.[6] However, both terms and their significance have been and still are intensively discussed.[7] It is particularly problematic that scholars tend to label heterogeneous time periods, cultures and concepts with the term 'port of trade'. Nevertheless, some basic characteristics can be stated in respect to this phenomenon:

(1) They are positioned in topographic, cultural and political frontier zones, often as coastal harbours or at political borders;

(2) They serve primarily as a gateway for the long distance trade between at least two parties;

(3) They guarantee safety and/or neutrality during the trade in the form of cult places, neutral zones, etc.;

(4) They do not have settlement structures, or very few of them.

Fig. 1 Map of the Mediterranean with the most important sites in this paper (author with Natural Earth [www.naturalearthdata.com]).

5 Polanyi 1963.
6 For a critical examination of this problem, see: Möller 2000, 60 f. with note 157 and reference; Schweizer 2007, 315–317; Demetriou 2011, 255–258; Demetriou 2012, 16–19. The main difference between *emporion* and ‚port of trade' lies in the fact that an *emporion* is an exclusively Greek institution, which is (other than the 'port of trade') not independent and neutral, but a self-governing unit.
7 The complex research history cannot be reflected here completely, see for the terms and their discussion e.g.: Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, 28–45; Polanyi 1963; Figueira 1984; Bresson – Rouillard 1993; Rouillard 1995; Hansen 1997; von Reden 1997; Möller 2000, 60–70; Möller 2001; Hansen 2006; Schweizer 2006, 102–126; Schweizer 2007; Demetriou 2011; Demetriou 2012, esp. 16–23.

This paper targets those *emporia* which were established during the 7th–5th century BCE by Ionian Greeks in the entire Mediterranean and which provide evidence that their central component was cultic; examples include: Naukratis, Gravisca, Pyrgi, Tartessos and Massalia. Due to the amount of available sources, Gravisca and Naukratis are my main case studies for this analysis; however, I also take other contexts and sources into consideration. The main questions concern the features of *emporia*, their role in the Mediterranean long distance trade and the reasons for their founding by the Ionian city-states in this particular time period. I argue

that the new sanctuary foundations in *empo-ria* represent a goal-oriented and effective trade policy of the Ionian *poleis* with foreign administrative trading partners. From an economic point of view, this trade policy creates the first Mediterranean long distance trade on a large scale in the Classical world due to the introduction of social structures and a drastic reduction of transaction costs.

Foundation and initial phase

Naukratis and Gravisca, provide information on the foundation and initial phase of *empo-ria*. Located in the western Nile Delta on the Canopic branch of the Nile, Naukratis[8] was connected directly to the residence city of Sais via a Nile passage and consists of sev-eral sanctuary areas **(fig. 2)**.
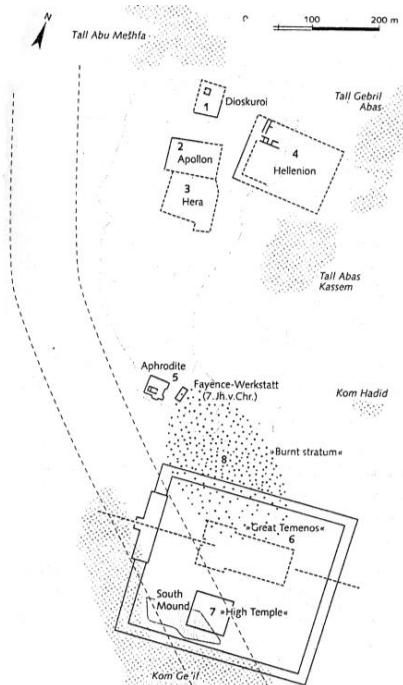

Fig. 2 Overview of the sanctuary areas of Naukratis (after Vittmann 2003, 215 fig. 108).

---

[8]   For Naukratis see the research project of the British Museum 'Naukratis. Greeks in Egypt' under the direction of Alexandra Villing with publications, references and an extensive online catalogue: The British Museum, Naukratis. Greeks in Egypt. (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/resea rch_projects/all_current_projects/naukratis_the _greeks_in_egypt.aspx>, 30.11.2015).

The reconstruction of the foundation and the initial phase of Naukratis turned out to be complicated. Herodotus is the earliest liter-ary source that describes the beginnings of Naukratis:

φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μέν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἐὸν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεύμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἵδε αἱ πόλιες εἰσὶ αἱ ἱδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἁλικαρνησσὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη.[9]

Pharaoh Amasis (570–526 BCE) offered permission to the Greeks to found Naukratis, a trade complex with sacred areas for Greek deities. The largest and most famous cult place, the *Hellenion*, would have been founded by the nine *poleis* of Asia Minor,

---

[9]   Hdt. 2, 178, 1–2: "Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without de-sire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cit-ies of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicar-nassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene." (translation Godley 1946).

Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos, Phaselis und Mytilene, which also would have supervised Naukratis. In fact, the oldest pottery findings relate to the Ionian coast and indicate a foundation of Naukratis around 620/610 BCE (i.e. before the reign of Amasis). One of the earliest cult structures, the sanctuary of Aphrodite, dates back to this period.[10] The establishment of the sanctuary at this time would coincide with the reign of Psamtik I (664–610 BCE), which is supported by Diodorus Siculus:

> καθόλου δὲ πρῶτος τῶν κατ᾽
> Αἴγυπτον βασιλέων ἀνέῳξε τοῖς
> ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην
> χώραν ἐμπόρια καὶ πολλὴν
> ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς καταπλέουσι
> ξένοις παρείχετο.[11]

Strabo also describes the foundation of Naukratis during the reign of Psamtik I and refers to the Milesians as the founders:

> εἶθ᾽ ἡ Περσέως σκοπὴ καὶ τὸ
> Μιλησίων τεῖχος: πλεύσαντες
> γὰρ ἐπὶ Ψαμμιτίχου τριάκοντα
> ναυσὶ Μιλήσιοι (κατὰ Κυαξάρη
> δ᾽ οὗτος ἦν τὸν Μῆδον)
> κατέσχον εἰς τὸ στόμα τὸ
> Βολβίτινον, εἶτ᾽ ἐκβάντες
> ἐτείχισαν τὸ λεχθὲν κτίσμα:
> χρόνῳ δ᾽ ἀναπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν
> Σαϊτικὸν νομὸν
> καταναυμαχήσαντες Ἰνάρων

πόλιν ἔκτισαν Ναύκρατιν οὐ
πολὺ τῆς Σχεδίας ὕπερθεν.[12]

Although discussions concerning the beginnings of Naukratis have been intense and controversial[13], the oldest findings of Naukratis date back to the late 7th century BCE and support the written records of the foundation of Naukratis during the reign of Psamtik I. The earliest pottery findings also suggest a foundation by Ionian *poleis*, as evidenced by the above discussed written sources. On the other hand, the earliest building activities may relate to a restructuring of the *emporion* around 570 BCE, during the reign of Amasis.

The two sanctuary areas of Gravisca **(fig. 3)** were part of the harbour site of Tarquinia situated directly at the Tyrrhenian coast. Both sanctuaries consist of several building complexes and cult areas, which can be mostly assigned to specific deities. In this case no written records describe the initial phase of Gravisca, and so only archaeological data can be used to reconstruct the *emporion's* beginning. Many of the earliest findings from Gravisca are fragments of Ionian pottery, which can be dated roughly to ca. 620–600 BCE.[14] Other findings include a rim fragment of a *dinos* in 'Wild Goat Style', a Samian griffin protome of a bronze cauldron, and a Laconian bronze figurine of

---

[10] Möller 2000, 102–104; Kerschner 2001, 78–90; Schlotzhauer – Villing 2006.

[11] Diod. 1, 67, 9: "[…] and, speaking generally, he was the first Egyptian king to open to other nations the trading-places throughout the rest of Egypt and to offer a large measure of security to strangers from across the seas." (translation Oldfather 1968).

[12] Strab. 17, 1, 18: "And then to the Watch-tower of Perseus and the Wall of the Milesians; for in the time of Psammetichus (who lived in the time of Cyaxares the Mede) the Milesians, with thirty ships, put in at the Bolbitine mouth, and then, disembarking, fortified with a wall the above-mentioned settlement; but in time they sailed up into the Saitic Nome, defeated the city Inaros in a naval fight, and founded Naucratis, not far above Schedia." (translation Jones 1959).

[13] Möller 2000, 182–196; Möller 2001, esp. 13–21; Vittmann 2003, 211–214; Demetriou 2012, 109–123; Fantalkin 2014.

[14] For this topic, see Boldroni 1994, esp. 253.

Aphrodite, which also belong to this phase.[15] The figurine seems to indicate that the most ancient cult of Gravisca was one dedicated to Aphrodite as the protector of mariners.[16] The oldest building structure, which belongs

in Gravisca, the Samians would establish an *emporion* around 600 BCE and would dedicate shortly afterwards a bronze cauldron to their gods (one time in the *emporion* and the other one in Samos). In my opinion, this is
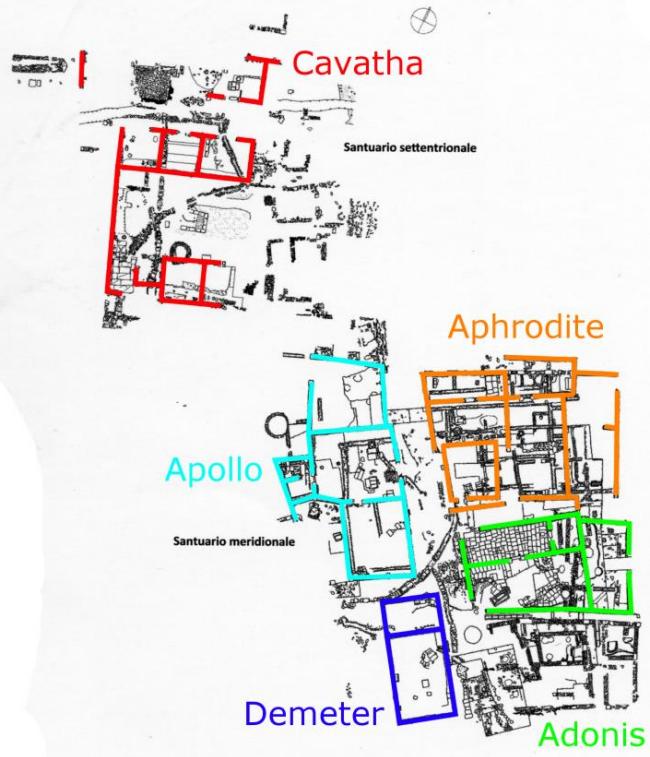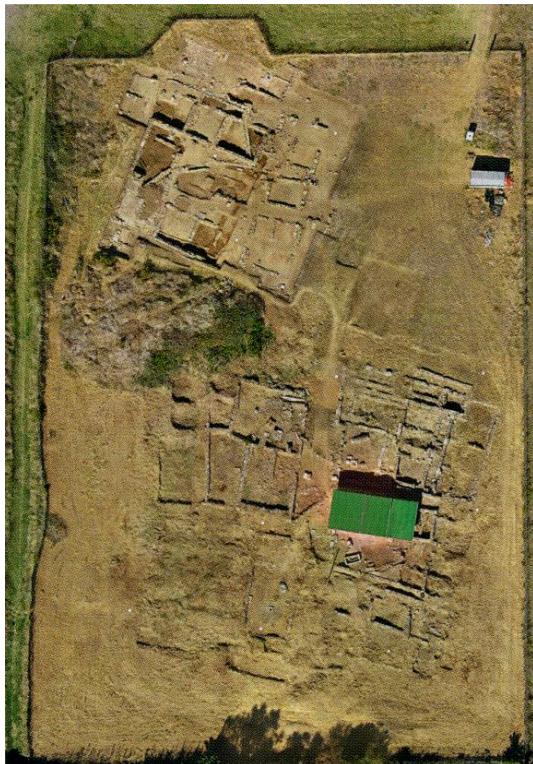
Fig. 3. The two sanctuary areas of Gravisca (author after Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 31 f. fig. 1–2).

to a shrine of Aphrodite, dates back to around 580 BCE.[17]

The finding of a Samian griffin protome in the earliest phase of Gravisca is particularly important. Herodotus[18] tells us that shortly after the discovery of Tartessos, at ca. 600 BCE, the Samians dedicated a tenth of their profits in the form of a bronze cauldron with griffin protomes to the Sanctuary of Hera in Samos. In both cases, in Tartessos as well as

no coincidence, but a strategic Ionian procedure, which can be reconstructed in one case with written sources and in the other case with the archaeological record. With the exception of scholars such as Mario Torelli and Lucio Fiorini,[19] these common characteristics of the foundations of Gravisca and Naukratis have not been sufficiently taken into account. These observations are particularly important since they provide a new interpretative framework in which to situate Gravisca and Naukratis into the entire phenomenon of '*emporia*' and 'ports of trade'.

---

[15] Boldroni 1994, 90–93 Nr. 157; Torelli 2004, 125 f., 146 f., fig. 31, 32, 34; Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 31. 72 Nr. 11–13 with fig.

[16] See Demetriou 2012, 91–96 with reference.

[17] Torelli 2004, 125–127; Fiorini 2005, 181–185; Fiorini – Torelli 2010, 42 f.; Demetriou 2012, 88; Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 31–33.

[18] Hdt. 4, 152, 4.

[19] Torelli 2004, 125–127; Fiorini 2005, 181–185; Fiorini – Torelli 2010, 42 f.

Indigenous control and administration

An important topic is the control and administration of the *emporia*. A (Eastern-)Greek presence dominated in Naukratis, but the written sources indicate that the Egyptian government allowed the establishment of this *emporion*.[20] Naukratis seems to have been a unique institution for contact between Greeks and Egyptians, which was completely embedded in the local administration structures. Herodotus states:

> ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη
> Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο
> οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν
> τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου
> ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν ὀμόσαι μὴ μὲν
> ἑκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ
> τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ
> Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μή γε οἷά τε εἴη
> πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ
> φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι
> περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκοιτο
> ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ
> Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο.[21]

Greeks, apart from mercenaries,[22] were only tolerated as merchants within the *emporion*, while in the heavily guarded frontiers, Greeks were considered intruders.[23] A statue of the Egyptian Nakhthorheb identifies his title as "agent at the gate of the foreign countries of the Mediterranean ("the Great Green Area")". Nakhthorheb seems to have been an administrative officer with authority over Naukratis and the Greek trade.[24]
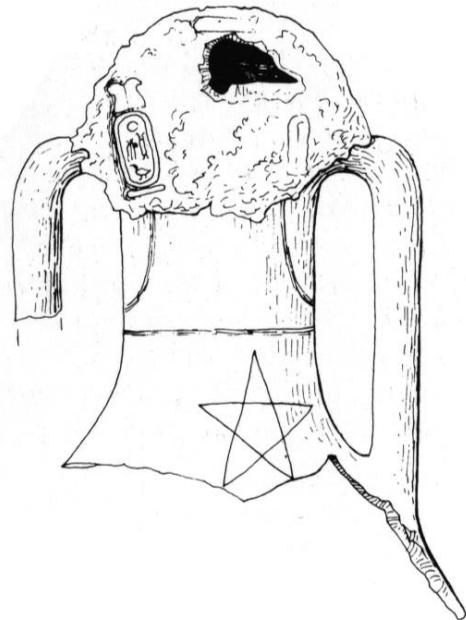
Fig. 4 Fragment of a Chian transport amphora sealed with an emblem of Amasis (after Boardman 1999, 129 fig. 152).

Another indication of a central administration and control of Greek imports is given by a fragment of a Chian transport amphora dating back to the 6th century BCE **(fig. 4)**, which was sealed with an emblem of Pharaoh Amasis.[25] Only the king and his administrative system were in charge of the Chian wine and all Greek imports. Even the Egyptian folk-etymological translation of Pharaoh Psamtik I's name indicates his administrative function. The name Psamtik (*Psmṯk*; maybe: "man of the God *Mṯk*") is probably Libyan and has been translated folk-

---

[20] See above with notes 9 and 11.
[21] Hdt. 2, 179: "Naucratis was in old time the only trading port in Egypt. Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naucratis. In such honour was Naucratis held." (translation Godley 1946).
[22] Vittmann 2003, 197–209.
[23] One feels reminded of accounts on Greek raids in Egypt passed on by Homer (Hom. Od. 14, 252–272) and Herodotus (Hdt. 2, 152, 4–5). See also Vittmann 2003, 197–199 on this topic.

[24] Pressl 1998, 270 Nr. F 22.1; Vittmann 2003, 220 with fig. 111 and note 92; Agut-Labordère 2012, 364 f.; Agut-Labordère 2013, 1005 f. Administrative officers and heads of the Egyptian borderline, which were also responsible for customs and taxes, are attested in many cases; see on this topic Pressl 1998, 70–73 Chapter 7.1.2.
[25] Boardman 1999, 129 with fig. 152.

etymologically in Egyptian texts as "man/ merchant of mixed wine".[26] As mentioned above, Pharaoh Psamtik I allowed the foundation of Naukratis and the first importations of large quantities of Greek wine to Egypt. This fact remained in the cultural memory of the Egyptian population and led to the folk-etymological translation of Psamtik I's Libyan name, which reflects the economic change in Egypt with the establishment of the Greek *emporion*.
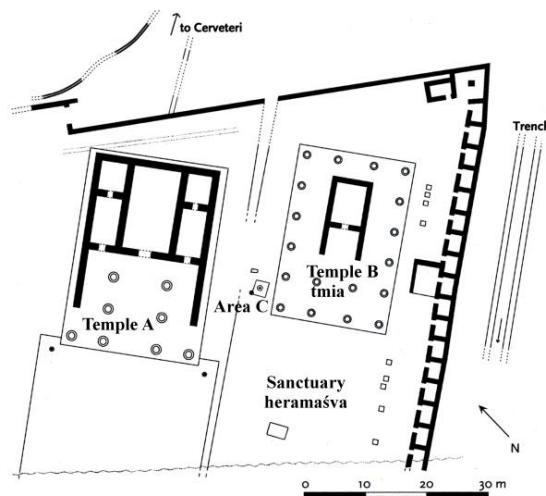

Fig. 5 The Northern Sanctuary of Pyrgi with the Etruscan terms mentioned in the gold foils (author, after S. Haynes, Etruscan Civilization. A Cultural History (Los Angeles 2000) 175 fig. 152a and Colonna 2010, 300 fig. 7).

In Pyrgi **(fig. 5)** we have access to another archaic *emporion* in southern Etruria. Pyrgi was one of the harbours of Caere and consists – like Gravisca – of two sanctuaries. This place is situated directly on the Tyrrhenian coast and was connected to Caere by a large street. In the northwestern main sanctuary, three inscribed gold foils **(fig. 6)** have been found in Area C. These foils can be dated to ca. 500 BCE and were originally at-

tached to the door of Temple B.[27] Two of the foils are inscribed in Etruscan and one in Phoenician.

Fig. 6 Drawing of the three gold foils from Pyrgi (after G. Colonna (ed.), Santuari d'Etruria. Exhibition catalogue Arezzo (Milan 1985) 135).

The Phoenician and the Etruscan text of the gold foils mention the dedication of a sanctuary area (probably Temple B) to the goddess Uni-Astarte by the ruler Thefarie Velianas:

LRBT L'ŠTRT 'ŠR QDŠ | 'Z 'Š P'L
W'Š YTN | TBRY' . WLNŠ MLK
'L | KYŠRY' . BYRH . ZBH | ŠMŠ
BMTN 'BBT.[28]

ita . tmia . icac . he | ramaśva .
vatieχe | unialastres . θemia | sa .
meχ . θuta . θefa | rie{i} . velianas
. sal cluvenias turuce […].[29]

---

26 Quaegebeur 1990; Colin 1996, Vol. 2, 121; Jansen-Winkeln 2000, 16 f.; Vittmann 2007, 152 with note 74; A. Schütze, WiBiLex s. v. Psammetich I.
(www.bibelwissenschaft.de/de/stichwort/31564, 31.08.2015).

27 For the original context and a historical classification see Colonna 2010, esp. 276–286. 297–300 fig. 1–7; for the Etruscan inscriptions see Maras 2009, 349–356 Nr. Py do.1–2.

28 "For the Lady, for Astarte (is) this holy place which Thefarie Velunas, king over Kaysriye, made, and which he put in the temple in *Mtn*, the month of solar sacrifices." (translation P. C. Schmitz [1995, 562]). For the Phoenician text of the gold foils from Pyrgi see Schmitz 1995.

29 "This temple [Temple B, *tmia* (fig. 5)] and this sanctuary [*heramaśva* (fig. 5)] have been desired(?) by Uni for her own favour; Thefarie Velianas, after accomplishing the action θemi in relation with *meχ θuta*, *sal cluvenias* he dedi-

In both cases, Thefarie Velianas is addressed as a ruler or king[30]. In his role as the Lord of Caere, he built a monumental complex dedicated to the goddess Uni-Astarte and most likely, held an administrative control over the *emporion* of Pyrgi.

Deities and worshippers

Most of the deities of the *emporia* were Greek, despite local administrative control. In Naukratis **(fig. 2)**, there was a *Hellenion*[31] where the "Gods of the Greeks" (τοῖς Θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων)[32] were worshipped. In addition, Naukratis featured cult places for Apollo[33], Hera[34], Zeus(?)[35], Aphrodite[36] and the Dioskouri[37]. At Gravisca **(fig. 3)**, Aphrodite, Hera, Apollo, Adonis and Demeter were venerated in the Southern Sanctuary, while the Northern Sanctuary consisted of cult places for the Etruscan deities Śuri and Cavatha.[38] Etruscan deities were mainly worshipped in Pyrgi, such as Uni[39] and Thesan[40] in the Monumental Sanctuary, while Śuri and Cavatha were worshiped in the Southern Sanctuary. However, in this case there is

also evidence of *interpretationes* or "international syncretisms of cults".[41]

The study of the votive inscriptions of the Southern Sanctuary of Gravisca sheds light on the background of worshippers in *emporia*.[42] Besides trademarks, single letters and unidentifiable inscriptions, 121 Greek inscriptions exist: 42 to Hera, six to Aphrodite, two to Apollo, one to Demeter and one to Zeus and his sons (the Dioskouri).[43] In contrast, only 53 Etruscan inscriptions have been found, one of which was dedicated to Uni, ten to Turan and two possibly to Vei.[44] Thus, not only the dominant Greek presence in the Southern Sanctuary of Gravisca is interesting, but also the difference in the venerated deities within the Greek and Etruscan offerings.

Votive inscriptions not only make the identification of deities possible, but they also tell us about the origins and backgrounds of the worshippers as well. The most famous example might be of the Greek merchant Sostratos of Aigina. Herodotus describes the discovery of the unknown Tartessos by the Samians and its untapped resources. However, even after its discovery, the Samians' profits were no competition for Sostratos of Aigina:

---

cated [...]" (translation author after D. F. Maras [2009, 349–354]).

[30] In Phoenician as MLK ʾL KYŠRYʾ, which means king of Caere; in Etruscan as *zilacal seleitala* (further below on the gold foil and not quoted here), which means clearly a form of autocratic rule. It remains unclear if the Etruscan title refers to a king, tyrant, or to another office.

[31] Möller 2000, 105–108; Höckmann – Möller 2006.

[32] Höckmann – Möller 2006, 13–15.

[33] Möller 2000, 94–99.

[34] Möller 2000, 101.

[35] Möller 2000, 104.

[36] Möller 2000, 102–104.

[37] Möller 2000, 99 f.

[38] Apollo (Apollo Soranus in the Faliscan and Roman Religion) and Persephone in the *interpretatio graeca*.

[39] Uni has been syncretized with the Greek Goddess Hera and with the Phoenician Goddess Astarte.

[40] Thesan has been syncretized with the Greek Goddess Leukothea and with the Roman Goddess Mater Matuta.

[41] Besides the gold foils from Pyrgi that reference the Etruscan Uni and the Punic Astarte, in some cases Greek merchants also dedicated vases to Greek deities, such as Demeter and Kore: Colonna 2004, 71 f. 92 f. fig. 3–8. See also Figure 7 below with references for the Attic plate with a dedication of a Sostratos.

[42] On this topic, see Johnston – Pandolfini 2000.

[43] Johnston – Pandolfini 2000, 17–19 Nr. 4–56; 23–27.

[44] Johnston – Pandolfini 2000, 71 Nr. 375–388; 74–79.

τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν
ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον,
ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι
ὀπίσω μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων
πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκείην
ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν,
μετά γε Σώστρατον τὸν
Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγινήτην: τούτῳ
γὰρ οὐκ οἷά τε ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι
ἄλλον.[45]

The merchant Sostratos mentioned in the passage above is probably linked to the worshipper who dedicated an anchor stone to Apollo around 500 BCE in Gravisca. The votive inscription states:

Ἀπό|λον|ος Αἰ|γινά|τα ἐμ|ί.
Σόστ|ρατος |ἐποίη|σε ho|[…].[46]

Unfortunately, the patronymic within the inscription is not preserved on the anchor stone, so we do not know if it was the Laodamas mentioned by Herodotus. Not only the name Sostratos links the votive inscription to Herodotus' account. In addition, the inscription names Apollo of Aigina as the recipient while Aigina is also the home of Herodotus' Sostratos. Therefore, both sources may well refer to the same person. The name Sostratos is attested also on an Attic plate fragment **(fig. 7)** from Pyrgi with the votive inscription, "[Σω]στρατος :

ανε[θηκεν …?]".[47] Since the fragment can be dated to the late 6th century BCE, we may be dealing with the famous merchant. Other examples seem to be more difficult to interpret, e.g. trademarks with the inscription "ΣΟ" on pottery dating from the period of 530–500 BCE, which may be abbreviations for Sostratos;[48] however, there is no evidence that indicates this is the case. The same applies to two dedications from Naukratis by a certain Sostratos, found on a bowl and a kantharos of Chian production dated to the late 7th and early 6th century BCE.[49] Even though both vessels have been dated to 60–100 years before the previously mentioned examples, it has been suggested that the two men with the same name could have been from the same 'merchant dynasty'.[50] Yet, these suggestions have been criticized by scholars.[51]

---

[45] Hdt. 4, 152, 3: "Now this [Tartessos] was at that time a virgin [unvisited] port; wherefore the Samians brought back from it so great a profit on their wares as no Greeks ever did of whom we have any exact knowledge, save only Sostratus of Aegina, son of Laodamas; with him none could vie." (translation Godley 1957).

[46] I belong to the Apollon of Aigna, Sostratos made me, [son of Laodamas?]… Johnston – Pandolfini 2000, 15 f. Nr. 1 with fig.; Schweizer 2007, 307–309; Demetriou 2012, 64 f. with fig. 4; 80 f.; Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 70–72 Nr. 8 with fig.

[47] Sostratos dedicated[…?]. Colonna 2004, 71 with note 8; 92 fig. 3; Schweizer 2007, 309 with note 20.

[48] Johnston 1979, 189 f. Type 21A; Johnston – Pandolfini 2000, 15 f.; Johnston 2006, 56–59 Type 21A; Schweizer 2007, 309 with note 19.

[49] London, British Museum. Inv. 1888,0601.456 (bowl) and 1924,1201.783 (kantharos). Möller 2000, 56 f. 178 Nr. 2; 249 Nr. 2b; Pl. 4; Williams 2006, 128 with fig. 5; Schweizer 2007, 309–311; Demetriou 2012, 80 f. 138 fig. 12 with indications to the pieces, further reference, and the research history.

[50] Therefore, there would be a Sostratos I (Naukratis; end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century BCE) – Laodamas (mentioned by Herodotus) – Sostratos II (trademarks, Gravisca, Pyrgi; ca. 530–500 BCE). For a rightly critical assessment, see Schweizer 2007, 310 with further references.

[51] E.g. by Schweizer 2007, 310 ("Die Spur des Sostratos derart weiter zu verfolgen, erfordert dann aber wohl doch zu viele Vorannahmen.") and Demetriou 2012, 81 ("Scholars have carried the parallels between Naukratis and Gravisca too far, however").

Fig. 7 Attic plate from Pyrgi with probable dedication of a Sostratos (after Colonna 2004, 92 fig. 3).

While a single person with the name Sostratos can hardly be found at the same time in Naukratis and Gravisca, there are plausible examples for other merchants. The rare Ionian name Hyblesios appears around 550 BCE on one dedication to Hera at Naukratis and Gravisca; thus, it would appear that one Samian merchant with this name traded and dedicated in both *emporia*.[52] The same can be assumed about a certain Zoilos, whose name appears on several dedications in Naukratis around 570–550 BCE and on a Little-master cup in Gravisca dated to ca. 550–530 BCE, which indicate that one merchant was active in both *emporia*.[53] As they are located far away from each other, this indicates a high mobility and trading specialization, as well as potential enormous profits for Greek merchants.

What was exchanged?

Emporia were highly frequented institutions where merchants played a key role. What stimulated the interest of the Greek merchants and what was exchanged on such a large scale? Since in Greece no Egyptian or Etruscan specialty products[54] exist in suffi-

cient quantities for these trade networks, we have to think primarily of commodity trade. However, which commodities interested Ionian merchants?

The numerous Greek vases found in Etruria provide information about the nature and numbers of wares imported through *emporia*. But what resources were exported in return to Greece? This question is not easily answered, because many resources were consumed with little material signature in the archaeological record. Written sources provide little information for the Archaic and Classical period in Etruria. Enough information about the details of the commodity trade only exists for the period of the Second Punic Wars. During the preparations of Publius Cornelius Scipio for his invasion of Africa, the Etruscan city-states supported him by providing their own local resources (*pro suis quisque facultatibus*): Caere provided grain, Populonia iron, Tarquinia linen for sails, Volterra interior fittings of ships and grain, Arezzo weaponry, and Perugia, Chiusi and Roselle fir and grain.[55] One might suggest that the Greek merchants were mainly interested in grains, wood and metal.[56]

Egypt provides us with much more information due to an Aramaic customs account, which is the longest customs account in antiquity and dates back to 475 or 454 BCE, the 11th year of the reign of Xerxes I (486–465 BCE) or Artaxerxes I (465–424/423 BCE).[57] This account consisted originally of 60–70 columns, of which 40 are at least par-

---

[52]   Demetriou 2012, 79 f. with notes 62–68.
[53]   Demetriou 2012, 81 with notes 78–81.
[54]   Especially the Etruscan metal processing and jewellery manufacturing were popular in the

    entire Mediterranean. On this matter, see Ambrosini 2014, esp. 173–175.
[55]   Liv. 28, 45, 14–18.
[56]   On Etruscan resources and production goods, see Camporeale 2012, who also especially mentions grain, wood and metal.
[57]   Briant – Descat 1998; Vittmann 2003, 103 f.; Cottier 2012.

tially preserved, and contains a ship list arranged by date of arrival, name and patronymic of the ship owner or captain, ship type, and custom dues. 42 ships were registered between the months *Hathyr* (February/March) and *Mesore* (November/December). 36 of these ships came from the Ionian Phaselis, the other six ships from Phoenicia, and the imported goods mainly consisted of wine, oil, and 'Samian Earth', with natron (*ntr'*) as the main export.[58]

"Small gifts preserve friendships"

Intercultural gift exchange of prestige goods provided a means to establish trade contracts.[59] The search for resources and valuable goods (χρήματα, κτήματα) like purple dye and metal encouraged the establishment of foreign ties with culturally different societies.[60] To obtain these goods peacefully and securely, agreements and contracts were necessary and these were formalized by gifts (κειμήλια).[61] Gifts established rights to stay,

to exploit resources, and to exchange goods – and therefore, the foundation of *emporia* in the Mediterranean during the 7th–5th century BCE. Where gifts circulated, soon exchange of goods and commodities would follow.[62]

It is difficult to demonstrate the circulation of prestige goods and gifts in the archaeological record because one can rarely recognize gifts, although we are relatively well informed about the gift exchange in Etruria, Latium and Carthage. During the 7th and 6th century BCE members of the Etruscan and Latial elites donated objects with '*muluvanice*-inscriptions' to each other.[63] These objects, often vessels, contained the Etruscan inscription "*mini muluvanice…*" (…gave me as a gift) with the subsequent mention of the donor's name.

Also significant to this discussion are the *tesserae hospitales* ivory platelets that contain a figural decoration on one side and on the other an Etruscan name inscription.[64] *Tesserae hospitales* were used during the late 7th and 6th century BCE as a distinctive mark for a *hospitium*, a friendship or mutually beneficial relationship between two aristocratic families. All inscriptions are written entirely in Etruscan, but the locations at which they were found and the prosopographical information recorded on them suggest a wide network of beneficial relations and contacts. One *tessera hospitalis* was found in the sanctuary of S. Omobono in Rome. The inscribed name "*araz silqetenas spurianas*" refers to the Tarqui-

---

[58] Briant – Descat 1998, 69–73. 95; Vittmann 2003, 104; Cottier 2012, 58 with note 46 and reference to Plin. nat. 31, 46.

[59] On this subject, see Wagner-Hasel 2000, 246–260.

[60] Greek trade with other cultures, especially for metal, can be found several times in the Homeric epics. For instance, Sidon is described as rich in copper ("Σιδῶνος πολυχάλκου"; Hom. Od. 15, 425); Athena, disguised as the Taphian Mentes, mentions the exchange of copper against iron in Temesa (Hom. Od. 1, 178–184); Menelaos collects goods and gold in Egypt (Hom. Od. 3, 300–302); the Phoenicians stay for one entire year on the island of Syrie for the acquisition of goods (Hom. Od. 15, 455 f.); and the Greeks trade Lemnians copper, iron, animal skins, cattle and slaves against Lemnian wine outside of Troy (Hom. Il. 7, 467–475). On trade in the Homeric epics, see Kopcke 1990, 121–128; Donlan 1997, 651–654.

[61] Homer gives reference to a precious silver vessel that was made by the Phoenicians and given to Thoas as a gift (Hom. Il 23, 741–749); Menelaos and Helena receive two tripods, two silvered bathtubs, ten talents in gold and other gifts from friends in Egypt (Hom. Od. 4, 125–

134); and Menelaos donates Telemachos a silver vessel given to him by Phaidimos, king of Sidon (Hom. Od. 4, 611–619; 15, 110–120).

[62] Wagner-Hasel 2000, 254 with note 243.

[63] Cristofani 1975; Wallace 2008; Tuck – Wallace 2013, 11–15. 29 f. Nr. 1–2.

[64] Maggiani 2006; Colonna 2010, 287–289; Tuck – Wallace 2013, 16–20. 31–36 Nr. 3–8.

nian family Spuri(a)na, while the *ethnikon* Silqetena could possibly be linked to Sulcis on Sardinia.[65] One *tessera* with the inscription "*mi puinel karθazie***X***υ esψ*[- - -]*na*" was found in Carthage and provides evidence for a Etruscan-Carthaginian connection[66], while another piece comes from Murlo, Poggio Civitate and with its inscription "[*mi*] *puinis ep*[- - -]" it certainly points to the Punic area, maybe even to Ibiza (Etruscan *epuse*?).[67] Although there is also a connection with Rome, the large number of *tesserae hospitales* suggest a closer connection to the Carthaginian territory during the 7th and 6th century BCE. **Figure 8** maps the po-

litical connections between Etruscans, Romans and Punics, which are implied by the *tesserae hospitales* (continuous lines refer to certain connections, dashed lines to hypothetical relations). Especially interesting in this connection is a comment of Aristotle mentioning military, economic and political agreements between Etruscans, Carthaginians and other societies. These agreements were sealed with σύμβολα (ancient Greek for written contracts or distinctive marks).[68] The same word σύμβολον was also used in ancient Greek as a direct translation for the *tessera hospitalis*.[69]
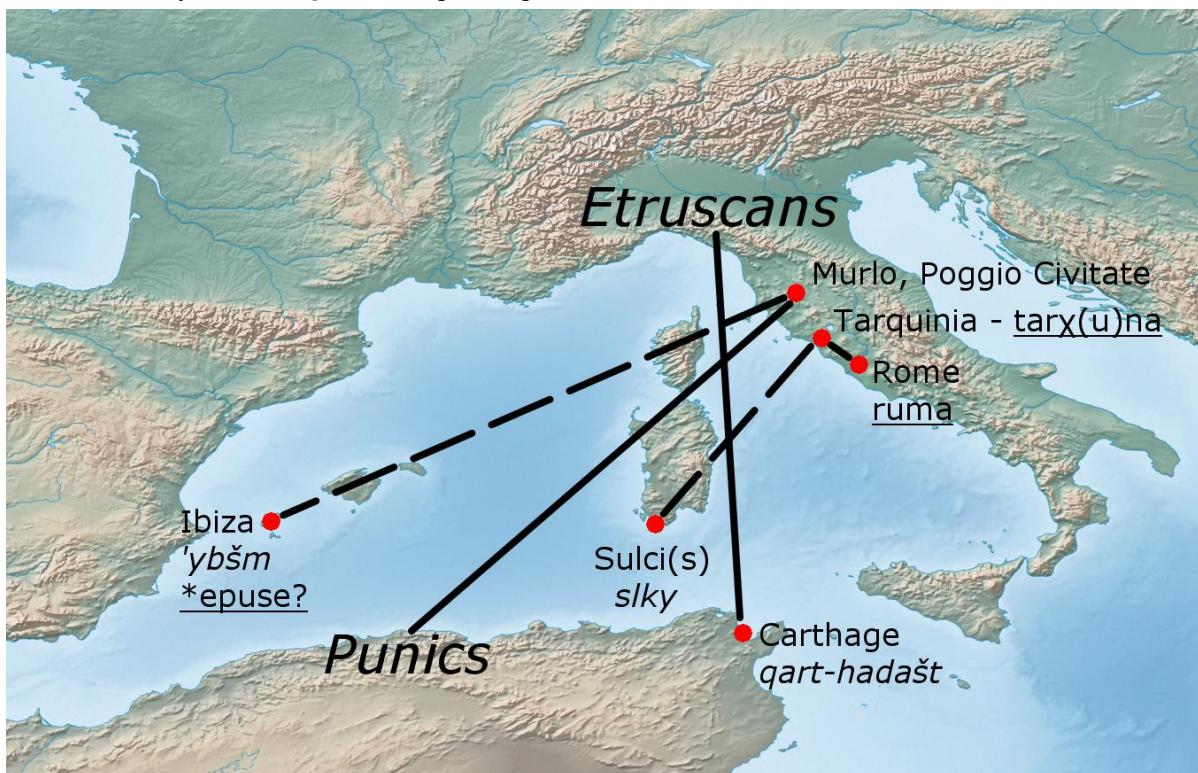
Fig. 8 Schema of the political connections between Etruscans, Punics and Romans on the basis of findings of tesserae hospitales (Punic toponyms are in italics, Etruscan toponyms are emphasized; author with Natural Earth [www.naturalearthdata.com]).

[65] Cristofani 1990, 21 Nr. 1.6; Pl. 1; Maggiani 2006, 321 Nr. 2; 341 f. fig. 1–2 Nr. 2; Colonna 2010, 288 with notes 71–72; 301 fig. 9.

[66] Maggiani 2006, 319–321 Nr. 1; 341 f. fig. 1–2 Nr. 1; Colonna 2010, 288 with note 69; 301 fig. 10.

[67] Maggiani 2006, 324 f. Nr. 6; 341 f. fig. 1–2 Nr. 6; 346 Pl. 3; Colonna 2010, 288 f. with note 70; 301 fig. 11.

[68] Arist. pol. 3, 1280a, 36–40.
[69] Maggiani 2006, 328 f.

Unfortunately, in Greece, the archaeological record for intercultural gift exchange is much less revealing.[70] Greek monumental vessels and exceptional prestige goods in non-Greek contexts were repeatedly interpreted as gift exchange, e.g. Attic monumental vessels of the 8th century BCE on Cyprus and Crete[71], Attic monumental vessels of the late 6th–5th century BCE in Italy[72], and southerly imports in Princely seats ('Fürstensitze') and Princely graves ('Fürstengräber') of the Hallstatt Culture.[73] In all of these cases, there is no precise information regarding gift exchange, contracts and the exchanged goods. However, some ancient sources testify that the Phocaeans forged strategic alliances and contracts with non-Greek rulers to trade commodities and to erect settlements as well as *emporia*. Herodotus narrates this in the case of Tartessos:

[…] ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν
Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο
τῷ βασιλέι τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ
οὔνομα μὲν ἦν, Ἀργανθώνιος,
ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ
ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ
πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ
δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ
Φωκαιέες οὕτω δή τι ἐγένοντο
ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας
ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς

ἑωυτοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου
βούλονται: […].[74]

The Phocaeans in the early 6th century BCE were eager to build – and successful in doing so – a friendship with Arganthonios, *basileus* of Tartessos, because of its rich, even legendary metal resources.[75] Similar alliances and mutually beneficial relationships were forged earlier with the Romans under their king Tarquinius Priscus[76], and with Nannos, king of the Segobriges, in order to found Massalia around 600 BCE:

Temporibus Tarquinii regis ex
Asia Phocaeensium iuventus ostio
Tiberis invecta amicitiam cum
Romanis iunxit; inde in ultimos
Galliae sinus navibus profecta
Massiliam…[77]

[70]   On this matter in general, see Tsetskhladze 2010.

[71]   Coldstream 1983.

[72]   Guggisberg 2009, 111–126.

[73]   The southern imports and their role in Princely seats of the Hallstatt Culture are still the topic of an intense discussion and a substantial amount of studies. For the interpretation of southern imports in terms of gift exchanges I mention representatively the following studies: Fischer 1973; Eggert 1991; Dietler 1995; Rieckhoff – Biel 2001, 40–54; Kistler 2010, esp. 75–88 and recently Baitinger 2015.

[74]   Hdt. 1, 163, 2–3: "When they came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived an hundred and twenty. The Phocaeans so won this man's friendship that he first entreated them to leave Ionia and settle in his country where they would; …" (translation Godley 1946).

[75]   See on this matter also Blech 2001, 310–313. Also the Phoenicians seem to have been very interested in the metal deposits of Tartessos during the 7th/6th century BCE, since they exchange their goods against silver, iron, tin and lead from Tartessos. The prophet Ezechiel describes this in the Old Testament for the city Tyros (Ez 27, 12; see also Murray 1995, 91–94).

[76]   See also Torelli 2004, 125; Fiorini 2005, 181 f.; Fiorini – Torelli 2010, 42 f.; Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 31 f. Iustin states only as a date "Temporibus Tarquinii regis", which must refer to Tarquinius Priscus/Lucumo (614–578 BCE) and not to Tarquinius Superbus (534–510 BCE), since the sealing of this alliance takes place before the foundation of Massalia 600 BCE.

[77]   Iust. 43, 3, 4: "In the time of King Tarquin some young Phocaens sailed from Asia into the mouth of the Tiber and made an alliance with the Romans, after which they set off in their ships for the most remote inlets of Gaul, founding Massalia…" (translation Yardley 1994).

To seal the alliance between Phocaeans and Segobriges and to authorize the foundation of Massalia, a marriage between the Phocaean Protis and Gyptis, daughter of king Nannos, took place.[78] All these events, the foundation of Naukratis and Gravisca, the contracts and alliances with the rulers of Tartessos, Rome and the Segobriges, as well as the foundation of Massalia, took place on Ionian initiative in the few years between the late 7th and early 6th century BCE. Thus, we are able to observe in these events a progressive economic strategy for the exploitation of Mediterranean resources on a large scale (tab. 1).

'Ports of trade', transaction costs and longdistance trade

Karl Polanyi recognized the central reason behind the erection of *emporia*, which is economy and trade.[79] Since the late 7th century BCE, *emporia* become an institution emerging on Ionian initiative across the entire Mediterranean. With the establishment of *emporia*, we notice the establishment of completely new forms of Greek sanctuaries lying in frontier zones, particularly in Egypt and Etruria. The installation of colonies was impossible for the Ionians in these places, since big empires controlled the resources with military force. In other cases, such as in Massalia, the Ionians founded colonies to claim commodities.

620 BCE	610 BCE	600 BCE	590 BCE	580 BCE	570 BCE
Foundation and earliest activities in Naukratis					*Reorganization of Naukratis*
Foundation and earliest phase of Gravisca				*Earliest buildings in Gravisca*	
		Discovery of Tartessos and Alliance with Arganthonios			
		Foundation of Massalia and Alliance with Nannos			
		Negotiation with Rom and alliance with Tarquinius Priscus			

Table 1 Ionian initiatives for the exploitation of Mediterranean resources (author).

---

[78]   Iust. 43, 3, 8–12.

[79]   Polanyi 1963, 30–32.

While we can postulate an open market economy for the Ionian *poleis*, where *emporoi* carried out long distance trade, in other social structures autocratic structures were dominant[80], which enabled a market system for everyday products, but controlled precious goods in a highly centralized administrative system. Both economic systems – free market and redistributional – are very different from each other, only being similar in that they move goods across distances. To enable trade and commodity exchange, a neutral and secure gateway is required: the *emporion*. Parallels can be found in East Asia during the 17th–19th centuries. In China, until the end of the First Opium War in 1842, Guangzhou (near Hong Kong) was the

pan maintained the so-called *Sakoku* edicts ("closed country"), a policy of isolation that did not allow foreigners to enter Japan or Japanese to leave the country. The only exception to these edicts was the artificial island Dejima in the harbour of Nagasaki. This was the only place where foreign merchants could trade.[81]

How can we evaluate the Archaic and the Classical long distance trade in the Mediterranean and the role of *emporia*? Fundamentally, there are two parties: the Ionian Greeks on the one hand, and their centralized and administrative trade partners on the other. At first, the Ionian *polis* and the trade partners operated with gift exchange and
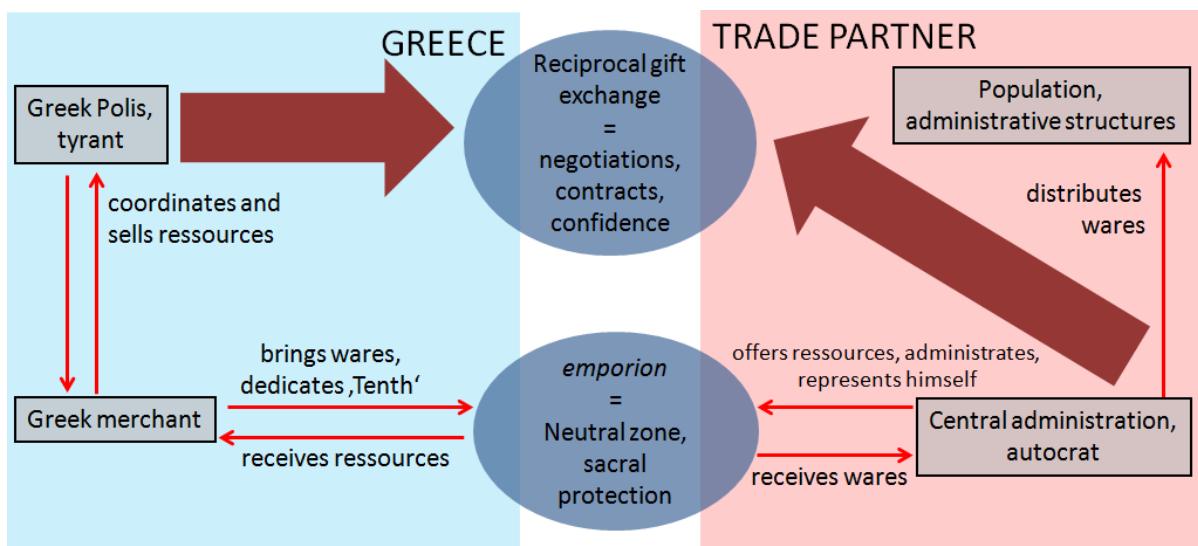
Fig. 9 The ,emporion' System. Schema of the Mediterranean long distance trade during the 7th–5th century BCE (author).

only harbour open to western merchants. The prices and conditions were determined by the Chinese customs officials. Likewise, under the Tokugawa in the 17th century, Ja-

---

80   In Egypt this means the pharaoh with an extensive bureaucracy, in Phoenicia the *mlk* with urban elites, in southern Etruria the *zilaθ*, this means a king or tyrant. Likewise, in Rome, southern Gaul and Tartessos monarchies are attested.

