Beatrice Baragli, Albert Dietz, Zsombor J. Földi,
Patrizia Heindl, Polly Lohmann and Sarah P. Schlüter (eds.)

Distant Worlds and Beyond

Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021)

DWJ Special Issue_vol. 3

2021

Distant Worlds and Beyond
Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021)

Beatrice Baragli, Albert Dietz, Zsombor J. Földi,
Patrizia Heindl, Polly Lohmann and Sarah P. Schlüter (eds.)
Distant Worlds and Beyond
Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021)

DWJ Special Issue 3

Beatrice Baragli, Albert Dietz, Zsombor J. Földi,
Patrizia Heindl, Polly Lohmann and Sarah P. Schlüter (eds.)

Distant Worlds and Beyond

Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds
(2012–2021)

Propylaeum
FACHINFORMATIONSDIENST
ALTERTUMSWISSENSCHAFTEN

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie. Detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet unter http://dnb.ddb.de abrufbar.

Publiziert bei Propylaeum, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg 2021.

Diese Publikation ist auf http://www.propylaeum.de dauerhaft frei verfügbar (open access).
doi: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886
urn: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-propylaeum-ebook-886-3

e-ISBN (PDF): 978-3-96929-066-8

Table of Contents

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 1–4. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11943

Preface

Beatrice Baragli, Albert Dietz, Zsombor J. Földi, Patrizia Heindl, Polly Lohmann and Sarah P. Schlüter

The Munich Graduate School for Ancient Studies

The Graduate School Distant Worlds has been funded by the 'Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft' (DFG) and the Excellence Initiative since 2012. With its conceptual orientation, it pursued the goal of promoting the research of young scholars in the entire field of ancient studies in an innovative and interdisciplinary way. In 8 years, the GSDW offered several generations of PhD students and postdocs from all over the world the possibility to conduct and discuss their research in a supportive academic environment and within the excellent research infrastructure of the LMU Munich. On a personal level, the fellows were supported by a group of enthusiastic professors and postdoctoral fellows, who shaped the intellectual stimuli and professional supervision of the GSDW. From the contents' point of view, the Graduate School was divided in seven focus areas: the constructions of (1) norms, (2) elites, (3) 'the beautiful' (aesthetics as a whole), and the organisation of (4) coexistence, (5) exchange, (6) dealing with dissent, and (7) memory and forgetting. The GSDW not only performed seminars and lecture series each semester to stimulate methodological and expert discussion but also allowed for both individual research trips as well as study trips in groups, which brought the members of different focus areas to destinations like Israel, USA, Iran, and many others. These trips, together with colloquia in smaller and larger groups in which the fellows discussed their ongoing research, shaped the community of the school on professional and personal levels. The range of activities conducted offered a pool of ideas which fed into the diverse individual projects and focus areas. Sometimes only with some distance, as we observe, do we recognise the extent to which the school has broadened our academic horizons and the many ways in which the discussions and feedback positively influenced our work(s).

About the Journal

The Distant Worlds Journal (DWJ) was founded with the aim of transforming the diversity of subjects present at the Graduate School Distant Worlds into a publication format and thus offering young researchers a platform to publish their articles in a peer-reviewed journal. Between 2016 and 2020, five issues were published, each dedicated to a specific topic: *Continuities and Changes of Meaning* (1, 2016); *Dealing With Antiquity: Case Studies and Methodological Considerations in the Ethical Engagement of Ancient Materials* (2, 2017); *Migration and Change* (3, 2017); *Chances and Problems of Cultural Anthropological Perspectives in Ancient Studies* (4, 2020) and most recently *Ideologie und Organisation: Komparative Untersuchungen antiker Gesellschaften* (5, 2020). In total, 47 authors contributed 39 articles to these fascicles. In addition, two Special Issues have been published: One edited by A. F. Bergmeier, K. Palmberger and J. E. Sanzo called

Erzeugung und Zerstörung von Sakralität zwischen Antike und Mittelalter: Beiträge der internationalen Tagung in München vom 20.–21.10.2015 (2016), and *The Semantics of Space in Greek and Roman Narratives* (2018), edited by V. Fabrizi.