81   For the *Sakoku* Edicts see Laver 2011, esp. 87–128, for the regulation of long distance trade and 159–181 for Dejima and Nagasaki. The comparison between Naukratis and Nagasaki is already mentioned briefly by Vittmann (2003, 214 with note 77) with a citation of a travel report of Engelbert Kaempfer. Kaempfer traveled to Nagasaki in 1690 and reports that strangers could only stay there and nowhere else. If a storm forced a traveller to land at another place, he had to give evidence for that and turn back to Dejima. The similarities with the travel conditions in Naukratis and Egypt as narrated by Herodotus (Hdt. 2, 179) are evident.

contracts. The Ionian merchants traded their goods in the newly founded *emporion*, where dedications and taxations took place as well. The local centralized structure distributed the goods and gave resources and commodities (e.g. metal, ore, salt, grain, slaves) in return. The Greek merchants transported the commodities and sold them for profit in the Greek *poleis* **(fig. 9)**.

The key concepts of the 'New Institutional Economics' (NIE) offer new insights to the phenomenon of *emporia* as they target institutions, property rights, transactions costs and their role on the economy.[82] For instance, the institution *emporion* offers infrastructure, neutrality, sacred protection and safety as well as a reliable and quick calculation of prices and conditions. From an economic point of view, this means a drastic reduction of transaction costs.[83] Especially Douglass C. North has worked out that the exchange of products is associated with enormous costs.[84] The determination of available products, their amounts and prices, as well as the implementation of exchange and its safety caused high transaction costs,[85]

which could only be lowered by general institutional formations. These institutions were, in our case, *emporia* that were erected in the frontier zones of trading partners and represented the incorporated form of stable, but also static agreements with redistributive and centralistic societies. The more intensely the Ionians traded with these societies, the sooner the costs for the construction of an *emporion* paid off, and the more stable and durable were the contracts.[86] The erection of such a trade network lowered the transaction costs for the long distance trade or enabled it for the first time in such dimensions, but also forced the Ionians into regular and lively trade activities.

"The development of long-distance trade […] requires a sharp break in the characteristics of an economic structure. It entails substantial specialization in exchange by individuals whose livelihood is confined to trading and the development of trading centers […]".[87] One can understand the economic shift in the Mediterranean around 600 BCE by the identification of the highly specialized merchants (*naukleroi*) of the Ionian coast and the establishment of *emporia* as trading centers. The institution *emporion* also established and guaranteed safety, quality standards and unified measure standards for the first time. Prices became much more stable and the agents of the pharaoh and of the Ionian city-states could use a shared platform for trade and commodity exchange. For this reason, 'New Institutional Econom-

---

[82] For an orientation on applications of the 'New Institutional Economics' in Classical studies see Frier – Kehoe 2007; Bang 2009; von Reden 2015, 102–104 with further references.

[83] North 1985, 558: "Transaction costs here are defined as the costs of specifying and enforcing the contracts that underlie all exchange (…). They are the costs involved in capturing the gains from trade. They include a specification of what is exchanged or of the performance of agents and an analysis of the costs of enforcement. The costs of contracting are in general those of searching out who has rights with respect to what is being traded, what rights they have, and what are the attributes of the rights; those of searching for prices associated with the transaction and the predictability of those prices; and those of stipulating contracts and contract performance."

[84] North 1977; North 1984; North 1985; North 1987; North 1991.

[85] North 1987, 419–422.

[86] North 1977, 711: "In general we observe that the smaller the number of buyers and sellers the more likely there will be monopoly and monopsony power present and traders will prefer long-term stable contracts to insure uninterrupted trade; the greater the volume of transactions the lower the cost per unit of acquiring information about supply and demand conditions; the more costly it is to alter a contract the more likely it will be of long duration; […]".

[87] North 1991, 99.

ics' is a key concept in order to understand the success of *emporia*, but also, for example, why Greek pottery began to spread over the entire Mediterranean and coinage was introduced in this period as well.[88]

An 'Ionian Master Plan'?

While sanctuaries were originally *polis*-related institutions, now, as *emporia*, they took on an entirely new role and formed the basis of the first specialized long distance trade network in the Mediterranean. Since ca. 600 BCE, the fact that transaction costs had sharply dropped allow, for the first time in the Classical world, a high level of specialization and professionalization as well as the exploitation of earlier unknown markets.[89] However, the new developed markets required reorganizations, investments and new institutions by the Ionians at the same time. In this phase, changes included the first coinage in western Asia Minor and trademarks on exported vessels.[90] The Ionian colonization of the Black Sea and the sharp increase of Greek ceramic exportations in the entire Mediterranean convey this new economic expansion.[91] The sanctuaries at the frontiers were the central elements of *emporia* representing a goal-oriented and effective trade policy of the Ionian *poleis* with

the Egyptian pharaoh, with the *zilaθ* (a king, ruler or tyrant?) of the Etruscan city-states, as well as with the kings of Rome, Tartessos and of the Segobriges. Due to the scale of this trade network one could speak of an 'Ionian Connection' or of a 'Ionian Master Plan'.

---

[88] North 1977, 710–716; North 1991.

[89] Douglass C. North postulated: "[…] transactions costs in the ancient past would have been an insuperable barrier to price-making markets throughout history. Indeed we do not observe such markets emerging until the Sixth Century B.C., Athens." (North 1977, 710). This is a very accurate observation that only needs to be corrected to the extent that one can observe these markets for the first time around 600 BCE with the Ionian *emporoi*.

[90] The earliest coinage in Electrum can be dated to around 600–580 BCE and contain the weight standards from Miletus, Phokaia and Samos. On the earliest coinage see Kurke 1999, 3–23; Kim 2001; Günther 2006; Osborne 2007, 292–295; Bresson 2009.

[91] Tsetskhladze 1998; Fantalkin 2014, 35 with note 38.

Acknowledgements

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Godley 1946
    Herodotus with an English Translation by A. D. Godley in Four Volumes 1. Books I and II, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge – London 1946)

Godley 1957
    Herodotus with an English Translation by A. D. Godley in Four Volumes 2. Books III and IV, The Loeb Classical Library (London – Cambridge 1957)

Jones 1959
    The Geography of Strabo with an English Translation by Horace Leonard Jones in Eight Volumes 8, The Loeb Classical Library (London – Cambridge 1959)

Oldfather 1968
    Diodorus of Sicily in Twelve Volumes 1. Books I and II, 1–34 with an English Translation by C. H. Oldfather, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge – London 1968)

Yardley 1994
    Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus Translated by J. C. Yardley with Introduction and Explanatory Notes by R. Develin, American Philological Association. Classical Resources Series 3 (Atlanta 1994)

Secondary Sources

Agut-Labordère 2012
    D. Agut-Labordère, Le statut égyptien de Naucratis, in: V. Dieudonné – C. Feyel – J. Fournier – L. Graslin – F. Kirbilher – G. Vottéro (eds.), Entités locales et pouvoir central. La cité dominée dans l'Orient hellénistique, Nancy 3–5 juin 2010 (Université Nancy 2), 2012, 353–373

Agut-Labordère 2013
    D. Agut-Labordère, The Saite Period. The Emergence of a Mediterranean Power, in: J. C. Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, Handbook of Oriental Studies 104 (Leiden 2013) 965–1027

Ambrosini 2014
    L. Ambrosini, Images of Artisans on Etruscan and Italic Gems, EtrSt 17, 2014, 172–191

Baitinger 2015
    H. Baitinger, Greek and Italic Bronzes in Iron Age Central Europe, in: E. Deschler-Erb – P. Della Casa (eds.), New Research on Ancient Bronzes. Acta of the XVIIIth International Congress on Ancient Bronzes, Zurich Studies in Archaeology 10 (Zürich 2015) 13–23

Bang 2009
         P. F. Bang, The Ancient Economy and New Institutional Economics, JRS 99, 2009, 194–206

Blech 2001
         M. Blech, Tartessos, in: Hispania Antiqua. Denkmäler der Frühzeit (Mainz 2001) 305–348

Boardman 1999
         J. Boardman, The Greek Overseas. Their Early Colonies and Trade [4](London 1999)

Boldroni 1994
         S. Boldroni, Le ceramiche ioniche, Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco 4 (Bari 1994)

Bresson 2009
         A. Bresson, Electrum Coins, Currency Exchange and Transaction Costs in Archaic and Classical
         Greece, RBelgNum 155, 2009, 71–80

Bresson – Rouillard 1993
         A. Bresson – P. Rouillard (eds.), L'emporion, Publications du Centre Pierre Paris (URA 991) 26 (Paris
         1993)

Briant – Descat 1998
         P. Briant – R. Descat, Un registre douanier de la satrapie d'Égypte à l'époque achéménide (TAD
         C3,7), in: N. Grimal – B. Menu (eds.), Le commerce en Égypte ancienne, Bibliothèque d'étude 121
         (Cairo 1998) 59–104

Buxton 2000
         R. Buxton (ed.), Oxford Readings in Greek Religion (Oxford 2000)

Camporeale 2012
         G. Camporeale, Per lo studio del commercio etrusco. L'antefatto, in: TEZAN. Gli Etruschi e il com-
         mercio. Atti del convegno Carmignano e Poggio a Caiano 14–15 ottobre 2010 (Bagno a Ripoli 2012)
         13–29

Casevitz 1993
         M. Casevitz, Emporion. Emplois classiques et histoire du mot, in: Bresson – Rouillard 1993, 9–22

Coldstream 1983
         J. N. Coldstream, Gift Exchange in the Eighth Century B.C., in: R. Hägg (ed.), The Greek Renaissance
         of the Eighth Century B.C. Tradition and Innovation. Proceedings of the Second International Sympo-
         sium at the Svedish Institute in Athens, 1–5. June, 1981, ActaAth 30 (Stockholm 1983) 201–207

Cole 1995
         S. G. Cole, Civic Cult and Civic Identity, in: M. H. Hansen (ed.), Sources for the Ancient Greek City-
         State. Symposium August, 24–27 1994. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre Vol. 2 (Copenhagen
         1995) 292–325

Colin 1996
         F. Colin, Les Libyens en Égypte (XVe siècle a. C.–IIe siècle p. C.). Onomastique et Histoire (unpublis-
         hed PhD dissertation Université libre de Bruxelles, Brussels 1996)
         (https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-00120038, 06.12.2015)

Colonna 2004
         G. Colonna, I greci di Caere, AnnFaina 11, 2004, 69–94

Colonna 2010
         G. Colonna, A proposito del primo trattato romano-cartaginese (e della donazione pyrgense ad Astar-
         te), AnnFaina 17, 2010, 275–303

Counillon 1993

P. Counillon, L'*emporion* des géographes Grecs, in: Bresson – Rouillard 1993, 47–57

Cottier 2012

M. Cottier, *Retour à la source*. A Fresh Overview of the Persian Customs Register *TAD* C.3.7, in: K. Konuk (ed.), Stephanèphoros. De l'économie antique à l'asie mineure. Hommages à Raymond Descat (Bordeaux 2012) 53–61

Cristofani 1975

M. Cristofani, Il 'dono' nell'Etruria arcaica, PP 30, 1975, 132–152

Cristofani 1990

M. Cristofani (ed.), La grande Roma dei Tarquinii. Exhibition Catalogue Rome (Rome 1990)

Demetriou 2011

D. Demetriou, What is an Emporion? A Reassessment, Historia 60, 2011, 255–272

Demetriou 2012

D. Demetriou, Negotiating Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean. The Archaic and Classical Greek Multiethnic Emporia (Cambridge 2012)

de Polignac 1995

F. de Polignac, Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State (Chicago 1995)

Dietler 1995

M. Dietler, Greeks, Etruscans, and Thirsty Barbarians. Early Iron Age Interaction in the Rhône Basin of France, in: T. C. Champion (ed.), Centre and Periphery. Comparative Studies in Archaeology (London 1995) 127–141

Donlan 1997

W. Donlan, The Homeric Economy, in: I. Morris – B. Powell (eds.), A New Companion to Homer (Leiden 1997) 649–667

Eggert 1991

M. K. H. Eggert, Prestigegüter und Sozialstruktur in der Späthallstattzeit. Eine kulturanthropologische Perspektive, Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte 42, 1991, 1–28 = M. K. H. Eggert, Prestigegüter und Sozialstruktur in der Späthallstattzeit. Eine kulturanthropologische Perspektive, in: M. Augstein – S. Samida (eds.), Manfred K. H. Eggert. Retrospektive. Archäologie in kulturwissenschaftlicher Sicht (Münster 2011) 141–167

Étienne 1993

R. Étienne, L'*emporion* chez Strabon, in: Bresson – Rouillard 1993, 23–46

Fantalkin 2014

A. Fantalkin, Naukratis as a Contact Zone. Revealing the Lydian Connection, in: R. Rollinger – K. Schnegg (eds.), Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten. Vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel. Proceedings des internationalen Kolloquiums aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstages von Christoph Ulf, Innsbruck, 26. bis 30. Januar 2009, Colloquia Antiqua 10 (Leuven 2014) 27–51

Figueira 1984

T. J. Figueira, Karl Polanyi and Ancient Greek Trade. The Port of Trade, AncW 10, 1984, 15–30

Fiorini 2005

L. Fiorini, Topografia generale e storia del santuario, Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco 1, 1 (Bari 2005)

Fiorini – Torelli 2010

L. Fiorini – M. Torelli, Quarant'anni di ricerche a Gravisca, in: L. B. van der Meer (ed.), Material Aspects of Etruscan Religion. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leiden, May 29 and 30, 2008, BABesch Suppl. 16 (Leuven 2010) 29–49

Fischer 1973

F. Fischer, KEIMHΛIA. Bemerkungen zur kulturgeschichtlichen Interpretation des sogenannten Südimports in der späten Hallstatt- und frühen Latènekultur des westlichen Mitteleuropa, Germania 51, 1973, 436–459

Frier – Kehoe 2007

B. W. Frier – D. P. Kehoe, Law and Economic Institutions, in: W. Scheidel – I. Morris – R. Saller (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World (Cambridge 2007) 113–143

Funke 2009

P. Funke, Integration und Abgrenzung. Vorüberlegungen zu den politischen Funktionen überregionaler Heiligtümer in der griechischen Staatenwelt, ArchRel 11, 2009, 285–297

Funke – Haake 2013

P. Funke – M. Haake (eds.), Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries. Identity and Integration. Proceedings of an International Conference of the Cluster of Excellence "Religion and Politics" Held in Münster, 17.06.–19.06.2010 (Stuttgart 2013)

Guggisberg 2009

M. Guggisberg, Größe als Gabe. Gedanken zum Format von „Prestigegütern" in frühen Kulturen der Mittelmeerwelt und ihrer Randzone, in: B. Hildebrandt – C. Veit (eds.), Der Wert der Dinge – Güter im Prestigediskurs. „Formen von Prestige in Kulturen des Altertums" Graduiertenkolleg der DFG an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Münchener Studien zur Alten Welt 6 (Munich 2009) 103–141

Günther 2006

L.-M. Günther, Alkaios und die Statere des Lyderkönigs, in: R. Rollinger – B. Truschnegg (eds.), Altertum und Mittelmeerraum. Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag (Stuttgart 2006) 43–52

Hansen 1997

M. H. Hansen, *Emporion*. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods, in: T. H. Nielsen (ed.), Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis, Historia Einzelschriften 117 = Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4 (Stuttgart 1997) 83–105

Hansen 2006

M. H. Hansen, *Emporion*. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods, in: G. R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlement Overseas 1 (Leiden 2006) 1–39

Höckmann – Kreikenbom 2001

U. Höckmann – D. Kreikenbom (eds.), Naukratis. Die Beziehungen zu Ostgriechenland, Ägypten und Zypern in archaischer Zeit. Akten der Table Ronde in Mainz, 25.–27. November 1999 (Möhnesee 2001)

Höckmann – Möller 2006

U. Höckmann – A. Möller, The Hellenion at Naukratis. Questions and Observations, in: Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006, 11–22

Horster 2004

M. Horster, Landbesitz griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 53 (Berlin 2004)

Jansen-Winkeln 2000
K. Jansen-Winkeln, Die Fremdherrschaften in Ägypten im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr., Orientalia 69, 2000, 1–20

Johnston 1979
A. W. Johnston, Trademarks on Greek Vases (Warminster 1979)

Johnston 2006
A. W. Johnston, Trademarks on Greek Vases. Addenda (Oxford 2006)

Johnston – Pandolfini 2000
A. Johnston – M. Pandolfini, Le iscrizioni, Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco 15 (Bari 2000)

Kerschner 2001
M. Kerschner, Perspektiven der Keramikforschung in Naukratis 75 Jahre nach Elinor Price, in: Höckmann – Kreikenbom 2001, 69–94

Kim 2001
H. S. Kim, Archaic Coinage as Evidence for the Use of Money, in: A. Meadows – K. Shipton (eds.), Money and its Uses in the Ancient Greek World (Oxford 2001) 7–21

Kistler 2010
E. Kistler, Großkönigliches *symbolon* im Osten – exotisches Luxusgut im Westen. Zur Objektbiographie der achämenidischen Glasschale aus Ihringen, in: R. Rollinger – B. Gufler – M. Lang – I. Madreiter (eds.), Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts, Philippika 34 (Wiesbaden 2010) 63–95

Kopcke 1990
G. Kopcke, Handel, ArchHom M (Göttingen 1990)

Kurke 1999
L. Kurke, Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold. The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece (Princeton 1999)

Laver 2011
M. S. Laver, The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony (New York 2011)

Lehmann-Hartleben 1923
K. Lehmann-Hartleben, Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Städtebaues im Altertum, Klio Beiheft 14 = NF 1 (Leipzig 1923)

Maggiani 2006
A. Maggiani, Dinamiche del commercio arcaico. Le *tesserae hospitales*, AnnFaina 13, 2006, 317–349

Maras 2009
D. F. Maras, Il dono votivo. Gli dei e il sacro nelle iscrizioni etrusche di culto, Biblioteca di "Studi Etruschi" 46 (Pisa 2009)

Mercuri – Fiorini 2014
L. Mercuri – L. Fiorini (eds.), Il mare che univa. Gravisca santuario mediterraneo. Exhibition catalogue Civitavecchia (Rome 2014)

Möller 2000
A. Möller, Naukratis. Trade in Archaic Greece (Oxford 2000)

Möller 2001
A. Möller, Naukratis – griechisches *emporion* und ägyptischer 'port of trade', in: Höckmann – Kreikenbom 2001, 1–25

Murray 1995
    O. Murray, Das frühe Griechenland [5](Munich 1995)

North 1977
    D. C. North, Markets and Other Allocation Systems in History. The Challenge of Karl Polanyi, Journal of European Economic History 6, 1977, 703–716

North 1984
    D. C. North, Transaction Costs, Institutions, and Economic History, Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft 140, 1984, 7–17

North 1985
    D. C. North, Transaction Costs in History, The Journal of European Economic History 14, 1985, 557–576

North 1987
    D. C. North, Institutions, Transaction Costs and Economic Growth, Economic Inquiry 25, 1987, 419–428

North 1991
    D. C. North, Institutions, Journal of Economic Perspectives 5, 1, 1991, 97–112

Osborne 2007
    R. Osborne, Archaic Greece, in: W. Scheidel – I. Morris – R. Saller (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World (Cambridge 2007) 277–301

Papazarkadas 2011
    N. Papazarkadas, Sacred and Public Land in Ancient Athens (Oxford 2011)

Polanyi 1963
    K. Polanyi, Ports of Trade in Early Societies, The Journal of Economic History 23, 1963, 30–45

Pressl 1998
    D. A. Pressl, Beamte und Soldaten. Die Verwaltung der 26. Dynastie in Ägypten (664–525 v. Chr.), Europäische Hochschulschriften III 779 (Frankfurt am Main 1998)

Quaegebeur 1990
    J. Quaegebeur, Les rois saïtes amateurs de vin, AncSoc 21, 1990, 241–271

von Reden 1997
    DNP III (1997) 1020 f. s. v. Emporion (S. von Reden)

von Reden 2015
    S. von Reden, Antike Wirtschaft (Berlin 2015)

Rieckhoff – Biel 2001
    S. Rieckhoff – J. Biel, Die Kelten in Deutschland (Stuttgart 2001)

Rosenberger 2002
    DNP XII, 1 (2002) 127–129 s. v. Tempelwirtschaft. Klassische Antike (V. Rosenberger)

Rouillard 1995
    P. Rouillard, Les *emporia* dans la méditerranée occidentale aux époques archaïque et classique, in: Les Grecs et l'occident. Actes du colloque de la villa «Kérylos» (1991), CEFR 208 (Rome 1995) 95–108

Schlotzhauer – Villing 2006
    U. Schlotzhauer – A. Villing, East Greek Pottery from Naukratis. The Current State of Research, in: Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006, 53–68

Schmitz 1995
  P. C. Schmitz, The Phoenician Text from the Etruscan Sanctuary at Pyrgi, JAOS 115, 1995, 559–575

Schweizer 2006
  B. Schweizer, Griechen und Phönizier am Tyrrhenischen Meer. Repräsentation kultureller Interaktion im 8. und 7. Jh. v. Chr. in Etrurien, Latium und Kampanien, Charybdis 16 (Berlin 2006)

Schweizer 2007
  B. Schweizer, Zwischen Naukratis und Gravisca. Händler im Mittelmeerraum des 7. und 6. Jhs. v. Chr. empórion – port of trade – extraurbanes Heiligtum. Von der xenía zur emporía, in: M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie, Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie 7 (London 2007) 307–324

Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a
  C. Sourvinou-Inwood, Further Aspects of *Polis* Religion, in: Buxton 2000, 38–55

Sourvinou-Inwood 2000b
  C. Sourvinou-Inwood, What is *Polis* Religion?, in: Buxton 2000, 13–37

Torelli 2004
  M. Torelli, Quali greci a Gravisca?, AnnFaina 11, 2004, 119–147

Tsetskhladze 1998
  G. R. Tsetskhladze, Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area. Stages, Models, and Native Population, in: G. R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area. Historical Interpretation of Archaeology, Historia Einzelschriften 121 (Stuttgart 1998) 9–68

Tsetskhladze 2010
  G. R. Tsetskhladze, "Beware of Greeks Bearing Gifts". Gifts, Tribute, Bribery and Cultural Contacts in the Greek Colonial World, in: R. Rollinger – B. Gufler – M. Lang – I. Madreiter (eds.), Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts, Philippika 34 (Wiesbaden 2010) 41–61

Tuck – Wallace 2013
  A. Tuck – R. Wallace, First Words. The Archaeology of Language at Poggio Civitate (2013)

Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006
  A. Villing – U. Schlotzhauer (eds.), Naukratis. Greek Diversity in Egypt (Oxford 2006)

Vittmann 2003
  G. Vittmann, Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 97 (Mainz 2003)

Vittmann 2007
  G. Vittmann, A Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography. Kushites in Priestly, Administrative and other Positions from Dynasties 25 to 26, Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin 18, 2007, 139–161

Wagner-Hasel 2000
  B. Wagner-Hasel, Der Stoff der Gaben. Kultur und Politik des Schenkens und Tauschens im archaischen Griechenland (Frankfurt am Main 2000)

Wallace 2008
  R. E. Wallace, *Muluvanice* Inscriptions at Poggio Civitate (Murlo), AJA 112, 2008, 449–458

Williams 2006
  D. Williams, The Chian Pottery from Naukratis, in: Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006, 127–132

A 'Maritime Aspect' in Late Bronze Age Cyprus?

Fabian Heil

Abstract: Late Bronze Age Cyprus was involved in an increasing exchange of goods and ideas throughout the Mediterranean. As it is linked with far-reaching trade routes, the development of Cypriot culture is said to be in direct relation to the production and distribution of copper, even to be responsible for the emergence of local elites and also connected with ritual activities and procedures. As the actual exchange of copper is based on maritime trade, an attendant 'maritime aspect' has been proposed. By charging objects with an apparent maritime connotation, as it was done for seashells, images of marine animals on pottery, graffiti of ships and so-called 'stone anchors', scholars are shaping these objects into icons of a 'maritime aspect', which has a great impact on the interpretation of local ritual practice during the Late Bronze Age. In this paper, the interpretation of this 'maritime aspect' is revisited and previous assumptions are challenged. Especially addressing the so-called 'stone anchors' can lead to the assumption of a more situational structure in ritual assemblages.

About Meaning within Materiality

In order to work on archaeological questions, the understanding of material culture is crucial. It is accurately defined by Hahn as "[...] the sum of all individual objects of a society [...] that are used or meaningful."[1] Although this sounds quite straightforward, the 'use' and 'meaning' of an item are very much subject to continuous change, depending on the specific point in time during an item's 'life', provided that "mind and matter" are to be seen in combination, and that symbols cannot be seen without a counterpart in materiality.[2] Forms as well as meaning are assigned to the 'known' and if no absolute correspondence is apparent, they are compared to something that comes close to it or assigned to a new category, thus "[p]eople think through material culture".[3] Nonetheless it is not the nature of the archaeological material itself but rather the way in which it was treated that we should consider extensively in trying to fathom specific meaning(s).[4]

To get a grip on ancient customs, terms like 'identity' or 'culture' are used to compile comparable data of human behaviour and its expression. In consequence, the basic tool of choice to understand the material and to make it comparable with each other is categorisation, which is linked to our own understanding of differentiation. To stress our awareness of how we define these in the

---

[1] „[...] die Summe aller Einzelgegenstände einer Gesellschaft [...], die benutzt oder bedeutungsvoll sind" (Hahn 2005, 18).
[2] The unification of mind and matter, see Hodder 2012, 34.

[3] Hodder 2012, 35.
[4] Wulf 2011, 83.

first place, we have to keep in mind that the problem incorporated in categorization itself is the projection of our expectations and (scholarly) categories on ancient cultures.[5] A very prominent example for this general problem is the differentiation into a sphere of the 'profane' in contrast to a 'sacred' sphere of existence, meaning a dichotomy of a daily-life perception and the supernatural.[6] This way of simplified differentiation in order to categorize ancient cultures has even been criticised ironically as the result of "scholarly laziness",[7] but is still reflected in various attempts of categorization and the respective accompanying interpretations. The consequences of this approach are shown in an argument in favour of a 'maritime aspect' in ritual practices of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, an approach affecting various discussions which, in a scholarly view, are connected to this topic of the 'maritime'.

Exchange in the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus

During the last part of the Middle and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (MC III–LC I, c. 1700–1600 BC), the importance of Cyprus in the Mediterranean seems to grow. Coming from a more or less "agro-pastoral" background,[8] the emergence of "clear distinctions of social status" in burials, monumental architecture, fortifications, the appearance of settlements in former uninhabited areas,[9] their general increase in number and size and the Cypro-Minoan script are taken into account for a more prominent role of Cyprus.[10] Due to this, a higher degree of specialization is often assumed, supposedly

discernible through the existence of farms,[11] production sites[12] and buildings with a distinct ritual[13] or administrative[14] connotation.

Although clear evidence for a highly centralized organisation, like a palatial centre, is yet to be found, this change is interpreted as the result of the accumulation of agricultural products and various trade goods, accessible only by an elite and their administrative organisation, the local population, however, supported via small scale trade.[15] All these changes led to the assumption of a "dramatic transformation through contacts with and assimilation of external cultural influences".[16]

Subsequently, one of the major topics associated with Late Bronze Age Cyprus is its connectivity within and beyond the whole Mediterranean based on the impact of copper trade and intense contacts with New Kingdom Egypt, the Hittites in Anatolia and the Levantine City States, predominantly Ugarit.[17] The quality of exchange is apparent, as can be seen in the amount of material from Cyprus neighbours. This is exemplified in the Levantine pottery and rare Minoan imports from the 18th and 17th centuries BCE and Mycenaean pottery during the 14th century BCE.[18] Strong evidence concerning 'exports' from Cyprus is given by huge amounts of copper and wood which were ordered from 'Alashiya', as Middle/Late

---

5   Sherratt 2015, 75.
6   Collard 2013, 111; Eliade 1990, 11; Handler 2011, 45; Panagiotopoulos 2008, 115. 118.
7   Insoll 2005, 8–9.
8   Knapp 2013, 348.
9   Steel 2004, 149.
10 Knapp 2013, 348.

11 Analiondas, Aredhiou-Vouppes, Ayia Irini, Steel 2004, 157–158.
12 Metal: Apliki, Politiko-*Phorades*; Ceramics: Sanidha-*Moutti tou Ayiou Serkou*; Steel 2004, 157–158.
13 Atheniou, Myrtou-*Pigadhes*, Ayios *Iakovos*; Steel 2004, 157–158.
14 Enkomi, Kalavasos-*Ayios*, Dhimitros, Alassa, Palaepaphos; Steel 2004, 157–158.
15 Steel 2004, 161.
16 Steel 2004, 142.
17 Steel 2010, 809.
18 Steel 2004, 154; Steel 2010, 813.

Bronze Age Cyprus was referred to in written sources from Ugarit and Amarna.[19]

This far-reaching trade had a recognizable impact on society, as can be seen, for instance, in local burial customs. In general, Cypriot funeral rites during the Bronze Age are said to have been an important stage of increasing social and symbolic capital.[20] The arguments in favour of this analysis reside in the extraordinary labour involved in cutting the multi-chambered tombs into the bedrock and the amount of pottery and exotic goods involved in apparently highly ranked burials,[21] indicating intensive feasting.[22] These ideas seem to have been even more strongly stressed during the Late Bronze Age, which is shown by the relocation of the burial sites into intramural position,[23] the reduction of people being buried in a single chamber and a stronger differentiation of the individual,[24] presumably based on their social status indicated through the accessible 'exotica' and 'foreign motives'.

This idea of the deliberate indication of social status via 'exotica' splits into various topics. The most prominent one may be the debate concerning the question if "copper production was under divine protection"[25], a view based on the value attributed to copper from Cyprus.[26] Its local importance is shown in various examples, such as the extent of the distribution of so-called 'Oxhide Ingots' made of Cypriot copper throughout the Mediterranean,[27] the evidence of residues of copper production near Cypriot 'sanctuaries', as well as the iconographic abundance of the ingot as a 'symbolic' item on Cyprus. Depictions of these 'Oxhide Ingots' are diverse, as on three imported kraters of Mycenaean origin, on seals and bronze stands as well as at the basis of at least two metal figurines.[28]

Without discussing the idea of a 'metallurgical aspect' any further, there seems to be a subordination of various categories such as 'religious' beliefs, social status, economy and trade under one superior topic. This topic reflects that the island was well-connected through trade, a characteristic which is often seen to be very much embedded in Cypriot culture, as the island is perceived as a melting point of cultural influence.[29] This assumption of having an idea of common identity embedded in an economic theme, namely the broad acceptance of a copper-based religious aspect, was widely accepted and expanded.[30] Furthermore, it paved the way to arguing in favour of a similar interpretation in different aspects of Cypriot culture,[31] such as the connection to its surroundings via the medium of trade and economic values, seafaring and its accompanying element: water.

---

[19] Merrillees 2011, 258–259; Steel 2004, 144; Steel 2010, 804; 812; Raptou 1996; Ockinga 1996, 42, Text 67; Peltenburg 2012, 8–9.
[20] Keswani 2004, 88.
[21] Keswani 2004, 85.
[22] Steel 2010, 811; Keswani 2004, 82. 158–160; Collard 2013.
[23] Steel 2010, 811; Keswani 2004, 86–87.
[24] Lorentz 2005, 44.
[25] Knapp 1986; Kassianidou 2005.
[26] Kassianidou 2005, 127; Schaeffer 1965; Matthäus – Schumacher-Matthäus 1986, 169–170.

[27] Gale 2011.
[28] Webb 1999, 298–299. See, in particular, Buchholz 1959; Catling 1971, 15–32; Knapp 1986, 116; Kassianidou 2005, 127–141; Papasavvas 2009, 101–104.
[29] As can be seen in various monographs such as 'Ancient Cyprus. Cultures in Dialogue' (Pilides – Papadimitriou 2012) and 'Cyprus. Crossroads of Civilizations' (Hadjisavvas 2010).
[30] Papasavvas 2009, 101; Webb 1999, 298, with references to Knapp 1986.
[31] Frost 1985; Webb 1999, 302; Webb 2016, 630.

A 'Maritime Aspect'?

To address the notion of a 'maritime aspect' embedded in Cypriot material culture during the Late Bronze Age, several issues have to be discussed, such as ideas of libation, the use of seashells, images of marine animals on pottery and graffiti of ships and finally the importance of so-called 'stone anchors' that have all been listed as items in direct connection with water and 'maritime trading'.

The apparent use of liquids, including water, is used to bind together certain elements of ritual activities at Late Bronze Age sanctuaries. Especially fixed features in these so-called sanctuaries are discussed in research with regard to their important role in Cypriot ritual activities connected to water in general; the 'stone anchors' (see below in detail), for example, that are incorporated into architecture and other distinct structural features as found in the Levantine and especially Byblos and Ugarit.[32]

In fact, different parts of infrastructure are in direct relationship with the water supply, or as some sort of sink, seen in various forms of conduits, wells or reservoirs. Several of these water conduits have been identified at Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Kition as devices to simply drain off rain water, even though one drain at Myrtou *Pigadhes* ends at a pit south of the altar at a central court. Its level of height proves its function as an inlet into the pit and rules out the possibility that it was used as a libation device.[33]

In various facilities as in Kouklia, in the hall of 'Temple 5' at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke, buried Pithoi may indicate some sort of water supply as well,[34] perhaps in direct relation to the use of water in practices connected to rituals, such as extinguishing a hearth's fire. This necessity may be proven through Kition and Enkomi and the numerous wells found at the sites, which lead to similar assumptions in connection with some basins and 'bath' tubs.

Some tubs are known from various sites, an exemplary one made of limestone with a bucranium relief from Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*,[35] for example, provides a connection between the importance of depicting bulls with tubs and accompanying actions concerning water. In general, these are interpreted as signs of ritual activities, although Webb awards libation aspects a higher value than Karageorghis and Åström, as she sees the leftovers of rituals of purification in them.[36]

The use of these items apparently changed significantly, as recently shown by Collard, who conjectures that these tubs were reused as deposits.[37] Nonetheless, the way in which they were generally interpreted did not change very much, as is shown by the fact that the bathtubs from monumental buildings at Alassa-*Paliotaverna*, Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitros* and Enkomi were interpreted as indicators for the utility of the ritual activities of elites as political statements.[38]

In this manner, problems can be ascertained in the alternative interpretations for a tub from Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* inside of Building X. The building in general is re-

---

[32] Wachsmann 1998, 262–292, with reference to the works of H. Frost.

[33] See Webb 1999, 174, with reference to du Plat Taylor et al. 1957, 16; 110; in contrast, see Ionas 1985, 142.

[34] In Kouklia in Sanctuary I, close to Sanctuary II, in Halla Sultan Tekke and in the hall of 'Temple 5' in Kition.

[35] Dothan – Ben-Tor 1983, 129–131, fig. 60.2.

[36] Webb 1999, 175–176.

[37] Collard 2008, 117.

[38] Collard 2008, 117.

garded as some form of warehouse and the tubs as utensils for washing wool and such-like. Collard sees a ritual connection,[39] a theory which is based on an intentional deposition of the bathtub in over 100 fragments.[40] Nothing else was deposited together with the fragments, although the whole object was situated above several layers of a waste pit. In this case an intentional destruction might actually have happened, but only to enable transport of the debris instead of having to carry the whole object. Due to the lack of any evidence besides the destruction of the tub, I would not assume any sign of deliberate ritual activity in this action.[41]

The presence of these items is of great importance nonetheless, although the various ways in which they were used make it difficult to confine the to a single topic. But in combination with actions linked to libation and purification processes, they are of interest for discussing the meaning of water and the maritime, especially considering their deposition in funeral contexts, even miniature ones.[42]

Still there is no clear connection to water as an important icon when speaking about seafaring, apart from the knowledge of libation and purification processes. But keeping these in mind, the contexts in which seashells were found, motives on pottery, representations of ships, and the deposition of 'stone anchors' predominantly linked to the 'Temple Area' of Late Bronze Age Kition **(fig. 3)** have especially been attached to the topic of the 'maritime'. Even though there is not such an extensive debate about a 'mari-

time aspect' in research as there is about a metallurgical one, various references to this topic have been made and a 'maritime aspect' in Cypriot religious beliefs was effectively proposed based on these ideas.

'Temple 2' at Kition

The findings of 'stone anchors', some shells and pottery in phase Floor IV of the so-called 'Temple 2' at Kition are usually seen as an indicator for the 'sacredness' of these items or at least for the building's 'maritime' significance.[43]

Fig. 1 Enkomi, Sanctuary of the Ingot God, west-adyton. Next to a rectangular plaster a baetyl (highlighted) is situated in situ, surrounded with protogeometric ceramics (original photography taken from Courtois 1971, 320, fig. 138).

---

[39] Webb did not further discuss a ritual connotation of this building, but Hitchcock made some comparisons to Minoan palaces. See Collard 2008, 60. 118.
[40] Collard 2008, 60–61.
[41] Contra Collard 2008, 61.
[42] Collard 2008, 99–111.

[43] Webb 1999, 37–44; Karageorghis – Demas 1985a–d.

Although the identification of the whole area as part of a predecessor of the later 'Temple Area' is still debated and cannot be addressed as a whole in this article,[44] it might still be appropriate to refer to this building as some sort of sanctuary.

The 'Temple' is aligned in an east/west axis and measures 17.3 m x 6.6 m, and consists of a small adyton to the west and a rectangular main hall divided by two rows of rectangular stone bases, which divide the room into a central aisle and two side porticoes; a u-shaped hearth was positioned in front of the west wall. An entrance hall was attached to the east, making the building accessible through a south entrance.

The actual size of the main room and its orientation to the hearth may indicate its presentation to an audience, since this way the building can contain a decent number of people supporting distinct actions like fumigation, libation or burning, although the actual hearths are far too small to be accessible for a large crowd. With the exception of a single rhyton, the findings do not support this assumption any further.

Several items[45] are positioned around a 'stone anchor' standing upright in the southwest corner of the building, reminding one of similar installations that were found at Enkomi in the west-adyton of the 'Sanctuary of the Ingot God', although no actual 'stone anchor' was used there **(fig. 1)**.[46] Further associations with a 'maritime aspect' are triggered by the position of three other 'stone anchors'. One anchor is used in Room

24 as a column base, two former 'composite anchors' with double drilling on the downside are positioned opposite of each other in a pit in the antechamber,[47] thus creating some sorts of superstructure or deposition.

Altogether the pottery assemblage comprises 15 imported vessels inside the building,[48] including Mycenaean IIIB pottery with maritime motives like murex shells and depictions of an octopus, which have been found in all three rooms, even next to the upright 'anchor stone'. All of these items have been connected with trade and seafaring in general, but the finding of 11 seashells, seven from Floor IV, four, including two *Luria* with holes, from between Floor IV and IIIA,[49] supported this view even more. The excavation of the later 'Temple 2', which was built on top of Floor IV, unearthed 84 seashells between Floor IV and II/I in total. They consist of *Conus*, *Murex*, *Luria*, *Charonia sequenzae* and others, some of them grounded, one filled with lead. This way, the seashells have been used as a main indicator of a 'maritime aspect',[50] considering the additional arguments provided by the aforementioned 'stone anchors' and the motives of the pottery.[51]

Ship Depictions
Unlike common themes such as copper production and cattle, depictions of actual ships are less frequent but known from Late Bronze Age seals, pottery and models made of clay that even reach back into the Middle Bronze Age but lack an archaeological context.[52] Nonetheless, various graffiti of ships have been found at Enkomi and on several

---

[44] Webb 1999.
[45] Two faience beads, scrap metal, a spindle whorl, a bronze arrowhead, a White-Slip bowl, a Mycenean IIIb kylix and stirrup jar. Taken from Webb 1999, 43.
[46] Courtois 1971, 312–325, figs. 131–138, see also Webb 1999, 182; Dikaios 1969a–b.

[47] Webb 1999, 43.
[48] Webb 1999, 44.
[49] Reese 1985, 342.
[50] Webb 1999, 71.
[51] Webb 1999, 44.
[52] Karageorghis 2006, 49. 68–69; Wachsmann 1998, 62–67.

walls in Kition, most of them on the outside of 'Temple 1', others reused in an 'altar' in 'Temple 4'.

'Temple 1' itself is judged to be some sort of sanctuary. The building is of rectangular shape, approximately 27.85 m x 18.5 m and is placed in an east/ west orientation.

Due to continuous building activities, the inner area of the 'Temple' has been destroyed for the most part; suggestions for a reconstruction indicate a three-sectioned main hall with an aisle flanked by two side porticoes, separated by wooden columns presumably carrying a roof and a second floor.[55]
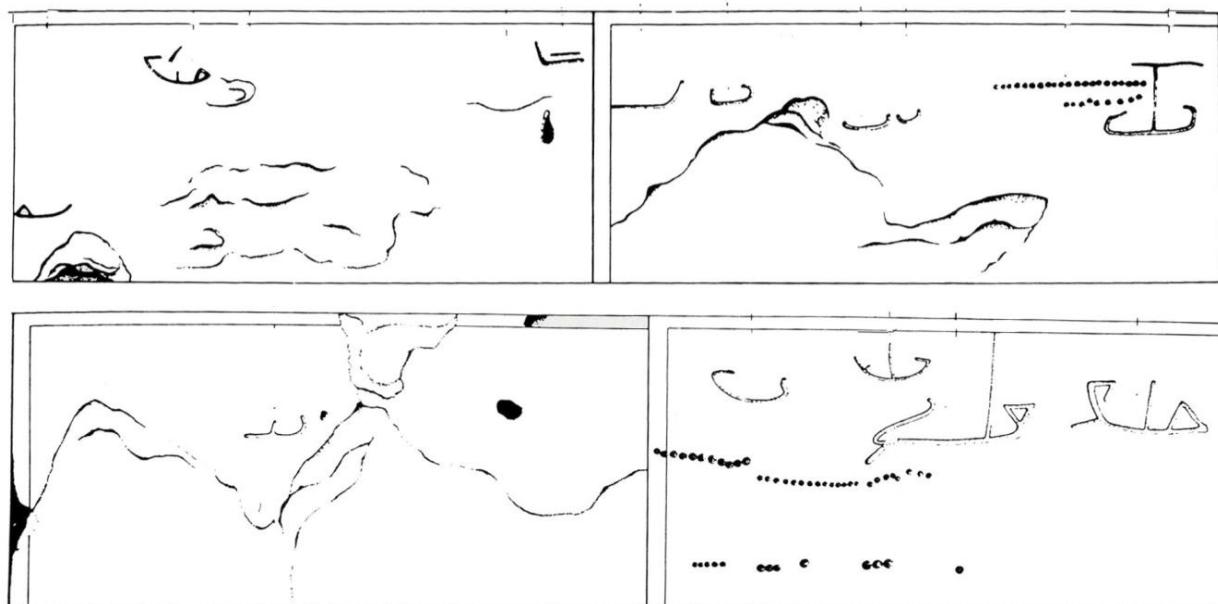
Fig. 2 Schematic rendering of some graffiti depicting ships located at the south wall of 'Temple 1' in Kition (Karageorghis – Demas 1985a, 330, fig. 3. Courtesy of Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

Its main body consists of a huge hall (23.95 m x 18.5 m) and three small rooms in the west with an entrance nearby leading into the neighbouring building of the so-called 'northern workshop'.

According to Karageorghis, this western part is reachable through a podium which itself was made accessible by stairs on its respective sides, forming an adyton.[53] It is claimed that in this part of the building, rituals and votive depositions took place,[54] although no single item could be recovered from inside the building.

The main entrance is referred to as monumental in size according to its width of 3.75 m, and has a threshold made of an *ashlar*-block. It leads into an open court area called 'Temenos B'; an additional entry in the building's southern part leads to the main entrance.

The outer walls in the south and east, as well as the inner facades of the northern wall and the southern parts of the west wall, incorporate high-quality *ashlar*-orthostats with a length of up to approximately 3.35 m and a height of 1.48 m. Some deliberately less elaborate areas indicate that these parts were

---

[53] Karageorghis – Demas 1985a–d.
[54] Webb 1999, 65.
[55] Callot 1985, 165.

planned with the intention that they would not be seen.[56]

The graffiti are located on the outer southern wall of the building. There are, in total, 19 possible depictions of various ships **(fig. 2)** executed in various levels of quality and elaboration, which encourage scholars to categorise the graffiti depicted into trade- and warships.[57] The graffiti might show a connection to the building's purpose, since they actually date to the building's time of use[58] and could consist of a plea for fair weather and safety.

These depictions are not singular to Cyprus. Similar examples have been recorded at Tell Akko in northern Israel, which have been addressed as votive offerings because of the apparent aspect of maritime icons.[59]

'Stone Anchors'

The most important argument to support the assumption of a 'maritime aspect' is the identification of the so called 'stone anchors'. These are pierced blocks of stone, around 1 m to 1.62 m in height, which have an estimated weight between 300 kg and 1,350 kg,[60] although smaller variants are known as well. Hundreds of these items have been found at Cyprus, but traces of their usage are rare.[61]

Especially in Kition, these objects have been unearthed in large numbers and in good condition **(fig. 3)**, although others have been found at other Late Bronze Age coastal sites at Cyprus and in Hala Sultan Tekke, but generally damaged or in fragments.[62]

The 'anchors' were used in various ways in architecture; in Kition, for example, they were used as the bases of columns, thresholds, corner stones, in the fundaments of walls, in wells or in benches **(fig. 4)**. Generally undamaged at Kition, some of the stones show scorch marks, some have a circular mould and others are incised with the Cypro-Minoan script. All of these have been interpreted as ritual actions done prior to or accompanying the erection of the buildings, supposedly to function as a votive to safeguard sailors in upcoming journeys.[63]
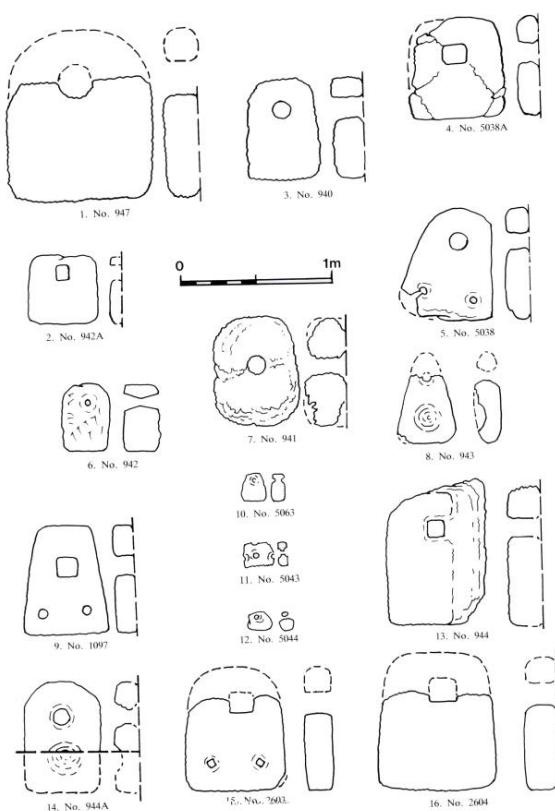
Fig. 3 Some 'stone anchors' from Kition 'Temple 1', Room 12 (1–8), Room 14 (9), Room 122 (10) Room 117 (11–12), Room 15 (13–16) (Frost 1985, 310, fig. 11. Courtesy of Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

---

[56] Webb 1999, 65.
[57] Webb 1999, 69.
[58] Webb 1999, 69.
[59] Basch – Artzy 1985, 322–336.
[60] Frost 1985, 291.
[61] Frost 1985, 282.
[62] Webb 1999, 187.

[63] Frost 1985, 282. 290.
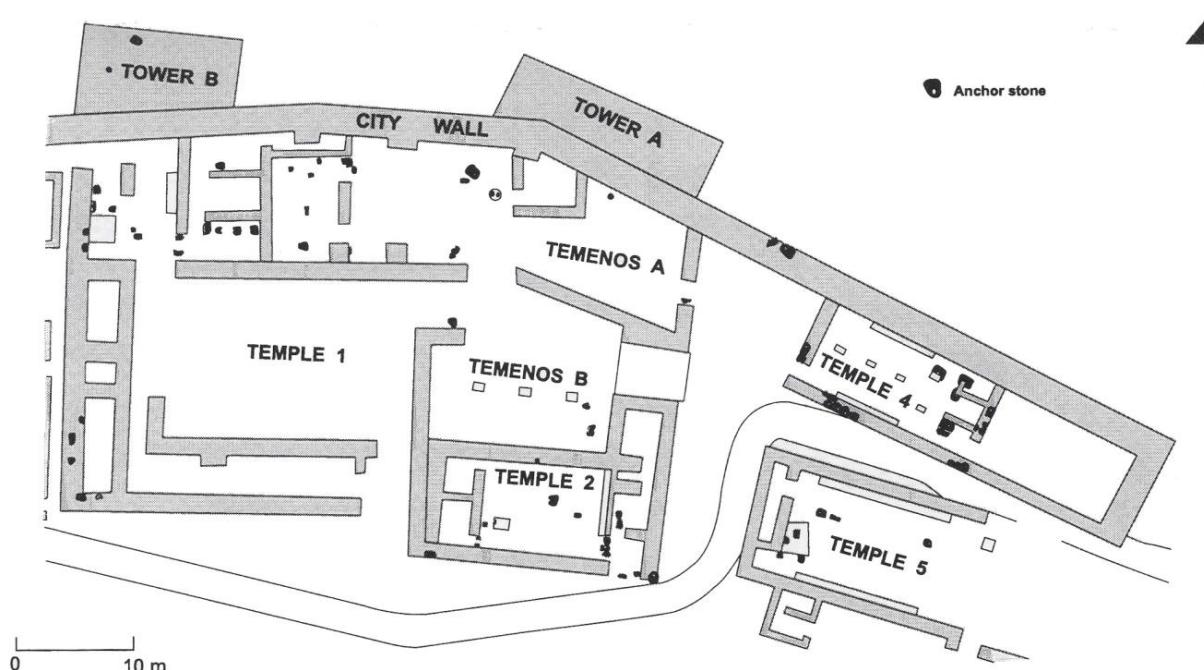
Fig. 4 Locations of the so called 'stone anchors' in the Sacred Area at Kition (Webb 1999, 186, fig. 71. Courtesy of J. Webb).

Webb refutes the explicit interpretation that the anchors are votive, since she considers the little number of 'anchors' actually deployed inside the buildings and the incorporation of the 'anchors' inside the buildings to stand in contradiction to this assumption.[64] She nonetheless accepts the idea of a 'maritime aspect' apparent at Kition, especially for 'Temple 2', stressing the integration of 17 of these stones in the building in connection with 48 shells and a surplus of maritime motives depicted on the pottery from this building. In connection with graffiti depicting ships on the neighbouring building of 'Temple 1', she accepts the 'stone anchors' as being part of a maritime founder's deposition.[65]

Although the general idea behind her arguments is convincing, [66] some of these

assumptions are based on the notion that these stones have to be interpreted as actual stone anchors in general. I would like to challenge this.

An alternative interpretation is provided by the reconstruction of contemporary oil presses, showing very similar stones used as a counterweight in this construction. Well-preserved examples which are properly documented **(fig. 5, top)** originate from Ugarit, their position proving their function as a counterweight.[67] Especially two of the counterweights have many similarities with the objects from Cyprus called 'stone anchors', due to the pierced top and the rounded edges. The biggest difference is the rectangular step joint at the underside of the bigger stone.

---

[64] Webb 1999, 187.
[65] Webb 1999, 187.
[66] Webb 2016, 630.

[67] Callot 1987, 201. 206.
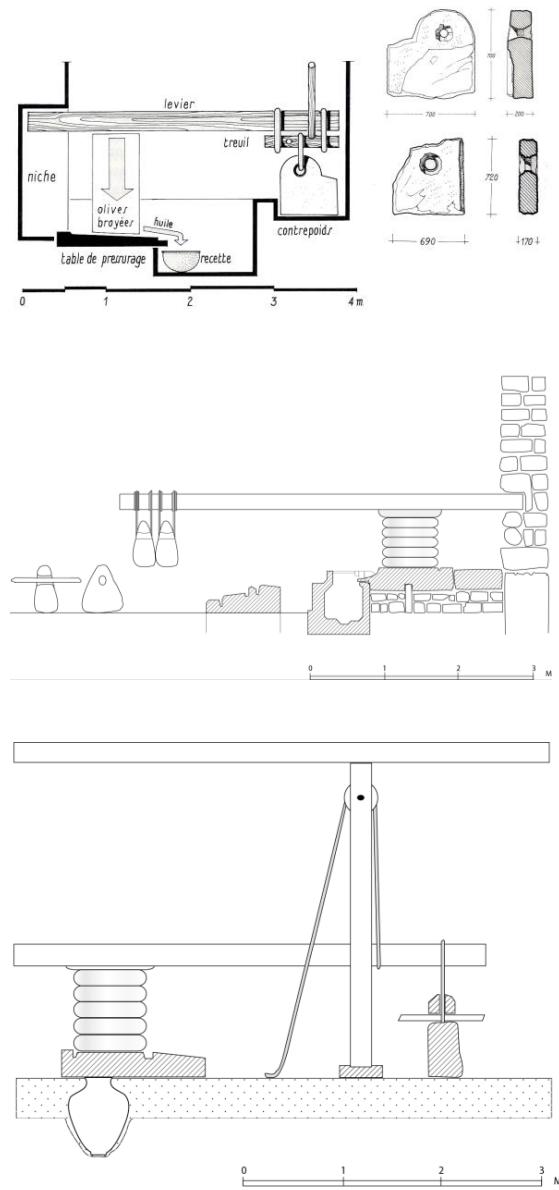
Fig. 5 Reconstructions of olive presses. **Top from Ugarit** (Callot 1987, 201 fig. 6; Counter-weights 206, fig. 10 and 11. Courtesy of O. Callot). **Middle from Mari-Kopetra** (based on Hadjisavvas 1992, 33, fig. 59). **Bottom from Nicosia 'PASYDY building plot'** (based on Hadjisavvas 1992, 39, fig. 65).

Oil presses from Cyprus itself are known, although contemporary ones are not very well preserved.[68] But examples from Cypro-Archaic times have quite similar counter-weights in use, some are roughly worked, others indicate different ways of construction resulting in an additional piercing

through the topside of the weights **(fig. 5, bottom)**.

To make at least some clear distinction between counterweight and anchor, additional holes at the underside of these objects are of interest **(fig. 3)**. In 2002, Tóth published an article addressing these 'composite anchors': they are defined as anchors with "two or more holes drilled into them",[69] one as the actual rope-hole, the other(s) as tooth-holes for wooden bars that enable the anchor to be fixed to the seabed. In this manner, a difference between 'composite anchors' and 'weight anchors' without tooth-holes is obvious.[70] This is discussed as a technological advancement introduced around the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE, although there is no valid proof for this hypothesis.[71]

In Kition, there are only around 25 up to a maximum of 27 of the 147 Stones which are worked this way.[72] Even in the famous shipwreck of Uluburun, where around 24 of these stones were discovered, not a single one actually possesses these kinds of holes. Additionally, not a single one was found in a position that makes its interpretation as an anchor a valid option. Considering the amount of 'anchors', it is not very likely these were simply replacements, as others have argued.[73] It is even less likely that they were trading goods and so it is quite obvious that they were used as weights on the ship itself.[74]

---

[68] Hadjisavvas 1992.

[69] Tóth 2002, 85.

[70] Tóth 2002, 85; Wachsmann 1998, 255, with reference to H. Frost, although the assumption of a third kind of 'sand anchor' has been disproved; see Tóth 2002.

[71] Tóth 2002, 92.

[72] 'Temple 1': 3 or 5; 'Temple 2': 5; 'Temple 4': 5; 'Temple 5': 3; 'Northern Workshop': 3; 'Temenos A': 3; reuse during Phoenician times: 3. Frost 1985, 297–317; Wachsmann 1998, 273.

[73] Wachsmann 1998, 283.

[74] Yalçın – İpek – Medenbach 2005, 633.

The thought of the production of so many very specific stones, supposedly only to be used as anchors, arouses suspicion. This is supported by the fact that that there seems to have been a significant overproduction of these anchors, leading to a secondary use as simple counterweights inside a ship. To assume that the use of such stones was intentionally diverse seems more likely, raising the necessity of their production immensely. This is supported by the various sizes and weights of the 'anchors' and widespread appearance in various contexts, even though alternative interpretations defining a specific role for each 'anchor size' cannot be disproven easily.[75]

So it may be assumed that the primary intention behind these items was to use them as counterweights in general. In making them widely accessible, their abundance at sites with a lot of heavy masonry might be the actual reason for their various uses in architecture, originating for instance from oil-presses or crane-constructions which may have been used at Kition.

Consequently, if no composite construction is apparent, a more general description as a weight-stone should be used and only within specific contexts should these objects be regarded as 'anchor-stones'. But even as the double perforation of the 'composite anchors' may be a distinctive indicator to assume an intentional use as an anchor, a deposition or reuse might even indicate that a 'maritime connotation' decreased instead of gaining greater emphasis.

Conclusion
As categorisation may be a valid tool for comparing cultures and ideas with one another and thus to fathom ideas concerning

the motivations of ancient cultures, we have to be aware of its possibility to backfire. Steel already noted that until recently, anthropological[76] or 'modern'[77] methods rarely had any impact in scholarly research concerned with Cypriot archaeology,[78] which tends to use cultural-evolutionistic aspects to explain Bronze Age Cypriot culture and especially emphasises economic ambitions and organised actions to explain cultural exchange.[79]

As an ambivalent example, we have seen that the idea of an apparent 'maritime aspect' in Late Bronze Age Cyprus was based very much on the place's trade connections and insularity.

Especially the so-called 'stone anchors' have shown how deeply these assumptions can make their way into the discourse of interpretation, especially in the attempt to identify gods, sanctuaries or 'religious' ideas. Among other things, the equal treatment of these stones as anchors in Kition led to the assumption that the dedication of build-

---

[75] Wachsmann 1998, 283.

[76] Steel 2004, 11, with reference to the works of P. Keswani and D. L. Bolger; for recent work see, e.g., D. Bolger, Gender and Social Complexity in Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus, in: D. Bolger – L. Maguire (eds.), The Development of Pre-State Communities in the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honour of Edgar Peltenburg. BANEA Publicasion Series 2 (Oxford 2010) 156–165.

[77] Steel 2004, 11, with reference to the works of D. Frankel – J. M. Webb as well as E. J. Peltenburg. See, e.g., D. Frankel – J. M. Webb, Three Faces of Identity. Ethnicity, Community and Status in the Cypriot Bronze Age. Mediterranean Archaeology 11 (1998) 1–12.

[78] Steel 2004, 11; Collard 2013, 111.

[79] Steel 2004, 11 with special reference to the works of B. Knapp, E. J. Peltenburg and S. W. Manning. See, e.g., S. W. Manning, Prestige, Distinction and competition: The Anatomy of Socio-Economic Complexity in 4th – 2nd Millennium B.C.E. Cyprus. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 292, 1993, 35–58.

ings had a 'maritime' connotation. Even though there is an apparent nautical symbolism in Kition shown in the graffiti of ships, these may only be identified as a general form of communication in a very basic form of ritual. In this way, these depictions give important indicators that messages were communicated by a wider audience instead of being reduced to some form of ritual specialist.

The assumption of the 'maritime' as an important aspect of Cypriot sanctuaries, at least of 'Temple 2' and 3 of Phase LC IIC,[80] is even echoed in later periods. This can be seen in the evaluation of the marine aspect of Aphrodite, which was based on the shells found at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Amathous and further reflected in the earlier female figurines associated with Aphrodite.[81] But in removing the 'anchor stones' as indicators of a 'maritime aspect' in religious life, the construction thereof is left to the value of imports,[82] some shells, motives on pottery and a few examples of graffiti on temple walls.

As a result, this approach emphasizes the possibility of continuing changes in the reception of ritual environments during their time of use. Instead of creating a strongly symbol-bound idea of ritual actions and defining an apparatus of paraphernalia used to emphasize that notion, a quite flexible and situational approach is suggested, for "sacredness does not adhere to any object or phenomena in particular".[83] In this manner, the Kition Temple 2 'anchors' in upright position most likely represent a baetyl variation, although a 'maritime aspect' should not be taken for granted by scholars. If the use

of stone weights or anchors in this ritual context was actually intended to stress its maritime connotation, a conscious process of communicating this specific element took place. Instead of just installing a general symbol, this would demonstrate a rather particular intention by the worshippers. But if this was the case, it is hard to ascertain and so we cannot completely exclude the possibility of worship towards a specific god incorporating this attribute or aspect at Kition.

To the extent that a comparison of all the stone anchors has yet to be conducted, the interpretation's focus must remain on each single context in order to evaluate its maritime connotation within ritual activity, as alternative uses, such as that of counterweights, have to be expected.

---

[80] Webb 1999, 42.
[81] Papantoniou 2012, 196.
[82] Webb 2016, 630.
[83] Fogelin 2007, 61.

Acknowledgements

Bibliography

Basch – Artzy 1985
>   L. Basch – M. Artzy, Ship Graffiti at Kition, in: Karageorghis – Demas, 1985a, 322–336

Betancourt – Ferrence 2011
>   P. P. Betancourt – S. C. Ferrence (eds.), Metallurgy: Understanding How, Learning Why. Studies in Honor of James D. Muhly (Pennsylvania 2011)

Brosius – Polit 2011
>   C. Brosius – K. M. Polit (eds.), Ritual, Heritage and Identity. The Politics of Culture and Performance in a Globalised World (New Delhi 2011)

Babbi – Bubenheimer-Erhart – Marín-Aguilera – Mühl 2012
>   A. Babbi – F. Bubenheimer-Erhart – B. Marín-Aguilera – S. Mühl (eds.), The Mediterranean Mirror. Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea Between 1200 and 750 B.C. International Post-doc and Young Researcher Conference Heidelberg, 6th-8th October 2012 (Mainz 2015)

Buchholz 1959
>   H. G. Buchholz, Keftiubarren und Erzhandel im zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. Prähistorische Zeitschrift XXXVII, 1959, 1–40

Callot 1985
>   O. Callot, Remarques sur l'Architecture des Temples 1 et 2, in: Karageorghis – Demas, 1985a, 165–239

Callot 1987
>   O. Callot, Les Huires de Bronze Récent à Ougarit, in: Yon, 1987, 197–212

Catling 1971
>   H. W. Catling, A Cypriot Bronze Statuette in the Bomford Collection, in: C. F. A. Schaeffer 1971, 15–32

Cline 2010
>   E. H. Cline (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (ca. 3000–1000 BC) (Oxford 2010)

Collard 2008
>   D. Collard, Function and Ethnicity: ‚Bathtubs' from Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Sävedalen 2008)

Collard 2013
>   D. Collard, When Ancestors Became Gods. The Transformation of Cypriote Ritual in the Late Bronze Age, in: Koutrafouri – J. Sanders 2013, 109–119

Courtois, 1971
>   J. C. Courtois, Le Sanctuaire du Dieu au Lingot d'Enkomi-Alasia in: Schaeffer 1971, 151–362

Dikaios 1969a
        P. Dikaios, Enkomi. Excavations 1948–1958 Volume I, The Architectural Remains, The Tombs (Mainz 1969)

Dikaios 1969b
        P. Dikaios, Enkomi. Excavations 1948–1958, Volume IIIa, Plates 1–239 (Mainz 1969)

Dothan – Ben-Tor 1983
        T. Dothan, A. Ben-Tor, Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus 1971–1972. Qedem 16 (Jerusalem 1983)

Eliade 1990
        M. Eliade, Das Heilige und das Profane. Vom Wesen des Religiösen (Köln 1990)

Fogelin 2007
        L. Fogelin, The Archaeology of Religious Ritual, Annual Review of Anthropology. 2007.36, 2007, 55–71 (http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.36.081406.094425, 21.05.2015)

Frey – Roth – Dobiat 1986
        O.-H. Frey – H. Roth – C. Dobiat (eds.), Gedenkschrift für Gero von Merhart zum 100. Geburtstag, Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Band 7 (Marburg 1986)

Frost 1985
        H. Frost, The Kition Anchors, in: Karageoghis – Demas 1985, 281–321

Gale 2011
        N. H. Gale, Copper Oxhide Ingots and Lead Isotope Provenancing, in: Betancourt –Ferrence 2011, 213–220

Georgiou 2012
        A. Georgiou (ed.), Cyprus. An Island Culture. Society and Social Relations from the Bronze Age to the Venetian Period (Oxford 2012)

Hadjisavvas 1992
        S. Hadjisavvas, Olive Oil Processing in Cyprus. From the Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period (Nikosia 1992)

Hadjisavvas 2010
        S. Hadjisavvas (ed.), Cyprus. Crossroads of Civilizations (Nicosia 2010)

Hahn 2005
        H. P. Hahn, Materielle Kultur. Eine Einführung (Berlin 2005)

Handler 2011
        R. Handler, The ,Ritualisation of Ritual' in the Construction of Heritage, in: Brosius – Polit 2011, 39–54

Hodder 2012
        I. Hodder, Entangled. An Archaeology of the Relationship Between Humans and Things (Oxford 2012)

Insoll 2005
        T. Insoll, Archaeology, Ritual, Religion (Bristol 2005)

Ionas 1985
        I. Ionas, The Altar at Myrtou-Pigadhes: A Re-Examination of its Construction, Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities Republic of Cyprus, 1985, 137–142

Karageorghis 2006
        V. Karageorghis, Aspects of Everyday Life in Ancient Cyprus. Iconographic Representations (Nicosia 2006)

Karageorghis – Demas 1985a–d
        V. Karageorghis – M. Demas, Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Areas I and II. Part I (a), II (b), Plates (c), Plates & Sections (d) (Nikosia 1985)

Karageorghis – Matthäus – Rogge 2005
        V. Karageorghis – H. Matthäus – S. Rogge (eds.), Cyprus: Religion and Society. Proceedings of an International Symposium on Cypriot Archaeology, Erlangen, 23 – 24 July 2004 (Möhnesee-Wamel 2005)

Karageorghis – Michaelides 1996
        V. Karageorghis – D. Michaelides (eds.), The Development of the Cypriot Economy from the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day (Nikosia 1996)

Kassianidou 2005
        V. Kassianidou, Was Copper Production Under Divine Protection in Late Bronze Age Cyprus? Some Thoughts on an Old Question, in: Karageorghis – Matthäus – Rogge 2005, 127–142

Keswani 1993
        P. S. Keswani, Models of Local Exchange in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 292,1993, 73–83

Keswani 2004
        P. S. Keswani, Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus (London 2004)

Knapp 1986
        A. B. Knapp, Copper Production and Divine Protection: Archaeology, Ideology and Social Complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus (Jonsered 1986)

Knapp 1996
        A. B. Knapp (ed.), Sources for the History of Cyprus vol. II: Near Eastern and Aegean Texts from the Third to the First Millennium B.C. (Altamont 1996) 42–50

Knapp 2013
        A. B. Knapp, The Archaeology of Cyprus. From Earliest Prehistory Through the Bronze Age (Cambridge 2013)

Knapp – van Dommelen 2016
        A. B. Knapp – Peter van Dommelen (eds.), The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean (Cambridge 2016) (http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHO9781139028387.045, 21.01.2016)

Koutrafouri 2013
        V. G. Koutrafouri – J. Sanders (eds.), Ritual Failure. Archaeological Perspectives (Leiden 2013)

Lo Schiavo – Muhly – Maddin – Giumlia-Mair 2009
        F. Lo Schiavo – J. D. Muhly – R. Maddin – A. Giumlia-Mair (eds.), Oxhide Ingots in the Central Mediterranean. Biblioteca di Antichità Cipriote 8 (Rom 2009)

Lorentz 2005
        K. Lorentz, Late Bronze Age Burial Practices: Age as a Form of Social Difference, in: Karageorghis – Matthäus – Rogge 2005, 41–56

Matthäus – Schumacher-Matthäus 1986
        M. Matthäus – G. Schumacher-Matthäus, Zyprische Hortfunde. Kult und Metallhandwerk in der späten Bronzezeit, in: Frey – Roth – Dobiat 1986, 129–191

Merrillees 2011
        R. S. Merillees, Alashiya: A Scientific Quest for its Location, in: Betancourt –Ferrence 2011, 255–267

Ockinga 1996
        B. G. Ockinga, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egypt, in: Knapp 1996, 42–50

Panagiotopoulos 2008
        D. Panagiotopoulos, Natur als sakraler Raum in der minoischen Kultur, Archiv für Religionsgeschich-
        te 10, 2008, 115–142

Papasavvas 2009
        G. Papasavvas, The Iconography of the Oxhide Ingots, in: Lo Schiavo – Muhly – Maddin – Giumlia-
        Mair 2009, 83–132.

Papantoniou 2012
        G. Papantoniou, Religion and Social Transformations in Cyprus. From the Cypriot Basileis to the Hel-
        lenistic Strategos. Mnemosyne Supplements 347 (Leiden 2012)

Peltenburg 2012
        E. Peltenburg, Text Meets Material in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, in: Georgiou 2012, 1–23

Pilides – Papadimitriou 2012
        D. Pilides – N. Papadimitriou (eds.), Ancient Cyprus: Cultures in Dialogue. Exhibition Organized by
        the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, on the Occasion of Cyprus Presidency of the Council of the Eu-
        ropean Union 2012. Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels October 31, 2012 – February 17,
        2013 (Nicosia 2012)

du Plat Taylor 1957
        J. du Plat Taylor, Myrtou-Pigadhes: A Late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus (Oxford 1957)

Raptou 1996
        E. Raptou, Contribution to the Study of the Economy of Ancient Cyprus: Copper - Timber, in: Kara-
        georghis – Michaelides 1996, 249–259

Reese 1985
        D. S. Reese, Ostrich, Eggshells and other Exotic Faunal Remains from Kition, in: Karageorghis – De-
        mas 1985b, 340–415

Schaeffer 1965
        C. F. A. Schaeffer, An Ingot God from Cyprus, Antiquity 39, 1965, 56–57

Schaeffer 1971
        C. F. A. Schaeffer et al., Alasia I, Mission Archeologique d'Alasia IV (Paris 1971)

Sherratt 2015
        S. Sherratt, Cyprus and the Near East: Cultural Contacts (1200-750 BC), in: Babbi – Bubenheimer-
        Erhart – Marín-Aguilera – Mühl 2015, 71–84

Steel 2004
        L. Steel, Cyprus before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age (London
        2004)

Steel 2010
        L. Steel, Cyprus, in: Cline 2010, 804–819

Tóth 2002
        J. A. Tóth, Composite Stone Anchors in the Ancient Mediterranean (Typologie, Chronology and their
        Role in the Reconstruction of Ancient Trade) A Proposal, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientarium
        Hungaricae 53, 2002, 85–118

Wulf 2011

    C. Wulf, Perfomativity and Dynamics of Intangible Cultural Heritage, in: Brosius – Polit 2011, 76–94

Webb 1999

    J. M. Webb, Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age (Jonsered 1999)

Webb 2016

    J. M. Webb, Ritual as the Setting for Contentious Interaction: From Social Negotiation to Institutionalised Authority in Bronze Age Cyprus, in: Knapp – van Dommelen 2016, 619–634

Wachsmann 1998

    S. Wachsmann, Seagoing Ships & Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant (London 1998)

Yalçın – İpek – Medenbach 2005

    Ü. Yalçın – Ö. İpek – O. Medenbach (eds.), Das Schiff von Uluburun. Welthandel vor 3000 Jahren. Katalog der Ausstellung im Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum vom 15. Juli 2005 bis 16. Juli 2006. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum (Bochum 2005)

Yon 1987

    M. Yon (ed.), Le Centre de La Ville. Ras Shamra-Ougarit III 38e – 44e Campagnes (1978–1984) (Paris 1987)

Transmission and Interpretation
of Therapeutic Texts.
Šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukāl: a Case Study

Silvia Salin

Abstract: Among the Assyro-Babylonian medical texts the therapeutic series *šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukâl*, probably composed during the reign of Assurbanipal, is an extremely interesting case study in order to explain how medical texts were received and medical knowledge transmitted among professionals. The series deals with the particular group of diseases affecting the head and is related to other groups of diagnostic and therapeutic texts. Moreover, it was the object of a commentary preserved in a tablet from Uruk (SpTU 1.47) dating from the fifth century BCE. This later document attests to the efforts of understanding difficult words and illustrates the continuity in the interpretation and study of ancient texts. The comprehensive consideration of these texts allows facing the problems concerning the instruments and methods Mesopotamian intellectuals used when employing technical lore and the texts that transmitted it.

Introduction

As many modern scholars have already pointed out,[1] Assyro-Babylonian medical texts – characterised by long lists of technical terms, such as names of diseases, plants and/or minerals – have always been difficult to understand as is revealed not only by the divergent translations of modern readers,[2] but also by different interpretations of ancient scholars. Especially in the late period of the Mesopotamian history, even experts had some difficulties in reading texts composed several centuries before, as can be discovered by analysing copies and commentaries. For instance, in the present case study we will analyse the therapeutic texts dated to the 7th century BCE known from the *incipit* of the first tablet of its first sub–series as *šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukāl* ("If a man, his head contains heat"), which concerns symptoms and diseases occurring in the whole body. Over the course of time it has been studied and analysed by medical professionals – in particular those belonging to the Šangu–Ninurta family, active during the 5th–4th centuries BCE –, who re-elaborated on it, and produced an extract series based on its texts. This extract series,

---

[1] See, among others, Robson 2008, 461.

[2] Indeed, we must note that every translation is also an interpretation, as F.M. Fales states: "[…], problems of various orders regarding the 'translation' of such texts into our modern clinical framework – from actual linguistic renderings to much more complex correlations of thought and interpretative patterns – constitute a huge barrier to our grasping of the historically determined conditions of health and illness in the Tigris-Euphrates river valley during pre-Hellenistic Antiquity" (Fales 2014, 9).

the so-called UGU series, and the commentary on a single tablet (SpTU 1.47) are interesting examples that show the continuity of the study of ancient texts during these centuries – handing down the specific knowledge among professionals usually belonging to the same family or to the same group of specialists – and that allows us to develop some observations about the transmission and interpretation of medical knowledge in the Late Babylonian Uruk by the members of the Šangu-Ninurta family.

The therapeutic series and its extract series

The redaction of the therapeutic series *šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukāl* is attested by many texts and fragments found in Nineveh, dated to the reign of Assurbanipal (7th century BCE). Unfortunately, we are not well informed about its organisation. Nevertheless, its reconstruction is in part possible thanks to copies of its tablets, colophons indicating *incipit*s or contents of tablets not yet found, and the UGU extract series[3]. The pioneering work of R. Campbell Thompson and L.W. King in 1906, who edited some of the therapeutic texts in their study entitled "Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum",[4] could be considered as the basis of the modern studies about the UGU series and the related problems.[5]

The whole series represents the production and redaction of a "new edition" of the therapeutic texts. As already said, we don't know how it was organized, but we may suppose that, in comparison with the new edition of the diagnostic texts (SA.GIG) produced by Esagil-kin-apli in the Middle-Babylonian period, it followed the *ištu muḫḫi adi šēpi* order (i.e. "from head to toe"). In addition to the first sub-series that, as we noted above, brings the same title of the whole series, we are aware of some other sub-series.[6] These sub-series are dedicated, for instance, to diseases relating to the eyes (*šumma amēlu īnāšu marṣa*),[7] to the nose and the breathing apparatus (*šumma amēlu napī appišu kabit*), to the kidney (*šumma amēlu kalīssu ikkalšu*),[8] and to the *libbu* (*šumma amēlu su'ālam maruṣ ana kīs/ṣ libbi itâr*).[9] For example, the latter is composed at least by five tablets devoted to diseases occurring in the central area of the body, usually rendered with the Assyro-Babylonian word "*libbu*". The first tablet (BAM VI 574), which gives the title to the whole sub-series, relates recipes useful in the case of symptoms and/or diseases of the

---

[3] For a discussion see Heeßel 2010a, 31; Scurlock 2014, 295; the former states that the text edited by Beckman and Foster (Assyrian Scholarly Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection, in: E. Leichty (ed.), A Scientific Humanist, 11–14, 1988) could not be considered as the Catalogue of the series (Heeßel 2010a, 34), the latter sustains the opposite (Scurlock 2014, 295).

[4] Campbell Thompson – King 1906.

[5] It suffices to mention the following modern studies: Haussperger 2012; Janowski – Schwemer (eds) 2010; Scurlock 2014.

[6] For a reconstruction of the series and the sub-series see Heeßel 2010a, 31; Scurlock 2014, 295.

[7] See in particular Fincke 2000.

[8] See in particular Geller 2005.

[9] The translation of its *incipit* is difficult, and every modern scholar interprets it in a different way; for example, P. Attinger translates "Si un home souffre de toux grasse et que (la maladie) tourne en 'ligature de l'intérieur' (une forme de colique)" (Attinger 2008, 27); M. Haussperger proposes "Wenn jemand an einer Verschleimung erkrankt ist und diese zur Kühle des Leibesinneren wird" (Haussperger 2002, 35; 2012, 164); B. Böck translates "Wenn ein Mensch an (schwerer) Verschleimung (der Atemwege) leidet, diese aber umschlägt/übergeht in (die Krankheit, die gekennzeichnet ist durch Magen- und Darm)koliken" (Böck 2010, 69).

abdomen, stomach, intestines and belly. Some lines follow:

1. DIŠ NA *su-a-lam* GIG *ana ki-iṣ*
ŠÀ GUR *šu-ru-uš* ^{GIŠ}NAM.TAR
šu-ru-uš ^{GIŠ}*šu-še*
2. ^Ú*tar-muš* ^ÚIGI-*lim* ^ÚIGI-*ešra*
^Ú*tu-lal* ^ÚŠAKIRA 7 Ú.ḪI.A ŠEŠ
TEŠ.BI SÚD
3. *ina* KAŠ ŠUB-*di ina* MUL *tuš-bat ina* Á.GÚ.ZI.GA NU *pa-tan*
NAG.MEŠ-*ma ina-eš*

1. If a man suffers from cough with phlegm' secretion (and) changes to (the disease) *kīs/ṣ libbi*; root of the *pillû*-plant, root of the *šuše*-plant,
2. *tarmuš, imḫur-lim, imḫur-ešra, tulal, šakirû.* Crush together these 7 plants,
3. put them in beer, leave them under the stars at night. Give him (them) continually to drink in the morning on an empty stomach and (he) will recover.[10]

The recipe, as usual in therapeutic texts, follows a given order: first of all, it presents the description of symptoms and/or the disease's name, second it gives the list of ingredients useful to cure the patient and (in some cases) also the instructions to prepare and to administer them. At the end – if not preceded by some incantation formulas or rituals – there is the prognosis, in most cases positive.

In Uruk archaeologists found another therapeutic series, dated to the 5th century BCE and composed of 45 tablets, also entitled *šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukāl*; it belonged to the Šangu-Ninurta family, the

members of which were *āšipu*s.[11] Because the *incipit* of the series is identical to the one from Nineveh, we could assume that it is the same series. On the one hand it is not possible to find concordances between them, because in Uruk just some fragments of tablets nos. 41 and 45 have been found; on the other hand, it is also not possible to find any differences between the series found in Nineveh and the one found in Uruk. For the moment, we can just note the presence of these texts, not excluding neither one nor the other hypothesis.[12] Furthermore, in the same library, archaeologists found a sort of "abridged edition" of the UGU series, probably created by the members of this family[13] in order to render this wide-ranging series more usable.[14] Of this extract series have been found copies of the ninth and tenth tablets, edited in 1976 by H. Hunger as SpTU 1.44 and 46:[15] if the former describes ill-

---

[10] The translation is provided by the author and is based on the transliteration of BAM VI 574 i 1–3. See also Böck 2010, 71; Haussperger 2002, 23.

[11] In the late nineteen-sixties and early seventies German excavations brought to light 503 tablets and fragments of literary, medical and scholarly texts in the so-called "*āšipu*'s House", in the eastern part of Uruk (area U XVIII). The texts found belonged to two families of *āšipu*s, led by Šangu-Ninurta (late 5th Century BCE) and Ekur-zakir (early Hellenistic period), respectively. The whole group of texts has been published by Hunger and von Weiher in the series SpTU (I–V).

[12] See Heeßel 2010a, 33–34.

[13] The genealogical tree of the Šangu-Ninurta family follows:

Šangu-Ninurta
|
Nadin
|
Šamaš-iddin
|
Anu-ikṣur   Rimut-Anu
|
Anu-ušallim
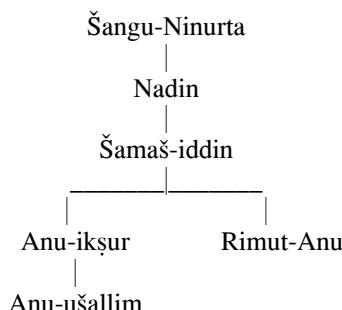
(see also Hunger 1976, 11; Clancier 2009, 52)

[14] See Scurlock 2014, 329.

[15] Hunger 1976.

nesses relating to the nose and the breathing apparatus, the latter concerns problems related to tongue, face, throat and lips. Both tablets have been written by the *āšipu* Šamaš-iddin, father of Anu-ikṣur.

Some lines of SpTU 1.44, which is an excerpt of the UGU's sub-series *šumma amēlu šinnīšu marṣa* and *šumma amēlu napī appišu kabit,* follow:

> 1. DIŠ NA *na-piš* KIR₄-*šú*
> DUGUD *ṣi-in-*[*na-aḫ*]*-ti-ru ḫi-miṭ*
> UD.[DA…]
> 2. *ina še-rim là pa-tan* Ú KUR.RA
> KA-*šú ta-*[*kap-pa*]*r* NA₄ *gab-u*
> *ana na-ḫi-*[*r*]*i-š*[*ú*…]
> 3. EME-*šú dišip* LÀL.KUR.RA *ú-na-aṭ-ṭa ina* A Ú UKÚŠ
> Ú EME.UR.KU GIŠ ŠINIG RA-*su*
> […]
> 4. PA GIŠ ŠINIG ŠIM LI
> ŠIM GÚR.GÚR PA GIŠ *šu-š*[*i*] 1-*niš*
> GAZ SIM *ina* Ì.UD[U ḪE].ḪE *ina*
> KUŠ SUR-*ri* [*irassu*] LÁ-*ma ina-eš*

> 1. If a man, the breath of his nose is heavy, (he suffers from the) *ṣin-naḫtiri*-illness (and) *ṣētu* fever […]
> 2. In the morning, on an empty stomach, you wipe his mouth with the *nīnû*-plant, apply alum on his nostrils, […]
> 3. his tongue … mountain's honey, wash him with water of cucumber, "dog's tongue", tamarisk […]
> 4. you pound (and) sift together a branch of tamarisk, *burāšu*-juniper, *kukru*-plant (and) a liquorice, mix (it) in fat, rub (it) on leather, bind (it) on [his breast] and he will recover.[16]

The presence of this extract series in the Šangu-Ninurta library "demonstrates that UGU was in active use by practicing physicians"[17] also during the 5th century BCE and furthermore that the activity of the above-mentioned group of medical professionals was devoted to a sort of re-edition of the therapeutic texts. This proves the continuity in the study of ancient texts. Indeed, usually professional knowledge was transmitted from one generation to the following, typically among the members of the same family (but also among scholars belonging to the same elite). This practice was very common in the past:[18] well known, for instance, are the cases of the *ummânu* active in the Neo-Assyrian period,[19] and also of the medical experts of Hellenistic times.[20]

Moreover, these extract series could be considered as a continuation of the re-elaboration process of the therapeutic texts started some centuries before. Indeed, we have already pointed out that *šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukāl* can be considered as the "new edition" of the therapeutic texts, the composition of which is the result of the efforts due to specialists active during the 7th century BCE. For the completion of this complicated process, scholars of the late period usually composed commentaries, especially during the highest level of their advanced training, as the one presented in the following paragraph.

---

16 The translation is provided by the author, and it is based on the transliteration of Hunger 1976, 53 (SpTU 1.44, 1–4). See also Heeßel 2010b, 55.

17 Scurlock 2014, 295.

18 It is worth noting that, beyond experts' families, it is possible to identify "intellectual elites", whose members did not belong to the same family but shared the same principles and discipline, especially from the time of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* on (see Nutton 2004, 53–71).

19 See, for instance, Cavigneaux 1982; Gesche 2001; Verderame 2008.

20 See Nutton 2004, 37–52.

Besides, it is worth noting the presence of a copy (SpTU 5, 231) of the so-called *āšipu*'s Manual in the Šangu-Ninurta library, written by Rimut-Anu, brother of Anu-ikṣur.[21] This document – in which are listed all the texts that *āšipu*s must study – is mostly known by Neo-Assyrian copies.[22] The presence not only of this Manual, but also of some of the tablets listed in it, are other proofs of continuity in the transmission of knowledge, in particular the one of the *āšipu*s.

The following table **(tab. 1)**, in which the tablets owned by Anu-ikṣur (the best-known member of the Šangu-Ninurta family) are grouped, could be considered as the mirror of the situation here presented:

EDITION	TOPIC OF THE TEXT	
	COPY	COMMENTARY
SpTU I, 28		SA.GIG 1
SpTU I, 31		SA.GIG 5
SpTU I, 32		SA.GIG 7
SpTU I, 33		SA.GIG 7
SpTU I, 38		SA.GIG 19
SpTU I, 45	Recipe for diseases occurring on the nose	
SpTU I, 47		*Šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukāl*[23]
SpTU I, 49		*Šumma amēlu* ŠU.GIDIM.MA *ibṣassuma* (*Šumma amēlu šer'ān kišādišu ikkalšu* 2)
SpTU I, 50		*Šumma amēlu* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA *elišu imqut*
SpTU I, 51		*Šumma amēlu*

		qaqqassu […] (*Bulṭu bīt Dābi-bi*(?) 2)
SpTU I, 56	Incantation(?)	
SpTU I, 59	Recipe	
SpTU I, 83		*Šumma Alamdimmû*
SpTU II, 8	*Bīt mēseri*	
SpTU III, 69	*Bīt mēseri*	
SpTU III, 90	*Šumma izbu*	
SpTU III, 99		*Šumma ālu*
SpTU IV, 151	*Šumma Alamdimmû*	
SpTU V, 241	*Maqlû*	
SpTU V, 248	Ritual	

Table 1 Tablets of Anu-ikṣur.

As we can see, *āšipu*s belonging to the Šangu-Ninurta family like Anu-ikṣur formed their professional career by studying many texts – especially the diagnostic and therapeutic ones, but also *omina* – following the list written in the *āšipu*'s Manual, in the same way their colleagues and predecessors did some centuries before. This could be seen as one of the proofs that especially in this specific case the work of experts never stopped; texts were constantly studied, analysed and re-elaborated, showing continuity and progression of the professionals' activity during centuries.[24]

The commentary to the extract series (SpTU 1.47)

As already said, among other texts, Šamaš-iddin wrote the copies of the ninth and the tenth tablets of the UGU extract series found in the Šangu-Ninurta library, i.e. the texts known as SpTU 1.44 and 1.46, respectively. In the present paragraph we will analyse some lines belonging to the second tablet here quoted, and its apparent commentary

---

[21]   See Jean 2006, 162, and Clancier 2009, 52.
[22]   The best-preserved tablet has been published as KAR 44. See Jean 2006 for an in-depth analysis and study of the Manual.
[23]   As already said, the tenth part of its extract series (SpTU 1, 46).

[24]   See, among others, Jean 2006, 162.

(SpTU 1.47)[25] written by Šamaš-iddin's son, Anu-ikṣur, in order to better comprehend which points of the original texts have been taken into account (and which have not), and how they have been explained. The starting point of this analysis will be the edition of H. Hunger,[26] supplemented by the in-depth study of E. Frahm presented in his "Babylonian and Assyrian Texts Commentaries. Origins of interpretation."[27]

The colophon of the commentary informs us that Anu-ikṣur was, at the time of its composition, a *mašmaššu ṣeḫru* (that is a junior-*āšipu*), a professional at the beginning of his advanced training:

> rev.
> 1'. […]
> 2'. […]
> 3'. ṣa²-[a²-tu² u šūt pî ša DIŠ amēlu (?) EME²]-šú²
> 4'. eb²-ṭ[e²-et²-ma²malsût (?) ᴵᵈ60-ik]-ṣu-ur
> 5'. MAŠ.MAŠ [ṣeḫri (?) mār Šangi]-ᵈ[Ni]n-urta
> 6'. pa-liḫ ᵈME.ME li₆(ḪÉ) šaₓ(DI)-qirₓ(KA)

> rev.
> 1'. […]
> 2'. […]
> 3'. Ṣâtu[28] [and oral explanations relating to (the text) "If a man, his tongue]
> 4'. is cram[ped". *Malsûtu* (=lecture) of Anu-ik]ṣur,
> 5'. [junior]-*āšipu*, [son of Šangu]-Ninurta.
> 6'. May the one who respects Gula hold (this tablet) in esteem.[29]

As the study of P. Clancier[30] points out, the various members of the Šangu-Ninurta family gathered together a noteworthy group of documents, relating not only to the healers' profession, i.e. *āšipūtu*, but also to many other subjects, as for instance divination, astronomy, religion, mathematics and literature.[31] Among these texts it is worth noting the presence of "training texts", i.e. lexical lists and school exercises, and also of commentaries, as, for instance, those relating to SA.GIG or, as already noted, the one concerning the series *šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukāl*.[32]

In general, commentaries are very interesting, because they allow us to understand what kind of problems scholars of the late periods had to face in reading and studying texts composed some centuries before. In particular, we can say that commentaries on therapeutic texts have the purpose not only to explain difficult words, but also to identify some plants used for medications or fumigations (the name of which was not immediately comprehensible), and interpret the rare logograms used by their predecessors. In some cases, commentators also tried to determine etymological or symbolic associations between the *materia medica* and the affliction that it should cure. In general commentaries were composed in an advanced

---

25   Indeed, the presence of some passages that do not refer to SpTU 1.46 (see, among others, Frahm 2010, 172) is also worth noting.
26   Hunger 1976.
27   Frahm 2011.
28   "Commentary". For a discussion about the term see Frahm 2011, 48–56.

29   The translation is provided by the author, and it is based on the transliteration of Hunger 1976, 58 (SpTU 1.47: rev. 1'–6'); Frahm 2011, 400.
30   Clancier 2009.
31   Important to notice is that *āšipu*s of the Šangu-Ninurta family have access to the archives belonging to the Uruk's temples; therefore, we can state that "Il ne faut donc pas rechercher dans les bibliothèques privées une tentative, de la part de leurs propriétaires, de tendre à l'exhaustivité. Au contraire, le profil des fonds que nous venons de commenter met en valeur l'aspect très spécialisé d'une grande partie des textes" (Clancier 2009, 90).
32   See Clancier 2009; Frahm 2011.

stage of the training: indeed, "writing such commentaries was the manner in which a student could fully demonstrate the extent of his knowledge".[33]

For instance, in reading some passages from SpTU 1.46 and its apparent commentary, we could see which points have been taken into account by an apprentice *āšipu* of the 5th century BCE in Uruk. The following example from the supposed original text describes the preparation of a medication useful to cure symptoms occurring in the mouth:

> obv.
> 1. DIŠ NA EME-*šú eb-ṭe-et-ma* KA-*šú* SI.A-*at*
> 2. PA GIŠŠINIG PA GIŠILDÁG PA GIŠGEŠTIN KA₅.A
> 3. ÚEME.UR.KU È GAZ SIM *ina* A GAZI.SAR
> 4. ŠID-*aš* UGU EME-*šú* Ì.NUN.NA ŠÉŠ
> 5. *ina* UGU EME-*šú* GAR-*ma ina-eš*

> obv.
> 1. If a man, his tongue is cramped and his mouth is full:
> 2. tamarisk leaves, leaves of the *adāru*-tree, leaves of the "fox-grape"-plant,
> 3. (and) dog's tongue (=*cynoglossum*) you dry, crush, (and) sift, in the juice of the *kasû*-plant
> 4. knead it; anoint the upper part of his tongue with ghee,
> 5. (then) put (the mixture) on the upper part of his tongue, and he will recover.[34]

About these five lines Anu-ikṣur decided to consider just the verb *ebēṭu*. His analysis reads as follows:

> 1. DIŠ NA EME-*šú eb-ṭe-et-ma* : *e-bé-ṭu* : *na-pa-ḫu*
> 2. *e-bé-ṭu* : *ra-bu-ú* (…)
> 1. "If a man, his tongue is cramped": "to cramp" (means) "to swell";
> 2. "to cramp" (means) "to get large" (…).[35]

We may suppose that he focused his attention on this verb because its meaning was too obscure, or, on the contrary, because its meaning was too obvious; indeed, junior-*āšipu*s like him usually avoided the difficult passages, concentrating rather on easier words or expressions, in order to learn how to do a text's commentary.[36]

Anu-ikṣur proceeded with the explanation of a vague passage mentioning an undefined "*rābiṣu*-demon of the lavatory", and also a clarification about the *lurpânu*-mineral. The part at issue of SpTU 1.46 and its relating commentary follow:

> obv.
> 6. DIŠ NA IGI.MEŠ-*šú* GÚ-*su u* NUNDUM-*su šim-mat* TU-KU.MEŠ-*a*
> 7. *ù ki-ma* IZI *i-ḫa-am-ma-aṭ-šú*
> 8. NA BI MAŠKIM *mu-sa-a-ti* DAB-*su ana* TI-*šú*
> 9. NA*mu-ṣa* NAAN.ZAḪ NAAN.ZAḪ.GI₆
> 10. NAKUR-*nu* DAB NAAN.BAR NAZÁLAG *lu-ur-pa-ni*
> 11. *ši-i-pa* IMKAL.GUG GIŠŠE.N.ÚA

---

[33] Scurlock 2014, 337.

[34] The translation is provided by the author, and it is based on the transliteration of Hunger 1976, 57 (SpTU 1.46:1–5); Frahm 2011, 398. See also Heeßel 2010b, 59:1–5.

[35] The translation is provided by the author, and it is based on the transliteration of Hunger 1976, 57–58 (SpTU 1.47:1–2); Frahm 2010, 172; Frahm 2011, 398; Scurlock 2014, 338.

[36] See, for instance, Scurlock 2014, 337.

12. NAGA.SI *lu-lu-tú* DIŠ¹-*niš*¹
SÚD *ina* ÚŠ ᴳᴵˢEREN
13. Ì.GIŠ *sér-di u* Ì.GIŠ
BÁRA.GA ḪE.ḪE
14. *še-ra* AN.BAR₇ *u* AN.USAN
ŠÉŠ-*su*
15. *ina* KUŠ GAG.GAG-*pí ina*
GÚ-*šú* GAR-*an-ma* TI

obv.
6. If a man, his face, his neck, and
his lips have continually paralysis,
7. and burn him like fire,
8. this man, the *rābiṣu*-demon of
the lavatory has seized him. To
save him:
9. *mūṣu*-stone, *anzaḫḫu*-glass,
black frit,
10. magnetite, iron, *zalāqu*-stone,
lurpânu-mineral,
11. *šīpu*-paste, *kalgukku*-paste,
chaste tree,
12. salicornia, and *lulūtu*-mineral
you shall pound together, (then) in
cedar resin
13. you shall mix it with olive oil
and filtered oil,
14. (and) you shall anoint him
(with the mixture) in the morning,
at noon, and in the evening.
15. You shall wrap it in (a) leather
(bag), put (the bag) around his
nape, and he will recover.[37]

2. (…) MAŠKIM *mu-sa-a-ti* : ᵈ*šu-lak*
3. *a-na* É *mu-sa-a-tú* NU KU₄-*ub* :
ᵈ*šu-lak* SÌG-*su*
4. ᵈ*šu-lak šá* E-*ú* : ŠU : *qa-tum* :
LA : *la-a* : KÙ : *el-lu*
5. *ana* É *mu-sa-a-tú* KU₄-*ub* ŠUᴵᴵ-
šú NU KÙ *ana* UGU *qa-bi*
6. *lu-ur-pa-ni ki-ma* ᴺᴬ₄ZA.GÌN-
ma ZÁLAG *ta-kip šá-niš lu-ur-
pa-ni* : IM.GÁ.LU

2. (…) "The *rābiṣu*-demon of the
lavatory" (is) Šulak.
3. "He should not go into the lava-
tory, (or) Šulak will hit him."
4. "Šulak": (this is) what is said
(about him): ŠU (means) "hand",
LA (means) "not", KÙ (means)
"clean".
5. (Then) he went into the toilet,
(so) his hands are not clean. This
is what is said about it.
6. *Lurpânu*-mineral is like lapis
lazuli, but spotted with bright
spots; second: *lurpânu*-mineral is
(like yellow) *kalû*-paste[38].