Overall, the reception of the articles in this journal were very successful with articles accessed over 5159 times. Thanks to the open access online publication format, we were happy to see that the readership spans disciplines and across the world. Especially in the challenging times we are facing now, the availability of research for everyone, everywhere becomes indispensable if we want to have a discourse where every scholar can participate.

The Distant Worlds Journal ends with this special issue dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds. For this reason, the call was for scientific papers from anyone formerly or currently affiliated with GSDW. Everyone, from the principal investigators to the pre-doctoral students had the chance to write about their research that was inspired by their time at the Graduate School, which gave them the space to develop new ideas, methods and ways of thinking or to present their research or (new) projects.

Contributions to this Issue

13 contributions of former doctoral students, visiting professors, principal investigators, affiliates and fellows were accepted for publication. The authors write about the research they did during their time at the Graduate School, the research they were inspired by, or the research they are doing at their new place of work. In the following, a brief overview of the contents is given.

Assyriology

Returning to the topic of a former presentation of hers at a GSDW reading group in 2014, **Beatrice Baragli** (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) examines Mircea Eliade's impact on Assyriological studies. She points out that Eliade's work has largely been neglected in Assyriology for decades, despite the attention he previously devoted to other Mesopotamian texts such as glass recipes. Only recently have Assyriologists started to re-discover Eliade's work on the interpretation of these cuneiform sources.

Zsombor J. Földi (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich) describes in his paper how the loss of cylinder seals was dealt with in 3rd and 2nd millennium BCE Mesopotamia. He not only lists the previously known documents recording this loss, but also presents a previously unpublished exemplar of this genre. A comparison with similar documents from Old Babylonian Mesopotamia provides an insight into the handling of such losses.

In her article, **Sarah P. Schlüter** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich) sheds light on the life of a woman named Madawada, who lived at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE in Kaneš, present-day Turkey. Using what is preserved of the archive of Madawada and some archaeological data, the author attempts to gain information about her life.

Christian Archaeology

Sabine Feist (University of Bonn) describes the unique access in the southern vestibule of Öşk Vank. Here, so-called angel pillars open the boundary between the profane and the sacred, thus creating an easily accessible 'barrier-free' space of Christian sacred architecture. The article discusses the special role of the angel pillar in its liminal function and describes the regionally specific peculiarities of the pictorial representation.

Classical Studies

Susanne Gödde's (Freie Universität Berlin) study deals with the relationship between suffering and salvation in ancient Greek novels. The focus is on the question of whether these novels were influenced by religious – especially Christian – patterns and motifs, as earlier research suggests.

Tonio Hölscher (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg) sketches in his study a theory of images based on the social aspect of daily life with and around images. He emphasizes the social interaction with images in a community of living and deceased people, rather than focusing on more common questions like: 'What is an image?' The author had discussed such thoughts in a Doktoranden-Seminar at the 'Münchner Zentrum für Antike Welten' in the winter semester 2014/2015.

Sophie Hüdepohl (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich) presents the Roman city of Guntia (present-day Günzburg) which belonged to the Roman province of Raetia. Her article is based on her doctoral research conducted at the GSDW, focusing on the late-Roman phase of the town and on questions of mobility and migration.

Egyptology

John Baines (University of Oxford) takes up a topic to which he already devoted himself during his time as a visiting professor at the 'Münchner Zentrum für Antike Welten': biographies. In his article, he deals with two statues of the Egyptian dignitary Wepwawetaa, housed at museums in Leiden and Munich. On both steles there are biographical inscriptions that provide information about Wepwawetaa to the reader, but also the steles themselves have their own 'biographies', their own history.

Patrizia Heindl (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich) discusses the modern history of three statues of the Egyptian lecture-priest Petamenophis, all of them found in Italy. The article recapitulates the circumstances of their discovery and their history since then. It concludes with the story of the re-discovery of one of these statues by the author in 2018. More details shall follow in the author's forthcoming PhD thesis.

Indology

Karl-Stéphan Bouthillette (Ghent University) discusses the results of his doctoral thesis that he wrote during his time at the GSDW. He highlights the philosophical and spiritual value of doxography, which is nowadays often ignored by philosophers. Focusing on the early Indian evidence, he advocates for a new appreciation of this literary genre.