In this very interesting passage the commen-
tator gives us an "example of creative phi-
lology":[39] indeed, he tells us that the attack
ascribed to the *rābiṣu*-demon of the lavatory
is due to a lack of cleaning and explains it
by dividing the demon's name Šulak into
syllables (Šu-la-ku) and assigning them the
meanings of the corresponding Sumerian
words ("Not clean hands"). Unluckily, we
are not informed of the judgement that Anu-
ikṣur's father/master gave to him about this
commentary. It would be interesting to
know how he evaluated it in order to under-
stand if this interpretation was considered a
mistake on the part of the *mašmaššu ṣeḫru*
or not.

In the following lines from SpTU 1.46 there
is a description of a stroke and of a remedy
used to cure a patient affected by it, fol-
lowed by the proper incantation:

obv.
16. DIŠ NA *mi-šit-tú pa-ni i-šú*
IGI-*šú i-ṣap-par*

---

[37] The translation is provided by the author, and it
is based on the transliteration of Hunger 1976,
57 (SpTU 1.46, 6–15); Frahm, 2011, 398–399.
See also Heeßel 2010b, 59.

[38] The translation is provided by the author, and it
is based on the transliteration of Hunger 1976,
58 (SpTU 1.47, 2–6); Frahm 2010, 172–173;
Frahm 2011, 398–399; Scurlock 2014, 338–
339.

[39] Frahm 2011, 232.

17. *ur-ra u mu-šá ur-ta*ᵎ(GA)-*at-tú*
la it-ta-na-a-a-al
18. *ina* LÀL *u* Ì.NUN.NA
IGI.MEŠ-*šú muš-uš-da*
19. *l*[*a*] *i-kal-li* ᵁIN₆.ÚŠ *ba-lu*
20. *pa-tan* KÚ.KÚ-*ma* TI-*uṭ*

rev.
21. ÉN UL.ḪI.ŠI.IN MIN
AN.NI.NÉᵎ(BI).ÉŠ QU.MAᵎ
(ŠU).A
22. KI.ŠÈ NAM.GI.SI.SÁ MU.BI
NA.AN.GI.SI.SI
23. ḪU.UB.BÉ.EN LA
ḪU.UB.BÉ.EN
24. ḪU.BÉ.EN ḪU.UB.B.ÉEN :
GI.SI.IR ŠU.U'.KUL.LU
25. [TU].RA.AN.[NI]
KU.UL.PA.NU
MU.UŠ.KA.TAB.BA
26. KU.UK.KA.AD.DAL TU₆
[NÉ]
27. KA.INIM.MA *šum-ma*
MAŠKIM KA LÚ *ú-ṣab-*[*bit*]
28. DÙ.DÙ.BI SAḪAR SI-
LA.LÍM.MA *ana* A PÚ ŠUB-*ma*
KA-*šú* LUḪ
29. *u* ÉN *im-ta-na-an-ni*

obv.
16. If a man has a paralysis affect-
ing his face and he squints his eye
17. (if) day and night he stares, he
cannot sleep,
18. (and) cannot stop rubbing his
eyes with honey and ghee,
19. he shall eat the *maštakal*-plant
on an
20. empty stomach, and he will re-
cover.

rev.
21. Incantation: "ul-ḫi-ši-in min
an-ni-né-éš qu-ma-a
22. ki-šè nam-gi-si-sá mu-bi na-
an-gi-si-si
23. ḫu-ub-bé-en la ḫu-ub-bé-en
24. ḫu-bé-en ḫu-ub-bé-en : gi-si-ir
šu-u'-kul-lu

25. [tu]-ra-an-[ni] ku-ul-pa-nu mu-
uš-ka-tab-ba
26. ku-uk-ka-ad-dal." Wording of
[the incantation].
27. Recitation (to use) if a *rābiṣu*-
demon has seized the mouth of a
man.
28. Its ritual: You shall cast soil
from a crossroads into well water,
and he shall wash his mouth (with
it)
29. and continually recite the in-
cantation.[40]

The part of the commentary which refers to
this passage of the text analyses some diffi-
cult words, as for instance *mišittu* and *iṣap-*
par, adding some information about the
rābiṣu-demon of the lavatory; contrary to
what one would expect, the obscure words
of the incantation formula are not explained,
probably, as already said, because junior
students like Anu-ikšur usually "skipped
over the difficult parts",[41] focusing on those
passages that were easily comprehensible.
Furthermore, it is worth noting that there are
some passages that are not contained in the
apparent original text, as the following lines
show:

7. *mi-šit-tú* : *ma-šá-du* : *ma-ḫa-ṣu*
: *mi-šit-tú* : *šá in-šu-ú*
8. *šá-ṭar-šú im-ta-šid mi-šit-tú* :
IGI-*šú i-ṣap-par* : BAR : *ṣa-pa-ru*
9. BAR : *za-a-ru* : *ur*-GA-*at-tú la*
it-ta-na-a-al
10. *ur*-�qᵃGAᵎ-*at-tú* : *bu-uš-qí-it-tú* :
muš-šu-da : *muš-šu-'u*
11. *áš-šú maš-maš-ú-tu ki-i qa-bu-*
ú : Ì.UDU ˢᴵᴹGIG *šá* Ì.GIŠ *ú-kal-*
lu
12. ˢᴵᴹGIG SÚD EN Ì.GIŠ È-*a* :
Ì.UDU *e-riš-ti* : Ì.UDU *ku-ri-tú*

---

40 The translation is provided by the author, and it
is based on the transliteration of Hunger 1976,
57 (SpTU 1.46, 16–29); Frahm 2011, 399. See
also Heeßel 2010b, 59.
41 Scurlock 2014, 337.

13. *ina* KUŠ ÙZ *šip-ki* : *šip-ki* : *ṭu-up-pu* : MAŠKIM KA LÚ *uṣ-ṣab-b*[*i-it*]

14. MAŠKIM *pa-ni* ÙZ *šá-kin* : A PÚ *šá*E-*ú* : *ina* ŠÀ-*šá* MAKŠIM *mu-sa-a*-[*ti*]

15. ᵈ*šu-lak* : *lu-ú* ᵈ*šu-lak šá mu-sa-a*-[*ti*]

16. *ina* KUŠ *ši-pí* : *ina* KUŠ *ta-šap-pi* : *ši-p*[*iʾ*...]

17. AL.ÚS.SA : *ši-iq* : *ṭa-ba-a-tú* […]

7. "Paralysis" - "to strike" (means) "to hit". "Paralysis" - He who has forgotten

8. what was decided for him[42] has been struck by a paralysis. "He squints his eye" - "BAR" (means) "to squint"

9. (and) "BAR" (means) "to twist". "*Ur*-GA-*at-tú*" (instead of *ur-ta-at-tú* = "he stares") and cannot sleep"

10. - "*Urqattu*" (means) "vegetation". "To rub" (means) "to massage",

11. - so that *mašmaššūtu*, as one says. "Tallow of the *kanaktu*-tree, which contains oil"

12. - You pound the *kanaktu*-tree until the oil comes out. "The tallow of the *erištu*-plant" (means/is identical with?) "the tallow of the *kurītu*-plant".

13. "In *šipku*-leather of a goat" - "*Šipku*" (means) "submerged". (Treatment to use for cases in which) "a *rābiṣu*-demon of the lavatory has seized a man's mouth."

14. (Goat's leather is used because) a *rābiṣu*-demon has the face of a goat.[43] "Well water" - (this is)

what is said (about it): the *rābiṣu*-demon of the lavatory

15. is Šulak or Šulak of the lavatory.

16. "You shall … (it) in leather" (means) "you shall wrap (it) in leather" - […].

17. "AL.ÚS.SA" (means) "garum", (which is equivalent to?) "vinegar" […].[44]

Interesting to note are the mistakes occurring in lines 9–10: first of all, Anu-ikṣur does not correct the wrong form *ur*-GA-*at-tú* written by his father/master in the original text, secondly he offers an illogical explanation, even off topic ("*Urqattu*" means "vegetation"). H. Hunger explains it with the following words:

> Wie aus der Schreibung *ur*-ᵍᵃGA-*at-tú* hervorgeht, hat der Schreiber dieses Wort von der Wurzel *wrq* abgeleitet; auch die Erklärung *bušqittu* (für *wurqītu, urqītu*) kommt von dieser Wurzel. *Ur*-GA-*at-tú* hier und in Nr. 46,17 ist jedoch ein Schreibfehler für *ur-ta-at-tu*, wie aus den Duplikaten zu Nr. 46 hervorgeht.[45]

Moreover, as already noticed above, lines 11–12 and line 17 are related to passages that are not quoted in the apparent original text; we may suppose that Anu-ikṣur was aware of some parallels to SpTU 1.46, as, for instance, the text published by F. Köcher as BAM VI 523 iii 3'–8',[46] in which the passage quoted in lines 11–12 can also be found.[47] To follow, in lines 14–15 the *mašmaššu ṣeḫru* explains the reason why

---

[42] For a different interpretation see Frahm 2011, 399.

[43] In other texts the *rābiṣu*-demon has lion features (see Edzard – Wiggermann 1987–1990, 455).

[44] The translation is provided by the author, and it is based on the transliteration of Hunger 1976, 58 (SpTU 1.47, 7–17); Frahm 2011, 399–400; Scurlock 2014, 339.

[45] Hunger 1976, 58, note to line 10.

[46] Köcher 1963–1980, BAM I–VI.

[47] See also Frahm 2011, 402, note to lines 11–13.

šipku-leather of a goat and well water must be used: Šulak has a goat-like face and, because he is the demon of the lavatory, he is associated with water.[48]

This text should be considered the result of the efforts of a specialist active in the 5th century BCE to analyse and interpret a tablet composed by his father/master. It shows not only continuity in the study of therapeutic texts – which were the basis of this study –, but also interest in examining certain aspects relating to the medical profession. As we already noted, the commentary of SpTU 1.46 offers different types of explanations: in lines 1–2, for instance, Anu-ikṣur suggests a clarification of the difficult word *ebēṭu* (that is to say, he presents a philological note), while in lines 2–5 and 14–15 he tries to explain the reason why the *rābiṣu*-demon of the lavatory is called Šulak, looking for a deeper meaning "through creative retranslation".[49] In this etymological analysis he attempts to divide the demon's name into syllables (Šu-la-ku) and translate them as if they were Sumerian words, i.e. literally "Not clean hands": in so doing he explains the demon's attack as a consequence of the lack of cleaning, and justifies the use of well water in the treatment. In other passages of the commentary Anu-ikṣur gives information about some of the ingredients used to cure a man in case of paralysis or stroke, for example, as described in the apparent original text; for instance, in line 6 he describes the appearance of the *lurpânu*-mineral, comparing it with lapis lazuli and *kalû*-paste, but pointing out the presence of bright spots on it. These kinds of different explanations are very common in the Mesopotamian commentaries, especially of those written

during the Late Babylonian period. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out the lack of notes and comments about some difficult terms occurring in the base text, as for example the names of the ingredients in lines 11–12, or yet the obscure words used in the incantation formula in lines 21–26, probably, as already pointed out, because the commentator was still a *mašmašu ṣeḫru* and not a senior scholar.

Transmission and interpretation of the therapeutic texts: a conclusion

Commentaries as the one just presented in this case study represent efforts of scholars belonging to the late period of the Mesopotamian world to explain the works of Babylonian and Assyrian experts active some centuries before; they provide us with information about Mesopotamian language and civilization, in some cases allowing us to better understand the texts commented upon, and, perhaps more importantly, also the meaning assigned to them by scholars who studied these texts. In this sense, they could help us in analysing a text or a group of texts and in evaluating how experts of late periods interpreted it or them. In the case study presented here, however, the lack of documents does not allow us to have an adequate view of the situation. Indeed, archaeologists have found just some fragments of two tablets belonging to the abridged edition of UGU in the Šangu-Ninurta library, and not the series itself. Also, the only one commentary concerning the therapeutic texts is probably based on a tablet which is part of the UGU's extract series and not of the original series. Furthermore, this commentary has been written by a junior-*āšipu* – as we already said, scholars at the beginning of their advanced training usually commented only on the easier passages written in the base text, avoiding the difficult parts. The

---

[48]   See Frahm 2011, 403, note to lines 14 and 14–15.
[49]   Scurlock 2014, 337.

impossibility of making a comparison with the different commentaries composed by senior professionals, for example, makes it difficult to understand how not only the extract series, but also the whole series *šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukāl* have been interpreted by scholars active during the late period of the Mesopotamian world.

In any event, we could say that – despite the lack of documents – there was continuity in the interpretation and study of ancient therapeutic texts. The knowledge of symptoms and diseases, of medical treatments and recipes, of rituals and incantation formulas, has been transmitted from one generation of scholars to the following over the centuries. Already in the 7th century BCE we noticed the composition of the UGU series' "new edition"; this means that specialists who lived during the Neo-Assyrian time gathered together a wide group of texts and re-elaborated on them. Two centuries later, there is another re-elaboration of these tablets – creating an extract series of them in order to render it more practical –, and a commentary on it. In any event, all these documents are the mirror – even if fragmentary – not only of the transmission of specific knowledge during the centuries, but also of the hard work of experts for the purpose of interpreting the texts of the tradition and of re-creating them in order to render them more useful.

Moreover, it is worth remarking that medical knowledge was transmitted among the members of one family. Indeed, we know that, after the first level of education, scribes could specialize in a profession that needed a particular preparation. This specialized education usually occurred inside families; indeed, the education system was mostly based on the transmission of knowledge (but

also of instruments such as texts collections) within the family sphere.[50] Often fathers and sons appear to practice an identical or related profession as the fruit of a specialization acquired and developed under the tutoring of a senior member of the family,[51] as the colophon quoted above shows us. After all, this was a usual practice in the past. During the Persian Empire and the Hellenistic period, for instance, families of medicine's professionals appear to have been active, just like in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. It is well known that at king Seleucus' court there were two physicians, that is Cleombrotus and Erasistratus, father and son, respectively. Also in the Iliad the Greek poet Homer describes the medical services of Machaon and Podalirius, two brothers sons of Asclepius, the Medicine's god.[52] In this sense, Šangu-Ninurta and his descendants can be seen as the typical example of a family devoted to a particular profession (i.e. *āšipūtu*), to the transmission of specialized knowledge, and to the interpretation of ancient texts.

---

[50] See for example Cavigneaux 1982; Gesche 2001; Verderame 2008.

[51] In most cases the master teaches to his son(s), but sometimes he can teach to students belonging to other families, usually of the same profession (see, for instance, Clancier 2009, 92).

[52] See Nutton 2004.

Bibliography

Attinger 2008

> P. Attinger, La médecine mésopotamienne, JMC 11–12 (Saint Germain en Laye 2008)

Beckman - Foster 1988

> G. Beckman – B.R. Foster, Assyrian Scholarly Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection, in: E. Leichty (ed.), A Scientific Humanist (Philadelphia 1988) 11–14

Böck 2010

> B. Böck, Innere Krankheiten, in: B. Janowski – D . Schwemer (eds.), Texte zur Heilkunde, TUAT NF 5, 2010, 69–78

Campbell Thompson - King 1906

> R. Campbell Thompson – L.W. King, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, CT 22 (London 1906)

Cavigneaux 1982

> A. Cavigneaux, Lexikalischen Listen, RAI 6, 1982, 609–641

Clancier 2009

> P. Clancier, Les bibliothèques en Babylonie dans la deuxième moitié du Ier millénaire av. J.–C., AOAT 363 (Münster 2009)

Edzard - Wiggermann 1987-1990

> D.O. Edzard – F.A.M. Wiggermann, Maškim, RlA 7, 1987–1990, 449–455

Fales 2014

> F.M. Fales, Anatomy and Surgery in Ancient Mesopotamia (Venezia 2014)

Fincke 2000

> J. Fincke, Augenleiden nach keilschriftlichen Quellen (Würzburg 2000)

Frahm 2010

> E. Frahm, Kommentar zum 10. Abschnitt der therapeutischen Serie, in: Janowski – Schwemer 2010, 172–173

Frahm 2011

> E. Frahm, Babylonian and Assyrian Texts Commentaries, GMTR 5 (Münster 2011)

Gesche 2001

> P.D. Gesche, Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr., AOAT 275 (Münster 2001)

Janowski - Schwemer 2010

> B. Janowski – D. Schwemer (eds.), Texte zur Heilkunde, TUAT NF 5 (Gütersloh 2010)

Haussperger 2002

> M. Haussperger, Die Krankheiten des Verdauungstraktes, WO 32, 2002, 33–73

Haussperger 2012
M. Haussperger, Die Mesopotamische Medizin aus ärztlicher Sicht, DWV–Schriften zur Medizinge-schichte, Band 12 (Baden–Baden 2012)

Heeßel 2010a
N.P. Heeßel, Einleitung zur Struktur und Entwicklung des Corpus der therapeutischen Texte, in: Janowski –Schwemer 2010, 31–35

Heeßel 2010b
N.P. Heeßel, Erkrankungen des Kopfes, in: Janowski –Schwemer 2010, 45–52

Hunger 1976
H. Hunger, Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk. Teil I, ADFU 9 (Berlin 1976)

Janowski - Schwemer 2010
B. Janowski – D. Schwemer (eds.), Texte zur Heilkunde, TUAT NF 5 (München 2010)

Jean 2006
C. Jean, La magie néo-Assyrienne en contexte, SAAS 17 (Helsinki 2006)

Köcher 1963-1980
F. Köcher, Die Babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen, BAM I–VI (Berlin 1963–1980)

Leichty 1988
E. Leichty (ed.), A Scientific Humanist, Studies in Memory of A. Sachs (Philadelphia 1988)

Nutton 2004
V. Nutton, Ancient Medicine (London – New York 2004)

Robson 2008
E. Robson, Mesopotamian Medicine and Religion: Current Debates, New Perspectives, Religion Com-pass 2/4, 2008, 455–483

Scurlock 2006
J.-A. Scurlock, Magico-medical means of treating ghost-induced illnesses in ancient Mesopotamia, AMD 3 (Groningen 2006)

Scurlock 2014
J.-A. Scurlock, Sourcebook for Ancient Mesopotamian Medicine (Atlanta 2014)

Scurlock - Andersen 2005
J.-A. Scurlock – B.R. Andersen, Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine (Illinois 2005)

Verderame 2008
L. Verderame, La formazione dell'esperto (*ummânu*) nel periodo neo-Assiro, HISTORIAE 5, 2008, 51–67

von Weiher 1983
E. von Weiher, Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, Teil II (SpTU II), ADFU 10 (Berlin 1983)

von Weiher 1988
      E. von Weiher, Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, Teil III (SpTU III), ADFU 12 (Berlin 1988)

von Weiher 1993
      E. von Weiher, Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, Teil IV (SpTU IV), AUWE 12 (Mainz 1993)

von Weiher 1998
      E. von Weiher, Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, Teil V (SpTU V), AUWE 13 (Mainz 1998)

The Evolution of the Patriarch Enoch in Jewish Tradition

Michael T. Miller

Abstract: At a single paragraph in the Bible, Enoch presents a somewhat etiolated figure among the other patriarchs; and yet, outside the Bible, his presence is enormous and ever changing. In this article I examine how the reception of Enoch has evolved over the centuries and millennia since his appearance in Genesis. Initially in the form of several small booklets from the 4th–1st centuries BCE, Enoch is understood as inventor of writing and heavenly traveller, visiting God on his throne and comprehending the astronomical mechanics; but by the time of the medieval Kabbalists he has been transformed into the great angel Metatron, the prototype of all mystics who seek heavenly wisdom, and present at the creation of the universe. In these cases, the theme of the learned seer has developed to meet the expectations of the Jewish communities who were drawn to him, and yet there is a surprising continuity of character even over thousands of years and miles.

Introduction

The patriarch Enoch, seventh in line from Adam, gets some short shrift in the Hebrew Bible: through a mere 6 verses (Gen 5:18–24), we learn that he was born, lived 365 years, "walked with God" and was no more. As simple as that, and he is mentioned nowhere else in the text.[1] However, since roughly the 4th century BCE, Enoch has grown in stature, taking on new roles and qualities as different Jewish communities contemplated his nature and importance.

Some of the emerging themes in Enoch's evolution are developments from the biblical text, but others are new concepts with no obvious Jewish precedent.[2] Having "walked with God", Enoch is understood as, on the one hand, exceedingly righteous, while on the other, as a celestial traveller who visited the heavens and talked with angels, God having "taken" him. Throughout these travels, though, he records his experiences as testimony for human beings; his function as scribe rapidly becomes a defining characteristic, and the books bearing his name are all allegedly written by his own hand. The earliest extant Enoch literature presents the seer as being granted a vision of God in

---

[1] Enoch has a likely pre-Biblical presence as the Mesopotamian King Enmeduranki (Orlov 2005), who shares some important features with the pseudepigraphic Enoch, therefore suggesting that the character as we know him had absorbed traditions from outside the Bible even at this early stage, but this is outside the remit of this study, the intention of which is to focus on Enoch in Judaism.

[2] We find the precursors of Enoch's roles as Diviner, Expert in Secrets, Mediator, Scribe, and Priest in the Enmeduranki traditions (Orlov 2005, 23–39).

heaven, but by the turn of the era this has become the focal point of his experience, a transformative point from which he cannot return; and we see here the beginning of a metamorphosis which will, by Islamic times, leave him as the archangelic potency Metatron, so powerful as to be confused with God. By this time, Enoch's mystical adventure has become the prototype which the Jewish Merkava mystics attempt to replicate, and in their literature it is Metatron who recounts his own experience as a part of his function as their guide in heaven and who introduces for them the vision of God. By the time of the medieval mystics, nearly 2,000 years after the first booklets, Enoch has become a divine manifestation of God himself.

This article will examine the development of Enoch over the centuries, as he transforms from the simple righteous man of the Bible to meet the needs and expectations of different communities which were drawn to him. While some scholars argue that there is something of a linear development to Enoch,[3] others hold that there have been several streams of tradition which have coalesced and then drifted apart in the patriarch's history.[4] My own argument will be that Enoch as we can know him now demonstrates both continuity *and* change, having developed certain characteristics in response to the outlook and experiences of those communities which saw fit to write about him, while still progressing in something of a linear manner – each stage dependent upon the changes wrought by the

previous. Accordingly, different communities will have emphasised specific aspects from the various trajectories which were available to them, creating the patriarch anew at each juncture. However, that there were also different trajectories developing at the same time, even in perhaps the same communities, is undeniable.[5]

Enoch during Second Temple Times

Perhaps because of the Bible's taciturn regard, extra-biblical speculation on the person of Enoch has been rife.[6] We find some of the earliest non-canonical texts of Second Temple Judaism recorded in his name, beginning with two 4th–3rd century BCE booklets which describe his life in far more detail than Genesis. In the Astronomical Book (*1 En* 72–82,[7] also known as the Book of the Luminaries) we learn what it may have meant that Enoch walked with

---

[3] Most recently Orlov 2005, but see the review of literature and further points presented in Coblentz Bautch – Assefa 2012. The latter conclude with the vision of "the Enochic traditions as many branches of a tree with roots likewise that extend in numerous directions" (189).

[4] Perhaps most famously, Scholem 1987.

[5] At Qumran the Astronomical Book and the collections of other booklets may represent diverging trajectories (Reed 2015). It is also plausible to speculate that Enochic texts which underwent interpolation and development within Christian communities then were reabsorbed *along with the new developments* back into Jewish traditions. This "incubation" of previously Jewish concepts within Christianity before re-entry into Judaism is not at all unknown (see, e.g., Schäfer 2012) and it is via this process that the Zohar seems to know of Similitudes (Olson 2004, 271).

[6] Although it seems more likely that these traditions were unknown at the time the Genesis account was written, the other possibility is that the Enochic booklets represent a direct passage from the original traditions which had, for one reason or another, been edited out of Genesis.

[7] The text we now know as *1 Enoch* is a compilation of five separate compositions joined with some seg-way passages. It is preserved in singular form only in Ethiopic, but most (all but the Similitudes) of the booklets have been found as Aramaic fragments at Qumran, AB evidently having been much longer originally than the extant version; there is also a unique text there, the Book of Giants (Milik 1976). The titles of the booklets are all from modern scholars and thus have some variation.

God: here we follow him on an angelically-guided tour of the heavenly sphere. The angels meticulously describe the celestial mechanics, the laws of the sun and moon, their phases and timekeeping, along with a prediction that in "the days of the sinners" the heavenly bodies will begin to fall out of phase, and an evolving chaos will envelop the earth as both nature and humanity grow out of sync with their prescribed order (80:1–8).[8] As such, it is something of an expansion on the two elements of Enoch's Genesis biography: his walking with God and his association with the suggestively calendrical figure of 365.[9] This first stratum of the Enoch literature, the subject matter of which is repeated as an integral part of his experiences even a millennium later, is a significant document of Jewish interest in natural science at this time.[10] The human attempt to independently reason about and understand the natural world had not been a part of Jewish thought previously, and was perhaps imported from Babylonia. Despite being apparently "alien wisdom" to Second Temple Judaism, this scientific theme (whereby Enoch circumnavigates heaven and witnesses the machinery of nature) appears to be an original part of the tradition, only joined one or two centuries later by a separate eschatological element.[11] The themes of astronomical travel and a rationally ordered universe became integrated into Enoch's narrative at this earliest post-biblical stage and will remain throughout.

The Book of the Watchers (*1 En* 1–36) presents a much stronger narrative on the life of Enoch, emphasising his personal righteousness. While in AB Enoch is only guided by angels, in BW he is personally selected for an audience with God. Still we find the motif of the cosmos' regularity, where everything is in its appointed place – everything, that is, except for humankind, which has forsaken the ordained path. The cause of humanity's laxity is easy to ascertain: an angelic group known as the Watchers had, in times past, descended upon earth enamoured with the comely daughters of men, and taken brides for themselves. While siring children (the giant *nephilim*), they spread to humans their knowledge of dark arts like sorcery, metalwork, divination, and fashion. Enoch himself first appears as a servant of God who is sent to inform the Watchers of their condemnation and whom the Watchers request to petition God for forgiveness on their behalf. As God lifts Enoch into heaven to present the petition, we witness the stunning visions of, this time not the planets but, the palaces of God. Enoch travels through the atmosphere until he reaches "a great house built of hailstones" (14:10), a house "hot as fire and cold as snow" (14:13), within which is another house "all built of tongues of fire… excelled in glory and splendour and majesty" such that Enoch cannot even describe it accurately (14:16). Within this turbulent vision is yet another, still greater: God enthroned with the host of angels around him. And here, Enoch's capacity ends be-cause he himself cannot even see let alone describe God. What Enoch can know however is the voice of God: God, rejecting the Watchers' petition, addresses Enoch as, "righteous man and scribe of truth" (15:1): two titles which will become crucial in the development of our ancient hero.

---

[8]   Translations are from the Hermeneia texts (Nickelsburg 2001, Nickelsburg – VanderKam 2012).

[9]   The reckoning of the days of the year figures heavily in the booklet, which promotes the same kind of solar calendar as we find in other documents at Qumran; in opposition to the more traditionally Israelite lunar calendar.

[10] Alexander 2014, VanderKam 2014.

[11] Alexander 1998, 95.

Once Enoch is led away from God's presence he witnesses again the basic mechanics of the universe – the places where the winds are stored, the foundation of earth and the cornerstone of heaven, and the "paths of the angels" (18:1–5); the place of punishment for the rebellious stars which deviated from God's timetable (18:14–16; 21:1–6), the captivity of the wicked angels and the enclosures for human souls where "their spirits are separated [into good and evil] until the great day of judgment" (22:10); the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge.[12] Through all of this he is guided by the angels who write down information for him, and answer his questions; Enoch is relentlessly curious, repeatedly probing the angels for information about the things he sees.[13]

Throughout the rest of the texts which make up the early strata of Enoch literature, we find repeated emphasis on a stable, planned cosmos: the heavenly bodies are catalogued and systematised, history is narrated from creation to apocalypse.[14] Enoch is shown around by angelic guides and is called upon to record this structure for the benefit of human beings, often having read the Heavenly Tablets which prescribe every individual action and the fate of each soul.[15] The scribal function, while supposedly a duty of the angels, quickly becomes so much a part of Enoch's myth that sometimes he is identified as the inventor of writing.[16] While the earliest booklets are focussed on cosmology, the ethical quickly becomes a part of Enoch's message, and by the 2nd century BCE the simple description of the sins of the astronomical bodies, the Watchers and human beings has transposed into an appeal to righteousness, to living in the ways of God, and the separation of the righteous from the unrighteous.[17] The "unrighteous deeds are written down day by day" and will be the source of eschatological judgment (*1 En* 98:8). Enoch has been shown "everything which is on heaven and earth" in order to record it (*Jub* 4:23), and so when one text asks,

> For who is there of all the sons of men who is able to hear the words of the Holy One…to look at all the works of heaven […] to see a soul or a spirit and is able to tell? Or to ascend and see all their ends […] who is able to know the length of the heavens, and what is their height and upon what they are

---

[12] The former "no flesh has the right to touch until the great judgment [...].Then it will be given to the righteous and pious [...]. Its fragrances will be in their bones, and they will live a long life on the earth" (25:3–6). The latter is "the tree of wisdom from which your father of old and your mother of old [...] ate and learned wisdom" (32:6).

[13] While AB offers an unconventional calendar, BW provides a new take on the origin of evil: no longer are Adam and Eve to blame, but the fallen angels who led humanity astray. These elements, which present a challenge to the received biblical tradition, indicate an outsider nature typical of apocalyptic literature, which finds fault in the world and contemporaneous society, and it is not surprising that we find the literature among those of the separatist Qumran community.

[14] The most impressive being the 2nd century BCE Dream Visions (*1 En* 83–90, also known as Animal Apocalypse).

[15] The recording of history in a set of tablets or books is a common aspect of Jewish theology at this time (Baynes 2012). Usually these books are written by angelic scribes, and opened only on the day of judgement.

[16] *Jub* 4:17, Targ Ps-J Gen 5:24. Jubilees is a 2nd century BCE text not included in *1 Enoch* but sharing in many concepts and motifs. It was also found at Qumran, and depends in part on BW, DV and possibly AB, while providing material for the Epistle (Segal 2007). Curiously, the Similitudes identifies writing as a gift of the Watchers, because of which "many went astray" (*1 En* 69:9).

[17] Most especially in the 2nd century BCE Epistle of Enoch (*1 En* 91–105).

founded? And what is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest? (*1 En* 93:11–14) The answer is clear: Enoch, as we know, has done all these things.[18]

Enoch at the Turn of the Era

It is in the latest of the *1 Enoch* booklets that we find the most dramatic changes, however. The Similitudes of Enoch, or The Book of Parables, (*1 En* 37–71) dates from the 1st century BCE, though it was long thought to be later due to the presence of certain motifs which bear a striking similarity to those found in the New Testament's depiction of Jesus.[19] In this text, unusual because its focus is far more on the person of Enoch than previously, we follow the patriarch as he is lifted into heaven and sees again the dwelling place of the righteous (39:4) and the meteorological secrets (41:3–8; 59), receives "books of jealous wrath and rage, and books of trepidation and consternation," (39:2) and is commissioned to relate the vision-parables he receives to the people of earth (37:5), but this time he encounters a new figure: the "Chosen One of righteousness and faith" (39:6).[20] This figure is something like an archetype, one who is responsible for and to the righteous and has a "dwelling beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits" (39:7), where Enoch "wished to dwell […] my spirit longed for that dwell-

ing." (39:8) This primordial office may have been set aside for Enoch, who claims that "There my portion has been from the first, for thus it has been established concerning me in the presence of the Lord of Spirits." (39:8) In the concluding passage (70–71[21]), we find that Enoch does indeed take the mantle of the Chosen One: his name is "lifted up into the presence of that Son of Man" (70:1), his body and spirit undergo a transformation (71:11) and in a long encomium an angelic being announces that Enoch is "that son of man [i.e., human] who was born for righteousness" (71:14).

The Chosen One still remains the prophetic or revelatory motif of Enoch; he is the one who will reveal "all the treasuries of what is hidden" (46:3). His primordial nature is emphasised when he is given a name that has existed since before all of creation (48:3). He will save the righteous from iniquity (48:7), destroying the wicked (48:9).[22] He is enthroned upon the throne of glory (61:8; 69:27).[23] It appears that, although the office of the Chosen One has been reserved for Enoch, he still has to undergo a transformation in order to attain

---

[18] Nickelsburg 2001, 451–53.
[19] Particularly interesting in this regard may be the implicit notion that Enoch was removed from the earth by God in the past, but is soon to return and inaugurate the end of days as described in the text. There are many points of contact between the Similitudes' apocalypse and that of Revelation.
[20] We find this foreshadowed in the Epistle's opening lines which describe "The righteous one" who will rise, walk in righteousness, and receive from God mercy, truth, and authority, and who will ultimately "judge in piety and righteousness; and walk in everlasting light" (*1 En* 92:4).

[21] Scholars think this is the latest element, appended to the rest of the text, and several translations have been offered (Nickelsburg – VanderKam 2012, 315–19).
[22] The aggressive focus on the righteous-unrighteous divide hints at an "Enochic community" behind the Similitudes, although this would not be the sect at Qumran (Nickelsburg – VanderKam 2012, 65).
[23] The Similitudes' Chosen One takes motifs from several figures from Israel's textual history, incorporating aspects of the Davidic Messiah-King, 2 Isaiah's Servant of YHWH, and the enthroned eschatological judge, "one like a son of man" from Dan 7 as well as the pre-existent Wisdom of Prov 8:22–31 (Nickelsburg – VanderKam 2012, 118). All these have influenced the development of messianic thought in Judaism, but there are few texts other than the Gospels and Revelation which combine them into a single figure as the Similitudes does.

it. This process is something like an angeli-fication, for after being in God's presence "my face was changed, for I was unable to see" (39:14; cf. 71:11), and thus "his face was full of graciousness like one of the holy angels" (46:1).

So we see that up until the Common Era, the figure of Enoch is associated with motifs that evolve from the brief biblical reference, while incorporating external ideas. He travels through heaven, witnessing secrets unknown by other humans; he is the scribe, recording the order of the cosmos and history and absorbing the angelic duty of documenting the actions of human beings; he is righteous, and has a special role in regard to the righteous (who can likely be identified as the people of Israel – or at least those among them who obediently keep God's laws[24]); there is a primordial place-ment which he was intended to fulfil as this Righteous and Chosen exemplar, which has by the time of the Similitudes a hint of angelic status, and which positions him as judge of humankind and inaugurator of the eschaton. From the 2nd century BCE onwards the assault on the unrighteous grows, as does the description of their punishment, indicating the tension which the authors perceive in their world: the land of Israel was in turmoil at this time, subject to conquest after conquest as the people suf-fered under the harsh vicissitudes of dif-ferent rulers. The authors are keen to see the final judgment, when God will reward the faithful and punish those who persecuted them. We see also that the person and nature of Enoch grows more central as the textual tradition evolves. Where AB and BW are principally concerned with the cosmos, and Enoch functions as messenger and recorder of certain revelations, by the time of the

Similitudes it is he, as the Chosen One, who has become the subject of revelation, one hidden before time who will only be re-vealed when his influence is required. And while the first booklets place Enoch as witness and recorder of the sins and virtues of human beings (81:1), by the latest he himself enacts judgment for those actions (48:7–9).

From perhaps only a century later than the latest elements of *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch* presents a less fierce and more intellectual, as well as cohesive, picture of the patriarch.[25] The text introduces Enoch as a wise and great scholar (1:1) who was taken to see the highest realms and God himself along with his throne and angels. Once taken, he ascends sequentially through the seven heavens, seeing again the atmospheric elements, the myriad angelic forces, and paradise and hell, and is again asked to intercede on behalf of a group of rebellious angels, this time quickly refusing.[26] Here Enoch is not

---

[24] Nickelsburg – VanderKam 2012, 99.

[25] *2 Enoch* appears to be more of a single composition than *1 Enoch*, drawing on all or most elements of the existing corpus of earlier traditions; but a lot of doubt still surrounds it. It is probably originally Jewish but may be Jewish-Christian; recent research suggests it probably originated in the 1st century CE, but may be later and has certainly undergone many levels of redaction (Böttrich 2012, although there are other arguments both for and against an early dating, Orlov 2012). The text itself suggests a Greek original, though a prior Hebrew version is also possible (Macaskill 2012). It currently exists in two main versions, significantly different in length, each of which has evolved independently since their sepa-ration. While it has been preserved intact only in an Old Church Slavonic translation dating from the 11th–12th centuries CE, we have a recently discovered Coptic fragment from the 8th–10th centuries CE which has enabled some clearer assertions but is too small to allow much certainty beyond its existence outside the Slavonic church (Hagen 2012).

[26] His response is a rhetorical mirror of his previous question: "Who am I, a mortal man,

recording, but we do again find that all human deeds are being recorded for posterity (19:5). In *2 Enoch* this is just one aspect of the pervasive angelic monitoring and control of all phenomenal aspects of the world: there are "angels over seasons and years [...] rivers and oceans [...] fruit and grass [...] everything that breeds" (19:4) and even "archangels who are over the angels [who] harmonize all existence, heavenly and earthly" (19:3).

The purpose of Enoch's elevation is unremarked until, on the brink of the seventh heaven, Gabriel commands him to "Stand up, and come with me and stand in front of the face of the Lord forever" (21:3).[27] In order to be presented before God, Enoch is redressed "in clothes of glory" and anointed, whereby "I had become like one of his glorious ones, and there was no observable difference" (22:10). This identification with the angelic host is foreshadowed in the previous literature (most clearly the Similitudes), but from this point, Enoch takes on a primordial function which quickly surpasses what we might have expected: initially he is made recorder, writing the entire course of history, natural and human, the fate of all souls, and even every language and the rules humans live by. After this indoctrination, God personally begins to educate Enoch, and shares with him the

secrets of the process of creation to which not even the angels were privy. Enoch now knows "everything": he reels off a list of his knowledge, which encompasses both time and space "for either from the lips of the Lord or else my eyes have seen from the beginning even to the end […] the heavens and their boundaries and their contents […] the armies and their movements I have measured […]" (40:1–2). But there is a conceptual slip in the text, and in some manuscripts we find Enoch moves seamlessly from boasting of his recording and measuring of the cosmos, to claiming to have designed it.[28] This must be a scribal error of some form, but the slip makes clear just how easy it is to jump from recorder to orchestrator; from one who measures and systematises, to one who instils the possibility of that measurement.[29]

Enoch has again undergone a physical transformation in his encounter with God: When he returns to the world, having completed his testimony, his face is "chilled" in order that humans can safely look at him (37:1–2).[30] Even so, he has been so changed that all earthly desires are foreign to him, and even food is not required (56:2). And once he has declared his moral missive, the people embrace him and adorn him with yet

---

that I should pray for angels? Who knows where I am going and what will confront me?" (7:5). Translations are from Andersen (1983); as we are interested here in the putative original text and its narrative, I have concatenated the two versions he provides from different manuscript traditions into one.

[27] As in the Similitudes, the place which Enoch will take in the highest heaven is his "eternal inheritance" (55:2). In the 2nd century BCE, Ben Sira had claimed Enoch "was taken into the *pannim* [presence/face]" (49:14), perhaps indicating already then an emerging association of Enoch with the divine face.

[28] 40:6. This occurs in all manuscripts of the long version, and as Andersen notes, "would be more appropriate in the mouth of the creator" (1983, 165). The reason for this strange passage is unclear and little discussed, but later in both versions Enoch claims to have personally prepared a place of judgment in the afterlife for each soul (49:2–3). It later becomes a feature of the Medieval Slavonic text Merilo Pravednoe, where Enoch is "manager of the earth" (Andersen 1983, 217).

[29] On this theme of the "divider" as uniting the creative (divine) and epistemological (human) in Philo's Logos, see Cox 2007.

[30] Notably in *2 Enoch*, his appearance becomes changed immediately as his angelic guides appear to him (1:7).

another accolade: now he is "the one who carried away the sin of mankind" (64:5). This salvific role, while a logical conclusion from his capacity in prescribing righteous behaviour, is yet another step toward a nature which could not have been predicted from the earliest books. He is no longer "a human taken to heaven and transformed into an angel, but a celestial being exalted above the angelic world."[31]

2 Enoch draws significantly on popular Jewish philosophy, which the author recasts in a mythical setting.[32] While the booklets of *1 Enoch* were preserved by sectarians such as the Qumran community, something which indicates the "outsider" background of a group unhappy with the direction of Israel's religion and offering an alternative narrative, *2 Enoch* manages to take these traditions and incorporate them into a somewhat middle-class, Hellenised atmosphere which, although still not at one with the popular religion of Judaea, is relatively content with the current state of society and religion. Enoch's testimony does not damn the unrighteous but encourages personal good deeds, and the fire and brimstone of *1 Enoch*'s later strata are replaced with a complex and philosophically-inclined depiction of the creation of the visible world from the invisible. This new emphasis combined with a Hellenistic individualism may have helped to solidify the focus on the person of Enoch as a kind of mediator of redemption; the absence of nationalistic Hebrew history is only part of a dynamic which is both personal and universal. However, this development would not have been possible without the transformation that takes place in the Similitudes, for it is only here that Enoch first became a person

of cosmic importance, rather than simply a prophet: it is only because of Enoch's elevation to the status of Chosen One that he can in *2 Enoch* take the new role as one of the heavenly host, a translation which paves the way for the later developments.

Enoch and Metatron in Rabbinic Judaism

At some point, Enoch's elevation into heaven and incorporation into the angelic retinue earns him a new name: Metatron. Whether this angel pre-existed his identification with Enoch we do not know, but there is a strong case for the direct continuity of the Enoch literature into the later traditions where our hero is mentioned.[33] From around the 5th–9th centuries CE, in the rabbinic centres of Palestine and Babylon, we find a group of texts known as the Hekhalot (palaces) literature.[34] These tell of two rabbinic sages who ascend into heaven, are met by angels, and after some trials are granted a vision of God and join the angels in singing his praise. Dozens of angels feature, but the most prominent is Metatron. In the most textually solid and singular work, *Sefer Hekhalot* (*3 Enoch*), Metatron tells his own history of having been taken from earth as the human Enoch, the sole righteous member of his generation (*3 En* 4–15). Despite objection from the angels, this human, choicest in faith and righteousness (6:3), was lifted into heaven on the wings of the Shekhinah to serve

---

[31] Orlov 2005, 211.
[32] Böttrich 2012.

[33] Scholem famously claimed that Metatron had originated in the angel Yahoel and only later became associated with Enoch (1987, 89). The earliest references to Metatron are 3rd century CE (Visions of Ezekiel and b.Sanh 98b) and do not mention Enoch; his two other appearances in the Babylonian Talmud likewise. The link is made in the 4th century Targ Ps-J but this may be a late addition (Mortensen 2006). Orlov (2005) has provided a detailed analysis which supports the linear development of Metatron's characteristics from Enoch's, although this has not been universally accepted. On Metatron generally see Abrams 2001.
[34] Boustan – Himmelfarb – Schäfer 2013.

the throne of glory, and had bestowed upon him wisdom, understanding, prudence, knowledge, mercy, Torah, and all "excellent, praiseworthy qualities" over above the angels (8:2).[35] R. Ishmael stands mute as Metatron recounts his blessings: with 72 wings, 365,000 eyes, and a physical span the length of the world, with a throne like God's own at the entrance to the 7th heaven, a robe and crown fashioned by God himself, transformed into fire and made prince and ruler over all angels, one could perhaps be forgiven for thinking Enoch has now reached his apogee. And if this were not enough, God titles him "The lesser YHWH."

While Enoch was guided around heaven by angels in his earlier literature, it is now Metatron who leads R. Ishmael, offering many of the same visions as he himself had: he enumerates the leagues of angelic beings who preside over aspects of heaven, ensuring its daily functioning; he reveals the letters of creation, the names of God which are so potent as to allow fire and ice to exist together; the souls of the righteous and the wicked that have not yet been created, and the souls of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; the history of humanity from Adam to the Messiahs;[36] the spirits and names of the stars, and finally the right hand of God. If we are in any doubt about the success of Enoch's translation into heaven and his acceptance into the angelic host, this would quell it. He is now without doubt a heavenly being.

This "boundary-crossing" is a fixed motif of the Enoch-Metatron literature: he goes between earth and heaven, from mortal to angel, and finally even touches on the

boundary of divinity; and throughout this he encounters a persistent rivalry with the angels.[37] Enoch was elevated to heaven in contrast to the fallen watchers and reverses their role of petitioning God on behalf of humans (*1 En* 15:1); he learns secrets which God concealed from the angels (*2 En* 24:3); he is disputed by the angels when lifted up to heaven (*3 En* 6). In all these texts, Enoch is presented as victorious over, or simply more important than, the angels.[38] Already by the time of *2 Enoch*, he has usurped the role of the angels, becoming the intermediator par excellence, transmitting information to human beings about the heavenly world and displacing the more traditional *angelus interpres*; by *3 Enoch* he has become the most potent angel, "unique among all the denizens of the heights" (*3 En* 48D:9) and in the latest additions to that text he is the being through whom all interaction with God must pass,[39] the divine mouth-piece, and he even enacts every word that God speaks (*3 En* 48C:10). At this point Enoch's revelatory function is such that it is said to be he (as Metatron) who revealed the Torah to Moses (*3 En* 48D:8). It is only R. Akiva's slip, mistaking Metatron for a second deity in heaven, which provokes a reversal of his fortunes where the angel Anafiel is called to whip him and make him

---

[35] Translations are from Alexander 1983.

[36] Like much rabbinic literature, *3 Enoch* describes two messiahs: one from the line of Joseph and one from the line of David.

[37] Coblentz Bautch – Assefa 2012, 185.

[38] Recalling again the relevance of Enoch to early Christology, Jesus is said to be superior to the angels because "the name he has inherited is more excellent than theirs" (Heb 1:1–4, cf. Phil 2:9, Eph 1:21). Of course, Jewish tradition in general has been keen to emphasise the rivalry between angels and humans, and has ensured that the latter always come out on top. Cf. the many traditions regarding angelic opposition to Adam's creation, and Ber.Rab. 17:4's rewriting of Gen 2:19–20 which has Adam and the angels compete at naming the animals.

[39] "Any angel and any prince who has anything to say in my presence should go before him and speak to him." (*3 En* 10:4)

stand from his throne (*3 En* 16).[40]

Given this background, the interest in Metatron shown by successive generations of kabbalists is not surprising.[41] He is the single most important angelic figure, and his heritage in the patriarch Enoch is noted, although it is far from the crux of his nature. Indicating the deep immersion in Arab Neoplatonic philosophy which the early kabbalists, especially those in Castile, display, Metatron now has become a primordial archetype, identified with a nexus of concepts such as the Active Intellect, the Torah, the Tetragrammaton, and the Hebrew alphabet, all of which serve to connect the absolute, ineffable God with his creation, and through which revelation can happen.[42] Metatron here is something like the first condensation of divine energy into a definite form, and so his anthropomorphic form is a necessary aspect of his "First Adam" status.[43] In an interesting (and unintentional) nod back to the Similitudes, 13th century kabbalist Abraham Abulafia describes Metatron as an office which the Messiah will inherit, donning his name and cosmic nature

as he is anointed.[44] At another point Abulafia makes the angel the "oldest of all created things"[45] and for R. Asher ben David it was Metatron in whose image man was created.[46] This first creation even slips into a virtual demiurgic potency for Abulafia.[47] This is all a long way from the initial conceptions of Enoch as simply a patriarch, even a particularly righteous one; but we can recall the conclusion of the Similitudes, where Enoch is named before the sun and moon were created (*1 En* 48:2–3), and by the time of *2 Enoch* was he who would heal humanity's primal sin (*2 En* 64:5). It is surely no accident that in his function as the first man, Metatron is also named *tzaddiq*, or the Righteous One.[48] By this point, Metatron has become so far woven into the divine identity that it is difficult not to have some sympathy for R. Akiva's quintessential mistake, and by the latest stages of the tradition, in 18th century Poland, Enoch-Metatron has become "an entity distinguished by a unique ontological status, as one who has transcended mundane reality and underlies the structure of the entire universe."[49]

It is notable that in earlier texts such as Similitudes, written at painful and unsure junctures of history, in a land which was the focus of military and political rivalries and subject to repeated conquests, Enoch himself

---

[40] Cf. b.Sanh 98b, where the reason for Akiva's mistake is that Metatron did not stand before him, the human; the implication that only God may sit before human beings whereas angels must stand, reinforcing the notion that, to the extent that Enoch is now an angel not a human, he must accept the lower role that entails.