The contribution of **Tanni Moitra** (Adamas University, Kolkata) investigates the concept of *Āpaddharma* in the Brahmanic and Buddhist traditions. *Āpaddharma* can be translated 'law of crisis', and it substitutes, in case of a crisis, for the laws of normal circumstances. It can be therefore understood as a 'midway' between *dharma* 'law, norm' and *adharma*, its contrary.

Pre- and Early History

Anthony Harding (University of Exeter), former visiting professor at the 'Münchner Zentrum für Antike Welten', is presenting a retrospective of plagues, starting with our current situation. The focus is on the archaeological evidence and how we can detect plagues and pandemics. Starting with an overview of plagues that are also recorded in written sources, the author discusses the possibility that gaps in the archaeological record of the later prehistory of Europe could reflect widespread diseases.

Carola Metzner-Nebelsick (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich) reconsiders the use and meaning of chariots in the 2nd millennium BCE in the light of a new find. She argues that chariots were used earlier than generally presumed within the Carpathian Basin, and ascribes a symbolic meaning to chariots as status markers.

The range of topics in this issue reflects the multifaceted nature for which the Graduate School in Munich was known. The numerous disciplines and consistent interdisciplinary discourse shaped the thinking and work of all involved.

The special issue ends with an epilogue by the director and spokesperson of the Graduate School Distant Worlds: **Martin Hose** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich).

Last Words …

This final issue is dedicated in gratitude to all those who have contributed with their work to the establishment and functioning of the Graduate School Distant Worlds. Special mention should be made of Martin Hose, Isabella Wiegand, Anna Waldschütz, Nicole Schüler and Monika Seebeck, but also the board members and principal investigators as well as all predoctoral, doctoral and postdoctoral fellows, who have contributed greatly to the Journal and its success.

Special mention has to be made of the founding members of Distant Worlds Journal, who launched the project in 2016: Henry Albery, Beatrice Baragli, Amanda Bledsoe, Fabian Heil, Polly Lohmann, Lauren Morris, Zsuzsanna Végh, Gioele Zisa and Laurien Zurhake. Through subsequent fellows, the initiative has continued throughout the life of the Graduate School, thus documenting in retrospect, the various research projects at the Graduate School itself, and the reach of the publication platform also among external young scholars.

The Distant Worlds Journal could not have been possible by the support of Martin Hose, Katrin Bemmann and the team of Propylaeum at the Heidelberg University Library, nor without the professors who supported the young journal with their professional expertise and by being members of the Advisory Board. They are sincerely thanked for their trust and support.

With the closing of the Graduate School in 2021, we are all moving to new spheres beyond Distant Worlds, without losing our academic roots we all proudly carry.

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 5–13. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11944

Ancient Egyptian Biographies and Biographies of the Objects Bearing Them

Wepwawetaa in Leiden and Munich

John Baines

Abstract: Two inscribed stelae from Abydos in Upper Egypt, belonging to the local dignitary Wepwawetaa of the 19th century BCE, have been in the Leiden and Munich collections since the early 19th century CE. These, which are among the largest of a couple of thousand examples, bear important biographical texts. At the same time, details of their physical treatment and partial mutilation after they were created document aspects of their protagonist's standing in his community and the character of that community. Thus, the stelae have a biography of their own, taking the destiny of a man who was very preoccupied with his ancestry and status forward in time past his death. This later history of the objects, which is not treated in modern discussions, exemplifies the value of studying monuments in the original and bringing together philological, art-historical, and archaeological approaches.

Two inscribed stelae from Abydos in Upper Egypt, belonging to the local dignitary Wepwawetaa of the 19th century BCE, have been in Leiden and Munich since the 1820s CE.[1] These well-preserved monuments bear important biographical texts that are known to many because Kurt Sethe included them in his *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht* (1924, and later editions), a book that is still in use and has had an influence far exceeding the aim stated in its title. Sethe was a giant among scholars who also worked prodigiously to edit ancient Egyptian texts and make them accessible, but he lived before cheap travel and widely available photography. Although he tried to see all the material he published, often this was impossible. This article is in part a homage to Sethe, in which I seek to go a little beyond what was practicable for him.