[41] The transmission of earlier Enoch-Metatron traditions to kabbalists in Spain and France was possible largely due to the efforts of the German Pietists who preserved and revised Hekhalot texts. Their versions display significant corruptions in comparison with earlier fragments found in the Cairo Genizah, although we cannot tell where or when these accrued (Schäfer 1984, Wolfson 1995).

[42] Sagerman, 2011, 156. The Active Intellect identification takes place explicitly already in the 12th century with ibn Ezra (Wolfson 1990, cf. Idel 1998, 349 n 27).

[43] For *2 Enoch*'s competition with Adam for primordial status, see Orlov 2005, 211–52.

[44] Abulafia 1999.

[45] *Otzar Hayyim*, fol. 775a

[46] Wolfson 1995.

[47] Sagerman 2011, 308.

[48] Abulafia 2001a, 47. Abulafia's assertions that Metatron conceals both good and evil aspects, whereby he can emit the divine attribute of judgement in order to test individuals (e.g., 1999, 114), may reflect an earlier tradition which presents Enoch somewhat ambiguously: at different points he has been labelled as a sinner, and it has even been suggested that he was taken by God at one of his few good points in order that he didn't lapse again (*Ber.Rab.* 5:24; Philo, *Abr.* 7–59).

[49] Paluch 2014, 34.

was a passive receptacle of revelation, often wrenched from earth in his sleep and dragged into heaven to foresee the doom of humankind. But for the later mystics of Iraq (the authors of *3 Enoch*) and Europe (Abulafia), somewhat more comfortable in societies which generally accepted them, the protagonists display a pro-active confidence, storming heaven and using theurgic means to manipulate the angels. Abulafia in particular saw the method of attaining revelation as one which the mystic must force through a unique meditative process which would bring him into the presence of God,[50] becoming one with the angel Metatron, and where no longer would the "unrighteous" suffer for their crimes in the end of days, but all nations would undergo a metaphysical transformation and be brought together as one people to worship God.[51] This suggests to this author that the contextual environments have been a significant factor in the development of these texts as well as in the nature of Enoch's evolution.

Conclusion

In this brief article we have looked at the development of Enoch over the course of some 2,000 years, in the textual imaginations of various different communities. The stages of Enoch as they are now available to us from Jewish sources can be described as follows.

1. Enoch, the patriarch, is granted a prophetic vision and allowed access to secrets relating to the heavenly order, the workings of the cosmos, and the structure of history. It is his duty to transmit this information to humanity.

2. Because of his righteousness, Enoch is made to "stand in front of the face of the Lord forever", and is thereby identified with a primordial archetype which incorporates both the enthroned "son of man" and the Angel of the Presence.

3. As a result of this transformation, Enoch is capable of transmitting not only the factual revelation provided to him, but the knowledge and experience of God which only he is allowed. In this role he functions as something of a "buffer" between human and God, translating the experience into human terms via his own being.

4. As a fully heavenly being, Enoch-Metatron becomes an abstract archetype which connects the divine and human spheres, making possible the interaction and passage of information between them.

A curious aspect of Enoch's history, then, is that through his heavenly travels and his being lifted out of everyday existence, Enoch's trailblazing path eventually led to the complete erasing of his personal identity; by the time of the kabbalists Enoch-Metatron is an archetype which the human mystic seeks to become identified with, a path which can be followed and an office to be assumed. That this end is hinted at even in the beginnings indicates that the evolution of Enoch in Judaism evidences both change and continuity.

---

[50] The process known as *tzeruf otiot,* the manipulation of letters. In a development which recalls Enoch's scribal affiliation, the kabbalists devoted much of their time to linguistic and numerical contortions in order to establish the relationships between different words and the figures they represent. In the case of Metatron, the numerical equivalence with the divine name Shaddai (the Hebrew letters of each sum 314) is frequently mentioned (Wolfson 2000, 148).

[51] E.g., Abulafia 2001b.

Bibliography

Abulafia Otzar Hayyim:
>   A. Abulafia, Otzar Hayyim, MS (Moscow 168)

Abulafia 1999
>   A. Abulafia, Hayyei ha-Olam ha-Ba (Jerusalem 1999)

Abulafia 2001a
>   A. Abulafia, Mafteach ha-Rayon (Jerusalem 2001)

Abulafia 2001b
>   A. Abulafia, Shomer Mitzvah (Jerusalem 2001)

Alexander 1983
>   P. Alexander, 3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch, in: Charlesworth 1983 I, 223–315

Alexander 1998
>   P. Alexander, From Son of Adam to Second God, in: Stone – Bergren 1998, 87–122

Alexander 2014
>   P. Alexander, Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science, in: Ben Dov – Sanders 2014, 25–50

Andersen 1983
>   F. I. Andersen, 2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch, in: Charlesworth 1983 I, 91–221

Coblentz Bautch – Assefa 2012
>   K. Coblentz Bautch – D. Assefa, Patriarch, Prophet, Author, Angelic Rival: Exploring the Relationship of 1 Enoch to 2 Enoch in Light of the Figure of Enoch, in: Orlov – Boccaccini 2012, 181–190

Baynes 2012
>   L. Baynes, The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E. (Leiden 2012)

Ben Dov – Sanders 2014
>   J. Ben Dov – Seth L. Sanders (eds.), Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature (New York 2014)

Böttrich 2012
>   C. Böttrich, The 'Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (2 En): Between Jewish Origin and Christian Transmission. An Overview, in: Orlov – Boccaccini 2012, 37–68

Boustan – Himmelfarb – Schäfer 2013
>   R. Boustan – M. Himmelfarb – P. Schäfer (eds.), Hekhalot Literature in Context (Tübingen 2013)

Charlesworth 1983
>   J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 2 vols (London 1983)

Cox 2007
>   R. Cox, By the Same Word: Creation and Salvation in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity (Berlin 2007)

Grözinger – Dan 1995
>   K. E. Grözinger – Joseph Dan (eds.), Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism: International Symposium Held in Frankfurt a.M. 1991 (Berlin 1995)

Hagen 2012
    J. L. Hagen, No Longer 'Slavonic' Only: 2 Enoch Attested in Coptic from Nubia, in: Orlov –
    Boccaccini 2012, 7–35

Idel 1998
    M. Idel, Messianic Mystics (London 1998)

Macaskill 2012
    G. Macaskill, 2 Enoch: Manuscripts, Recensions, and Original Language, in: Orlov – Boccaccini 2012,
    83–102

Milik 1976
    J. T. Milik (ed.), The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4 (Oxford 1976)

Mortensen 2006
    B. Mortensen, The Priesthood in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Renewing the Profession (Leiden 2006)

Nickelsburg 2001
    G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108
    (Minneapolis 2001)

Nickelsburg – VanderKam 2012
    G. W. E. Nickelsburg – J. C. VanderKam, 1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters
    37–82 (Minneapolis 2012)

Olson 2004
    D. C. Olson, Enoch: A New Translation, in consultation with Archbishop Melkesedek Workeneh
    (North Richland Hills 2004)

Orlov 2005
    A. A. Orlov, The Enoch-Metatron Tradition (Tübingen 2005)

Orlov – Boccacini 2012
    A. A. Orlov – Gabriele Boccaccini (eds.), New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only
    (Leiden 2012)

Paluch 2014
    A. Paluch, Megalleh ʿAmuqot: The Enoch-Meṭaṭron Tradition in the Kabbalah of Nathan Neṭa Shapira
    of Kraków (1585–1633) (Los Angeles 2014)

Reed 2015
    A. Y. Reed, Collection and the Construction of Continuity: 1 Enoch and 3 Enoch in and beyond "Apoc-
    alypticism" and "Mysticism" (paper presented at the 8th Enoch Seminar, 21–26 June 2015)

Sagerman 2011
    R. J. Sagerman, The Serpent Kills or the Serpent Gives Life: The Kabbalist Abraham Abulafia's
    Response to Christianity (Leiden 2011)

Schäfer 1984
    P. Schäfer (ed.), Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur (Tübingen 1984)

Schäfer 2012
    P. Schäfer, The Jewish Jesus: How Judaism and Christianity Shaped Each Other (Oxford 2012)

Scholem 1987
    G. Scholem, The Origins of the Kabbalah, ed. R. J. Werblowsky, trans. Allan Arkush (Princeton 1987)

Segal 2007
    M. Segal, The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology (Leiden 2007)

Stone 1998

    M. Stone – Theodore Bergren (ed.), Biblical Figures Outside the Bible (Philadelphia 1998)

VanderKam 2014

    J. VanderKam, "Enoch's Science," in: Ben Dov – Sanders 2014, 51–68

Wintermute 1983

    O. S. Wintermute, Jubilees, in: Charlesworth 1983 II, 35–142

Wolfson 1990

    E. R. Wolfson, God, the Demiurge and the Intellect: On the Usage of the Word Kol in Abraham ibn Ezra, Revue des Etudes Juives 149, 1990, 77–111

Wolfson 1995

    E. R. Wolfson, Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah in the Writings of the Haside Ashkenaz, in: Grözinger – Dan 1995, 60–92

Wolfson 2000

    E. R. Wolfson, Abraham Abulafia: Kabbalist and Prophet: Hermeneutics, Theosophy, and Theurgy (Los Angeles 2000)

Kontingenzbewältigung, Sinnstiftung und Lebenssinn durch die JHWH-Relation am Beispiel von Hiob 38,1–42,6

Nina Gschwind

Abstract: Das biblische Hiobbuch (5.–2. Jh. v. Chr.) gibt in den Gottesreden (Hi 38,1–42,6) durch die Rezeption und Umarbeitung des Topos vom Schauen Gottes aus den Psalmen (Ps 11,7; 17,15; 42,2 und 63,2–4), indem es auf die traditionell mit einer Gottesschau einhergehenden Segenswirkungen (z.B. Ps 11 mit einem Erweis von Gerechtigkeitsverwirklichung und Ps 42 mit einer Wende der Not) verzichtet, eine Antwort auf die Frage nach Kontingenzbewältigung angesichts von Leid sowie nach einem sinnstiftenden Umgang mit leidvollen Situationen und darüber hinaus nach dem Sinn des Lebens im Horizont des JHWH-Glaubens. Nach Hi 42,5f. liegt die Antwort auf diese Fragen in der Gottesbeziehung des Einzelnen.

1. Das Hiobbuch und grundsätzlich-existentielle Fragen der *conditio humana*

Das biblische Hiobbuch, dessen Entstehungszeit zwischen dem 5. und 2. Jh. v. Chr. anzusetzen ist,[1] thematisiert wie einige alt-orientalische Paralleltexte[2] mit der Frage nach dem Leiden des Gerechten kein genuin israelitisches, sondern ein gemeinorientalisches, internationales Problem, welches bereits in der weisheitlichen Tradition des Alten Orients erkannt und in vielerlei Hinsicht bedacht wurde. Es behandelt grundsätzlich-existentielle Fragen der *conditio humana* und unternimmt einen Antwortversuch innerhalb des Kontexts des JHWH-Glaubens und vor dem Hintergrund einer – aus (religions-)historischer Beschreibungsperspektive so bezeichneten – persönlichen JHWH-

---

[1] Vgl. Schwienhorst-Schönberger 2012, 423. In Anbetracht des Themas der ersten Ausgabe des Distant Worlds Journals (Continuities and Changes of Meaning) ist es m.E. sinnvoll, die Vorstellungszusammenhänge und -konzepte von Gottesschau und die daraus resultierenden Veränderungen auf der Basis des vorliegenden biblischen Endtextes zu erarbeiten. Auf literarkritische Untersuchungen zur Textgenese der Gottesreden und auf redaktionsgeschichtliche Entstehungshypothesen zum gesamten Hiobbuch wird daher verzichtet. Vgl. jedoch folgende Studien: Für die *opinio communis* zum literarkritischen Basismodell vgl. Schwienhorst-Schönberger 2012, 420–422. S. für die weiteren literarkritischen Differenzierungen (wie z.B. die Frage nach dem mehrschichtigen Entstehungsprozess der Gottesreden) mit unterschiedlichen Nuancen zur literarischen

Wachstumsgeschichte und Hypothesen zur Entstehung des Hiobbuches Schmid 2001, 9–34; Schwienhorst-Schönberger 2007, 22–24; 2012, 422–424; van Oorschot 2007, 165–184.

[2] Z.B. „Der sumerische Hiob" (ca. 2000 v. Chr.), Ludlul Bel Nemeqi (ca. 12. Jh. v. Chr.) und „Die Babylonische Theodizee" (ca. 1000–800 v. Chr.). Vgl. zu diesen und weiteren Paralleltexten Schwienhorst-Schönberger 2012, 419f.

Relation des Einzelnen. Das Hiobproblem wird in der Rahmenerzählung des Hiobbuches (Hi 1–2; 42,7–17) narrativ, im Dialogteil (Hi 3,1–42,6) im Gespräch mit den Freunden Hiobs (Hi 3–37) und gegen Schluss mit JHWH selbst (Hi 38,1–42,6) dialogisch entfaltet. Der dramatische Fortgang des Gesprächsverlaufs über das Leid Hiobs und dessen Grund lässt sich als „zunehmende *Entfremdung zwischen Hiob und seinen Freunden* auf der einen und eine[r] immer stärker werdende[n] *Hinwendung Hiobs zu Gott* auf der anderen Seite"[3] zusammenfassen. Eine ähnliche Entwicklung hin zu JHWH durchläuft die Gottesbeziehung des als Paradigma und nicht als biographisch fassbare Einzelgestalt erscheinenden Protagonisten. Diese führt von dem Wunsch zu sterben, damit seine Gottesbeziehung aufhört (Hi 3,11–19), über die schärfste Anklage Gottes im Alten Testament (Hi 9,24) zu dem Wunsch, diesen Gott zu schauen (Hi 19,25–27). Zur ersehnten Gottesschau kommt es in den Gottesreden (Hi 38,1–42,6), in denen Hiob am Ende erklärt, dass er „auf Staub und Asche" (Hi 42,6) getröstet ist, obgleich sich an seiner äußeren Situation nichts geändert hat. Diese Veränderung im Denken Hiobs geschieht m.E. im Hiobbuch durch die Rezeption und Interpretation von Texten aus dem Buch der Psalmen, die terminologisch ähnlich von der Gottesschau des Beters sprechen (Ps 11,7; 17,15; 42,2 und 63,2–4),[4] jedoch in der alt-

testamentlichen Forschung noch nicht in ihrer Verbindung zum Hiobbuch untersucht wurden.

Ziel dieses Aufsatzes ist es daher, herauszuarbeiten, wie das biblische Hiobbuch durch diese Rezeption und Interpretation Antworten auf Grundfragen der *conditio humana* wie die Frage nach Kontingenzbewältigung und Sinnstiftung angesichts von Leid sowie nach dem Sinn des Lebens im Horizont des JHWH-Glaubens gibt. Für dieses Vorhaben empfiehlt sich eine kursorische Interpretation der Gottesschau, die Hiob zuteil wird (Hi 38,1–40,2; 40,6–41,26), und eine Einzelexegese der letzten – die lebensverändernde *conclusio* enthaltenden – Antwort Hiobs auf diese Gottesbegegnung (Hi 42,1–6) vor dem Hintergrund der Psalmen.

2. Die Gottesreden als Höhepunkt des Hiobbuches

Die Gottesreden bestehen aus zwei Reden JHWHs (Hi 38,1–40,2; 40,6–41,26) und zwei Antworten Hiobs (Hi 40,3–5; 42,1–6).

2.1 Die erste Gottesrede (Hi 38,1–40,2): JHWH als Schöpfer und die Tierwelt als Gegenwelt des Menschen

Hiob dürfte nach seinem langen Leiden und seinen zahlreichen Warum-Fragen[5] bei der Antwort JHWHs erwarten, dass dieser sich zu seinem Leid, dessen Grund und Sinn, sowie zu den vorangegangenen Gesprächen mit den Freunden äußert. Doch dies tut Gott nicht. Seine Antwort überrascht, und er zeigt sich als der „ganz Andere". Während Hiob in Hi 31,35 JHWH anklagt und zu einer Antwort herausfordert, wendet dieser in seiner Antwort die Situation. Er spricht aus dem Wettersturm (Hi 38,1), der typisch für

---

[3]   Janowski 2009a, 2. Diese und alle weiteren Hervorhebungen entsprechen dem jeweiligen Original.

[4]   Auf Datierungsfragen, die im Bereich der Psalmen ein „schwieriges Feld der Forschung" (Zenger 2012, 443) sind, kann im Folgenden aus Raumgründen nicht eingegangen werden. Festgehalten werden kann jedoch, dass das Hiobbuch zu den jüngeren Werken des AT zählt, und daher die in den Psalmen geläufige Wendung („Gottes Angesicht" / „Gott schauen"), welche auf einem altorientalischen Hintergrund basiert, übernommen hat. Vgl.

dazu auch Witte 2010, 439, der ebenfalls davon ausgeht, dass das Hiobbuch Elemente aus den Psalmen übernommen hat.

[5]   Z.B. Hi 3,11.20; 10,18; 13,24.

eine Theophanie ist,[6] und antwortet mit Fragen. Die darin enthaltenen Antworten sind nicht auf den ersten Blick ersichtlich, sondern erschließen sich erst im Blick auf das gesamte Hiobbuch.

Die erste Gottesrede wird von einer Einleitung (Hi 38,1–3) und einem Schlussteil (Hi 40,1f.), die jeweils eine Frage und Herausforderung an Hiob enthalten, gerahmt. Der Hauptteil gliedert sich in zwei Teile: Der erste (Hi 38,4–38) kann mit „JHWH als Schöpfer" überschrieben werden. In diesem Abschnitt wird beschrieben, wie er die Welt erschafft (Hi 38,4–21) und wie er sie lenkt (Hi 38,22–38). Der zweite Teil des Hauptteils thematisiert „JHWH und die Welt der Tiere" (Hi 38,39–39,30) und schildert, wie er die Bedürfnisse der Tiere erfüllt (Hi 38,39–39,12) und wie er ihnen ihre Eigenschaften und Fähigkeiten verleiht (Hi 39,13–39,30).[7]

In Hi 38,4–38 stellt Gott Hiob 40 rhetorische Fragen zu zehn Themen der Welterschaffung,[8] der *creatio prima*, und der Welterhaltung, der *creatio continua*, die Hiob zum Staunen und Nachdenken bringen. Hiob wird so von Gott dazu gebracht, darüber nachzusinnen, welche Rolle er und welche Gott hat. Ihm wird der große Kosmos gezeigt, was ihn dazu bringen soll, dass er seinen auf sein eigenes Leid verengten Blick aufgibt und sich und sein Weltbild neu orientiert.[9]

JHWH fragt Hiob in Hi 38,4, ob er bei der Erschaffung der Welt dabei war. Die Fragen Gottes müsste Hiob allesamt mit „Nein" beantworten. Indem Gott Hiob mit diesen Fragen und zahlreichen Beispielen die Weltordnung vor Augen führt, zeigt er ihm, dass des Schöpfers Macht und Können „alle menschliche Einsicht und alles menschliche Können übersteigen (38,4–39,30)".[10] Die rhetorischen Fragen Gottes wirken zuweilen ein wenig spöttisch und ironisch, zeigen jedoch zugleich eine liebevolle Zuwendung Gottes zu Hiob und wollen ihn m.E. nicht niederschmettern, sondern – wie im weiteren Verlauf des Aufsatzes herausgearbeitet werden wird – zu Erkenntnissen führen: „Gott fordert Hiob zu einem 'Kampf der Erkenntnis' (V.2–3) heraus, zu einer harten, aber erlösenden Reinigung des Bewusstseins."[11]

Ferner wird JHWH in der ersten Gottesrede als Herr über die Tiere gezeichnet. In Hi 38,39–39,30 werden fünfmal zwei Tiere der Wildnis[12] beschrieben. Das *tertium comparationis* liegt dabei in der Tatsache, dass sie Lebensreiche veranschaulichen, die dem Menschen entzogen sind, und in denen er keine Rolle spielt. Sie illustrieren eine gegenmenschliche Welt, in die und in deren Ordnung der Mensch nicht eingreifen kann.[13] Gott versorgt auch diese Tiere,[14] die sogar ein Gottesverhältnis haben.[15] Somit wird evident, dass einzig und allein JHWH der Schöpfer und Erhalter der ganzen Welt ist. Überdies wird in diesem Teil der Gottesrede auch die Thematik „Chaos und Zerstö-

---

[6] Vgl. Fohrer 1963, 498. Vgl. ferner Ps 50,3.
[7] Vgl. dazu auch Janowski 2013, 222.
[8] Gliederung nach Janowski 2013, 222: Hi 38,4–7: Gründung der Erde; 8–11: Grenzen des Meeres; 12–15: Morgenrot und Tagesanbruch; 16–18: Unterwelt und Meerestiefen; 19–21: Licht und Finsternis; 22–24: Schnee, Hagel, Blitz und Wind; 25–27: Weg des Regens in die Wüste; 28–30: Ursprung von Regen, Tau, Eis und Frost; 31–33: Bewegung der Gestirne und 34–38: Zeiten von Regen und Blitz.
[9] Vgl. dazu auch Köhlmoos 1999, 331.

[10] Fohrer 1963, 495.
[11] Schwienhorst-Schönberger 2007, 225.
[12] Gliederung nach Janowski 2013, 222: Hi 38,39–41: Löwe und Rabe; 39,1–4: Steinbock und Hirsch; 5–12: Wildesel und Wildstier; 13–25: Straußenhenne und Kriegspferd und 26–30: Falke und Gänsegeier.
[13] Vgl. Ebach 1996, 132.
[14] Vgl. Hi 38,39.
[15] Vgl. Hi 38,41.

rung" behandelt. Auch darüber ist Gott Herr, wie z.B. im Abschnitt über den Wildesel (Hi 39,5–8) erkennbar ist. Hi 38,39–39,30 zeigt daher hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses von Schöpfung und Chaos, „daß die von Gott geschaffene Welt in ihrer Schönheit und Ordnung kein Gegenentwurf zur vorfindlichen Welt ist. Wildheit, Zerstörung, Krieg und Mord werden nicht geleugnet, jedoch in keiner moralischen Kategorie aufgefangen. Vielmehr liegt in Gottes Handeln an den Tieren ein vorsichtig austariertes Gleichgewicht der Welt. Es gibt Gewalt, doch sie hat ihren Ort."[16]

2.2 Die zweite Gottesrede (Hi 40,6–41,26): Gottes Gerechtigkeit und die Chaosmächte

Die zweite Gottesrede lässt sich in zwei Teile untergliedern: Sie beginnt mit einer Einleitung (Hi 40,6f.: Frage und Herausforderung), auf die der Hauptteil (Hi 40,8–41,26) folgt.[17] Dieser lässt sich wiederum in drei Teile aufteilen: Den Abschnitt Hi 40,8–14 könnte man mit „Das Problem der Gerechtigkeit" überschreiben. In diesem Passus – besonders in V.8 – reagiert JHWH auf Hiobs Vorwurf, die Erde sei in die Hand eines Frevlers geraten (Hi 9,24) und fordert ihn mit zehn rhetorischen Imperativen dazu auf, Dinge zu tun, die nur Gott zu tun vermag, da durch Hiobs Behauptung und Anklage das Gott-Sein Gottes in den Gottesreden auf dem Prüfstand steht.[18] Durch die ironisch wirkenden rhetorischen Imperative wird Hiob vor Augen geführt, wie weit er von Gottes Möglichkeiten entfernt ist. Damit wird seine Anklage widerlegt.[19] Danach spricht JHWH von Behemot (Hi 40,15–24) und Leviathan (Hi 40,25–41,26). Diese beiden Tiere sind Repräsentanten des Chaos

und des Menschenfeindlichen. Beim Behemot handelt es sich um ein mythisch-reales Nilpferd.[20] Gott fordert Hiob auf, dieses anzuschauen und sagt ihm, er habe ihn mit diesem Tier geschaffen (Hi 40,15). Der Behemot ist also wie Hiob ein Geschöpf Gottes. Im weiteren Verlauf des Abschnitts über den Behemot (Hi 40,15–24) wird beschrieben, wie dieses Tier aussieht, sowie, welche Kräfte und Lebensgewohnheiten es hat. Beim Leviathan handelt es sich ebenfalls um ein mythisch-reales Tier,[21] nämlich „um das Krokodil in seiner Rolle als Chaosdrachen".[22] Seine physische Erscheinung (Hi 41,4–16) und sein Lebensraum (Hi 41,17–26) werden in Hi 40,25–41,26 äußerst detailliert und liebevoll beschrieben. Es wird jedoch an keiner Stelle erwähnt, dass Gott dieses Tier überwältigt.[23] Ganz im Gegenteil: Er spielt sogar mit ihm (vgl. Hi 40,29). JHWH zeigt Hiob durch Behemot und Leviathan, die dem Menschen feindlich und nicht liebenswert erscheinen, dass ihm alle Geschöpfe der Welt lieb und teuer sind. Demnach sind auch Behemot und Leviathan integraler Bestandteil der Schöpfung. Ferner zeigt JHWH durch diese Tiere, dass das Böse und Menschenfeindliche in der Welt zwar da ist, er – und nur er – es jedoch in Grenzen hält und dafür sorgt, dass seine Schöpfung „nicht den Chaosmächten anheimfällt".[24] Die Gottesreden bringen Hiob folglich zu Erkenntnissen, die alles ändern.

3. Exegese der zweiten Antwort (Hi 42,1–6): Hiobs lebensverändernde Erkenntnis

Die folgende Übersetzung und Auslegung stellt einen Deutungsversuch dar, der sich

---

[16] Köhlmoos 1999, 340f.
[17] Die nachfolgende Gliederung folgt Janowski 2013, 222.
[18] Vgl. Ebach 1996, 144.
[19] Vgl. dazu auch Strauß 2000, 375.
[20] Vgl. Ebach 1996, 147.
[21] Vgl. Ebach 1996, 150.
[22] Ebach 1996, 150.
[23] Hi 40,25–41,3 spricht zwar von Gottes Jagd auf Leviathan, sie ist jedoch nicht von überwältigendem Charakter. Diese Jagd dient vielmehr JHWHs Kampf gegen das Chaos, der die Weltordnung sichert.
[24] Ebach 1996, 154.

dessen bewusst ist, dass das Hiobbuch eine bis in die feinste Formulierung hineinreichende Problemdichtung ist, die keine Lösung präferiert, sondern verschiedene Deutungs- und Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten zulässt und die Fragen, die sie aufwirft, immer wieder auf den Leser zurückfallen lässt.

3.1 Übersetzung

1 Und Hiob antwortete JHWH und sagte:

2 „Ich weiß [jetzt],[25] dass du alles vermagst,
und kein Vorhaben ist für dich unmöglich.[26]

3 Wer [ist] dieser, der einen Ratschluss verhüllt ohne Wissen?
Darum habe ich mich geäußert – und verstand nicht –
über Wundertaten, die mir zu hoch [sind], und ich erkannte nicht.

4 Höre doch, und ich will reden.
Ich will dich befragen, belehre du mich![27]

5 Vom Hörensagen[28] hatte ich von dir gehört,
aber jetzt hat mein Auge dich gesehen!

6 Darum habe ich [jetzt] kein Interesse [mehr daran],
und bin [tröstlich] umgestimmt – auf Staub und Asche.“[29]

---

[25] Bei dem Zusatz „jetzt" (ebenfalls in V.6) handelt es sich um eine Verdeutlichung in meiner Übersetzung, die zum Ausdruck bringt, dass Hiob durch seine Erfahrungen in den Gottesreden zu Erkenntnissen kam, die er *jetzt* hat.

[26] Wörtlich: Nicht wird von dir abgeschnitten.

[27] Wörtlich: Lass du mich wissen!

[28] Wörtlich: Vom Hören des Ohres.

[29] Diese Übersetzung der Verben מָאַס (*māʾas*) (+ Akk.: „an etwas / jemandem nicht [mehr] interessiert sein") und נחם (*nīḥam*) (im Verbalstamm Nifʿal „[tröstlich] umgestimmt sein") folgt Willi-Plein 2002, 137–145. Sie liegt m.E. vor dem Hintergrund der Erfahrungen Hiobs in den Gottesreden und dem daraus resultierenden Umdenken nahe. Vgl. ferner die Einzelexegese unter 3.2.4.

3.2 Einzelexegese nach Sinnabschnitten

Die Einzelexegese analysiert Hi 42,1–6 in vier Abschnitten: Zu Beginn steht in V.1 eine Redeeinleitung. In V.2f. formuliert Hiob seine Erkenntnis, die auf den Erfahrungen beruht, die er in V.4f. beschreibt. In V.6 folgt die *conclusio*, die er aus der erfahrenen Gottesschau zieht.

3.2.1 V.1: Redeeinleitung

Dieser Vers beinhaltet eine Redeeinleitungsformel, mit der zum Ausdruck gebracht wird, dass es Hiob ist, der die Initiative ergreift und JHWH antwortet. Er reagiert damit auf die Welt, die ihm Gott vor Augen geführt hat.

3.2.2 V.2f.: Hiobs Erkenntnis

Hiob formuliert nun im Stilmittel des für die hebräische Sprache typischen *parallelismus membrorum* (Parallelstellung der Glieder) seine durch die Gottesreden gewonnene Erkenntnis. Mit dem Perfekt des Verbums יָדַע (*yādaʿ*, wissen), das mit seiner resultativen Übersetzungsmöglichkeit zum Ausdruck bringt, dass Hiob aufgrund seiner Erfahrungen *jetzt* etwas weiß, wird das Wortfeld, das V.2f. und auch V.4 dominiert, eingeführt. יָדַע (*yādaʿ*, wissen) kann daher als Leitbegriff für die zweite Antwort Hiobs angesehen werden. Dieses Verbum bezeichnet das Wissen, das aus Wahrnehmung und Erfahrung gewonnen wurde.[30] Daher beschreibt es das Ende eines Prozesses: Dem יָדַע (*yādaʿ*, wissen) geht oft das רָאָה (*rāʾah*, sehen), „eine visuelle sensorische Wahrnehmung",[31] voraus, die häufig die Voraussetzung für die Erkenntnis ist.[32] Das Resultat von יָדַע (*yādaʿ*, wissen) ist דַּעַת (*dāʿat*, Wissen / Erkenntnis). Eine gewonnene Erkenntnis umfasst ferner die gesamte Existenz.[33] Dies zeigt, worauf die Gottesreden hinaus wollten. Hiob weiß

---

[30] Vgl. Schottroff 1971, 687.

[31] Botterweck 1982, 491.

[32] Vgl. Botterweck 1982, 491.

[33] Vgl. Fohrer 1963, 533.

jetzt, dass Gott alles vermag und kein Vorhaben für ihn unmöglich ist. Dies ist jedoch „kein Bekenntnis zu einer abstrakt-logischen 'Allmacht', sondern Ausdruck und Erfahrung einer unvergleichlichen Macht".[34] In den Gottesreden zeigte JHWH Hiob, dass er – und nur er – die Welt erschaffen hat und erhält. Diese Welt ist aber keine „heile" oder widerspruchsfreie Welt, die der Mensch vollkommen verstehen (und beherrschen) kann, sondern eine, in der es auch Wesen gibt, die dem Menschen entzogen sind, denen Gott aber Lebensraum gibt. Diese ambivalente Welt hat auch eine Ordnung, „die sich vom normalen Ordnungsbegriff unterscheidet, und die sich mit 'Schrecknissen mischt' …".[35] Ferner zeigt Gott durch Behemot und Leviathan, dass er dafür sorgt, dass die Welt nicht von Chaosmächten verschlungen wird (vgl. Hi 40,6–41,26). Mit den Worten Bernd Janowskis lässt sich pointiert ausdrücken, was Hiob erkannt hat: „Gott ist der ganz Andere; der, der 'alles' vermag, der jede menschliche Vorstellung überschreitet, weil er auch denjenigen Kräften und Wesen einen Platz in seiner Schöpfung gibt, die dem Menschen gefährlich, chaotisch oder gar dämonisch vorkommen – und es zuweilen auch sind."[36]

Hiob zitiert nun in V.3aα die Worte JHWHs aus Hi 38,2 („Wer [ist] dieser, der einen Ratschluss verdunkelt mit Reden ohne Wissen?") in leicht veränderter Form. Damit bringt er implizit die gesamten Inhalte beider Gottesreden ins Gespräch mit ein und bestätigt, dass Gott ihn zu Recht in Frage gestellt hat.[37] Im Vergleich mit Hi 38,2 gibt es zwei Änderungen: Zum einen steht in Hi 38,2 das Verbum חָשַׁךְ (ḥāšak, verdunkeln) im kausativen Verbalstamm Hifˈil im Partizip Singular Maskulinum und in Hi 42,3 dage-

gen das Partizip Singular Maskulinum des Verbums עָלַם (ʿālam, verhüllen) ebenfalls im kausativen Verbalstamm Hifˈil. עָלַם (ʿālam, verhüllen) ist ein stärkeres und umfassenderes Verb als חָשַׁךְ (ḥāšak, verdunkeln).[38] Damit zeigt Hiob, dass er sich dessen bewusst ist, dass er den göttlichen Ratschluss (עֵצָה, ʿēṣâ), weil er die Weltordnung nicht verstand und in Frage stellte, „verhüllt" hat, während es bei Gottes Rede lediglich um ein „Verdunkeln" ging. Zum anderen fragte JHWH in Hi 38,2, wer denn seinen Ratschluss mit Reden (בְּמִלִּין, bəmīlîn) ohne Wissen (בְּלִי דָעַת, bəlî dāʿat) verdunkle. In Hiobs JHWH zitierender Antwort in Hi 42,3aα fehlt das בְּמִלִּין (bəmīlîn, mit Reden). Hiob ersetzt dieses in V.3aβ durch den deutlich stärkeren Ausdruck[39] הִגַּדְתִּי וְלֹא אָבִין (hīgadətî wəlˈō ˈābîn) und sagt damit – übersetzt –, dass er im Unverstand einfach seine Meinung äußerte (נָגַד [nīgad] im Verbalstamm Hifˈil), aber nicht verstand (וְלֹא אָבִין [wəlˈō ˈābîn]). Diese beiden Änderungen an den Worten JHWHs zeigen das Ausmaß der Erkenntnis Hiobs. Ferner zeigen Hiobs Zitat in V.3aα und seine weiteren Worte in V.3 mit den Gegensatzpaaren „Sich-Äußern und Nicht-Verstehen" (V.3aβ) sowie „Wundertaten zu hoch für mich und Nicht-Erkennen (יָדַע / yādaʿ)" (V.3b), dass Hiob nicht nur JHWH als Schöpfer anerkennt, sondern auch, dass Gott und seine Macht den menschlichen Verstand überschreiten. Hiob musste erst erkennen, „daß die Rätsel des Lebens bloß für den Menschen bestehen, in Wirklichkeit aber ein sinnvolles Handeln Gottes darstellen, der in weisem Plan bestimmte Absichten und Zwecke verfolgt".[40] Vor den Gottesreden sprach Hiob ohne Wissen, da er nicht berücksichtigte, dass auch Dinge, die dem Menschen unzugänglich und

---

[34] Ebach 1996, 155.
[35] Janowski 2009a, 11f.
[36] Janowski 2009a, 12f.
[37] Vgl. dazu auch Strauß 2000, 386.

[38] Vgl. Strauß 2000, 386.
[39] Vgl. Strauß 2000, 386.
[40] Fohrer 1963, 534.

für den menschlichen Verstand unbegreiflich sind, Gottes Ratschluss entspringen.[41]

3.2.3 V.4f.: Hiobs Erfahrung

V.4a beginnt mit einer Höraufforderung an Gott, die aus einem Imperativ mit der verstärkenden Partikel נָא (*nā'*, doch) besteht. Darauf folgt in V.4b ein Zitat, das die Verse Hi 38,3b und Hi 40,7 („Ich will dich befragen, belehre du mich!") umkehrt. In diesen Versen forderte JHWH Hiob ironisch auf, ihn zu belehren (יָדַע [*yāda'*, wissen] im Verbalstamm Hif'il, d.h. kausativ übersetzt: wissen lassen bzw. belehren). Genau dieselben Worte wie in Hi 38,3b und Hi 40,7 richtet nun Hiob an Gott und bringt damit zum Ausdruck, dass er es ist, der der Belehrung bedarf und sich diese wünscht. Damit rückt er die Positionen zurecht.[42]

V.5 ist einer der Schlüsselverse[43] des gesamten Hiobbuches. Hiob sagt nach seiner Gottesschau selbst: „Vom Hörensagen hatte ich von dir gehört, aber jetzt hat mein Auge dich gesehen!" Unverkennbar ist die terminologische Verbindung mit Hi 19,27. Seinen sehnlichsten Wunsch nach einer Gottesschau bzw. die Gewissheit, dass dieser erfüllt wird, drückt er in Hi 19,27 mit וְעֵינַי רָאוּ (*wə'ênay rāû*, und meine Augen werden [ihn] gesehen haben)[44] und die Erfüllung in Hi 42,5 mit וְעַתָּה עֵינִי רָאָתְךָ (*wə'atâ 'ênî rā'ātəkā*, aber jetzt hat mein Auge dich gesehen) aus. Hi 19,25–27 blickt also auf die Sturmtheophanie JHWHs in den Gottesreden und besonders auf Hi 42,5 voraus. Der Verbindung von Hi 19 und 42, die in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft schon lange gesehen wurde,[45] kann man, denke ich, etwas Neues hinzufü-

gen, da m.E. diese terminologische Verbindung und die Vorstellung von Gottesschau sowie die daraus resultierenden Veränderungen vor dem Hintergrund der Psalmen zu deuten und besser zu verstehen sind, wie unter 3.2.5 herausgearbeitet werden wird.

Vor seiner Begegnung mit Gott hatte Hiob sein Gegenüber nur vom „Hören des Ohres" (לְשֵׁמַע־אֹזֶן, *ləšēma'-'ōzen*), das man im Deutschen wohl am besten mit „vom Hörensagen" wiedergeben kann, gekannt (V.5a). Die paronomastische Wendung meint Worte und Erfahrungen Anderer, die Tradition.[46] Nachdem es zur ersehnten Gottesschau kam, sagt Hiob (V.5b): „Aber jetzt hat mein Auge dich gesehen (וְעַתָּה עֵינִי רָאָתְךָ, *wə'atâ 'ênî rā'ātəkā*)!" Die betonte Zeitangabe עַתָּה (*'atâ*, jetzt) drückt den Gegensatz zu „früher" (V.5a) aus, den bereits die Septuaginta erkannt hat und somit richtig to. pro,teron (*to proteron*, früher) einfügt. Der synthetische Parallelismus עֵינִי רָאָתְךָ (*'ênî rā'ātəkā*, mein Auge hat dich gesehen) bringt in Bezug auf die Gottesbegegnung zum Ausdruck, dass „nicht die bloße Sinneswahrnehmung mittels des Auges als eines körperlichen Organs, sondern die Begegnung im personalen Sinn, die eine vertraute Gemeinschaft wirkt",[47] gemeint ist. Denn „Sehen" (רָאַה, *rā'ah*) bezeichnet im Alten Testament nicht nur ein visuelles Wahrnehmen im physikalisch-optischen Sinne, sondern „oft *komplexe Wahrnehmungsvorgänge*, die ganzheitliches Erleben (unter starker emotionaler Beteiligung) ebenso umfassen wie eine genuine Nähe zum 'Erkennen' und daraus resultierend zum 'Wissen' anzeigen (vgl. die häufige Parallelstellung von *ra'ah* und *jada'* …)".[48]

---

[41] Vgl. dazu auch Fohrer 1963, 534.

[42] Vgl. dazu auch Ebach 1996, 156.

[43] Vgl. Schwienhorst-Schönberger 2007, 261.

[44] Zur Übersetzung einer Suffixkonjugation als Futur II vgl. Joüon-Muraoka 2011, §112i und Rogland 2003, 51f. 119.

[45] Vgl. z.B. Torczyner 1920, 130; Heckl 2010, 119; Hartenstein 2010, 36.

[46] Vgl. Fohrer 1963, 534.

[47] Fohrer 1963, 535.

[48] Hartenstein 2010, 19.

Durch die Begegnung mit JHWH wurde Hiobs frühere Sicht der Dinge, die er vom „Hörensagen" hatte, korrigiert.[49] Hi 42,5 zeigt, „daß das ‚Schauen Gottes' eine Form der personalen Gotteserfahrung ist, die noch über das Hören hinausgeht, ja alles über Gott bisher Vernommene umstürzt, weil es zur direkten Begegnung mit dem lebendigen Gott führt".[50]

Hiob sagt in seiner Antwort: „Jetzt hat mein Auge *dich* gesehen." M.E. ist dieses „Dich-Sehen" so zu verstehen, dass er aufgrund der Gottesschau (ein)sieht,[51] wie Gottes Wesen wirklich ist und Gott für ihn nun kein Fremder mehr ist, wie er es noch im Dialogteil war. Er erlebt folglich Angenommen-Sein statt Entfremdung, wie Hans Ferdinand Fuhs für Hi 42,5 treffend feststellt: „Die personale Begegnung mit Gott stiftet vertraute Gemeinschaft. Der Bedrängte gehört jetzt zu den Vertrauten Gottes und darf seine Hilfe erhoffen."[52]

Zusammenfassend lässt sich für Hiobs Gottesbegegnung festhalten, dass Gott ihm nach langem Schweigen überhaupt antwortet[53] und sich von ihm sehen lässt (vgl. Hi 42,5). Folglich gibt er „sich so als der von Hiob angesprochene persönliche Gott zu erkennen".[54] Darüber hinaus gewährt er ihm in Hi 38–41 Einblicke in die göttliche Sphäre[55] und lässt ihn dabei seine Nähe erfahren.

3.2.4 V.6: Hiobs lebensverändernde *conclusio* nach der Gottesschau

Diese Begegnung ist für Hiob wahrscheinlich ein ganzheitliches Erlebnis unter starker emotionaler Beteiligung,[56] welches ein Umdenken erfordert, das er in V.6 konkludierend zum Ausdruck bringt: „Darum habe ich [jetzt] kein Interesse [mehr] daran, und ich bin [tröstlich] umgestimmt – auf Staub und Asche."

Hiob hat nun das Interesse verloren, auf seinem Standpunkt zu beharren, „weil er jetzt alles neu und anders sieht: die Welt und in ihr sich selbst".[57] Daher ist m.E. מָאַס (*māʾas*), das Gegenverb zu בָּחַר (*bāḥar*, wählen), welches oft mit „verwerfen", „gering achten" oder „ablehnen" übersetzt wird,[58] anders wiederzugeben. Vor dem Hintergrund von 1Sam 17,40[59] ist es im Sinne von „an etwas das Interesse verlieren" zu deuten. Diese Übersetzung (bzw. resultativ mit „kein Interesse mehr haben") liegt für Hi 42,6 nahe,[60] da Hiob in der Begegnung mit Gott erkannt hat, dass dieser der Herr der Weltordnung ist, was seine eigene Weltwahrnehmung ändert und ihn darüber hinaus vom Gotteszweifel zum Gottvertrauen kommen lässt.[61] Er weiß nun, dass die vorfindliche Welt eine Ordnung hat. „Dies gilt auch für Hiobs Leid;

---

49 Vgl. die Parallele „Sehen" (Hi 42,5) und „Erkennen / Wissen" (Hi 42,2).

50 Janowski 2009b, 88.

51 Vgl. die Verbindung von „Sehen" und „Erkennen" unter 3.2.2.

52 Fuhs 1993, 252.

53 Allein aufgrund des Faktums einer Antwort erhält die Gottesrede großes Gewicht, unabhängig davon, dass sie nicht explizit auf Hiobs Fragen und (An-)Klagen eingeht.

54 Heckl 2010, 192.

55 Diese Einblicke sind nach Hartenstein (2010, 21) vor dem Hintergrund der Vorstellung einer von Gott durchwirkten Wirklichkeit „möglich und wahrscheinlich".

56 Vgl. Hartenstein 2010, 19.

57 Janowski 2009a, 13.

58 Vgl. Wagner 1984, 620.

59 Als David vor dem Kampf mit Goliath fünf Steine auswählte (Verb בָּחַר / *bāḥar*), nahm er die anderen nicht, da er, nachdem er sie intensiv fixiert hatte, kein Interesse mehr an ihnen verspürte. מָאַס (*māʾas*) ist in diesem Zusammenhang folglich nicht mit „gering achten", sondern mit „das Interesse verlieren" zu übersetzen.

60 Vgl. dazu auch Willi-Plein 2002, 143–145. Krüger (2007, 224f.) dagegen übersetzt מָאַס (*māʾas*) als מָאַס (*māʾas*) II, im Sinne einer Nebenform von מסס (*māsas*), mit „I will waste away". Vor dem Hintergrund der Gottesreden und dem Wandel in Hiobs Denken (vgl. Hi 42,2–5) erscheint מָאַס (*māʾas*) I im Sinne von „kein Interesse mehr haben" plausibler.

61 Vgl. dazu auch Janowski 2009a, 13.

es gehört zu den wunderbaren und unbekannten Dingen, von denen er ohne Einsicht gesprochen hat. Jetzt besitzt er Einsicht und weiß, daß ein sinnvolles und weises Handeln Gottes, das dem Menschen Hiob allerdings undurchschaubar bleibt, das Leid hervorgerufen hat."[62] Daher kann gesagt werden, dass die Gottesbegegnung ihn „tröstlich hat umstimmen lassen",[63] weshalb das Verb נחם (nīḥam) m.E. am besten resultativ mit „tröstlich umgestimmt sein"[64] übersetzt werden sollte. Die Gottesbegegnung war für Hiob demnach von heilvoller Natur. Daraufhin ändert er seine Einstellung, obwohl sich an seiner äußeren Situation, seinem gesundheitlichen Zustand, nichts geändert hat, was die Alliteration עַל־עָפָר וָאֵפֶר (ʿal-ʿāpār wāʾēper, auf Staub und Asche) zum Ausdruck bringt. Denn die Präposition עַל (ʿal, auf) bezeichnet in Verbindung mit dem Verb נחם (nīḥam) „die Sache oder Person, 'in bezug auf' die man (tröstlich) umgestimmt wird".[65] אֵפֶר (ʾēper, Asche) bezeichnet wie in Hi 2,8 Hiobs äußere Situation. Es hat sich nichts geändert. Er sitzt nach wie vor auf einem Aschehaufen. Aber während er dort sitzt, ändert sich seine Einstellung.[66]

3.2.5 Rezeption und Interpretation des Topos „Gott schauen" aus den Psalmen in Hi 42,1–6

Dieses Umdenken nach der erfahrenen Gottesschau wurde in der Forschung bereits gesehen.[67] Es wurde allerdings noch nicht vor dem Hintergrund der Psalmen untersucht. Durch eine solche Analyse lässt sich m.E. die Einzigartigkeit der Gottesschau und des Umdenkens Hiobs herausarbeiten. Eine Begegnung mit Gott war Hiobs sehnlichster Wunsch, den er besonders in den Versen Hi 19,25–27, die auf Hi 42,5 vorausweisen, zum Ausdruck brachte. In Hi 19,26f. beschreibt der bis auf die nackte Existenz geworfene Leidende seine Hoffnung auf eine Gottesschau. Er sagt in V.26: „Ich werde Gott schauen (אֶחֱזֶה אֱלוֹהַ „ʾeḥĕzeh ʾĕlôha)." Dies ist eine formelhafte Wendung, die auch in einigen Psalmen – z.B. Ps 11,7; 17,15; 42,2f. und 63,2–4 – zu finden ist. Besonders aufschlussreich ist Ps 17,15. In diesem Vers heißt es ebenfalls mit dem Verbum חָזָה (ḥāzah, schauen)[68] konstruiert: „Ich – in Gerechtigkeit werde ich dein Angesicht schauen (אֶחֱזֶה פָנֶיךָ, ʾeḥĕzeh pānêkā), ich werde mich sättigen (Verb שָׂבַע, śābaʿ) beim Erwachen an deiner Gestalt." Das Angesicht (פָּנִים

[62]   Fohrer 1963, 534.