Apart from the content of Wepwawetaa's texts, details of their physical treatment and partial mutilation after they were created provide evidence of their protagonist's standing in his community and of the character of that community. Thus, the stelae have a biography of their own, taking their owner's destiny forward in time past his death. This later history of the objects, which has not so far been discussed, exemplifies the value of attending to the materiality of monuments, studying them in the original, and bringing together philological, art-historical, and archaeological approaches. I was able to examine the Munich stela more than once during my tenure of the MZAW Gastprofessur, and I used images of it in my first public lecture, which was given in the

[1] Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden AP 69; Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst Gl. WAF 35. Simpson 1974, 18, chapel ANOC 20. Translations, with bibliography: Lichtheim 1988, 75–80; Landgráfová 2011, 156–166; see also treatment in the Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae. Leiden stela: Giovetti – Picchi 2016, 156–157 (photographs), 514 (no. III.4). Recent mention: Olabarria 2020, 70.

museum. It is a great pleasure to present what I found in this final issue of Distant Worlds Journal.

The stelae belong within a practice in which large numbers of people attended the festival of Osiris, the god of the dead, whose temple was in the north-east of the site of Abydos, close to the desert edge (the orientation is expressed in terms of "river north"). From near the temple a wadi leads west toward a cleft in the rock escarpment two or three kilometres away. The festival included a procession, along the wadi to ancient burial grounds near the cleft, during which episodes of the myth of Osiris were enacted. People aspired to be able to be present at the festival in the next life, and their chapels, which were in an area termed the "Terrace of the Great God" west of the temple, would enable them to do this.[2] Abydos was a primarily religious centre, and many of its most important people must have been involved in the cult and festivals of Osiris.

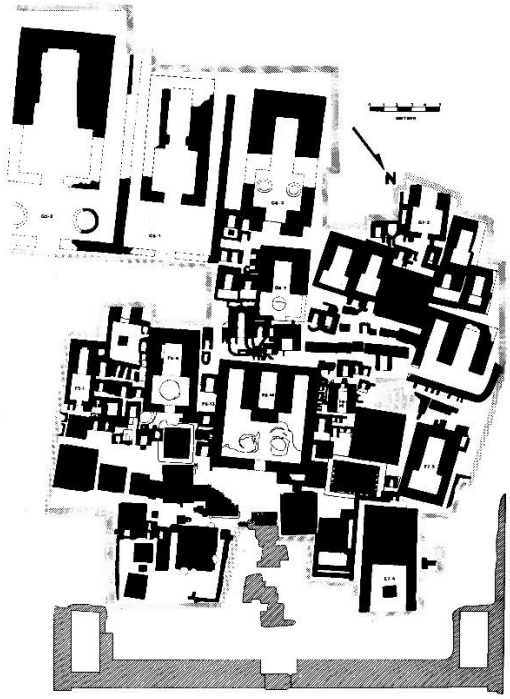


Fig. 1. Plan of an area of Middle Kingdom memorial chapels in Abydos north (ca. 19th century BCE), later built over by a temple of Ramesses II (ca. 1279–1213 BCE) (Courtesy of David O'Connor).

The exact provenance of Wepwawetaa's stelae is not known. They were almost certainly set up in a commemorative chapel in the northern sector of Abydos. The chapel might or might not have been associated with his tomb: both these arrangements are known. An area containing commemorative chapels that was first excavated in the 1960s and 1970s offers illuminating possibilities, although these stelae cannot have come from there (**Fig. 1**).[3] The chapels – these ones were not associated with tombs – were mudbrick structures with courtyards, ranging from a tiny scale to an area of about 150 square metres. The stelae would generally be placed in the enclosed, vaulted structure at the back, or in niches in its thickness. Heather Kopleff (2017) has studied how they may have been arranged in chapels, but the case studies she treats are much smaller in scale than the stelae of Wepwawetaa. It is not known how very tall, rectangular stelae like the Leiden one fitted into their chapels.