[63]   Janowski 2009a, 15.

[64]   Vgl. zu den Bedeutungsnuancen von נחם (nīḥam) Simian-Yofre 1986, 368. Zur Übersetzung s. Willi-Plein 2002, 137–143. Ebenso übersetzen Janowski (2013, 223) und Heckl (2010, 119, Anm. 369). Ähnlich (mit „I am comforted") übersetzt Krüger (2007, 224). Die gängigen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen übersetzen da-gegen traditionell. In der 1984 revidierten Lutherbibel heißt es in V.6: „Darum spreche ich mich schuldig und tue Buße in Staub und Asche." Die revidierte Elberfelder Bibel über-setzt: „Darum verwerfe ich mein Geschwätz und bereue in Staub und Asche."

[65]   Willi-Plein 2002, 143.

[66]   Ebenso Janowski 2013, 227.

[67]   Vgl. Willi-Plein 2002, 137–145; Janowski 2013, 227.

[68]   Die altorientalische Wendung wurde im Alten Testament üblicherweise mit רָאָה (rāʾah, sehen) gebildet (vgl. Fuhs 1978, 272) und war zunächst terminus technicus der Kultsprache, der das Aufsuchen des Heiligtums beschrieb. Bei der Konstruktion mit חָזָה (ḥāzah, schauen) ist nie der Heiligtumsbesuch gemeint, sondern „immer ein glückliches Leben in der gnadenvollen Gottesgemeinschaft" (van der Woude 1976, 455). Die in Ps 11,7; 17,15; 27,4 und 63,3a geschilderten Gottesschauen sind mit חָזָה (ḥāzah, schauen) konstruiert, diejenigen aus Ps 42,3 und 63,3b dagegen mit רָאָה (rāʾah, sehen), da in diesen Versen der Tempelbesuch beschrieben wird. Die in diesem Aufsatz durchgeführte trennscharfe Übersetzung von רָאָה (rāʾah) mit „sehen" und חָזָה (ḥāzah) mit „schauen" folgt Hartenstein (2010, 31) und Janowski (2009b, 91).

/ *pānîm*) Gottes steht für die Präsenz JHWHs.[69] Gott zu schauen ist eine altorientalische Wendung, wird in den Psalmen jedoch metaphorisch verwendet und meint nun eine „gesteigerte Form der Gotteserfahrung"[70] bzw. eine „besonders intensive, konkret- 'leibhafte' Form des Gotteskontakts".[71] Hiob ist nach Hi 42,5f. ungeachtet seiner Lage getröstet, da er, wie aus der traditionsgesättigten Rede vom Schauen Gottes in den Psalmen und besonders Ps 17,15 hervorgeht, Gottes Nähe erfahren hat und von dieser gesättigt ist. Denn nach dem alttestamentlichen Menschenbild ist der Mensch von Gottessehnsucht bestimmt, wie Ps 63,2–4 zeigt: Der Beter spricht in V.2 davon, dass sein Leben (נֶפֶשׁ, *nepeš*)[72] nach Gott dürstet und sein Leib (בָּשָׂר, *bāśār*, wörtlich: Fleisch) nach ihm schmachtet, d.h. er sehnt sich mit seiner gesamten Existenz nichts mehr herbei als die im Heiligtum erfahrbare Gottesnähe (vgl. V.3), weshalb diese als sein „Lebensziel"[73] bezeichnet werden kann: „Volle Befriedigung würde der schmachtende Mensch finden, wenn er Gott schaut – d.h. wohl: wenn ihm Jahwe in einer Theophanie begegnet."[74] Nach Ps 63 kann der den Menschen bestimmende Gottesdurst folglich nur von Gott selbst durch die Gewährung einer Gottesschau gestillt werden.

JHWH bzw. sein Angesicht zu schauen ist nach Ps 17,15 „Sättigung" (Verb שָׂבַע, *śāba'*) und nach Ps 16,11 konkreter „Sättigung *mit Freuden*" (שֹׂבַע שְׂמָחוֹת, *śba' śĕmāḥôt*), d.h. erfüllt – in der Sprache des Leibhaften ausgedrückt – anthropologische Grundbedürfnisse: Im Angesicht Gottes wird man leibhaft satt und seine Nähe hat etwas „Beglückendes". Die Gottesschau ist folglich eine

„eigene Form der 'Sättigung' von Leib und Seele".[75] Da Hiob diese Nähe und Sättigung erfahren hat, ist er ungeachtet seiner Lage getröstet.

Versucht man einen Vergleich der in den Psalmen ausgedrückten Hoffnung, Gott zu schauen, mit den Hoffnungen und Erfahrungen Hiobs, lässt sich festhalten: Wie in den Psalmen beschrieben, erlebt Hiob eine über jede Form menschlichen Kontakts weit hinausgehende Begegnung mit Gott.[76] Dieser wendet sich, nachdem er sich in den vorausgegangenen 38 Kapiteln stets entzog, Hiob – bei aller Undurchschaubarkeit – zu und lässt ihn seine Nähe erfahren. Vor dem Hintergrund der Psalmenbelege bedeutet diese Nähe Gottes ein „glückliches Leben in der gnadenvollen Gottesgemeinschaft und ist so 'Inbegriff des Heils im umfassendsten Sinne'".[77]

In der Rezeption der Vorstellungen von Gottesschau aus den Psalmen nimmt das Hiobbuch eine bedeutsame Änderung vor, die zugleich die Singularität der Gottesschau und des Umdenkens Hiobs sowie die Bedeutung der JHWH-Relation des Einzelnen betont: Von einer Partizipation an Segenswirkungen, wie sie z.B. mit einem Erweis von Gerechtigkeitsverwirklichung (Ps 11)[78] und

---

[69]   Vgl. Janowski 2009b, 324.
[70]   Janowski 2009b, 90.
[71]   Janowski 2009b, 91.
[72]   נֶפֶשׁ (*nepeš*) steht für die „bedürftige Lebenskomponente" (Kraus 1989, 602).
[73]   Janowski 2009b, 212.
[74]   Kraus 1989, 602.

[75]   Janowski 2009b, 326.
[76]   Vgl. Hartenstein 2008, 127.
[77]   Van der Woude 1976, 455.
[78]   Ps 11,4 spricht vom „Schauen der Augen JHWHs" (חָזָה, *ḥāzah*) und seinen „die Menschen prüfenden Blicken". Dieser Vers korrespondiert mit V.7 und der Hoffnung des Beters auf ein „Schauen seines Angesichts" (ebenfalls חָזָה, *ḥāzah*). JHWH wird in V.4 als Königsgott beschrieben, dessen Thron sich im Himmel befindet, aber eng mit seinem heiligen Tempel verbunden ist, von dem aus er sein göttliches Richteramt wahrnimmt und die Menschen prüft. Sein Schauen bzw. eine Gottesschau, bei der sich die Blicke Gottes und des Beters treffen, ist folglich prüfender und Gerechtigkeit schaffender Natur (vgl. dazu auch Hartenstein 2008, 129f.).

einer Wende der Not (Ps 42)[79] beschrieben werden, wird bei Hiobs Gottesschau nicht berichtet. Das Hiobbuch setzt in der Rezeption des Topos vom Schauen Gottes einen anderen Schwerpunkt und lässt seinen Protagonisten seine Erfüllung in der unmittelbaren Begegnung mit Gott allein finden. Denn durch diese ist die Gottesbeziehung wiederhergestellt.[80] Die schiere Begegnung mit Gott vermittelt Hiob pures Lebensglück, sodass er keine weiteren Wünsche mehr hat (vgl. Hi 42,5f.) und ungeachtet seiner Situation getröstet ist. Einer expliziten Antwort Gottes bedarf er nicht. Das Faktum, dass JHWH ihm in einer Sturmtheophanie antwortet, reicht Hiob aus, auch wenn er keine Erklärung für all seine offenen Fragen erhält. Vor dem Hintergrund von Ps 16,11 kann Hiob daher als „gesättigt" an der Gottesnähe bezeichnet und seine Erfahrung als „seine Gottesbeziehung ist sein 'Lebensglück'"[81] zusammengefasst werden.

4. *Conclusio*: Antworten des Hiobbuches auf Grundfragen der *conditio humana*

4.1 Zusammenfassung von Hi 38,1–42,6 hinsichtlich Hiobs Selbst-, Welt- und Gottesbildes

Durch die Gottesschau und die dadurch erfolgte Wiederherstellung der Gottesbeziehung wurden Hiob seine tiefsten Wünsche, nämlich eine Begegnung mit Gott, ein intaktes Gottesverhältnis und eine Stillung der Gottessehnsucht, die den alttestamentlichen Menschen bestimmt (vgl. Ps 63,2–4), erfüllt. Sein Glück findet er nach Hi 42,5f. vor dem Hintergrund der Psalmen in seiner JHWH-Relation. Aus der Erfahrung der Nähe Gottes und der intakten Gottesbeziehung ergeben sich ferner Veränderungen hinsichtlich Hiobs Selbst-, Welt- und Gottesbild. Nach der Vision sieht er sich selbst nun als Geschöpf Gottes, dem es nicht ansteht, von seinem individuellen Schicksal auf die Ordnung der Welt und auf Gott zu schließen, wie er es noch in Hi 9,24 getan hat. Hiob nimmt nun nicht mehr nur sein individuelles Leid wahr, sondern erkennt die Vielfalt der Welt und das wahre Wesen jenes Gottes, der sowohl das Chaos bekämpft als auch sich liebevoll seiner Schöpfung annimmt. Er sieht die Welt und sich in ihr anders. Sein neues Weltbild kann als theozentrisch *und* kosmozentrisch bezeichnet werden. Ferner weiß er sich in der dem Menschen unzugänglichen göttlichen Weltordnung aufgehoben und vertraut daher seinem Gott, dass dieser – wann es ihm richtig erscheint – zu seinen Gunsten eingreifen wird. Hiob schreitet folglich vom Gotteszweifel zum Gottvertrauen.

---

[79]   Ps 42,2f. beschreibt die Gottessehnsucht des Beters, der sich nach dem lebendigen Gott sehnt wie sich eine vom Verdursten bedrohte Hirschkuh auf ausgetrockneten Bachrinnen nach Wasser sehnt (V.2) und sich daher fragt, wann er endlich zum Jerusalemer Tempel kommen und das Angesicht Gottes sehen (רָאָה, *rāʾah*), d.h. Gottes Nähe erfahren, kann (V.3). Aus V.4 geht hervor, dass der Beter unter der Abwesenheit JHWHs leidet. Sogar sein Umfeld fragt den Beter schon nach seinem Gott, d.h. stellt JHWHs Existenz und Wirkmacht in Frage. Die Erfahrung der Abwesenheit Gottes war für den alttestamentlichen Menschen eine äußerst bedrohliche (vgl. Ps 13 und 88). In besonderem Kontrast steht daher die Erinnerung des Beters (V.5) „an Zeiten, als er in der gottesdienstlichen Gemeinschaft von Jerusalempilgern die beglückende Nähe seines Gottes geradezu sinnlich erlebt hat" (Hossfeld – Zenger 1993, 269 [Zenger]). Folglich kann für die ersehnte Gottesschau, die für den Beter so lebensnotwendig ist wie das Wasser für die Hirschkuh (vgl. V.2), festgehalten werden, dass mit ihr eine Wende der Notsituation einhergeht.

[80]   Vgl. Leuenberger 2011, 271.

[81]   Liess 2004, 130.

4.2 Kontingenzbewältigung und Sinnstiftung durch die JHWH-Relation

Versucht man nun abschließend zusammenzufassen, welche Antworten das Hiobbuch durch die Rezeption und Interpretation des Topos vom Schauen Gottes aus den Psalmen auf Grundfragen der *conditio humana*, wie die Frage nach einem die Kontingenz des Leides bewältigenden und sinnstiftenden Umgang angesichts leidvoller Situationen, gibt, lohnt sich erneut ein Blick in die letzten Worte Hiobs (Hi 42,1–6). In seiner Antwort auf die Gottesreden ist mit keinem Wort von einem Beharren auf seinem Standpunkt, von einem Wunsch nach einem Rechtsstreit mit Gott (Hi 9,33) oder von seinem Wunsch aus dem Dialogteil, die Freunde von seiner Rechtschaffenheit zu überzeugen, die Rede. *Coram deo* und innerhalb einer intakten Beziehung zu JHWH erweisen sich diese Versuche, die Kontingenz seines Leidens zu bewältigen und mit seiner gegenwärtigen Situation sinnstiftend umzugehen, nicht als tragfähig. Es ist allein die Nähe Gottes, das Wissen um sein wahres Wesen und die intakte Beziehung zu ihm, die den Menschen zu sich selbst kommen und ihn sinnstiftend mit seinem Leben – ungeachtet der Umstände – umgehen lässt. Dies zeigt Hi 42,5f. dadurch, dass Hiob, weil er Gott gesehen und erkannt hat, dass „seine Gottesbeziehung [...] sein 'Lebensglück'"[82] ist, auf Staub und Asche auch ohne Änderung seiner Lage getröstet ist.

4.3 Die JHWH-Relation als Sinn des Lebens

Durch die starke Betonung der JHWH-Relation als das Lebensglück des Hiob, die das Hiobbuch durch die Rezeption und Interpretation des Topos vom Schauen Gottes aus den Psalmen und besonders durch den Verzicht auf die mit der Gottesschau einhergehenden Segenswirkungen vornimmt, lässt

sich nach meinem Dafürhalten auch eine Antwort auf eine weitere Grundfrage der *conditio humana*, nämlich auf die Frage nach dem Sinn des Lebens finden – zumindest in intrinsischer Hinsicht, d.h. ausgehend von der Definition, dass ein Leben dann sinnvoll ist, „wenn es für die Person, die es lebt, lohnend ist".[83] Hiob erscheint nach seiner Gottesbegegnung sein Leben – ungeachtet der äußeren Situation (vgl. Hi 42,5f.) – lohnenswert. Dies ist m.E. aufgrund der (im Falle Hiobs wiederhergestellten) JHWH-Relation der Fall. Da Hiob das wahre Wesen Gottes gesehen hat und er sich und sein Leben nun bei seinem Gott vertrauensvoll geborgen weiß, erscheint ihm sein Leben lebenswert, weshalb m.E. zusammenfassend festgehalten werden kann, dass der Sinn des Leben nach dem Hiobbuch in der JHWH-Relation des Einzelnen liegt.

---

[82] Liess 2004, 130.

[83] Sarot 2004, 1337.

Bibliografie

Die *Transliterationen des Hebräischen* und *Griechischen* folgen den im Handbuch veröffentlichten Richtlinien der Society of Biblical Literature (SBL): Society of Biblical Literature (Hg.), The SBL Handbook of Style. For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines [2](Atlanta 2014). Die verwendeten *allgemeinen* und *bibliographischen Abkürzungen* finden sich bei: S. M. Schwertner, IATG[3]. Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete. Zeitschriften, Serien, Lexika, Quellenwerke mit bibliographischen Angaben [3](Berlin – Boston 2014).

5.1 Textausgaben

Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, hg. von K. Elliger – W. Rudolph [5](Stuttgart 1997)

Die Bibel. Elberfelder Bibel. Revidierte Fassung [9](Wuppertal 2003)

Die Bibel. Nach der Übersetzung M. Luthers. Revidierte Fassung von 1984 (Stuttgart 1999)

Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes, hg. von A. Rahlfs (Stuttgart 1979)

5.2 Forschungsliteratur

Botterweck 1982
    J. Botterweck, Art. יָדַע / *yādaʿ*, III. 1. profanes „erkennen", ThWAT 3, 1982, 479–512

Ebach 1996
    J. Ebach, Streiten mit Gott. Hiob. Teil 2: Hiob 21–42, Kleine Biblische Bibliothek (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1996)

Fohrer 1963
    G. Fohrer, Das Buch Hiob, KAT XVI (Gütersloh 1963)

Fuhs 1978
    H. F. Fuhs, Sehen und Schauen. Die Wurzel ḥzh im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament. Ein Beitrag zum prophetischen Offenbarungsempfang, FzB 32 (Würzburg 1978)

Fuhs 1993
    H. F. Fuhs , Art. רָאה / *rāʾah*, ThWAT 7, 1993, 225–266

Hartenstein 2008
    F. Hartenstein, Das Angesicht JHWHs. Studien zu seinem höfischen und kultischen Bedeutungshintergrund in den Psalmen und in Exodus 32–34, FAT 55 (Tübingen 2008)

Hartenstein 2010
    F. Hartenstein, Vom Sehen und Schauen Gottes. Überlegungen zu einer theologischen Ästhetik aus der Sicht des Alten Testaments, in: E. Gräb-Schmidt – R. Preul (Hg.), Ästhetik, MJTh 22 (Leipzig 2010) 15–37

Heckl 2010
    R. Heckl, Hiob – vom Gottesfürchtigen zum Repräsentanten Israels. Studien zur Buchwerdung des Hiobbuches und zu seinen Quellen, FAT 70 (Tübingen 2010)

Hossfeld – Zenger 1993
    F. L. Hossfeld – E. Zenger, Die Psalmen I. Psalm 1–50, NEB.AT 29 (Würzburg 1993)

Janowski 2009a

B. Janowski, „Die Erde ist in die Hand eines Frevlers gegeben". Zur Frage nach der Gerechtigkeit Gottes im Hiobbuch, in: H. Lichtenberger – H. Zweigle (Hg.), Wo ist Gott? Die Theodizee-Frage und die Theologie im Pfarramt (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2009) 1–18

Janowski 2009b

B. Janowski, Konfliktgespräche mit Gott. Eine Anthropologie der Psalmen ³(Neukirchen-Vluyn 2009)

Janowski 2013

B. Janowski, Ein Gott, der straft und tötet? Zwölf Fragen zum Gottesbild des Alten Testaments (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2013)

Joüon – Muraoka 2011

P. Joüon – T. Muraoka, A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew, SubBi 27 ²(Rom 2011)

Köhlmoos 1999

M. Köhlmoos, Das Auge Gottes. Textstrategie im Hiobbuch, FAT 25 (Tübingen 1999)

Kraus 1989

H.-J. Kraus, Psalmen 2, BK.AT XV/2 ⁶(Neukirchen-Vluyn 1989)

Krüger 2007

Th. Krüger, Did Job Repent?, in: Th. Krüger u. a. (Hg.), Das Buch Hiob und seine Interpretationen. Beiträge zum Hiob-Symposium auf dem Monte Verità vom 14.–19. August 2005, AThANT 88 (Zürich 2007) 217–229

Leuenberger 2011

M. Leuenberger, Gott in Bewegung. Religions- und theologiegeschichtliche Beiträge zu Gottesvorstellungen im alten Israel, FAT 76 (Tübingen 2011)

Liess 2004

K. Liess, Der Weg des Lebens. Psalm 16 und das Lebens- und Todesverständnis der Individualpsalmen, FAT II/5 (Tübingen 2004)

Rogland 2003

M. F. Rogland, Alleged non-past uses of *qatal* in classical Hebrew, SSN 44 (Assen 2003)

Sarot 2004

M. Sarot, Art. Sinn. II. Religionsphilosophisch, RGG⁴ 7, 2004, 1337–1338

Schmid 2001

K. Schmid, Der Hiobprolog und das Hiobproblem, in: M. Oeming – K. Schmid (Hg.), Hiobs Weg. Stationen von Menschen im Leid, BThSt 45 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2001) 9–34

Schottroff 1971

W. Schottroff, Art. יָדַע / *yādaʿ*, THAT 1, 1971, 682–701

Schwienhorst-Schönberger 2007

L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, Ein Weg durch das Leid. Das Buch Ijob (Freiburg u. a. 2007)

Schwienhorst-Schönberger 2012

L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, Das Buch Ijob, in: Zenger u. a. 2012, 414–427

Simian-Yofre 1986

H. Simian-Yofre, Art. נחם / *nīḥam*, ThWAT 5, 1986, 366–384

Strauß 2000

H. Strauß, Hiob. 2. Teilband: 19,1–42,17, BK.AT XVI/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2000)

Torczyner 1920
    H. Torczyner, Das Buch Hiob. Eine kritische Analyse des überlieferten Hiobtextes (Wien – Berlin 1920)

van der Woude 1976
    A. S. van der Woude, Art. פָּנִים / *pānîm*, THAT 2, 1976, 432–460

van Oorschot 2007
    J. van Oorschot, Die Entstehung des Hiobbuches, in: T. Krüger – M. Oeming – K. Schmid – C. Uehlinger (Hg.), Das Buch Hiob und seine Interpretation. Beiträge zum Hiob-Symposium auf dem Monte Verità vom 14.–19. August 2005, AThANT 88 (Zürich 2007) 165–184

Wagner 1984
    S. Wagner, Art. מָאַס / *māʾas*, ThWAT 4, 1984, 618–633

Willi-Plein 2002
    I. Willi-Plein, Hiobs Widerruf? – Eine Untersuchung der Wurzel ~xn und ihrer erzähltechnischen Funktion im Hiobbuch, in: I. Willi-Plein, Sprache als Schlüssel. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2002) 130–145

Witte 2010
    M. Witte, Das Hiobbuch (Ijob), in: J. C. Gertz (Hg.), Grundinformation Altes Testament. Eine Einführung in Literatur, Religion und Geschichte des Alten Testaments, UTB 2745 [4](Göttingen 2010) 432–445

Wolff 2010
    H. W. Wolff, Anthropologie des Alten Testaments. Mit zwei Anhängen neu hg. von B. Janowski (Gütersloh 2010)

Zenger 2012
    E. Zenger, Das Buch der Psalmen, in: Zenger u. a. 2012, 428–452

Zenger u. a. 2012
    E. Zenger – C. Frevel – H.-J. Fabry – G. Braulik – G. Hentschel – G. Steins – H. Engel – L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger – S. Schroer – J. Marböck – H.-W. Jüngling – F.-J. Backhaus – I. Meyer – F.-L. Hossfeld – H. Niehr (Hg.), Einleitung in das Alte Testament, KStTh 1,1 [8](Stuttgart u. a. 2012)

English Abstract

Within the 'divine speeches' (Job 38,1–42,6) the biblical book of Job (5.-2. BCE) gives an answer to the questions concerning coping with the contingencies of suffering, identifying meaning in difficult circumstances and, lastly, how faith in JHWH affects an individual's purpose in life. This answer is achieved by means of the reception and interpretation of the topos "seeing God", which is found within Psalms (Ps 11,7; 17,15; 42,2 and 62,2–4). While in Psalms a vision of God is typically associated with certain benefits, such as the realisation of justice (Ps 11) and the transformation of hardships (Ps 42), in Job these benefits are omitted. According to Job 42,5f the solution to the aforementioned questions resides in the individual's relationship to JHWH.

The Interrelation between *Rhesus* and its Genuine Poet: A Problematic Case of Reception?

Anastasia-Stavroula Valtadorou

Abstract: *Rhesus*, a tragedy mainly attributed to Euripides, had critics already in antiquity: as the second Ὑπόθεσις of the play makes evident, its alleged poor quality caused some ancient scholars to express doubts about its authenticity. The authorship of *Rhesus* is still under debate. For instance, Vayos Liapis often claims that the surviving *Rhesus* is a play written in the fourth century BCE by an actor named Neoptolemos (Liapis 2009; 2012). Unsurprisingly, these claims about inauthenticity are again interwoven with the alleged poor poetic value of the play. This connection generally established between Euripides and works of high aesthetic value raises some intriguing questions: is the reception of a text influenced by our convictions about what is classical? Is there an actual connection between an object and its meaning, or are we the ones that form the meaning based on our own beliefs?

The authorship of *Rhesus*: An enquiry that keeps resurfacing

Undeniably, there are plenty of reasons for a modern scholar to study in depth the Greek tragedy *Rhesus*. To begin with, this specific drama is the only surviving tragedy which refers to events that were first recounted in the *Iliad*.[1] More specifically, the dramatist of *Rhesus* discusses the reconnaissance mission carried out by the Achaeans Diomedes and Odysseus in the Trojan camp and their slaughter of the Trojan intruder Dolon during this nocturnal espionage, episodes that we encounter for the first time in the tenth rhapsody of the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, it is more than obvious to the modern

reader that the playwright in question by no means imitates his epic model unconditionally.[2] Rather, he picks up these events and freshly re-tells them from the standpoint of the Trojans, instead of following his predecessor's choice and concentrating his attention on the Greek side.

However intriguing the aforementioned relationship between the *Rhesus* and *Iliad* may have been for classicists,[3] the actual

---

[1] See Allen – Munro 1920. Of course, there is the exception of the satyr-play *Cyclops*. Cf. Fries 2014, 8. For other, no longer extant tragedies which could be called 'Trojan' or 'Iliadic' due to their content, see Fantuzzi 2006, 135–148.

[2] This could not always be taken for granted, given that this drama has not enjoyed the undisputed favor of all its readers, a fact already stressed by Bates 1916, 11. Fantuzzi 2006, 135 correctly underlines that scholarly opinion has recently taken a remarkable turn: "The idea that the *Rh.* is 'nothing else than an *Iliadis carmen diductum in actus*', as the tragedy was authoritatively described one century ago, would no longer find many supporters among modern scholars".

[3] The intertextual play between *Rh.* and *Il.* has been thoroughly discussed by many scholars. For example, see Barrett 2002; Bond 1996; Fan-

identification of the dramatist used to hold much more scholarly interest. As a brief survey makes plain,[4] there are numerous examples of well-known classical scholars who lived in the first quarter of the twentieth century and wrote various studies trying to give an adequate answer to one question alone: who is the genuine author of this Greek drama? It is telling that the answer to this question has not always been the same, given that some asserted that *Rhesus* was a genuine play of Euripides,[5] one of the three tragedians unanimously recognized as classical,[6] while others made a case against that claim.[7] Undoubtedly, the main reason behind this controversy can be found in the first lines of the second ancient Ὑπόθεσις of the play:

> τοῦτο τὸ δρᾶμα ἔνιοι νόθον
> ὑπενόησαν, Εὐριπίδου δὲ μὴ
> εἶναι· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον
> μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνειν χαρακτῆρα.
> ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ὡς
> γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἡ
> περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ
> πολυπραγμοσύνη τὸν Εὐριπίδην
> ὁμολογεῖ.[8]

> There are those who suggested that this drama is not a genuine play of Euripides because its character is rather Sophoclean; this being said, in the *didaskaliae* it is registered as authentic, and its

complexity points to Euripides as its actual author.[9]

As the above lines show, the authorship of *Rhesus* was in dispute even in antiquity, despite the fact that the ancient writer of the Ὑπόθεσις clearly rejected all these accusations of inauthenticity. All the same, it is crucial to keep something particular in mind: those (ancient grammarians or classicists of the last century) who considered the play to be inauthentic, namely non-Euripidean, were led to this conclusion through convictions based either on its allegedly poor quality,[10] a characteristic certainly unworthy of the great Athenian tragedian, or on its problematically uncertain nature. Contrariwise, those who discerned the quality of *Rhesus* were somehow persuaded that Euripides was its 'real', one and only writer. For instance, in his article entitled "The Problem of Rhesus," published in 1916, Richards asserted that as regards its aesthetic quality *Rhesus* is even better than the undoubtedly Euripidean *Cyclops* and must, thus, be regarded as genuine.[11] According to his interpretation, therefore, the play's poetic value must be intrinsically interwoven with its originality.

Nonetheless, it is striking that the Euripidean (?) authorship of this tragedy did not trouble only a few meticulous individuals in the past; on the contrary, this issue is still heavily debated even today. One significant recent example is that of William Ritchie, who committed himself to proving the Euripidean character of *Rhesus* in a lengthy and informative monograph entitled *The Authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides*.[12] However, Ritchie

---

tuzzi 2005; Fantuzzi 2011; Fenik 1964; Murray 1913; Strohm 1959.

[4]   See, for instance, Bates 1916, 11; Pearson 1921; Platt 1919, 154; Richards 1916, 196.

[5]   Bates 1916, 11; Richards 1916, 196.

[6]   Nowadays Euripides is considered to be a classical playwright, although this was not always the case. See below p. 6.

[7]   Pearson 1921, 60–61; Platt 1919, 154.

[8]   Diggle 1994. One of the most recent and illuminating comments on the four *Hypotheses* of *Rh.* is that of Liapis 2012, 55–69.

[9]   The translation of the Greek text is mine.

[10]   See Platt 1919, 153–154.

[11]   Richards 1916.

[12]   See Ritchie 1964. It is rather interesting that the publication of this book did not go unnoticed. One year later the devastating review of Fraenkel 1965 followed; since then only a few

is not an exception. Almost every modern critic of *Rhesus* takes advantage of the opportunity to express his or her own opinion as far as the genuineness of the play is concerned.[13]

Noteworthy is the case of Vayos Liapis, which we will discuss in detail. Liapis is a well-established scholar of Greek drama, who has written many articles about the tragedy in question.[14] What is the most impressive aspect of his scholarly work, though, is his persistence to prove, if possible, that *Rhesus* is a play that was actually written by a famous actor named Neoptolemos,[15] and was originally produced in the fourth century BCE,[16] most probably within the context of a Macedonian performance.[17] His views are respectable in their own right, for he strives to prove his case by pointing to the (more or less discernible) inclination of the playwright of *Rhesus* towards literary imitation. Indeed, in one of his most recent and extensive efforts, Liapis manages to highlight the large number of allusions of this 'overzealous imitator', who, he claims, both frequently and consciously alludes to many of the classical Attic dramas.[18]

Yet we should not overlook that Liapis is surprisingly in full agreement with his predecessors when he establishes an insoluble but inconspicuous bond between the identity of the playwright of *Rhesus* and his authorial incompetency. More specifically, the perceived lack of poetic originality in this play enables this particular scholar to suggest that its playwright is an actor/author who (unlike Euripides, it is implied) is characterized verbatim by 'sheer incompetence.'[19] Thus, it is evident that for Liapis intemperate literary imitation and unsuitable verbosity can never be consistent with the unanimously accepted Euripidean quality.[20]

To conclude, this short and rather summary introduction has shown that the ancient Ὑπόθεσις of this play has triggered an ever-lasting debate as far as its authorship is concerned. What is more, I have noted that there is a firm interrelation between the reception of *Rhesus* and the identity of its genuine poet. Interestingly enough, everyone who claims that *Rhesus* is not an excellent piece of tragedy is convinced of its non-Euripidean origins.[21] At the same time, those who advocate the Euripidean authorship of this drama are

---

     scholars have dared to think of *Rh.* as a genuinely Euripidean play.

[13] See Burnett 1985, 50–51; Fantuzzi 2006, 146; Fantuzzi 2011, 40; Fries 2010, 351; Steadman 1945, 7; Xantakis-Karamanos 1980, 18. 27. 268.

[14] See, e.g., Liapis 2009; Liapis 2011; Liapis 2012; Liapis 2014.

[15] Liapis 2012, lxxii–lxxv; Liapis 2014, 292.

[16] Liapis 2009, 88; Liapis 2012, lxxi–lxxii; Liapis 2014. The idea that *Rh.* is a tragedy from the fourth century BCE is not a bold guess on the part of Liapis. To the contrary, there are many others who advocate the same. See Battezzato 2000, 367; Fantuzzi 2011, 40; Mattison 2015; Xantakis-Karamanos 1980.

[17] Cf. Liapis 2009; Liapis 2012, lxxiv–lxxv; Liapis 2014, 290–292.

[18] Liapis 2014, 275. 276–290. For a similar criticism of Liapis' insistence to prove that the writer of *Rh.* was untalented, see Mattison 2015, 486–488.

[19] Liapis 2012, xlvi.

[20] We should keep in mind that *Rh.* is not praised wholeheartedly as a tragedy of classical merit even by the advocators of its Euripidean authorship. A representative is Anne Pippin Burnett 1985, who believes that *Rh.* is a parody-play that has to be attributed to the young and playful Euripides. Cf. Ritchie 1964, 345–361.

[21] See above n. 7 and 10. Yet there are some important exceptions to the rule. Firstly, Strohm 1959, 266, despite the fact that he does not support the Euripidean authorship of this drama, claims that this is a play of high dramaturgic quality: "Die Dramaturgie des 'Rhesus' muss ernst genommen werden". Similarly, Mattison 2015, 486–487 holds that "*Rhesus* was composed in the fourth century by an author who was undoubtedly influenced by fifth-century tragedy (…), but who was more than an unskilled mimic". I am greatly indebted to Professor Mattison for providing me a copy of her intriguing article.

eager to emphasise some of its literary merit that entitles it to be labeled as a classic.[22] It seems, then, that among classical scholars it is easily assumed that only good, so to say 'classic,' poets can compose commendable poetry, while plays by non-classical or unknown poets are irreversibly condemned to be mediocre or even bad.

In any case, this issue may perhaps acquire larger theoretical implications, if we take into consideration the similar fate of another tragedy of the classical era: *Prometheus Bound*. Unfortunately, the limits of this essay do not allow me to go into much detail concerning this drama. However, it can be stated that the authorship of *Prometheus Bound* has also excited the interest of researchers who, again, are willing to ascribe it immediately to Aeschylus if they acknowledge its literary merit,[23] or are ready to proclaim it non-Aeschylean if they detect any dramatic imperfections.[24] All of the above observations incontrovertibly raise some intriguing questions: what relationship does the identity of an author *really* have with the quality of his writings? Is the reception of a text influenced by our convictions about what is classical and what is not? Ultimately, is there an actual connection between an object and its meaning, or are we the ones that form the meaning based on our beliefs?

A brief survey of modern literary theory: Constructions of the 'classic' and the 'author'

The realization that an excessive number of classicists have persistently[25] tried to solve

the riddle of the authorship of *Rhesus*[26] may well bring to our mind the brilliant question set by Michel Foucault in his illuminating article 'What is an author?': "What difference does it make who is speaking?"[27] This thought-provoking question may possibly have seemed rather irrelevant and aimless to an individual who lived a century ago; for until recently it was a given that a masterpiece of classical literature was unanimously regarded as such only on the grounds of its exceptional beauty and its unmatched literary value.[28] Although this might seem logical even to us today, it does not necessarily constitute an absolute truth. As James Porter has demonstrated in his pioneering introduction "What is 'Classical' about Classical Antiquity?", there are no ubiquitous and unchangeable properties that an object or a text can have and, thus, be designated as classical.[29] To the contrary, we ought to be aware of the fact that the meaning of the word 'classical' is, *in its very ideology*, mutable and fluctuat-

---

[22] See Bates 1916, 10–11; Murray 1913, v–xii; Ritchie 1964, 101–140.

[23] See Herington 1970, 118–121.

[24] See Griffith 1981.

[25] Almost the same was already stated by Murray 1913, v.

[26] It is worth noting that Liapis 2014, 276 chooses to quote in translation a few lines of Fraenkel's work on *Rh.* and, thus, to show his inherited frustration about the persistent anonymity of this ancient playwright: "it is no feather in the cap of classical scholars that the question of *Rh.*' authorship is still open to debate".

[27] Foucault 1998, 222. To my mind, Foucault here implies a negative answer.

[28] See Porter 2006, 1–4.

[29] This being said, we would be historically inaccurate if we did not situate this article in its historical context. So, it should be mentioned that the insightful observations of Porter come along with the conclusions of the reception theory (otherwise, reader-response theory), which has made the case that literary academics should focus their attention on the readership of literary texts instead of trying to find the supposedly true meaning that the author desperately sought to imply. Generally, for reception studies, see Holub 2004; Holub 2005; Iser 1980; Jauss 1995. More specifically, for the effect of reception studies on the field of classics, see Brockliss – Chaudhuri – Lushkov – Wasdin 2012; Hardwick – Stray 2008a; Kermode 1983; Martindale 1993; Martindale – Thomas 2006; Martindale 2006; Porter 2008; Wood 2012.

ing: "Despite the rhetoric of permanence, which is the rhetoric of classicism, the classical is necessarily a *moving* object because it is an object constituted by its *interpreters*, variously and over time" (the emphasis is mine).[30] Hence, we are justified in saying that everyone who deals with the allegedly classical texts of Greek and Latin literature regards them to be as such on the grounds of convention. Thus, the very construction of the idea of 'classic' is characterised by an indeterminacy which allows for differing interpretations at all times.[31]

The varying content of the term 'classical' is additionally confirmed by the case of Euripides and the erratic fate of his work. Again, it is James Porter who informs us that Euripides, a conspicuously classical playwright for us, did not always meet with wholehearted approval by all of his readers throughout the centuries, even though his huge production of theatrical plays had received unanimous acceptance by the fourth century BCE Greek audience.[32] While Sophocles was always thought to be *the* example of a classical playwright (we should not perhaps underestimate the crucial part played by Aristotle in this development due to the judgments he passed in his *Poetics*),[33] Euripides sometimes found it rather difficult to fit smoothly into the category of 'classical'.[34] His brutal violence, his intellectuality and his playful irony, among other things, have created at times

a deep distrust on the part of many established scholars.[35] So, however implausible this may seem to us, at one time even the classicism of Euripides was seriously questioned.

Returning now to Foucault's question, we have to acknowledge that it *does* actually make an enormous difference who is speaking as far as the reception of any literary text is concerned.[36] Every time we approach a text we ought to take into consideration that our reading can never be objective.[37] Instead, the identity of a particular author and our fixed ideas about his or her literary greatness (or lack thereof) will inevitably play a pivotal role in our view of the text.[38] We must of course keep in mind that our judgments today will most likely be challenged by the next generation. Consequently, we are entitled to say that it is we, as readers, who form the meaning based on our own convictions

---

[30] Porter 2006, 52.

[31] For the relativity of the term 'classical' and its always changing character, see also Beard – Henderson 1995, 4. 29. 31; Greenhalgh 1990, 12; Kermode 1983, 130–141.

[32] For an early reception of classical tragedy in the age of Macedon, see Hanink 2014, 221–240. Here I want to thank Professor Hanink for providing me with a copy of her illuminating book.

[33] See *Poet.* 1453a29. 1453b29-30. 1456a27. 1462b2–3. Cf. Hanink 2014, 208.

[34] See Porter 2006, 23.

[35] Goldhill 1986, 244–264 has shown that Euripides deliberately manipulated the conventions of the genre of tragedy, a fact that has provoked some negative comments. For example, he mentions the case of a scene in *Ele.* which, because of its comic technique, was regarded by Eduard Fraenkel as spurious.

[36] This is something that Foucault himself recognizes. See Foucault 1998, 213. Especially interesting is the early case of Pierre Louÿs, a French writer, who tried to challenge the conventions of authorship and its standardised reception by publishing a collection of his poems entitled *Les Chansons de Bilitis* (1895) and by attributing them to a supposedly ancient female writer named Bilitis. For this ingenious hoax and the destabilisation of the norms of scholarship, authorship and translation caused by it, see Venuti 1998.

[37] Hans-Georg Gadamer 1989, 30 has correctly warned his readers that in every domain of human knowledge there are no conclusions completely free from presuppositions: "Even in the domain of the natural sciences, the grounding of scientific knowledge cannot avoid the hermeneutical consequences of the fact that the so-called 'given' cannot be separated from interpretation". Cf. Dibadj 1998; Venuti 1998, 46.

[38] See Martindale 1993, 3–18. Cf. Martindale 2006.

and assumptions about who deserves to be labeled as a classical writer and who does not.[39]

This being said, there is a question that remains to be answered: how can all the above theoretical assessments help us look at *Rhesus* from a fresh angle? In the first place, I must emphasize that under no circumstances is it my intent to dismiss all of the aforementioned interpretations of *Rhesus* concerning the genuineness of the play. Rather, I want to stress that the 'author function' is still of great importance for many present-day classicists, almost fifty years after the first publication of the groundbreaking article 'The Death of the Author' by Roland Barthes.[40] Of course, I am not the first to admit that most classical scholars are characterised by an unwillingness to pave the way for less author-determined interpretations.[41] However, I hope to have adequately shown that this reluctance is much more discernible and tangible as far as the case of *Rhesus* is concerned.

Rhesus: Future Prospects[42]

As I have shown above, the charge of inauthenticity (regardless of the validity of this accusation) has clearly determined the destiny of the reception of *Rhesus* and at the same time has proved the significance of a given text's originality. Nevertheless, this long-established philological approach can be strongly challenged if the imaginative term 'expressive authenticity', first introduced by Denis Dutton, is taken seriously into account.[43] More specifically, Dutton, a well-known philosopher of art, sets forth the above term in order to distinguish between two separate meanings of genuineness in his influential discussion of artistic authenticity. The first one is called 'nominal authenticity' and refers to every work of art which is 'properly named', that is, a painting or a musical whose painter's or composer's identity is known to us with certainty.[44] For example, if someone asks me about the nominal authenticity of *The Brothers Karamazov*, I may easily respond by saying that "Regarding the nominal authenticity of this work, *The Brothers Karamazov* is a novel of the Russian writer Fyodor Dostoyevsky which was first published in 1880".

However, the second concept, that of 'expressive authenticity', refers to something entirely different. Dutton uses this specific phrase in order to discuss works of art that manage to express the true feelings and beliefs of their creator and his or her society.[45] In other words, a composer, a painter or a writer is expressively authentic only when he or she is explicably sincere, passionate, veritably creative and 'true […] to one's artistic self.'[46] Going back to the previous example, I can claim that the book *The Brothers Karamazov* is "expressively authentic" in the sense

---

[39]　Certainly, I am not an exception to the rule. It goes without saying that my current analysis of *Rh.* is by no means objective nor does it try to have the last word on any literary controversy.

[40]　See Barthes 2015. In this article the famous French thinker has undertaken the challenge of redirecting the interest of literary theorists from the side of the author to that of the reader. Intriguing is the last sentence of his text (Barthes 2015, 6): "the birth of the reader must be ransomed by the death of the Author". For an interesting, performance-oriented adaptation of Barthes' ideas, cf. Ioannidou 2010.

[41]　See Hardwick – Stray 2008b, 2–5; Martindale 2006, *passim*; Porter 2008, 469.

[42]　I borrow this title from Porter 2008, 469.

[43]　Dutton 2003, 272 highlights that the idea of 'expressive authenticity' is neither entirely his nor an exclusive product of western civilization.

[44]　See Dutton 2003, 259–266. Dutton 2003, 260 emphasizes that as far as the notion of 'nominal authenticity' is concerned a misidentification is possible, even when there is no traceable, intentional deceit on the part of the artist.

[45]　See Dutton 2003, 259. 266–270. For an inspiring adaptation of Dutton's terminology, see Gamel 2010.

[46]　Dutton 2003, 267.

that it passionately tells an exciting story that meaningfully expresses the writer and his contemporary society. At this point, however, it is crucial to underline that by no means does Dutton imply that one of these two notions is preferable to the other. According to him, both are equally important, but point to different aspects of artistic originality.[47]

So, if we take the notion of 'expressive authenticity' into account, we may well realize that the tragedy *Rhesus* can become the focal point of our scholarly interest for several reasons other than its genuineness or its notorious inauthenticity.[48] A closer look at *Rhesus* may reveal that this play (as all other extant Greek tragedies) deals creatively with manifold issues which were troubling the consciousness of every Greek citizen. For instance, one of the most important themes alluded to in this tragedy is the relationship of humankind with the divine.[49] More specifically, this ancient drama stresses both the importance of the supernatural intervention of the Olympian gods in the destruction of

Troy and the weakness of human activity in opposition to godly power.[50] Moreover, an aspect of *Rhesus* that has yet to be adequately discussed is the significance of treachery in a military context and the serious consequences of a reckless attitude towards deception.[51] In *Rhesus* both Trojans and Achaeans resort to deceit and trickery in order to eliminate their opponents once and for all.[52] However, it is the decisive action of the devious Odysseus that will ultimately lead the Greeks to a luminous victory, because it is he who manages to deceive the naïve Trojan watchmen just in time.[53]

Last but not least, an integral element of *Rhesus* that remains to be examined in detail is its intensively original political tone. For until now no one has scrutinized the fact that *Rhesus* presents three different models of political leadership to its ancient and modern audience. The first is that of Hector, who is represented as a negligently impulsive but democratically inspired prince that changes his opinion when his subjects convince him to do it.[54] Rhesus, on the other hand, is sketched as a garrulous monarch whose notorious boastfulness proves futile,[55] given that he loses his life in an inglorious way.[56] In opposition to the previous two models, Odysseus is outlined in a radically different way. This Achaean leader is depicted as a person who

---

[47] What exactly Dutton means by the term 'expressive authenticity' is not straight-forward at all. In other words, there are many challenging questions that someone could pose regarding his notion. A few of these are the following: are there texts, paintings or songs that can be labeled as expressively *in*authentic and who is in a position to decide this? Furthermore, if the originality of a creator/writer's creativity and passion constitutes the focus of our attention, will our evaluations not be author-centered again? Unfortunately, the limits of this essay do not allow us to go deeper into this issue.

[48] Of course, it is not my intention to imply that there are no articles that focus on aspects of *Rh.* other than its authorship. For example, see Barrett 2002; Battezzato 2000; Bond 1996; Burnett 1985; Elderkin 1935; Fantuzzi 2005; Fantuzzi 2006; Fantuzzi 2011; Fenik 1964; Liapis 2011; Mattison 2015; Parry 1964; Rosivach 1978; Steadman 1945; Strohm 1959; Thomson 1911.

[49] Liapis has made the interesting suggestion that there is enough evidence to identify the king Rhesus with *Heros Equitans*, a Thracian deity. See Liapis 2011.

[50] Significant is the episode of the deceit of Athena, who pretended to be the goddess Aphrodite in Paris' presence. See *Rh.* 646–674. Cf. Bond 1996, 268; Rosivash 1978, 73.

[51] For the prevailing character of trickery in *Rh.* see the insightful comments of Bond 1996, 268–269 and Rosivach 1978, 64–67.

[52] *Rh.* 150–253. 565–594.

[53] *Rh.* 683–691.

[54] *Rh.* 77–149. 340–341. Cf. Burnett 1985, 19; Liapis 2009, 79; Liapis 2012, xlvii–xlviii; Mattison 2015, 492–496; Parry 1964, 287–288.

[55] *Rh.* 447–449. 488. Cf. Burnett 1985, 30–31; Hall 1989, 125; Liapis 2012, xlviii; Parry 1964, 289; Rosivach 1978, 59–60.

[56] *Rh.* 780–795.

carefully examines all the clues provided, who obeys the commands of his protective deity and, thus, fools his enemies thanks to his eloquent treachery. For all of these reasons he surpasses his opponents.

In conclusion, if someone is interested in finding out the unique character of a tragedy by focusing on the text itself rather than searching for the true identity of the playwright (i.e., if someone is willing to pay closer attention to 'expressive authenticity' rather than to 'nominal authenticity'), he or she can always find new and fresh ways to look not only at *Rhesus*, but at any literary text. Of course, this does not mean that 'nominal authenticity' is insignificant or useless and, consequently, classical scholars should stop trying to answer the question of a text's authorship. Rather, my purpose here has been to underline that the authorship of a work is only one facet of the much more complicated concept of originality.