The stelae must have been fairly well protected where they lay, because the Leiden one retains much painted decoration. Their reliefs and inscriptions are also in generally excellent condition. Both the survival of the paint on the Leiden stela and the relatively unweathered stone suggest that the piece was little exposed to the sun. The stone of the Munich stela is more difficult to interpret. The reddish colour of areas of its upper surface is very unusual but possibly intrinsic to the stone. The area below the red-stained part is almost undamaged. There are possible traces of red and yellow paint that would need to be investigated under a microscope. If the stela was not painted, this could suggest that Wepwawetaa died quite soon after it was carved.

[2] For administration of the area with the chapels and stelae, see Leahy 1989.

[3] See O'Connor 2009; Adams 2019, 59–67; Snape 2019.

Fig. 2. Stela of Wepwawetaa. Limestone (© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

The Leiden stela (**Fig. 2**), which is dated to year 44 of Senwosret I corresponding to year 2 of Amenemhat II (around 1785 BCE), is flat-topped with a cavetto cornice. At the top of the main area is a long inscription with a laudatory characterization of its protagonist but with little narrative of specific events. As is normal, the text says nothing about the household members shown in the registers of relief below. Even Wepwawetaa's wife, who is seated next to him, is not named, and that is not normal. Thirty further people are crammed into the rest of the space, one at a tiny scale. Their number is not in itself exceptional: stelae can show even more people. On the present stela, however, most of them are doing something for Wepwawetaa, rather than being depicted for any value they might derive from being present in the group. Unusually, no one is captioned. It is as if what mattered to the owner was the size of his entourage, not who they were, and the lack of captions facilitated the inclusion of many figures. Thus, although the relief design and images are separate from the main text, both display a very strong focus on the stela's owner. Moreover, the text expresses a preoccupation with ancestry and inherited status, both as a value and as a tradition that Wepwawetaa claimed to surpass, that is hard to match from the same period. The stela offers a strong contrast with another in Leiden, of Intefiqer, dated eleven years earlier. This, which is 144 cm high – slightly smaller than that of Wepwawetaa – shows 37 people in addition to those receiving offerings, and all but one of them are captioned.[4]

Fig. 3. Stela of Wepwawetaa. Limestone (© Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich).

[4] Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden AP 7: Giovetti – Picchi 2016, 154–155 (photographs), 514 (no. III.3).

The Munich stela (**Fig. 3**) is of the more frequent round-topped type. It bears a damaged date of Amenemhat II in the curve at the top. Examination of the detail and a new photograph show that this should be restored as 23 ([10+]10 / 3: see **Fig. 4**).[5] This stela was thus created more than twenty years after the other one. Dates are rare on Abydos stelae, and their presence on both of Wepwawetaa's may signal something of his social aspirations. I know of no other case where two stelae of the same nonroyal individual that were almost certainly set up in the same place can be dated so far apart. The inscription continues over the rest of the surface area, leaving the bottom left corner for a figure of the owner seated before a table of offerings. The style of this figure is unlike that on the Leiden stela, suggesting that the later monument was produced in a different workshop, so that the datings were not retrospective. The Munich stela has one of the biggest inscribed areas known, although the text is not especially long. Its first part is broadly religious in content, while containing much detail about Wepwawetaa's personal status. The large scale of the hieroglyphs made it possible to include a miniaturized table of 29 deities, a religious composition of great prestige, within two lines (**Fig. 5**; Végh 2020, 119–120, with references; on its character as a list, see Hoffmann 2015, 91 with fig. 3). Strikingly, the owner's titles and name, which come both before and after the list, are bolder and easier to read than the names of the deities. The last part of the text treats an episode in which Wepwawetaa went to the royal residence, hundreds of kilometres to the north, to receive a promotion and be welcomed at court.

Fig. 4. Stela of Wepwawetaa (Munich): detail of damaged date in the top line (© Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich. Photo Marianne Franke).

Wepwawetaa must have been a person of wealth and standing, because his stelae are among the very largest of the couple of thousand of their period found at Abydos. The Leiden stela is 160 × 105 cm and the Munich stela 143 × 80 cm. When set up above ground, as they must have been because their decoration goes almost to the bottom, they would have been around the average height of a person of their period. The still larger stela of Mentuhotep (180 cm high), from a generation earlier than Wepwawetaa, is inscribed on both sides and on its thickness and must have been set up freestanding, so that its context would have been different from that of almost all other stelae (Lange – Schäfer 1902–25, II, 150–158, IV, pls xli–xlii). Mentuhotep was a vizier, the holder of the highest official of state (see Simpson 1991), and one can imagine Wepwawetaa wishing to emulate his very public display as far as he could.

Wepwawetaa and his character give a paradoxical impression. It is risky to interpret ancient works subjectively, but some aspects of his texts and images offer a basis for doing so. The lofty titles and epithets are generic and honorific. Wepwawetaa's most substantive title, "overseer of priests" – freely rendered "chief priest" – was probably the highest

[5] The date line is omitted in Sethe 1924, 73, the edition from which most people read the Egyptian text. What follows is grammatically self-sufficient, so nothing was lost for teaching. Perhaps Sethe thought that since the date could not be read with certainty, it was simplest to leave it aside. He also omitted the dates on the Leiden stela, which are at the sides of the cavetto cornice, not in the main inscribed area.

position that someone who was neither a provincial governor nor active in higher state administration could achieve locally. The title occurs on the Leiden stela as well as the Munich one and so must have been acquired relatively early in his career. The Leiden stela emphasizes his descent from people who had been leaders since the beginning of time, but he did not name his parents, although that was commonly done. He might have been a parvenu who claimed a lineage despite a relatively undistinguished background. Another oddity is that the Leiden stela states that after he had acquired in youth the basic priestly status of "pure one (*w'b*)" the king advanced his position further. A little later he says that Senwosret I placed him among the "companions", that is, probably people with honorific positions at court. The whole passage mentions nothing specific, so that, to the suspicious, elements such as an assertion that he travelled north and south look like cliches. He used the perspective of his Abydos home rather than the royal residence in the north.

The narrative of the Munich stela is somewhat more tangible, but it tells of things that could have happened at any time. There are also seeming contradictions. Wepwawetaa says that he went north to the palace, where the office of "overseer of priests" was given to him, constituting an advance on his ancestors' status. Yet that office is already claimed on the Leiden stela, over twenty years earlier. He also says, with details, that he was treated with particular favour and privilege; the way this is done is new, but the treatment may not be. With one exception, this narrative reads rather like a reworking of the Leiden one. The exception, and probably the most significant benefit that he acquired, comes at the end: statues of him were to be placed in the temple in the "following of the great god" (presumably Osiris), and they were endowed with offerings. Later parallels show that this was a privilege granted by the king (Verbovsek 2004, esp. 20–21). Was the entitlement to these the only award that he received on a much later visit, if that really happened? Would it have been made to an old man with a view to his receiving offerings in the next life?

A striking absence from Wepwawetaa's texts is any mention of a royal commission to carry out works on the temple of Osiris, where he held his title of chief priest. A couple of later stelae narrate such commissions (Lichtheim 1988, 98–100; Baines 2009). Perhaps his role was a more routine one.

One can reconstruct the monumental activity of Wepwawetaa tentatively as follows. During the overlap between the reigns of Senwosret I and Amenemhat II he commissioned the Leiden stela, as well as probably a chapel in which it was set up. The text of the stela – more likely commissioned than composed by him – terms the location an *js*, which is normally rendered "tomb" but can also cover a chapel. Much later, perhaps after he was awarded the right to have statues of himself in the temple of Osiris, he commissioned the Munich stela, which was set up in the same place (it would not have survived if it had been in the temple area). The chapel could have been laid out from the beginning with a view to adding more stelae later. Wepwawetaa was not alone in possessing more than one stela (e.g. Baines 2009).

The narrative of Wepwawetaa's stelae in antiquity does not end there. Probably within a decade or two of his death, both stelae were mutilated in minor but significant ways. On the Leiden stela the owner's name was erased, although not so thoroughly as to make it indecipherable. The faces of Wepwawetaa and his wife were damaged (especially his), as well as that of his dog (but not her dog), and the same was done to some other human figures.