Conclusion

In this essay I have focused my attention on *Rhesus*, a tragedy that has been often neglected in research on the grounds of its disputed authorship. However, instead of taking sides concerning the play's originality, I decided to explore the reasons why an ancient, mostly unreliable, accusation of ingenuity has proven to be so enduring. My research led me to the important observation that all of the claims of ingenuity were always interwoven with the readers' convictions about the play's poor quality and *vice versa*. On the other hand, it has been shown that those who had asserted that *Rhesus* is Euripidean were able to highlight some of its literary merit. This allowed me to conclude that the identity of Euripides was believed to be linked to the unquestionable value of poetic work by most of *Rhesus*' readers. Nevertheless, a brief exploration of the notions of 'classical' and 'author' let me suggest that those two constructions do not provide a solid ground for interpretation, given that they are deliberately changeable and subjective. Hence, having realized that it is we as readers who form the meaning of every text we approach, influenced by what we believe about its writer and his or her merit, I hold that the notion of 'expressive authenticity' can contribute to the solution of *Rhesus*' notorious problem. Instead of focusing on its original authorship, we can analyse the play itself. However, it is more than certain that this attempt of mine cannot be infallible: an exhortation of the text alone, to the exclusion of its author, will always admit the danger of allowing for interpretations that are ahistorical and subjective.

Acknowledgements

Bibliography

Primary sources

Allen – Munro 1920
    T. W. Allen – D. B. Munro (eds.), Homeri Opera, 1–2 Vol., Iliad (Oxford 1920)

Diggle 1994
    J. Diggle (ed.), Euripides Fabulae, 3 Vol. (Oxford 1994)

Secondary sources

Bakker – Montanari – Regkakos 2006
    E. J Bakker – F. Montanari – A. Regkakos (eds.), La poesie epique grecque: metamorphoses d'un genre litteraire: huit exposes suivis de discussions (Geneva 2006)

Barrett 2002
    J. Barrett, Staged Narrative: Poetics and the Messenger in Greek Tragedy (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2002)

Barthes 2015
    R. Barthes, The Death of the Author
    (http://www.tbook.constantvzw.org/wp-content/death_authorbarthes.pdf, 28.07.2015)

Bates 1916
W. Bates, Notes on the Rhesus, TAPA 47, 1916, 5–11

Battezzato 2000
    L. Battezzato, The Thracian Camp and the Fourth Actor at Rhesus 565-691, CQ 50, 2000, 367–373

Beard – Henderson 1995
    M. Beard – J. Henderson, A Very Short Introduction To Classics (Oxford 1995)

Bond 1996
    R. S. Bond, "Homeric Echoes in Rhesus", AJP 117, 1996, 255–273

Brockliss – Chaudhuri – Lushkov – Wasdin 2012
    W. Brockliss – P. Chaudhuri – A. H. Lushkov – K. Wasdin (eds.), Reception and the Classics (New York 2012)

Burian 1985
    P. Burian (ed.), Directions in Euripidean Criticism (Durham 1985)

Burnett 1985
    A. P. Burnett, Rhesus: Are Smiles Allowed?, in: Burian 1985, 13–51

Christ 1889
    W. Christ, Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur bis auf die Zeit Justinians (Nördlingen 1889)

Conacher 1980
    D. J. Conacher, Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound. A Literary Commentary (Toronto 1980)

Csapo – Goette – Green – Wilson 2014
    E. Csapo – H. R. Goette – J. R. Green – P. Wilson (eds.), Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century BC (Berlin – Boston 2014)

Dibadj 1998
    S. M. Dibadj, The Authenticity of the Text in the Hermeneutics (Washington 1998)

Dutton 2003
    D. Dutton, Authenticity in Art, in: Levinson 2003, 258–274

Elderkin 1935
    G. W. Elderkin, Dolon's Disguise in the Rhesus, CP 30, 1935, 349–350

Eliot 1944
    T. S. Eliot, What is a Classic? (London 1944)

Fantuzzi 2005
    M. Fantuzzi, Notes and Discussions: Euripides (?) Rhesus 56–58 and Homer Iliad 8.498-501: Another Possible Clue to Zenodotus' Reliability, CP 100, 2005, 268–273

Fantuzzi 2006
    M. Fantuzzi, The Myths of Dolon and Rhesus from Homer to the 'Homeric/Cyclic' Tragedy Rhesus, in: Bakker – Montanari – Regkakos 2006, 134–176

Fantuzzi 2011
    M. Fantuzzi, The Dream of the Charioteer in the Rhesus ascribed to Euripides (728-803), Trends in Classics 3, 2011, 38–53

Faubion 1998
    J. Faubion (ed.), Aesthetics, method and epistemology (New York 1998)

Feickert 2004
    A. Feickert, Euripides Rhesus. Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar (Heidelberg 2004)

Fenik 1964
    B. Fenik, Iliad X and the Rhesus (Brussels 1964)

Foucault 1998
    M. Foucault, What is an author?, in: Faubion 1998, 205–222

Fraenkel 1965
   E. Fraenkel, Review of W. Ritchie, The Authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides, Gnomon 37, 1965, 228–241

Fries 2010
   A. Fries, The Poetic Technique of [Euripides]: The Case of Rhesus 118, CQ 60.2, 2010, 345–351

Fries 2014
   A. Fries, Pseudo-Euripides 'Rhesus', Edited with Introduction and Commentary (Berlin 2014)

Gadamer 1989
   H. G. Gadamer, Text and Interpretation, in: Michelfelder – Palmer 1989, 21–51

Gamel 2010
   M. K. Gamel, Revising Authenticity in Staging Ancient Mediterranean Drama, in: Hall – Harrop 2010, 153–170

Goldhill 1986
   S. Goldhill, Reading Greek Tragedy (Cambridge 1986)

Greenhalgh 1990
   M. Greenhalgh, What is Classicism? (London – New York 1990)

Griffith 1981
   M. Griffith, The Authenticity of Prometheus Bound (Cambridge 1981)

Hall 1989
   E. Hall, Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy (Oxford 1989)

Hall – Harrop 2010
   E. Hall – S. Harrop (eds.), Theorising Performance: Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice (London 2010)

Hanink 2014
   J. Hanink, Lycurgan Athens and the Making of Classical Tragedy (Cambridge 2014)

Hardwick – Stray 2008
   L. Hardwick – C. Stray (eds.), A Companion to Classical Receptions (Oxford 2008)

Hardwick – Stray 2008
   L. Hardwick – C. Stray, Introduction: Making Connections, in: Hardwick – Stray 2008, 1–9

Herington 1979
   C. J. Herington, The Author of the Prometheus Bound (Austin-London 1979)

Holub 2004
   R. Holub, Θεωρία της Πρόσληψης. Μια Κριτική Εισαγωγή (Athens 2004)

Holub 2005
   R. Holub, Θεωρία της Πρόσληψης. Η Σχολή της Κωνσταντίας, in: Selden 2005, 445–482

Ioannidou 2010
   E. Ioannidou, From Translation to Performance Reception: The Death of the Author and the Performance Text, in: Hall – Harrop 2010, 208–218

Iser 1980
   W. Iser, The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response (Baltimore – London 1980)

Jauss 1995
   H. R. Jauss, Η Θεωρία της Πρόσληψης: Τρία Μελετήματα (Athens 1995)

Kermode 1983
   F. Kermode, The Classic (Cambridge 1983)

Levinson 2003
   J. Levinson (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics (Oxford 2003)

Liapis 2009
   V. Liapis, Rhesus Revisited: the Case for a Fourth-Century Macedonian Context, JHS 129, 2009, 71–88

Liapis 2011
   V. Liapis, The Thracian Cult of Rhesus and the Heros Equitans, Kernos 24, 2011, 95–104

Liapis 2012
   V. Liapis, A Commentary on the Rhesus Attributed to Euripides (Oxford – New York 2012)

Liapis 2014
   V. Liapis, Cooking Up Rhesus: Literary Imitation and Its Consumers, in: Csapo – Goette – Green – Wilson 2014, 275–294

Martindale 1993
   C. Martindale, Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception (Cambridge 1993)

Martindale 2006
   C. Martindale – R. F. Thomas (eds.), Classics and the Uses of Reception (Oxford 2006)

Martindale 2006
   C. Martindale, Introduction: Thinking through Reception, in: Martindale – Thomas 2006, 1–13

Mattison 2015
   K. Mattison, Rhesus and the Evolution of Tragedy, CW 108, 2015, 485–497

Michelfelder – Palmer 1989
   D. P. Michelfelder – R. E. Palmer (eds.), Dialogue and Deconstruction. The Gadamer-Derrida Encounter (New York 1989)

Murray 1913
   G. Murray, The Rhesus of Euripides (Oxford 1913)

Parry 1964
   H. Parry, The Approach of Dawn in the Rhesus, Phoenix 18, 1964, 283–293

Perris 2010
S. Perris, Performance Reception and the 'Textual Twist': Towards a Theory of Literary Reception, in: Hall – Harrop 2010, 181–191

Platt 1919
A. Platt, Euripides, Rhesus 720, CQ 13, 1919, 153–154

Porter 2006
J. I. Porter (ed.), Classical pasts: the classical traditions of Greece and Rome (Princeton 2006)

Porter 2006
J. I. Porter, Introduction: What is 'Classical' about Classical Antiquity?, in: Porter 2006, 1–65

Porter 2008
J. I. Porter, Reception Studies: Future Prospects, in: Hardwick – Stray 2008, 469–481

Richards 1916
G. C. Richards, The Problem of Rhesus, CQ 10, 1916, 192–197

Ritchie 1964
W. Ritchie, The Authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides (Cambridge 1964)

Rosivach 1978
V. J. Rosivach, Hector in the Rhesus, Hermes 106, 1978, 54–73

Selden 2005
R. Selden (ed.), Ιστορία της Θεωρίας της Λογοτεχνίας. Από τον φορμαλισμό στον μεταδομισμό (Thessaloniki 2005)

Steadman 1945
S. H. Steadman, A Note on the Rhesus, CR 59, 1945, 6–8

Strohm 1959
H. Strohm, Beobachtungen zum Rhesus, Hermes 87, 1959, 257–274

Thomson 1911
J. A. K. Thomson, Dolon the Wolf, CR 25, 1911, 238–239

Venuti 1998
L. Venuti, Scandals of Translation (London 1998)

Wood 2012
C. Wood, Reception and the Classics, in: Brockliss – Chaudhuri – Lushkov – Wasdin 2012, 163–173

Xanthakis – Karamanos 1980
G. Xantakis – Karamanos, Studies in Fourth – Century Tragedy (Athens 1980)

Problems Related to the Use of the Category of Magic in the Writing of Greek and Roman History

Olivier Dufault

Abstract: The study of ancient magic is complicated by the fact that most of ancient Greek and Latin terms usually translated by "magic" or "magical" were used in different and contradictory ways. Approaches trying to reconcile rather than expose these different meanings can be divided in two large groups: the so-called essentialist approach, exemplified here by the work of H.S. Versnel and the sociological approach, represented here by the work of P. Bourdieu. Against these two approaches, it has also been argued that the modern term "magic" should be abandoned. Against this last position, I will first repeat – as Versnel and others already did – that we cannot represent alien (i.e. foreign or ancient) categories of thought without using our own categories. Finally, I will present Versnel's methodology, its problems, and the solution that Bourdieu's notion of the religious field can provide. While not without problems, it gives an idea of what could be gained by tinkering with common-sense notions rather than assuming that their definitions are self-evident.

The problem with the use of broad analytical concepts in historiography is that these concepts never simply represent the past. They give meaning to ancient or otherwise alien words, which, in turn, are preserved or transformed by the work of the historian. By explaining ancient words with modern ones, historians gives to the latter a transhistorical or transcultural quality. [1] Historiography, whether it manipulates categories such as religion, magic or power, surreptitiously forces readers to comply with an implicit definition or redefinition of the main categories by which it apprehends the past.

This, in a nutshell, is the main methodological problem one encounters when studying ancient magic. In the following, I will first make the case that this so-called problem is a fundamental fact of the historiography of ideas. I will then present an overview of the use of the theories of magic in the last hundred years of research on ancient Greek- and Latin-speaking societies. Finally, I will pick up the problem of studying ancient magic where Hendrik S. Versnel left it and present Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the "religious field" [*champ religieux*] as a possible solution My main message is that banning words from our vocabulary is not going to make our cognitive habits disappear. A more practical solution would be to define the concepts we use at the outset.

---

[1] By "category of thought" I mean the categories by which we classify known and newly discovered phenomena, and which gain credibility by being imbedded in a larger set of related categories.

Now for my own disclosure: it is true that magic is a loaded term that reveals one's own views and that its modern meaning – something like "the manipulation of extraordinary power through unexplained or pseudo-religious means" – is not well suited to represent what scholars usually perceive as magic in ancient Greek and Latin sources. For these reasons, some have questioned the use of the word or have requested that it be abandoned.[2] The anachronism and relative inaccuracy of the different modern concepts of magic, however, are irrelevant inasmuch as writing about ancient words always implies the use of modern words used to translate them. Abandoning the term magic will not change anything about the fact that individuals now identify certain religious-like phenomena in a specific class, which they call magic. If we abandon the word magic because it does not perfectly translate ancient Greek or Latin words, we might as well abandon the words religion and science in the study of Greek and Roman antiquity.[3]

Historiography is a form of discourse that produces truth-claims and which consequently generalizes personal view-points. We should not be surprised that descriptions of past ideas that have failed to convince appear anachronistic, ethnocentric or idiosyncratic. Disagreements over a theory are not sufficient to believe that a field of research is moribund. Since theories can always escape falsification by the addition of *ad hoc* rules, we should rather encourage scientific fields to foster different approaches to the same problem.[4] In the

history of ideas perhaps more than in other historiographical domains, the past is never simply represented. It is rather translated and adapted. Both of the articles analysed below implicitly address this problem: Versnel suggests that "our" concepts might be similar to those of the ancient Greeks; Bourdieu, that similar social structures should obtain in societies in which the same level of division of labour was attained.

One popular and simple way to represent the task of distinguishing between ancient and modern words is to distinguish between the emic and etic stages of research. The emic stage would here consist in the study of words through categories current in the culture studied. The etic stage consists in the translation of these categories of thought into a model devised by the researcher As Kenneth Pike originally argued, these two movements are practically inseparable.[5] In theory, at least, it would be useful to be aware of the distinction between the emic lexical field of single ancient Greek and Latin words (*mageia*, *goēteia*, *katadeō*, *magikos*, etc.) we associate with magic and the etic lexical field of the words we use to translate them (magic, witchcraft, to bewitch, magical, etc.).

---

2   See, e.g., Gager 1999; Otto 2011; Otto 2013 (see, however, Otto – Stausberg 2013); Hanegraaff 2012, 166–168.

3   See Otto 2013, 320–321, who, despite recognizing this, suggested that it would be more pragmatic to use a critical definition of religion and to abandon the concept of magic.

4   Feyerabend 1975.

5   Pike 1967, 8. 37–39.

Theories of Magic

In order to situate the positions of Versnel and Bourdieu, here is a concise panorama of the theoretical positions on the nature of magic that were held explicitly or implicitly in the study of ancient Greek and Latin sources during the last hundred years:

a) The view that magic is a primitive or inferior type of religion or of science is probably the oldest theory. It was wide-spread until the 1950's.[6] Among scholars of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds, one of the last to have explicitly held this position was Alfons Barb. Barb proposed to invert Frazer's evolutionary scheme and to see magic as a deteriorated form of religion.[7]

b) As Mauss and Durkheim argued, magic could be anti-religious and potentially anti-social inasmuch as it would consists in the appropriation of collective powers by the individual. [8] This sociological approach should not be equated with its extreme version – called the "thesis of deviance" by Bernd-Christian Otto or the "functional" theory by Versnel – in which magic functions solely as a delegitimising label.[9]

Mary Douglas, for example, argued that those associated with magic are not simply the victims of disingenuous accusations. The fact that they are classified as magicians and sorcerers would also be dependent on larger correspondences between the structure of a given society and that society's cosmology. Magic would be "matter out of place" – like dirt, or like the animals that Leviticus rejects as impure for consumption.[10]

Jonathan Z. Smith's latest study on the topic classifies magical rituals along with associations, which, according to Smith's formulation, both correspond to the "religions of anywhere." Following Smith's tri-partite scheme, "religions of anywhere" are marginal in comparison to the "religions of here," which concern the domestic sphere, and the "religions of there," which concern states and communities. [11] The "religions of anywhere [...] offer means of access to, or avoidance of, modes of culturally imagined divine power not en-compassed by the religions of 'here' and 'there.' At times they might imitate, at other times they may reverse, aspects of these two other dominant forms of religion."[12] Despite the use of geographical terminology, Smith's definition of the religions of any-where is very close to Mauss and Hubert's sociological interpretation of magic.

Bourdieu proposed to see magic as a form of religion that has been dominated and proscribed not simply through brute political force but through the logical structure of a religious field. According to Bourdieu, this structure would have been formed according to processes of social differentiation (more on this below).

Similarly, Richard Gordon suggested that we consider ancient Greek and Roman representations of magic as a sub-category of the marvellous, which itself represents "the totality of perceived infringements of culturally-stated rules for normality." [13] What would distinguish the strange from the marvellous would be that the marvellous is imbedded in discourses of truth and power.[14]

---

6   See Styers 2004.
7   Barb 1963, 101. See, however, Jordan 2008, 6–9.
8   See, e.g. Mauss and Hubert 1902–1903.
9   See Otto 2013, 313–316.
10 See e.g. Douglas 1966, 95–114. For an application of this theory and another counter-example to the idea that the sociological approach

equates magic with accusation, see Brown 1970.
11 Smith 2003.
12 Id., 30.
13 Gordon 1999, 168.
14 Id., 169.

These are several examples showing that approaches linking the concept of magic to the creation and maintaining of cultural norms are not reducible to the idea that magic is the sole product of libels and of self-interested accusations.

c) According to Hendrik Versnel, view b) is misguided because it attempts to explain all data according to the phenomenon of accusation.[15] Versnel recognizes that the so-called functionalist view has made advances but argues that evidence rather shows that writers usually described magical actions according to a single set of non-exclusive characteristics (more on this below).

d) Against all of the above, others have claimed that the use of the word magic in modern historiography is misleading.[16] This view is perhaps more popular among scholars who are not mainly concerned with ancient Mediterranean cultures.[17]

e) Taking all of the preceding positions in consideration, it was also suggested that magic be kept as a label for a research domain, or that we replace this label by different "patterns of magicity" (e.g. the fact that certain words are assumed to exert a certain power), by which we could classify similar activities or ideas.[18]

Of all the views presented above, Versnel's and Bourdieu's present the two most explicit methodologies and their studies occupy as it were the two most extreme methodological positions on the study of magic. Acknowledging that the past is necessarily apprehended from our own perspective, Versnel suggested that we compare "our" own concept of magic with that of "the Greeks"

and see what happens. The expected result, as suggested at the end of his 1991 paper, is that our concept of magic (and perhaps our culture as a whole) is very close to that of the ancient Greeks. In the case of Bourdieu, whose work on religion has been described as the blueprint for his concept of the "field" [*champ*],[19] the notion of religion and magic stand as one example of several "symbolic systems" giving meaning to behaviours by putting them in a self-referential network of oppositions. Bourdieu's article was an attempt at reconciling approaches that see religion as an instrument of communication and learning with those that rather emphasise the political function of religious ideology. Magic, in this theory, is what stands outside of religion but which compete with it by providing similar "religious goods" [*biens religieux*]. The stark contrast between the two articles frames an important methodological question: whether the history of ideas should take up the common-sense use of words (Versnel) or should strive to give them new ones (Bourdieu). The difference is major: while the first discusses religion as a set of psychological dispositions pertaining to theological concepts and assumes a shared *mentalité* with his object of study, the second discusses religion as a social structure and rather assumes to share similar social structures with the societies studied.

---

[15] Versnel 1991.
[16] See, e.g. Gager 1999; Otto 2011 and 2013; Wax – Wax 1963.
[17] See, e.g. Hanegraaff 2012; Otto 2011.
[18] See, e.g., Otto and Stausberg 2013, 10–11.

[19] See Dianteill 2002.

Religion and Magic from a Theological Perspective

In order to define magic, Versnel proposed to stick to relatively common characteristics. Magic would be: 1) instrumental, 2) manipulative/ coercive, 3) mechanical/ procedural, 4) non-personal, with short-term, concrete and often individual goals. By contrast, religion would 1) not be "primarily purpose-motivated" and it would 2) view "man as dependent upon powers outside his sphere of influence." Moreover, 3) its results would not be "dependent upon a professional specialist" and would depend "solely and exclusively on the free favour of sovereign gods." Finally, 4) religion would have "positive social functions," i.e. it would be "cohesive and solidarizing."[20] Versnel defined magic and religion with theological concepts, and one can assume, by attributing theological dispositions to those performing religious and magical acts.

a) According to Versnel's version of the sociological approach, which he called the "functionalist" approach, *magia, mageia, goēteia* and similar terms only worked as delegitimizing labels.

b) On the contrary, Versnel pointed out, the use of words such as *magia, mageia* and *goēteia* followed general patterns. Since these patterns were common to ancient Greek- or Latin-speakers we can conclude that the words *magia, mageia* and *goēteia* were not simple slander. In other words, activities categorized as *mageia, goēteia* and *magia* shared formal criteria, and these criteria were part of Greco-Roman "common sense." Versnel concluded that the functionalist approach he described cannot explain why the activities denoted by these words share a certain family resemblance.

c) One might simply refuse to use the word magic. Studying the same material but in smaller categories (such as prayer, sacrifice, amulets, curse tablets, and so on) would be "unworkable." Versnel did not explain why this should be so.

d) As a way out of this dead-end, Versnel proposed to reformulate the approach of early ethnographers (which he called either "substantialist," "substantivist" or "essentialist") by formulating a definition of magic according to a loose collection of "common sense" features. He called this type of category "polythetic" or "prototypical," by which he meant categories in which every element shares a "family resemblance" with the others without necessarily having the exact same characteristics.[21] "Just like religion," Vernsel wrote[22]:

'magical' practices or expressions may share some though not all family resemblances. This means that we may accept a 'broad, polythetic or prototypical' definition of magic, based on a 'common sense' collection of features, which may or may not, according to convention and experience, largely correspond to the items listed in the first part of this introduction: instrumental, manipulative, mechanical, non-personal, coercive, with short-

---

[20] Versnel 1991a, 178–179. 186.

[21] This view is often attributed to Wittgenstein. Wittgenstein, however, does not appear to have coined the expression "family resemblance" to produce a new type of definition by which one could reduce the meanings of a word to the meanings of other words, e.g. reduce magic to a set of characteristics ("instrumental," "coercive," "performative," etc.). He rather seems to have attempted to reduce all enunciations to language-games, i.e. according to Wittgenstein, words do not primarily signify, they are tools used to fulfil certain goals (see Wittgenstein 2009, §363). To define is one of many possible language-games, and it consists in making analogies. It is the game of saying "x is like y" (see Wittgenstein 2009, §7–13. §69. §654–655). For a proposal to consider the most basic cognitive acts as analogical acts, see Hofstadter (2001)."

[22] Versnel 1991, 186.

term, concrete and often individual goals etc., and employ this as a provisional ideal-typical standard, coined by *our* cultural universe, and just see what happens.

e) These observations have important methodological consequences for Versnel's project:[23]

It may be more rewarding to inquire whether non-Western cultures do or do not recognize a distinction between categories *we* introduce and, if they do not, ask why not (*and* why we do), than discard *a priori* our own conceptual tools, a psychological *tour de force* which many scholars believe to be an illusion in the first place.

f) In the conclusion, Versnel supports his use of the label of magic and of religion to distinguish between to types of curse tablets by referring to the polythetic classification scheme just described. What he does in fact simplifies the distinction between religion and magic to a single set of opposed characteristics: divine impassibility vs. the coercible nature of the divine. Versnel drew attention in several articles to a recurring group of characteristics present on some tablets suggesting a different type of curse writing. He argues that there are two types of curse tablets: some that can be classified as magical, which he calls *defixio(nes)* and some that can be classified as religious, which he calls "prayers for justice" or "judicial prayers." While writers of *defixio(nes)* often appear to have thought themselves able to compel divinities to, writers of prayers for justice typically supplicate divinities. The difference in the wording of curse tablets, following Versnel, would mirror the polythetic classification scheme he laid out earlier in the article. In other words, the difference in wording (but also in the place of deposition, as Versnel

argued elsewhere) meant that those who used prayers for justice did not see as proper to command divinities (or perhaps, to command a certain kind of divinity). Rather characteristically, the author of prayers for justice, 1) makes him- or herself known, 2) justify his plea for justice before the divinity, and 3) supplicates rather than command the divinity. One can, note however, that even though Versnel still uses a polythetic definition when defining a prayer for justice, only one of the four main characteristics by which he defined magical action correspond to the characteristics by which he defines a *defixio*: they coerce divinities (No. 2 above). The distinction between religious and magical curse tablet, then, would boil down to the principle of divine impassibility, since prayers for justice, although "religious," are also "purpose-motivated" (1), they follow certain procedures (3) and they are "motivated by personal goals" (4). As far as curse tablets are concerned, the wording of the last part of Versnel's article imply that magic could be defined as a rite performed by somebody lacking the theological disposition to respect the principle of divine impassibility. To focus on this theological principle to define one's own category of magic is not anachronistic but it cannot explain all instances in which *magia*, *mageia* and cognates could be used. In other words, it is not a definition that applies to all ancient phenomena usually understood now as belonging to the category of magic. The problem faced here is fundamental: the different uses given to words we translate by magic considerably varied in antiquity. The *Apology* of Apuleius is a well-known case in point. On one side, as Versnel argued, the specific accusations against Apuleius suggest that certain activities could be singled out as pertaining to *magia* and recognized as such in a Latin-speaking

---

23   Versnel 1991, 185.

courtroom in second-century CE Libya.[24] Apuleius, however, also showed that Greek *mageia* and Latin *magia* could both refer to the venerable cult of the Persian *magi*. If that were the case, he claimed, there would be no reason for judicial proceedings.

This is just one example of the impossibility to derive one single definition of "ancient magic" from all known uses made of the words *mageia* and *magia* without ignoring some of these uses. To summarize the problem presented by Versnel's paper: if the "functionalist" approach cannot explain why Christians and non-Christians (for example) could agree that certain ritualistic characteristics were essentially magical, the old essentialist approach of Frazer – and the new one of Versnel – cannot explain why the same practices (e.g. a prayer, a divinatory practice) were sometimes considered as *mageia* or *magia* and sometimes not.

This means that if we are to succeed in defining ancient magic, we must develop a criterion of some sort that could account for entirely contradictory and exclusive uses of the word *mageia*.

Religion and Magic from a Sociological Perspective

The approach of Bourdieu to the question of religion can theoretically solve this issue.[25] Rather than suggesting that our category of magic (and religion) might be shared with those we study, Bourdieu took up a radically etic perspective and gave meanings to "religion" and "magic" that are far from representing current common sense. As far

as the field of ancient history is concerned, it admittedly raises issues but also provides an interesting solution to the problem just exposed:

a) One could summarize Bourdieu's notion of the religious field as the meeting of several theories. Bourdieu took over Weber's socio-historical analysis of the division of "religious labour" [*travail religieux*; also called *gestion du sacré/ des biens du salut/ des biens religieux*].[26] This division of labour, correlated with urbanisation, would have produced a specialized class of workers, which Bourdieu called the "body of religious specialists" [*le corps de spécialistes religieux*]. Bourdieu also combined Durkheim's idea of the social origin of categories of thought with this hypothesis. The combination of the two theories forms the religious field, a social arena in which actors compete for certain goods according to rules following a logic specific to the field.[27] As with other fields, Bourdieu proposed to see a correspondence between the religious symbolic systems, social structures and mental structures: [28]

Religion contributes to the (hidden) imposition of the principles of structuration of the perception and thinking of the world, and of the social world in particular, insofar as it imposes a system of practices and representations whose structure, objectively founded on a principle of political division, presents itself as the natural-supernatural structure of the cosmos.

b) Religious specialists manage the distribution of specific goods. These religious goods are soteriological in the sense that they are meant to save from death but also from anxiety, illnesses, and

---

[24] *Apology*, 25–65: looking for specific species of fish; private divination; a secret offering to a friend's household gods; the celebration of nocturnal rites involving birds; the possession of an "ugly," "skeleton-like" statuette which Apuleius would have called his king.

[25] Bourdieu 1971a. See also Bourdieu 1971b; Dianteill 2002; Verter 2003.

[26] Bourdieu 1971a, 312.

[27] Id., 295–300.

[28] Bourdieu 1991, 5 (= Bourdieu 1971a, 300).

suffering in general. [29] Religious goods, however, are also meant to justify one's specific form of existence, that is to say, one's position in society. Bourdieu saw the basis of the need for religious goods in the "religious interest" [*intérêt religieux*], which includes the psychological need for safety as well as a justification for one's particular place in society. [30]

c) Religious specialists can only appear in societies in which religious labour was sufficiently divided, systematized and moralized. [31] The religious specialists theoretically exert a monopoly over the management of religious goods. This monopoly is directly challenged by those represented by the ideal-type of the "prophet," who can change the logic of the field and consequently oust its specialists. Religious specialists are also indirectly challenged by those who operate outside of the logic of the field and who offer competing religious goods. This is the role of the "sorcerer, the petty independent entrepreneur, hired on the spot by the people and exercising his office part-time and for money." [32] Merely by virtue of his role, the sorcerer delegitimizes the religious specialist's monopoly over the religious field. [33]

d) The domination that the religious specialist exerts over the religious field at the expense of the non-specialist is at the origin of the distinction between the legitimate and the illegitimate manipulation of religious goods, i.e. between religion and

magic. This domination and delegitimisation cannot be simply explained by the religious specialists' conscious attempts at eliminating concurrence. Actors in the religious field are bound to its logic inasmuch as they have invested labour in the field. As Bourdieu remarked, legitimating processes remain invisible to the dominant themselves, who "transfigure" their political interests into religious interests. [34] Rather than being the product of disingenuous accusations, the concept of magic takes its origin in the competition inherent to the religious field, and, consequently, in the division of religious labour that formed it. In turn, this division of labour enabled religious specialists to systematize religious knowledge and practices to an extent that had not been reachable by those who had been previously busied with other forms of labour. In that sense, magic would be a symbolic system that has been outclassed by another on a politico-economic level as well as on an organisational level (i.e. in what regards its internal coherence): [35]

Given, on one side, the relation that links the degree of systematization and moralization of religion to the degree of development of the religious apparatus and, on the other, the relation that links progress in the division of religious labor to progress in the division of labor and urbanization, most authors tend to accord to magic the characteristics of systems of practices and representations belonging to the least economically developed social formations or to the most disadvantaged social classes of class-divided societies. Most authors might agree that magical practices aim at concrete and specific goals, both particular and immediate (in opposition to the more abstract, more general, and more distant ends that would be those of religion); that they are inspired by an intention to coerce or

---

[29]   Bourdieu 1971a, 299. 312.

[30]   Id., 310–318.

[31]   Id., 300–304. Bourdieu ties these processes to urbanisation. While quite broad in scope, Bourdieu's theory of religion was not meant to be applicable to all societies. See Dianteill 2002, 13–14.

[32]   Bourdieu 1991a, 30 (with correction, the original "contre rémunération" was mistranslated as "without remuneration").

[33]   Bourdieu 1971, 308–309. 326–327.

[34]   Id., 316–318.

[35]   Bourdieu 1991a, 13 (= Bourdieu 1971, 309).

manipulate supernatural powers (in opposition to the propitiatory and contemplative dispositions of "prayer" for example); or that they live enclosed in the formalism and ritualism of *do ut des*. This is because all these traits – which originate in conditions of existence dominated by an economic urgency prohibiting all distancing from present and immediate needs and unfavorable to the development of competent scholars in the field of religion – are, obviously, more often found in societies or social classes more impoverished from an economic point of view and thus predisposed to occupying a dominated position in the relations of material and symbolic power.

Assuming the existence of a reciprocal relation between symbolic and social structures, Bourdieu looked for a correlation between the division of religious labour and the creation of a field possessing its own internal logic and enabling monopolistic claims. For Bourdieu, the symbolic systems that we call by the name of religion do not simply respond to "religious needs" (the protection from death, anxiety and suffering in general). They respond to "religious interests," through which religious systems legitimize and naturalize economic and political domination.[36] Conversely, the same politico-economical divisions explain the fact that religious specialists do not consider certain religious goods as such and that these religious goods are consequently considered magical by all those recognizing the monopoly of the specialists.

This is where Bourdieu's model can explain why magic can be recognized by its formal characteristics (the "essentialist" definition of Frazer and Versnel) and that it can also be deduced by the analysis of social structures (the so-called "functionalist" or sociological approach). If "common sense"

dictates that we find magic primarily in mechanical, *do ut des* rites, for example, it is not only because centuries of Presocratic, Platonic and Christian polemics have ruled against these rites. It might also be due to the fact that what we usually call magic "originates in conditions of existence dominated by an economic urgency." In other words, we recognize magic in an offer of "religious goods" that has survived despite the fact that it was delegitimized by changes in a given religious system, or by the imposition of a new system of religious symbols (e.g., through military or economic colonisation) and of a new class of religious specialists.

It is obvious that Christianity, and Catholic Christianity in particular, looms large in Bourdieu's understanding of religion. This might not be too problematic for those studying the Late Antique world. As Versnel suggested at the end of his 1991 article, "our" concept of magic might be very similar to the ancient Greek one. Indeed, some of us continue to hold to some of the ways by which ancient Greeks and Romans recognized magic. In fact, the sociological approach to magic could also be said to have a pedigree as ancient as that outlined by Versnel. The idea that magic connotated social exclusion can be found in the work of Augustine of Hippo[37] and it could also be traced further back.[38] It is thus not only Frazer and his contemporary epigones that could be said to have held a Christiano-centric or "western-biased" position; Mauss's (and, to a lesser degree, Bour-dieu's) theory of magic, do seem to follow Augustine's notion of *magia*: the making of "demonic pacts" in an alien language implying the identification of the speaker

---

[36]   Bourdieu 1971, 310.

[37]   Dufault 2008.
[38]   See Stratton 2007.

with a different society, the society of demons.[39]

The idea that engaging in magic is to alienate oneself from society can be found again in the works of 19th century ethnographers such as Frazer, who defined magical thought as alien, irrational and non-Western. It is also probably the association between "magick" and the anti-social that attracted the attention of Aleister Crowley and other fin-de-siècle occultists. In the last century, a host of people, starting at least with Gerald Gardner in the 1950's, have described their practices as magical or have tied their origins to European witchcraft.[40] To the mid-twentieth-century witches and Wiccans, we could also add the writers, artists and activists who, throughout the twentieth century and beyond, have made use of the idea of magic in explicit or implicit critiques of their societies: e.g. William Boroughs, Brion Gysin [41] and Hakim Bey a.k.a. Peter Lamborn Wilson.[42] It is not surprising that the *Dictionary of Gnosticism and Esoterism* stated that Crowley influenced "new religious movements of a magical and neo-pagan bent despite his bad reputation." To have a "bad reputation," especially in the eyes of the conservative, might rather explain why the figure of Crowley was and still is attractive.

The question of finding what magic was for "the Greeks," as Versnel wrote – and which implies the existence of a uniform concept as well as that of a *mentalité* that can "think" the concept uniformly – also obscures other problems, such as that by which language orthodoxy forces the dissimulation of

differences in social origins, and, conversely, how certain person can be alienated from their main language community because of social or physical differences.[43] In other words, asking what was magic "as the Greeks saw it" (rather than asking "what was the term *mageia* used for, and in which context?") smuggles the problematic concept of *mentalités* into our work.

Were "the Greeks," as Versnel writes, "prototypically modern-Western biased rationalists *avant la lettre*?" Perhaps, but some of them also appear to have been proto-sociologists with a flair for social distinctions. As Versnel pointed out, if we begin by rejecting terms at the onset, we will not be able to answer them. Similarly, if we only authorize certain questions and certain definitions, we run the risk of only finding what we already know.

---

[39] See Markus 1994 with August. doctr. Chr. 2, 20 (*pacta quaedam significationum cum daemonibus placita atque foederata*). 2.24.37.
[40] Ginzburg 2004; Hutton 1999.
[41] P-Orridge 2003.
[42] Bey 2003.

[43] It is curious, for example, that Philostratus made almost no mention of sophists from Egypt or Syria, even though we know through epigraphy that Alexandria and Antioch, to name just two "Oriental" Greek cities, produced plenty of them (see Bowersock 1969, 21–22).

Acknowledgements

Bibliography

Ankarloo – Clark
    B. Ankarloo – S. Clark (eds.), Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome (London 1999)

Barb 1962
    A. A. Barb, The Survival of Magic Arts, in: Momigliano 1962, 100–126

Bourdieu 1971a
    P. Bourdieu, Genèse et structure du champ religieux, Revue française de sociologie 12, 1971, 295–334

Bourdieu 1971b
    P. Bourdieu, Une interprétation de la théorie de la religion selon Max Weber, Archives européennes de sociologie 12, 1971, 3–21

Bourdieu 1991
    P. Bourdieu, Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field (Translated by J.B. Burnside – C. Calhoun – L. Florence), Comparative Social Research 13, 1991, 1–44

Bey 2011
    H. Bey (P. L. Wilson), T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone (New York 2011)

Borges 1999
    J. L. Borges, Collected Fictions (London 1999)

Borges 2000
    J. L. Borges, Selected Non-Fictions (London 2000)

Bowersock 1969
    G. Bowersock, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (Oxford 1969)

Breyer P-Orridge
    G. Breyer P-Orridge, Magic Squares and Future Beats: The Magical Processes and Methods of William S. Burroughs and Brion Gysin, in: Metzger 2003, 103–118

Brown – Doody – Paffenroth 2008
    B. Brown – J. Doody – K. Paffenroth (eds.), Augustine and World Religions (Lanham 2008)

Brown 1970
    P. Brown, Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages, in: Douglas 1970, 17–45

Dianteill 2002
    E. Dianteill, Pierre Bourdieu et la religion: Synthèse critique d'une synthèse critique. Archives de sciences sociales des religions 118, 2002, 5–19

Dufault 2008
    O. Dufault, Augustine and the Invention of Magical Dissent, in: Brown – Doody – Paffenroth 2008, 3–20

Douglas 1966
    M. Douglas, Purity and Danger (London 1966)

Douglas 1970
    M. Douglas, Witchcraft, Confessions & Accusations (London 1970)

Feyerabend 1975
    P. Feyerabend, Against Method: Outline of an Anarchist Theory of Knowledge (London 1975)

Foucault 1966
    M. Foucault, Les mots et les choses (Paris 1966)

Gager 1999
    J. Gager, Comment, in: Panel Discussion: Magic in the Ancient World by Fritz Graf, Numen 49, 1999, 293–298

Gentner – Holyoak – Kokinov 2001
    D. Gentner – K. J. Holyoak – B. N. Kokinov (eds.), The Analogical Mind: Perspectives from Cognitive Science (Cambridge MA 2001)

Ginzburg 2004
    C. Ginzburg, Ecstasies (Chicago 2004)

Gordon 1999
    R. Gordon, Imagining Greek and Roman Magic, in: Ankarloo – Clark 1999, 159–276

Hanegraaff 2012
    W. Hanegraaff, Esoterism and the Academy (Cambridge 2012)

Hofstadter 2001
    D. Hofstadter, Analogy as the Core of Cognition, in: Gentner – Holyoak – Kokinov 2001, 499–537 (text also available at http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/hofstadter/analogy.html)

Hutton 1999
    R. Hutton, The Triumph of the Moon (Oxford 1999)

Markus 1994
    R. A. Markus, Augustine on Magic : A Neglected Semiotic Theory, Revue des Études Augustiniennes 40, 1994, 375–388

Mauss – Hubert 1902
    M. Mauss – H. Hubert, Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, Année Sociologique 1902–1903, 1–146

Metzger 2003
    R. Metzger (ed.), The Book of Lies: The Disinformation Guide to Magick and the Occult (San Francisco 2003)

Momigliano 1962
    A. Momigliano (ed.), The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century (Oxford 1962)

Noegel – Walker – Wheeler 2003
    S. Noegel – J. Walker – B. Wheeler (eds.), Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World (University Park 2003)

Otto 2011
    B.-C. Otto, Magie: Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit (Berlin 2011)

Otto 2013
    B.-C. Otto, Towards Historicizing "Magic" in Antiquity, Numen 60, 2013, 308–347

Otto – Stausberg 2013
    B.-C. Otto – M. Stausberg (eds.), Defining Magic: A Reader (London 2013)

Pike 1967
    K. L. Pike, Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior (The Hague 1967)

Smith 2003
    J. Z. Smith, Here, There, and Anywhere, in: Noegel – Walker – Wheeler 2003, 21–36

Stratton 2007
    K. Stratton, Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology, and Stereotype in the Ancient World (New York 2007)

Versnel 1991
    H. S. Versnel, Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic-Religion, Numen 38, 1991, 177–197

Verter 2003
    B. Verter, Spiritual Capital: Theorizing Religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu, Sociological Theory 21.2, 2003, 150–174

White 1987
    H. White, Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation (Baltimore 1987)

Wax – Wax 1963
    M. Wax – R. Wax, The Notion of Magic, Current Anthropology 4, 1963, 495–518

Weber 1958
    M. Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Translated by T Parsons (New York 1958)

Wittgenstein 2009
    L. Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations. Translated by G.E.M. Anscombe, P.M.S. Hacker, and J. Schulte (Chichester 2009)

New Evidence for the Identification of the Figure with a Bow in Depictions of the Buddha's Life in Gandharan Art

Robert Arlt and Satomi Hiyama

Abstract: This paper aims to draw attention to some literary sources concerning the century-long debated identity of a male figure holding a bow, depicted in scenes of Śākyamuni's Great Departure in Gandharan Art **(figs. 1–4)**. These literary sources, that seem to have been overlooked by most art historians, may offer a clue as to his identity. Since the paper's main contribution lies in raising new questions, the authors would like it to be seen as a preliminary report on work in progress.

Narrative Context and Iconographical Features

Before beginning the detailed study of the identity and function of the male figure holding a bow, the narrative context in which this figure plays a role should be clarified. The Great Departure is one of the most important moments in the Buddha's life and has been described in various literary sources of different genres; the setting of the event is Kapilavastu on the way from the palace's door to the forest, where he became a recluse.

Born as a prince of the Śākya clan, Siddhārtha Gautama lived his youth in the luxury of the royal palace. After encounters with people suffering age, illness and death, he became determined to abandon the secular life and fled from the palace at night to become a mendicant. This so-called Great Departure was supported by the miraculous powers of numerous gods and genii.

Fig. 1 (Indian Museum, Kolkata, Ac. No. 5043).

Among the divine figures surrounding the prince riding on his horse Kaṇṭhaka, a male figure holding a bow can be found (figs. 1–4). Although his appearance can vary, there are two constant elements that identify him; first, he is always standing close to the prince. Second, he always holds a bow in his left hand (and often an arrow in his right). The most variable features of his iconography are his clothes; he can be represented either as wearing a turban or a winged headdress. When wearing a turban, he is sometimes depicted with an unstitched cloth wrapped around his waist (fig. 1), [1] sometimes combined with a tunic, [2] and sometimes with tunic and trousers, [3] or in scaled armour like a warrior (fig. 2). [4] When wearing a winged headdress, he is clad in a tunic without trousers (fig. 3), [5] or in scaled-armour (fig. 4). [6]

Previous identifications

This figure with a bow has been interpreted by Foucher (1905–1922) as Māra trying to hold back the Bodhisatva from his flight out of Kapilavastu, citing the *Nidānakathā* (Nid) in the Commentary to the *Jātaka* as a

reference. [7] Foucher explains the bow as an attribute of Māra with reference to the *Buddhacarita* (BC), [8] in which Māra is shown in his aspect as the god of desires. [9]

Fig. 2 (after Ingholt – Lyons 1957, pl. 47).

Lobo (1983) asserts that this figure is Indra, rejecting the *Nidānakathā* as a valid source text for Gandharan images and pointing to the fact that Foucher cited the description of Māra in the *Buddhacarita* from an episode concerning the enlightenment of Śākyamuni, not from his Great Departure.

While Lobo admits that Māra is sometimes depicted as the one wearing armour in depictions of the temptation, she also points out the fact that Māra does not hold a bow. Lobo's identification of this figure as Indra is based on references in the *Lalitavistara* (LV) that mention his presence during the departure from Kapilavastu. [10] She explains

---

1   For an overview of the variations of this figure see Pons 2014, 18–26, figs. 1–11. For illus. see Spooner 1910, 11f. 57f.; Ingholt – Lyons 1957, no. 45; Ackermann 1975, 70f., pl. XIV; Tanabe 2000, figs. 1. 4. 10; Kurita 2003, (I) no. 475; Tanabe 2006, fig. 32; Pons 2014, figs. 2–3.
2   For illus. see Senagupta – Das 1991, 38, no. 369; Tanabe 2006, fig. 33; Pons 2014, fig. 11.
3   For illus. see Dobbins 1973, fig. 42; Tanabe 2000, fig. 1; Tanabe 2006, fig. 43; Pons 2014, fig. 4.
4   For illus. see Ingholt – Lyons 1957, pl. 47; Tanabe 2000, fig. 6; Tanabe 2006, fig. 58; Pons 2014, 24, fig. 9.
5   For illus. see Ingholt – Lyons 1957, no. 168; Dagens 1964, 16, pl. III–9; Pons 2014, fig. 7.
6   For illus. see Faccenna 1962, pl. II–2, 29, pl. 91; Tanabe 2006, figs. 34, 44, 57; Taddei 2008, fig. 1–2; Pons 2014, figs. 8. 10.

---

7   Ed. Fausbøll 1877, 63, transl. Rhys-Davids 1880, 175.
8   Ed. Johnston 1972, 145f.; transl. id., 188f.
9   Foucher 1905–1922, vol. 1, 356f.
10   Lobo 1983, 436f. Lobo only refers to the French translation of the LV: Indra (Śakra)

Fig. 3 (after Kurita 2003, vol. 1, pl II-1. Guimet Museum, MA3397).

his attribute of a bow by means of another episode, in which Indra takes the shape of a hunter to exchange his clothes with the Bodhisatva after taking leave from his horse and groom, again referring to the *Lalitavistara* and the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.[11]

Later Tanabe (in 1993–1994. 2000. 2006) identified this figure as neither Māra nor Indra but Vaiśravaṇa. He accepted Lobo's refutation of Foucher's explanations and added, according to Parimoo's observations, [12] that Māra was absent in representations of the Great Departure in Gandharan art, as well as in South Indian reliefs.[13] On the other hand, Tanabe rejected Lobo's identification of the figure as Indra,

because he is never depicted wearing a winged cap or a bow.[14]

Tanabe is the first among the scholars mentioned above to consult a larger number of written sources. His main arguments for the identification of the figure with a bow as Vaiśravaṇa rely on visual similarities with this deity depicted in one representation of the offering of the four bowls, [15] and a number of texts referring to Vaiśravaṇa guiding the prince on the night of the Great Departure.[16]

In her recent article dedicated to the figure with a bow, Pons (2014) investigated this issue further and took a middle position between the identifications of Lobo and Tanabe; while dismissing Māra altogether, she rather favours Vaiśravaṇa over Indra,

---

opens the gate: LV, ed. 147. 160. 168. 171; transl. (French) Foucax 1884, 179. 194. 202. 204; transl. (English) Goswami 2001, 193. 208. 211. 218. 220.

[11] *Saṅghabhedavastu* in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya,* ed. Gnoli, 1977–1978, vol. 1, 92; in fact, in the Sanskrit LV it is *not* stated that the Bodhisatva exchanges clothes with Indra, but with a śuddhavāsa-god: *atha śuddha-vāsakāyikānāṃ devānām etad abhūt kāṣāyair bodhisattvasya kāryam iti / tatraiko devaputro divyaṃ rūpam antardhāpya lubdhakarūpeṇa kāṣāyavastraprāvṛto bodhisattvasya purato 'sthāt /* LV, ed. Vaidya 1958, 164; transl. (French) Foucax 1884, 197; transl. (English) Goswami 2001, 212.

[12] Parimoo 1982, 77.