The damage to the faces is significant because it would render the figures unable to breathe and therefore receive the benefit of offerings in the next world. The lower pair of registers is little damaged, perhaps not at all, which is striking because they include a captioned image of a statue of Wepwawetaa that would receive offerings like his upper image. The damage on the Munich stela is a little different, but as with the Leiden one, it does not extend to the lowest part, where the figure of the owner is located. It also seems inconsistent: one occurrence of the owner's name before the list of deities is erased, two after it are not, and the last one, rather further down, is again erased. Either the briefly formulated middle instances were close to the list of deities and left standing, perhaps partly because the majority of the signs write the name of the god Wepwawet, or they were simply overlooked. The patterning of damage on the stelae suggests that at the time when it was done the chapel was not maintained and their bottom areas were covered, most probably by wind-blown sand, which can very quickly fill spaces that are not swept. Even after the cult finished, people actively wished harm in the next world upon Wepwawetaa, his wife, and some members of his family.

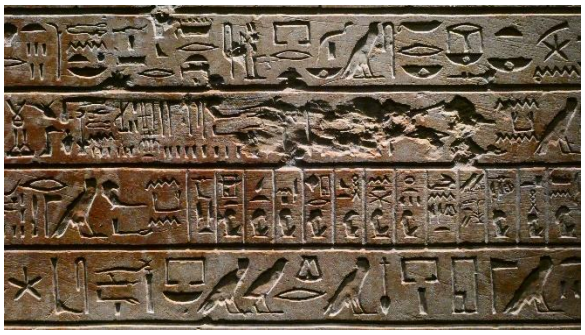


Fig. 5. Stela of Wepwawetaa (Munich): detail of the owner's erased name, the alterations to the titles of personnel, and part of the table of deities in the line beneath (Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich; Photo John Baines).

For both stelae, Sethe deciphered the erased traces of signs brilliantly, but in his copy he did not indicate the damage. It was a surprise to me, first to find the erasures on photographs, and then to see what had happened in more detail on the Munich stela itself. What is more, inspection of the original shows that not only were Wepwawetaa's most important titles and name erased at a crucial point, but the groups following after it were recarved (**Fig. 5**). Sethe's readings here are a little problematic, but it would be difficult to improve on them. The erasure of the titles "Count, Overseer of Priests" (*ḥ3tj-ʿj jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr*)" and the name was done rather crudely (the end of the group is not quite clear to me). By contrast, the inscribed area immediately to the left was deepened in order to remove completely what was there, and then a set of priestly offices was squeezed into the space: "Counts, Supervisors of Priests, Foremost Ones" (*ḥ3tjw-ʿj, sḫḏw ḥmw-nṯr, jmjw-ḫnt*). All these groups are enjoined to say an offering formula of the many gods in the list that follows, "for the *ka* (vital spirit) of the Count and Overseer of Priests Wepwawetaa" (followed by a long string of additional titles and a repetition of the name). In these two later occurrences his name was not erased. Could that be in part because of a complex institution through which offerings made to the gods to and thence him would subsequently be recycled to the priestly personnel?

The altered inscription includes three categories of upper-level priestly officials, rather than whatever smaller group had been inscribed there before, as recipients of offerings recycled – as was normal – from Wepwawetaa's endowment. The endowment income was probably no longer being used for his mortuary cult and therefore open to appropriation by others. If both the damage and the reinscription were done at the same time, which is the simplest possibility, this would suggest that these priestly groups wished not only to redirect the offerings but also to neutralize Wepwawetaa's capacity to benefit from them in the next world. Since that benefit was material, whereas he and his wife would be sustained by its consecrated metaphysical element, there would be little conflict of interest

between him and them and hence no need for them to mutilate his images. It would follow that they had further motives, most likely that they were taking revenge on him. Mutilations of this sort are otherwise hardly known from Abydos (Leire Olabarria, pers. comm.), and this scarcity suggests that such vengeance was rare, much rarer than in the Memphite and Theban necropolis of the third and later second millennia. It was thus a very significant step to enact it in one of the largest chapels. One cannot know what had offended Wepwawetaa's colleagues, but contrast between the aspirational character of his texts and the lack of specific achievements claimed in them would fit someone who was not an easy companion. His evident wealth could also have aroused envy.