[13] Tanabe 2006, 75–90.

[14] Tanabe 1993–1994, 173f.; Tanabe 2006, 94–100.

[15] Another representation from the Peshawar Government Museum has been introduced into the discussion by Pons (2014, fig. 27), in which one of the depicted figures is wearing a winged cap.

[16] According to Tanabe Vaiśravaṇa is mentioned as guiding the prince in T 186; the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin*, its Chinese translation T 1450, T 190 and the *Lalitavistara*: *vaiśravaṇa āha* […] *ahaṃ ca purato yāsye yūyaṃ ca vahathā hayam* / But it is only in the few lines below that state Indra does the job: *svayaṃ caśakro devānām indra evam āha - ahaṃ dvārāṇi vivariṣyāmi / mārgaṃ ca saṃdarśayāmi* / ed. Vaidya 1958, 147; transl. (French) Foucax 1884, 179; transl. (English) Goswami 2001, 202.

but states that both of the latter identifications are quite possible in light of the literary and visual evidences.[17]

There is, however, a fundamental problem that remains unsolved in these previous studies. Namely, no conclusive explanation of the most fixed attribute of this figure – the bow – has been provided so far;[18] previous identifications relying only on the sporadic elements of his costume, such as the winged headdress.

Fig. 4 (after Lobo 1983, pl. 5).

Inquiry of Literary Sources in the Early Chinese Translations

In regard to the iconographical study of this scene, textual sources about the Buddha's biography have not been thoroughly explored in previous studies. Especially those translated into Chinese during the 3–4th centuries are of a significance, because they are approximately contemporary to the making of many Gandharan reliefs. Among them, three texts seem to include an exact reference to the figure under discussion.[19]

T 185 (佛説太子瑞應本起經 *Fóshuō-Tàizǐ-Ruìyìng-Běnqǐ-Jīng*) is considered to be the oldest source among them, which is the translation work of Zhī Qīan (支謙) who was the "Upāsaka of the Yuezhi (月支優婆塞)" in the Wú (呉) dynasty (222–280 CE).[20] As for the exact year of the translation, there are two records: either the year of Jiànxìng (建興年) = 252–253 CE or the year of Huángwǔ (黄武年) = 222–228 CE.[21] Nevertheless, it has been pointed out that this text is most probably a patchwork of two older translations.[22]

In this text, it is described that the prince, after his Great Departure and before his self-ordination and the subsequent exchange of clothes with a hunter, had the following encounter:

> After the prince had mounted Kaṇthaka, Candaka went ahead for several ten Li. (Then they) suddenly saw the great god, who reigned over the five paths (主五道大神), by the name of Bēnshí / Bēnzhì (賁識), the single most powerful (of the gods). In his left hand he held a bow, and in his right hand he had an arrow. At his waist he carried a sharp sword. He

---

[17] Pons 2014, 36.

[18] Tanabe (2007, 113–122) explains the bow and arrow as attributes of Kubera, the subordinates of Vaiśravaṇa.

[19] It is Prof. Rhi who first related these three texts to the Gandharan representations; cf. Rhi 2011 (unfortunately unpublished). The following analysis was developed by the present authors

at the beginning without knowing Prof. Rhi's unpublished paper, since it only became known to the authors after submitting the first draft.

[20] For the study on the biography of Zhī Qīan and his translation style see Nattier 2008, 116–148; for the study on the formation of this text also see Matsuda 1998; Kawano 2007, 7f.

[21] See Kawano 2007, 7f.

[22] Cf. Kawano 1991, 133f.; Kawano 2007, 232–236; Nattier 2008, 135. Kawano supposes that there are two archaic translation works, on which T 185 largely relied: the *Xiao-Benqi-Jing* (小本起経), which has been already lost, and the *Zhōng-Běnqǐ-Jīng* (中本起経, T196). It was the typical style of Zhī Qīan to use the preceding Chinese texts for his translation work as reference: in this meaning, his work should be termed a revision rather than translation. Nattier 2008, 118–121.

dwelled at an intersection of the three paths (所居三道之衢). The first is the path to the heaven(s). The second is the path to the human-realm. The third are the three bad paths. This is the place, where spirits of the deceased pass and meet him.[23] The prince asked him which path he should take. Bēnshí / Bēnzhì frightened and bashful, threw away the bow and arrow, untied his sword, hesitated and then pointed towards heaven, and said to go on this path.[24]

Here a remarkable character can be observed: Bēnshí or Bēnzhì, "the Great God who reigned over the five paths". The Chinese character 賁 has three possible readings in the present Pinyin system: *bēn / bì / fén,* while 識 can be read as *shí* or *zhì.* As later shown, however, the character 賁 can be replaced by 奔, such as in T 186, which is also readable as *bēn* or *bèn.* The replacement of this character most probably indicates that this name was a phonetic rendering of a certain foreign name. For the first syllable, the common reading of two replaceable characters 賁 and 奔 as *bēn* can be employed, therefore the name of this deity shall be transcribed as Bēnshí / Bēnzhì in the present paper.

Eichenbaum-Karetzky translated Bēnshí / Bēnzhì as Māra but without any explanation.[25] The five paths apparently

refer to the five *gati*s in the Buddhist context, i.e. the five destinations of one's reincarnation: the god-realm, the human-realm, the animal-realm, the ghost-realm and hell. The description of his appearance is most interesting, for he is described as holding a bow, an arrow, with a sword fastened to his waist. This description corresponds exactly with that of the discussed figure in Gandharan representations.

Bēnshí / Bēnzhì can be found in two more texts. A similar account of him is given in T 188 (異出菩薩本起經 *Yìchū-Púsà-Běnqǐ-Jīng*), which also details the Buddha's life but in many places diverges from other sources. In the *Taisho Tripiṭaka*this text is ascribed to the translator Niè Dàozhēn (聶道眞) and to the time of the Western Jìn (晋) dynasty (280–313),[26] although the name of the actual translator seems to have been lost.[27] The title of this text with the prefix *Yìchū* (differently translated) displays that the translator or editor of this text was well aware of its uniqueness.[28]

(...) After the prince had ridden his horse for more than ten Li he saw a youth, named Bēnshí / Bēnzhì (賁識). Bēnshí / Bēnzhì was a great god among the demonic gods (鬼神中大神), appearing threatening to everyone.

---

[23] Eichenbaum-Karetzky translated this sentence as "the spirit demon of death". See Eichenbaum-Karetzky 1992, 72.

[24] Taisho Tripiṭaka vol. 3, No. 185, p. 475, c20–26 (translation by the authors): "將車匿前行數十里。忽然見主五道大神。名曰賁識。最獨剛強。左執弓。右持箭。腰帶利劍。所居三道之衢。一曰天道。二曰人道。三曰三惡道。此所謂死者魂神。所當過見者也。太子到問。何道所從。賁識惶懅。投弓。釋箭。解劍。逡巡示以天道曰。是道可從。". For another English translation see Karashima 2016, 176.

[25] See Eichenbaum-Karetzky 1992, 72.

[26] For the list of the texts ascribing the translator of this text to Niè Dàozhēn see Matsuda 1998, fn. 17.

[27] See Nattier 2008, 135, fn. 67. Nattier points out that the attribution of this text to Niè Dàozhēn, which can be only found in later sources, is obviously false; the *Chū-Sānzàng-Jì-Jí* compiled in the Liáng Dynasty (梁, 502–557 CE) says that the translator of this text is anonymous (T 2145: 16c18).

[28] Kawano 2007, 148. Kawano assumes that the translator may suppose T 185 as the text from which the content of T 188 deviated. For a study on the close association between T 185 and T 186 see Matsuda 1998.

He held a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right hand. At his waist he carried a sharp sword. He stood on the road. Where Bēnshí / Bēnzhì stood there are three paths. The first one is the path to the heaven(s). The second is the path to the human-realm. The third is the path of the bad-ones going to hell (泥犁 = Skt. *naraka*). He saw the prince from a distance and felt uncomfortable. When the prince's horse stood directly in front of him, Bēnshí / Bēnzhì became scared and trembled. He loosened his sword and took the bow and arrow and remained standing on the path. The prince asked him which way he should go. Bēnshí / Bēnzhì immediately pointed to the heaven, (and said,) this is the path to go.[29]

Another text mentioning Bēnshí / Bēnzhì is T 186 (佛説普曜經 *Fóshuō-Pǔyào-Jīng*), an earlier Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara.* It should not be forgotten that the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara* preserved today and another Chinese translation (T 187, 方廣大莊嚴經 *Fāngguǎng-Dàzhuāngyán-Jīng*, translated in 683 AD) are products of later times.[30] The episode with Bēnshí / Bēnzhì is completely absent in these two latter texts.

According to the *Chū-Sānzàngjì-Jí* (出三藏記集, *Compilation of Records about the Translation of the Tripiṭaka*), T 186 was translated by the monk Zhú Fǎhù (竺法護) in the year two of Yǒngjiā (永嘉二年 = 308 CE) in the Tiānshuǐ-Temple (天水寺).[31]Zhú Fǎhù was born into a Yuezhi family based in Dunhuang. [32] After travelling in Central Asian countries together with his master, monk Zhú Gāozuò (竺高座), and allegedly having mastered 36 languages, he came to Chang'an through Dunhuang with a great number of "foreign" texts (胡本) acquired during his travels, also translating various Buddhist texts into Chinese himself. He is said to have translated the original manuscript in the Hu language into Chinese, while the two monks, Kāng shū (康殊, who, following his family name, is most likely of Samarkand origin) and Bó Fǎjù (帛法巨, whose family name most probably refers to his Kuchean origin) wrote it down.[33] The Tiānshuǐ-Temple most probably indicates a certain temple in the present Tiānshuǐ area in Gānsù province, which was an important stop on the Silk Road connecting Cháng'ān and the Western Regions. Although these accounts ensure that Zhú Fǎhù translated T 186 from the manuscript written in a certain foreign language, it is apparent that he also consulted Chinese texts about the Buddha's life, which had been available at that time, especially T 185.[34]

---

29 Taisho Tripiṭaka vol. 3, No. 188, p. 619, 22–29 (translation by the authors): "即上馬而去。行十數里。見一男子。名曰賁識。賁識者。鬼神中大神。爲人剛愍。左手持弓。右手持箭。腰帶利劍。當道而立。賁識所立處者有三道。一者天道。二者人道。三者泥犁惡人之道。太子遙見。心爲不樂。直以馬前趣之。賁識即惶怖戰慄。解劍持弓箭。却路而立。太子問曰。何道可從。賁識即以天道示之。此道可從。". For another. English translation see Karashima 2016, 176.

30 For the analysis of the generation process of this text see Matsuda 1988; Okano 1990; Kawano 2007, 232–236. Okano points out that there had once existed an older Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara* in the
    Shǔ (蜀) period (221–263 CE), which has been lost but recorded in the *Chū-Sānzàng-Jì-Jí*; from this record and some other factors, Okano assumes that the original *Lalitavistara* was

compiled in Northwest India in the late half of the second century AD.

31 T2145: 7b15, 48b27–c1.

32 T2145: 97c19–98b2.

33 T2145: 48c1 (手執胡本口宣晋言。時筆受者。沙門康殊帛法巨).

34 Cf. Matsuda 1998; Okano 1990, 60f.; Kawano 2007, 232–236.

Following are the passages corresponding to T 185 cited above:

[...] When the Bodhisatva went forth, he saw a god of the five paths (五道神) called Bēnshí / Bēnzhì (奔識), who dwelled at the passage (五道頭) to the five paths. He carried a sword, a bow and an arrow. When he saw the Bodhisatva approaching, he relaxed his bow, threw away the arrow, untied the sword and stepped back. He worshiped the Bodhisatva by prostrating himself before him and said: "On Brahma's command I am guarding the five paths, but I don't know what they are. Please tell (me) this ignorant person what they mean." The Bodhisatva said: "even though you are the lord of the five paths, you do not know the origin of the five paths. The rule is: those who follow the five precepts (戒 = Skt. śīla) will be reborn in the human-realm. Those who did ten good deeds will be reborn in the heaven(s). Those who are parsimonious will fall into the hungry-ghost (餓鬼 = Skt. *preta*)-realm, while those who touch (lustfully) will go to the animal-realm. And those who did ten bad deeds will be reborn in hell. But none of these five paths (五趣) are the way one should go. One should not stick to these five paths. (The Buddha explains how he wants to overcome the five *gati*s and reach Nirvana) Bēnshí / Bēnzhì's mind became liberated and reached the state of non-transmigration. The aspiration for enlightenment arose in the minds of an incalculable number of gods.[35]

In this text, some more information about the protagonist in discussion can be elucidated. Especially interesting is his dialogue with the prince, where Bēnshí / Bēnzhì is instructed by the Bodhisatva in the five paths and through this reaches a state where his mind is set on non-transmigration.

These three passages cited above provide us with new evidence for the identification of the figure with a bow in the Gandharan art. The figure with a bow, which is standing in front of the prince on his horse, can be identified as the deity, called Bēnshí / Bēnzhì and is described as the god of the five paths.

Thus, the next question to be asked is: who is Bēnshí / Bēnzhì "the god of the five paths"?

Identification of the God of the Five Paths

Before analysing the connection of these specific textual accounts and the Gandharan images, one important question may puzzle the reader: is the episode about Bēnshí / Bēnzhì, that is only found in T 185, T 186 and T 188, not a Chinese invention? No source in Indian languages including the exact parallel episode has been found so far to the best of the authors' knowledge. It Indic origin is perhaps even more doubtful considering the fact that the deity called "the Great God of the Five Paths (五道大神)", or "the General of the Five Paths (五道将軍)"

---

[35] Taisho Tripiṭaka vol. 3, No. 186, p. 507c17–508a1 (translation by the authors): "於是菩薩稍進前行。覩五道神名曰奔識。住五道頭。帶劍執持弓箭。見菩薩來。釋弓投箭解劍退住。尋時稽首菩薩足下。白菩薩曰。梵天之際天王見勅。守五道路不 画像知如之。愚不敏達惟告意旨。菩薩告曰。雖主五道不知所歸。源所從來。五戒爲人。十善生天。慳墮餓鬼。觝突畜生。

十惡地獄。無五趣行便歸人本。不慕五趣。以無五陰三毒六衰。則是泥洹。不處生死不住泥洹。便不退轉受菩薩決。無所從生靡所不生。於諸所生悉無所生。卿持俗刀。五兵宿衞。吾執智慧無極大劍。斷五趣生死皆至本無。無終無始永安無形。奔識心解逮不退轉。無限天神皆發道心。". For another English translation of the first few sentences see Karashima 2016, 176.

is a well-known figure in Chinese mythology of later periods.[36]

The cult of the Great God of the Five Paths was familiar to wide areas of China by the sixth century at the latest, witnessed by the so-called *grave-good lists* (随葬衣物疏) from that period.[37] Some of the *grave-good lists* clearly display the status of this deity; he controls the deceased, as well as their belongings, who pass the five paths, the gateway to the netherworld – a function that matches the above-cited description of Bēnshí / Bēnzhì in T 185. Borrowing the words of Dudbridge, "in sixth-century Buddhist China the General of the Five Paths was indeed perceived as a powerful and threatening figure outside the Buddhist system, yet still dimly associated with the gates of death".[38] After the Táng dynasty onwards, the God of the Five Paths became one of the ten acolytes of King Yama (Yánmó 閻魔), the Ten Kings of Hell,[39] and thus developed into a substantial part of the Hell cult. The cult of this deity is reflected in popular literature up until a much later period,[40] and a sanctuary dedicated to this deity has even been recorded in northern China in the twentieth century.[41]

Interestingly, the "General of the Five Paths" in Medieval China is often represented as an armoured figure with a winged helmet, equipped with a bow, arrows and a sword (**fig. 5**).[42]

---

[36] Pioneering research on the cult of the God of the Five Paths (五道大神) in China has been carried out by Oda (1961; 1976), who drew an overview of textual accounts on this deity in a trans-religious context from the 4th to the 20th century. Dudbridge (1996) introduced some additional sources that demonstrate multilayered aspects of this deity. Arakawa's study (2006) focused on the analysis of the reception of the God of the Five Paths among the Buddhists in China in the 6th century, mainly on the basis on the grave-good list manuscripts involving the accounts on this deity. Zheng's recent paper (2009) adds a wide range of new textual accounts concerning this deity, especially from different genres of the *Dunhuang Bianwen*. He also systematically collected the iconographical corpus of this deity from various visual arts from the 6th to the 10th century. This deity was also transmitted to Japan as a Taoist god (Cf. Oda 1976, 23). Yamaguchi's study (2013) demonstrated the link between the God of the Five Paths in China and Muto-Shin, a god of pestilence in Japan.

[37] For the detailed analysis of these lists see Oda 1961; Oda 1976, 17–21; Dudbridge 1996, 92f.; Arakawa 2006. These *grave-good list*s are manuscripts containing magical phrases ensuring the smooth transit of the deceased to the other world, with a list of buried goods, which are intended to be a preparation for the dead person's new life in the after-world. There is a specific standard formula, which is regularly employed in these visa-like documents: "(the clothes and other goods) are respectfully transmitted to the Great God of the Five Paths (敬移五道大神)". Oda pointed out that the style of these manuscripts follows the older format of the grave good list used in the Han dynasty; just the God of the Underworld Dìxià Chéng (地下丞) was replaced by the God of the Five Paths, and the deceased persons are claimed to be Buddhists. Cf. Oda 1976, 18f.

[38] Cited from Dudbridge 1996: 92, l. 26–28.

[39] As the tenth king of the Yama's court, the God of the Five Paths is called "Cakravartin of the Five Paths (五道転輪王 Wudao-Zhuanlun-Wang)". Cf. Oda 1961, 45–51; Dudbridge 1996, 94–96; Zheng 2009, 10–17; Faure 2014.

[40] Cf. Zheng 2009, 12f.

[41] Cf. Oda 1976, 16f.; Dudbridge 1996, 96–98.

[42] See Zheng 2009, 13–17. The Dunhuang manuscript of the *Hán-Qínhǔ-Huàběn* (韩擒虎话本, *Story about the Tiger Captor Han*) even describes that the General of the Five Paths, who suddenly emerged in front of the General Han from a cross-shaped earth crack, wore "golden chain mail, a winged headgear and held a trident". See *Dunhuang Bianwen*, Pan 1994, vol. 6 no. 8, 1089 (忽然十字地裂，涌出一人，身披黄金锁甲，顶戴凤翅，头牟按三丈头低，高声唱喏); Cf. Zheng 2009, 14f.

The origin of this deity has been disputed among Sinologists until today, although most of the scholars assume its Buddhist / Indian origin.[43] The earliest written accounts of the God of the Five Paths stem exclusively from Buddhist sources; namely, the above-cited Buddha's life stories and the *Ekottarikāgama* translated in the fourth century.[44] In the *Ekottarikāgama* (No. 27–35–7), however, this deity is clearly described as a pagan deity worshipped by a rich householder in Rājagṛha, which is in a sharp contrast to the "proper" worship of the Buddha. In this text, no personal name of this deity is referred to.

On the basis of the absence of a parallel passage in the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara*, Arakawa assumed that the episode about Bēnshí / Bēnzhì was a later insertion by translators, added for the convenience of Chinese readers and to make the notion of the five *gati*s understandable.[45] This view needs a slight modification, since the earlier form of the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara* has been lost and thus there are no means to prove the presence of the Bēnshí / Bēnzhì's episode in this earlier version. In addition, the presence of a figure in Gandharan art, which literally fits to the descriptions of Bēnshí / Bēnzhì, makes it difficult to assume that no Indian original version had been given. It is unclear, however, whether there was in fact a cult for this specific deity somewhere in Gandhara, or if the compiler(s) of the texts were

Fig. 5 Bodhisatva Kṣitigarbha, General of the Five Paths and Venerable Monk Daomiao, Dunhuang, 10th–11th century (Copyright at Freer Gallery of Art, Inv. No. F1935.11, image available under: http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/object.cfm?q=fsg_F1935.11).

inspired from the preceding visual images.[46] It is equally unsure how faithful the Chinese translations are to their Indic originals. The description in T 185, that the place where Bēnshí / Bēnzhì stands is wherespirits of the deceased pass and meet, is very close to the function of the "the Great God of the Five Paths" mentioned in the above-cited *grave-good lists* in Chinese. Even though the

---

[43] Oda 1976, 23–28; Dudbridge 1996, 89; Zheng 2009, 2–4.

[44] T 125: 683a11f.; 699c24–700b26. This *sūtra* was translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva (瞿曇僧伽提婆) at the end of the fourth century CE.

[45] Arakawa 2006, 516f. (he assumes that this deity was inserted by the translators of Central Asian origin into the Buddha's biography, the original name of which might have been composed with a word "five" in Sogdian *pnc, pncw*, or in Sanskrit *pañca*).

---

[46] This possibility has been well argued in the conference presentation by Prof. Juhyung Rhi at 16th IABS Congress in Taiwan in 2011, mentioned in footnote 1 of the present paper.

Chinese translations may have incorporated certain allusions to the Chinese cultural tradition, the presence of the Gandharan representation of the corresponding figure seems to prove 1) the presence of a certain narrative tradition (either written or oral) in Central Asia, and 2) a certain aspect of this deity, which could be anyhow connected to the Five *gati*s or the underworld.

Then who was this deity originally meant to be in Indic context? Previous studies have demonstrated three possible solutions.

First is the assumption that the Skt. *pañca* "five" is the first syllable of the original name of this deity. Many scholars already assumed a phonetic relationship between the name Bēnshí / Bēnzhìand Skt. *pañca*, which may refer to his function as the guardian of the *pañca-gatayaḥ* "the five paths".[47]The pronunciation of two characters 賁 / 奔 (both read as *bēn* in Pinyin) in Middle Chinese is transcribed as *pwon*, while 識 (*shí* or *zhì*) is *syik* or *tsyiH* according to Baxter – Sagart;[48] and according to Pulleyblank, 賁 / 奔 (*bēn*) is *pən* and 識 (*shí* or *zhì*) is *ɕik* or *tɕiᵘ* or *tɕiʰ* in Early Middle Chinese.[49] The most recent study of

Karashima suggests the tones of *pwon syik / pənɕik* could be a transliteration of *Pāñcika*,[50] the possibility which was also suggested by K. R. Norman, cited in a footnote of Dudbridge's paper published in 1996.[51] *Pāñcika* is a *yakṣa*-general, who is often paired with Hārītī. There is no Buddhist tale known so far, however, in which this demigod is anyhow connected to the five *gati*s or the netherworld. From this reasoning, the following explanations may be given for the interpretation of this deity, as Karashima suggested; 1) his function as a ruler of the five paths might have rather been invented by the editors of these texts due tohis name *Pāñcika* being associated with the word *pañca* or *pañcagati* (Five Paths);[52] or 2) there was a certain unknown deity protecting the intersection of the five paths, and this deity was named *Pāñcika* which sounds similar to *pañca*.

The next possible interpretation of the name Bēnshí / Bēnzhì is to interpret it as a fanciful translation of *Vaiśramaṇa*, the idea which is also suggested by Karashima in the same paper as an alternative solution. *Vaiśramaṇa* is a by-form of *Vaiśravaṇa*, which has been understood as "rushing mind" (*vi-√śṛ* "to run or flow through; to rush upon" + *maṇa* "mind") and could have been translated literally into Chinese characters (奔 "rushing", thus 賁 in T 185 may be a scribal error of 奔 + 識 "mind, conciousness").[53] The possibility to interpret the argued figure as *Vaiśravaṇa* is thoroughly studied by Tanabe, even though his interpretation is not based on the discussed episode found in the

---

[47]   Oda 1976, 24; Dudbridge 1996, 89 (he suppos-es Pañcika as the original name); Arakawa 2006, 516f. (see fn. 46); Zheng 2009, 4 (he also sup-ports a certain Sanskrit name with the prefix *pañca* as its original name).
[48]   See Baxter – Sagart 2014, Appendix (327–378) and also a more comprehensive list in an online version of appendix under http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/).
[49]   According to the definition of Pulleyblank, Early Middle Chinese is the language which underlies the *Qieyun* (rhyming dictionary com-pleted in 601 by Lu Fayan), which is based on the elite standard language commonly spoken by educated people both in the north and south during the period of division until 589, which ultimately went back to the dialect of Luoyang in the second and third centuries. Cf. Pulley-blank 1991, 1–4.

[50]   See Karashima 2016 (3.2 Bēnzhì).
[51]   See Dudbridge 1996, 89.
[52]   Cf. Zheng 2009, 4.
[53]   We would like to express our deep gratitude to Prof. Seishi Karashima at this point, who kindly provided us the manuscript of his paper before its publication.

three Chinese texts featured in this paper. Yet, the relationship between *Vaiśravaṇa* and the five paths remains unclear.

The third idea is to regard the name Bēnshí / Bēnzhìas not necessarily only referring to a specific deity, but also to see the whole episode as allegorically representing the attainment a state of mind of the final stage of liberation as a non-dualistic suspension, as suggested by Radich.[54] The deity with the name 奔識, literally meaning "Runaway Consciousness", disarmed himself upon encountering the Bodhisatva, and through their conversation he established himself in a state of mind directed towards ultimate liberation. As Radich himself states, it is very plausible that at least in the case of T 186 such a second implication was endowed to the name Bēnshí / Bēnzhì 奔識 from its scripts and influenced the narrative description. Nevertheless, the literal coincidence between the textual descriptions about the appearance of this deity and its visual rendering in Gandharan art make it seem that this deity is not only a personified allegory but rather refers to a certain deity with a particular identity.

In the present state of the research, it seems impossible to judge whether the deity Bēnshí / Bēnzhì may be *Pāñcika* or *Vaiśravaṇa.* Then what can the iconographical features in Gandharan art tell to us?

Iconography

Is this deity Bēnshí / Bēnzhì, whose name could bea rendering of *Pāñcika* or *Vaiśravaṇa*, exactly the figure who is represented in the scene of the Great Departure? At least from the description of his behavior and appearance, holding a bow and arrow (in the exact same hands as in text and art) and wearing a sword, the correspondence between the representation and the literary sources seems evident in this case. Care must be taken however, for this correspondence does not necessarily clarify his identity and there is still the possibility that the descriptions we can read in text may have been inspired from what we can see in art.

In fact, the represented figure neither matches the traditional iconography of *Pāñcika* nor *Vaiśravaṇa* or more precisely, its appearance does not fit to the iconography of any figure in Gandhran / Indian art. The *yakṣa*-general *Pāñcika* is normally represented as husband of Hārītī, often potbellied and mostly holding a spear. On the other hand, *Vaiśravaṇa* in Gandharan art borrows iconographical features of Farro (a young male deity either in Iranian costume or in armour, often with the winged headdress), as Tanabe demonstrated. Nevertheless, there are a number of studies demonstrating the fusion of *Pāñcika, Kubera, Farro*, *Vrthragna* and *Vaiśravaṇa* in Gandharan art.[55] Borrowing the phrases of Rosenfield concerning Hariti and Pancika, "(Because) they were not among the canonical Buddhist icons, there is great irregularity in their imagery." [56] Especially

---

[55] Bachhofer 1937; Bussagli 1951, 142–146; Rosenfield 1967, 246–249; Tissot 1976, 76; Carter 1995; Quagliotti 2005, 123–139. 152f.; Tanabe 2006, 122. 135f.
[56] Rosenfield 1967, 246, l. 33f.

these deities, seemingly popular among the Kushan citizens, were highly correlated in terms of their iconography. Thus, very roughly said, the reasons why the represented figure should be *Vaiśravaṇa*, can be also valid for *Pāñcika, Kubera, Farro* and *Vrthragna*. Yetthebow, the fixed attribute of this figure, remains still unexplained, because none of them is usually represented as holding a bow and arrow.

Even though the name of this deity can most probably be derived from *Pāñcika* or *Vaiśravaṇa*, the represented figure does not really follow the iconographical tradition of these two deities; however, in light of his function as the Lord of the Five Paths as well as his iconographical features, he could have been influenced by Māra for the following three reasons.

First, Māra can be described as the supreme god among the demonic gods, especially in his aspect as *mṛtyu*-Māra (Māra of death); which reflects the description of Bēnshí / Bēnzhì as "the great god among the demonic gods" as described in T 188. Second, Māra is highly related to the five *gati*s and can even be represented as turning the wheel of the *saṃsāracakra* (the wheel of rebirth), as has been discussed by Zin and Schlingloff.[57]

Although no personal name of Māra with the prefix *pañca* is known in Indian sources so far,[58] this aspect of Māra enables us to call him "the Lord of the Five *gati*s", since he has direct influence onall beings in these five *gati*s.[59] Third, while all other kinds of deities immediately worship the Bodhisatva or Buddha when they see him, Māra is the only god who tries to resist him permanently at least.[60] Bēnshí / Bēnzhì stands on the way of the Bodhisatva in arms, and despite the fact that he promptly abandoned his weapons, he did not show any personal

---

ous beliefs), as an hermit; (2) kleśa-Māra (the Māra of desires), as the god of love; (3) devaputra-Māra, Māra in his own form; (4) mṛtyu-Māra (death-Māra), as a demon; See Zin – Schlingloff 2007, 100–105. 183.

[58] It can be noted that some early Chinese translations of Buddhist texts (for example those of Kumārajīva), one aspect of Māra, namely *skandha*-Māra, is often translated as 五眾魔 or 五蘊魔 "five-category-Māra". This translation with the prefix "five" seems to be a literal translation of the notion *skandha*. Also seen in *Śrāvaka-bhūmi* ed. Wayman 1959, 112: *pañcopādāna-skandhāḥ skandha-māraḥ*.

[59] In the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, which is an exhaustive source on how Māra can be understood, form, feeling, perception, volitional formations and consciousness are all described as Māra (ed. Feer 1884–1894, vol. 3, 188f. and 195, transl. Bodhi 2000, vol. 1, 984f. and 986) as well as are subject to Māra (ed. Feer 1884–1894, vol. 3, 195, transl. Bodhi 2000, vol. 1, 986). On another occasion, perception, forms, sounds, feeling, craving and clinging are described as the origin of suffering, making Māra the cause of suffering (ed. Feer 1884–1894, vol. 2, 74f. and vol. 4, 90f., transl. Bodhi 2000, vol. 1, 582f. and vol. 2, 1187); whoever clings, conceives, seeks delight or takes delight in forms cognizable by the eye is bound by Māra (ed. Feer 1884–1894, vol. 3, 73–79 and vol. 4, 91–93, transl. Bodhi 2000, vol. 1, 906–909 and vol. 2, 1187f.).

[60] In the *Nidānakathā*, in which Māra appears at the same point of the episode instead of Bēnshí / Bēnzhì, Māra, here called Vasavattī, appeared in the air and promised him the rule of the whole world within seven days if he would turn back, when the prince was going to leave from the palace's door.

---

[57] According to the situation Māra is either associated with desire, death or erroneous beliefs, all of which he can engender. Extant texts suggest that the idea of a fourfold Māra was widely known from as early as the fourth century CE. The oldest example of the four forms of Māra in art, distinguished by different attributes, can be found in a representation of the *saṃsāra-cakra* in Ajanta. Their appearance is explained in a source that has been part of a Buddhist *Vinaya*, describing how to depict a *saṃsāracakra*. This text refers to the fourfold Māra, who is said to be represented as turning the wheel and explains how his four aspects should be represented:(1) skandha-Māra (the Māra of errone-

veneration of the Bodhisatva in T 185 and T 188.

As known from many sources, Māra has been understood as possessing different aspects and his development has been the subject of many studies.[61] The description of Bēnshí / Bēnzhìas "the Lord of the Five Paths" points to an association with, or at least incorporates aspects of, Māra, something that is also plausible from the art historical point of view.

The instructions of how to depict Māra mentioned (in footnote 58) help to explain, why he can be represented, either as wearing armour (like the members of his demonic army) or only in wrapped cloth (in his *devaputra* form and possibly in his *kleśa* form as well **(fig. 6)**. It explains his bow (which is also an attribute of Kāma, the god of love) as an attribute of *kleśa*-Māra, and the sword, again, as an attribute of *mṛtyu*-Māra.

As pointed out earlier, the only permanent attribute of the discussed figure is his posture holding a bow (sometimes also an arrow, i.e. **figs. 1. 3. 4**), while the second most often depicted attribute is a sword. All other elements of his costume may change. Foucher's reference to the *Buddhacarita* may have been adverse to Lobo and Tanabe; but there is no doubt that Māra, in his aspect as the God of desires (Skt. *kleśa*), can be understood as carrying a bow.[62]

A new explanation for the attributes (bow, arrow, armour and headgear) has been introduced by Stoye in a presentation in the Asian Art Museum of the State Museums of Berlin at 15th February, 2016.
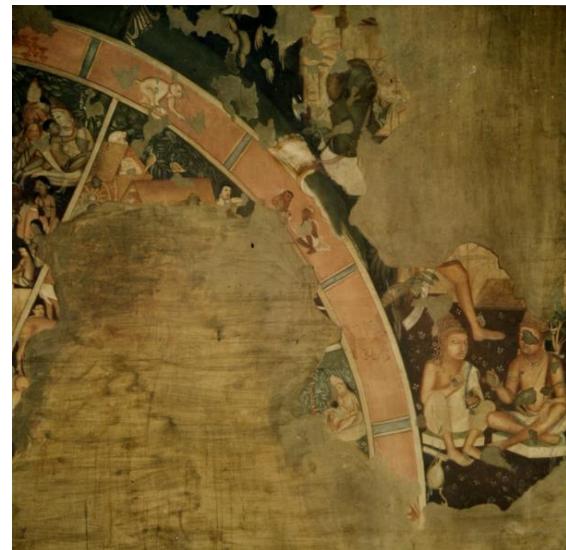
Fig. 6 Fourfold Māra represented at the right upper corner of the *saṃsāracakra* in Ajanta Cave XVII (colour drawing by John Griffiths (c) Institut für Indologie und Tibetologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München).

She demonstrated the possible inspiration of the figure's iconography and its introduction into scenes of the great departure in Gandharan art by Roman coins. In her talk she proposed that Gandharan artists could have adapted the iconography of Roman coins showing the *profectio* (the setting forth), which often feature a forerunner very similar to that of the figure with a bow.

Then how is the winged headgear to be understood, which the figure under

---

61   One of the earliest exhaustive studies concerning Māra has been carried out by Windisch 1895, a more condensed study can be found in Malasekera 1938; Other works on Māra have been written by Wayman 1959, (Eichenbaum-) Karetzky 1982 and Guruge 1991 for example.

62   There are numerous references to Māra with a bow in Buddhist literature. Only a selection shall be given here, covering various genres: for BC see fn. 8; For a reference in, and

Gandharī- and Sanskrit-parallels to the *Dhammapada* in Pāli see Falk 2015, 51 (*pheṇūpamaṃ kāyam imaṃ viditvā marīci-dhammaṃ abhisaṃbudhānochetvāna mārassa papupphakāni adassanaṃ maccurājassa gacche* / Dhp ed. von Hinüber – Norman 1994, 13; transl. Müller 1881, 17; THT 946 (A312), 949 and 950 (A315f.), all accessible on CEToM (https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/);

discussion sometimes wears but does not belong to the attributes of Māra? It has to be considered that the winged crown could simply stand for the kingly status in Gandharan iconography. The winged headgear belongs to one of the symbols embodying the concept of *hvarnah* (*xᵛarənah*), the divine glory / fortune of kings according to Iranian mythological system. The Kushan rulers, apparently acquainted with the Iranian visual language, employed several symbols representing *hvarnah* in their portraits, i.e. fluttering ribbons, flaming shoulders and the halo.[63] Farro, the Iranian god of fortune mostly being clad in Central Asian caftan, also wears the winged headdress in Gandharan representations.[64] Since Māra is the lord of the sensual world, there may be also a possibility to represent him with this symbol of the divine glory.

Conclusion

From an art-historical point of view, the figure with a bow in Gandharan art can be understood as the deity Bēnshí / Bēnzhì "the God of the Five Paths" mentioned in three early Chinese translations (T 185, T 186 and T 188) concerning the Buddha's biography. Originally he was meant to be *Pāñcika* or *Vaiśravaṇa*, but with new features possibly inspired from Māra. At present it is remains difficult to find out whether it was the iconography that inspired the descriptions in T 185, T 186 and T 188, or whether the iconography was inspired by the texts. The God Benshi is also very hard to grasp, for he seems to conflate the names of Gods like *Pāñcika*, or Vaiśravaṇa with functions of

Māra. Whether there is a missing link between the representation of Bēnshí / Bēnzhì in Gandharan art and of the General of the Five Paths in Medieval China, remains an open question. It must be considered that the name, iconography and function of the figure with a bow mentioned in texts do not necessarily have to belong to the very same stratum found in the development of the episodes. It is possible that the iconography and function of the figure was related to an older stratum of the text and that the name has been introduced at a later time.

The authors hope that this study brings a fresh perspective and a will inspire future studies of Gandharan art.

---

[63] Rosenfield 1967, 198–201; Tanabe 1993–1994, 164f.; Tanabe 2006, 125–137; Shenkar 2014, 132.

[64] For detailed study on the iconography of Farro with references to the previous studies see Tanabe 2006, 125–137.

Acknowledgements

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bodhi 2000
    The Connected Discourses of the Buddha, transl. by B. Bhikkhu, 2 vols. PTS (Oxford 2000)

Fausbøll 1877
    Nidānakathā (in the commentary on the Jātaka) in: Jātaka, ed. by M. V. Fausbøll, vol. 1. PTS (London 1877) 2–94

Feer 1884–1894
    The Saṃyutta Nikāya of the Sutta-Piṭaka, 4 vols., ed. by L. Feer. PTS (London 1884–1894)

Foucax 1884
    Histoire du Bouddha Sakya Mouni, transl. by P. Foucaux. Annales du Musee Guimet vol. 6, Libraire de l'institut, de la Bibliothèque Impériale et du Senart (Paris 1884)

Gnoli 1977–1978
    Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya-Saṅghabhedavastu, The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, ed. by R. Gnoli, 2 vols., Serie Orientale Roma 49 (Rome 1977–1978)

Goswami 2001
    Lalitavistara, transl. by B. Goswami (Kolkata 2001)

Johnston 1972
    The Buddhacarita: Acts of the Buddha, 1: Sanskrit Text, 2: Cantos 1–14, transl. by E. H. Johnston from the original Sanskrit, supplemented by the Tibetan version (New Delhi, 1972; repr. from 1935–1936)

Müller 1881
    The Dhammapada. A Collection of Verses. Being one of the Canonical Books of the Buddhists, transl. by M. Müller, Sacred Books of the East 10 (Oxford 1881)

Pan 1994
    Dunhuang Bianwen, Dunhuang Bianwen Ji Xinshu, ed. by Z. Pan (Taipei 1994)

Rhys-Davids 1880
    Buddhist Birth Stories, transl. by T.W. Rhys-Davids, vol. 1 (London 1880)

T = Taisho Tripiṭaka
    Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo, ed. by J. Takakusu – K. Watanabe – B. Ono (Tokyo 1924–1934)

Vaidya 1958
    Lalitavistara, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, vol. 1 (Darbhanga 1958)

von Hinüber – Norman 1994
    Dhammapada, ed. by O. von Hinüber – K. R. Norman. PTS (Oxford 1994)

Secondary Sources

Ackermann 1975
    C. H. Ackermann, Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhara in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London: Catalogue and Attempt at a Stylistic History (Rome 1975)

Arakawa 2006
    M. H. Arakawa, Zui Tosho no Zaizoku Bukkyo Shinto to Godo Taishin [Buddhist laity in Northern Dynasty, Sui and Early Tang periods and the God of Five Routes], in: Kaji Nobuyuki Hakushi Koki Kinen Ronshu Kankokai (ed.) Chugoku gaku no Jujiro (Tokyo 2006) 509–523

Bachhofer 1937
    L. Bachhofer, Pāñcika und Hāritī - Pharo und Ardoxsho, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift 13, 1937, 6–15

Baxter – Sagart 2014
    W. H. Baxter – L. Sagart, Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction (Oxford 2014)

Bussagli 1951
    T. M. Bussagli, Guerre et fécondité à propos d'une monnaie kuṣāṇa, Revue de l'histoire des religions 140, 1951, 129–154

Carter 1995
    M. L. Carter, Aspects of the Imagery of Verethragna: The Kushan Empire and Buddhist Central Asia, in: B. G. Fragner – C. Fragner – G. Gnoli (eds.), Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies (Rome 1995) 119–140

Dagens 1964
    B. Dagens, Fragments de sculpture inédits, in: Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan et Librairie C. Klincksieck (eds.), Monuments Préislamiques d'Afghanistan, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Français en Afghanistan vol. 19 (Paris 1964) 9–39

Dobbins 1973
    K. W. Dobbins, Gandharan Art from Stratified Excavations, East and West 23, 1973, 279–294

Dudbridge 1996
    G. Dudbridge, The General of the Five Paths in Tang and Pre-Tang China, Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie 9, 1996, 85–98

(Eichenbaum-)Karetzky 1982
    P. (Eichenbaum-)Karetzky, Māra, Buddhist Deity Buddhist Deity of Death and Desire, East and West, New Series 32, 1982, 75–92

Eichenbaum-Karetzky 1992
    P. Eichenbaum-Karetzky, The Life of the Buddha. Ancient Scriptural and Pictorial Traditions (New York – London 1992)

Faccenna 1962
    D. Faccenna, Reports on the Campaigns 1956–1958 in Swat (Pakistan), Mingora: Site of Butkara I; Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan), Part 2, Plates I–CCCXXV and Plates CCCXXXVI–DCLXXV, IsMEO Reports and Memoirs 1–2 (Rome 1962)

Falk 2015
    H. Falk, A New Gāndhārī Dharmapada (Texts from the Split Collection 3), ARIRIAB 18, 2015, 23–62

Faure 2014
    B. Faure, Indic Influences on Chinese Mythology: King Yama and His Acolytes as Gods of Destiny, in: J. Kieschnick – M. Shahar, India in the Chinese Imagination (Philadelphia 2014) 46–60

Foucher 1905–1922
    A. Foucher, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, vols. 1–2 (Paris 1905–1922)

Guruge 1991
    A. W. P. Guruge, The Buddha's Encounters with Mara, the Tempter: Their Representation in Literature and Art, Indologica Taurinensia 17–18, 1991, 183–208

Ingholt – Lyons 1957
    H. Ingholt – I. Lyons, Gandhāran Art in Pakistan (New York 1957)

Karashima 2016
    S. Karashima, Indian Folk Etymologies and their Reflections in Chinese Translations – brāhmaṇa, śramaṇa and Vaiśramaṇa, Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University vol. 19, March 2016 (forthcoming) 163–196

Kawano 1991
    S. Kawano, Shoki Chugoku Bukkyo no Butsuden wo meguru Shomondai [Some Problems on the Early Chinese Translation of the Buddha's Life Story], The Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture 103, 1991, 127–176

Kawano 2007
    S. Kawano, Kanyaku Butsuden Kenkyu [Study on the Chinese Translations of Buddhas Life Story] (Ise 2007)

Kurita 2003
    I. Kurita, A Revised and Enlarged Edition of Gandhāran Art, 2 vols. (Tokyo 2003)

Lobo 1983
    W. Lobo, Der Bogenträger in den Weltflucht-Darstellungen der Gandhara-Reliefs, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Suppl. 6, 1983, 430–437

Malasekera 1938
    G. P. Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, vol. 2 (London 1938)

Matsuda 1998,
    Y. Matsuda, Chinese Versions of the Buddha's Biography, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies 37.1, 1998, 489–480

Nattier 2008
    J. Nattier, A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Jan and Three Kingdoms Periods, Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica vol. 10 (Tokyo 2008)

Oda 1961
    Y. Oda, Torufan Shutsudo Soso yo Bunsho no Ichi Kosatsu—Toku ni "Godo Taishin" ni tsuite [A Study on the Funerary Documents from Turfan – on the Focus of "the God of Five Routes"], Ryukoku Shidan 47, 1961, 39–56

Oda 1976
    Y. Oda, Godo Taishin Ko [Study on God of Five Routes], Toho Shukyo 48, 1976, 14–29

Okano 1990
    K. Okano, Fuyo-Kyo no Kenkyu - Ge- [Study on the Puyao-Jing, no. III], Bunka 53 (3, 4), 1990, 268–249

Parimoo 1982
R. Parimoo, Life of Buddha in Indian Sculptures: Aṣṭa-mahā-prātihārya (New Delhi1982)

Pons 2014
J. Pons, The Figure with as Bow in Gandhāran Great Departure Scenes: Some New Readings, Entangled Religions: Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Religious Contact and Transfer 1, 2014, 15–94

Pulleyblank 1991
E. G. Pulleyblank, Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin (Vancouver 1991)

Quagliotti 2005
A. M. Quagliotti, Puer mingens, the Tutelary Couple and Connected Problems: a Gandharan Relief in the Royal Ontario Museum, in: Z. Tarzi – D. Vaillancourt (eds.), Art et archéologie des monastères gréco-bouddhiques du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et de l'Asie Centrale (Paris 2005) 123–162

Radich (forthcoming)
M. Radich, A "Prehistory" to Chinese Debates on the Survival of Death by the Spirit, with a Focus on the Term Shishen 識神 / Shenshi 神識, Journal of Chinese Religions 44.2 (forthcoming)

Rhi 2011
J. Rhi, How Does Iconography Work or Not Work? Questions in Reading Visual Depictions of the Great Departure from Gandhara and Andhrapradesh, Paper Presented at the 16th IABS Congress, Dharma Drum College, Taiwan, 24th June 2011 (unpublished)

Rosenfield 1967
J. M. Rosenfield, The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans (Berkeley1967)

Senagupta – Das 1991
A. Sengupra – S. D. Das, Gandhara Holdings in the Indian Museum: A Handlist (Calcutta 1991)

Shenkar 2014
M. Shenkar, Intangible Spirits and Graven Images: The Iconography of Deities in the Pre-Islamic Iranian World (Leiden – Boston 2014)

Spooner 1910
D. B. Spooner, Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report, Frontier Circle, 1909–1910 (Peshawar 1910)

Taddei 2008
M. Taddei, Some Reflections on the Formation of the Buddha Image, in: ed. E. M. Raven, South Asian Archaeology 1999, Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists held at the Universiteit Leiden, 5th–9th July 1999 (Groningen 2008) 1–13

Tanabe 1993–1994
K. Tanabe, Neither Māra nor Indra but Vaiśravaṇa in Scenes of the Great Departure of Prince Siddhārtha, Silk Road Art And Archaeology 3, 1993–1994, 157–185

Tanabe 2000
K. Tanabe, Kubera, Vaiśravaṇa, Indra and Brahmā in Gandharan Great Departure Scenes, South Asian Archaeology 3, 2000, 1087–1100

Tanabe 2006
K. Tanabe, Bishamon ten zo no Kigen [The Origin of the Vaiśravaṇa Image] (Tokyo 2006)

Tissot 1976
F. Tissot, Remarques iconographiques à propos d'une tête de roi barbare du Gandhāra, Ars Asiatiques 32, 1976, 71–90

Wayman 1959
   A. Wayman, Studies in Yama and Māra, Indo-Iranian Journal 3.2, 1959, 112–131

Windisch 1895
   E. Windisch, Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung, Abhandlungen der philologisch-
   historischen Klasse der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 26,2 (Leipzig 1895)

Yamaguchi 2013
   K. Yamaguchi, Godo-Shin to Buto-Shin ["Wudaoshen" and "Mutoshin"], The Bulletin of the Institute of
   Humanities Research 49, 2013, 1–14

Zheng 2009
   A. Zheng, Tang Wudai "Wudai Jiangjun" Xinyang zhi Fazhan—yi Dunhuang Wenxian Tuxiang Wei Hexin
   [Development of the "General of Five Routes" Cult in Tang and Five Dynasty Periods – on the Focus of
   Dunhuang Manuscripts and Iconography], Zhongguo Su Wenhua Yanjiu 5, 2009, 1–17

Zin – Schlingloff 2007
   M. Zin – D. Schlingloff, Saṃsāracakra. Das Rad der Wiedergeburten in der Indischen Überlieferung,
   Buddhismus Studien 6 (Düsseldorf 2007)