If an approach to the erasure and reinscription along these lines is thought reasonable, two further points should be made. First, the mutilation was discreetly done: the stelae were not significantly damaged, and people would have had to look at them to see what had been done. They might have been unlikely to do this in a chapel that was no longer in operation. Those commanding the mutilation may have been discreet because of the chapel's location among others of its type, no doubt including ones that they would aspire to construct for themselves. Although the Terrace of the Great God was not a temple, the area was sacred. Second, the details of the mutilation, including both the attack on the protagonists' faces and the alteration to the inscription, show that the stelae were not only "monuments" to someone's memory: they possessed agency that affected the destinies of Wepwawetaa in the afterlife and his attackers on earth. By adding one or two categories to the list of recipients of offerings, they caused a change in provisions, and that change was documented, both for this world and for the next. These were serious matters in a world in which the living and the dead were actively connected, not merely rejections of a symbol.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to many people for help and advice for this brief article: Roxane Bicker, Elizabeth Frood, Patrizia Heindl, Leire Olabarria, Arnulf Schlüter, Martina Ullmann, Zsuzsanna Végh, and Lara Weiss.

Bibliography

Adams 2019
M. D. Adams, The origins of sacredness at Abydos, in: I. Regulski (ed.), Abydos. The sacred land at the western horizon (Leuven 2019) 25–70.

Baines 2009
J. Baines, The stelae of Amenisonbe from Abydos and Middle Kingdom display of personal religion, in: J. Bourriau, D. Magee, and S. Quirke (eds.), Sitting beside Lepsius. Studies in honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute (Leuven 2009) 1–22.

Giovetti – Picchi 2016
P. Giovetti – D. Picchi (eds.), Egypt. Millenary splendour. The Leiden collection in Bologna (Milano 2016).

Hoffmann 2015
F. Hoffmann, Aufzählungen, Listen, Kataloge und Tabellen im alten Ägypten – formale und inhaltliche Aspekte, in: S. Deicher – E. Maroko (eds.), Die Liste. Ordnungen von Dingen und Menschen in Ägypten (Berlin 2015) 87–123.

Kopleff 2017
H. J. Kopleff, A community in stone. The "cenotaph" stelae of Abydos (doctoral dissertation, New York University 2017).

Landgráfová 2011
R. Landgráfová, It is my good name that you should remember. Egyptian biographical texts on Middle Kingdom stelae (Prague 2011).

Lange – Schäfer 1902–25
H. O. Lange – H. Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Berlin 1902–25).

Leahy 1989
A. Leahy, A protective measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 75, 1989, 41–60.

Lichtheim 1988
M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian autobiographies chiefly of the Middle Kingdom. A study and an anthology (Fribourg – Göttingen 1988).

O'Connor 1009
D. O'Connor, Abydos. Egypt's first pharaohs and the cult of Osiris (London 2009).

Olabarria 2020
L. Olabarria, Kinship and family in ancient Egypt. Archaeology and anthropology in dialogue (Cambridge 2020).

Sethe 1924
K. Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht. Texte des Mittleren Reiches (Leipzig 1924).

Simpson 1974
W. K. Simpson, The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos. The offering chapels of dynasties 12 and 13 (New Haven – Philadelphia 1974).

Simpson 1991
W. K. Simpson, Mentuhotep, vizier of Sesostris I, patron of art and architecture, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 47, 1991, 331–340.

Snape 2019
S. Snape, Memorial monuments at Abydos and the "Terrace of the Great God", in: I. Regulski (ed.), Abydos. The sacred land at the western horizon (Leuven 2019) 255–272.

Végh 2020
Zs. Végh, Die Rolle des Gottes Thot in den abydenischen Mysterien, in: M. C. Flossmann-Schütze – F. Hoffmann – A. Schütze (eds.), Tuna el-Gebel – eine ferne Welt. Tagungsband zur Konferenz der Graduate School "Distant Worlds" vom 16. bis 19.1.2014 in München (Vaterstetten 2020) 111–126.

Verbovsek 2004
A. Verbovsek, "Als Gunsterweis des Königs in den Tempel gegeben …". Private Tempelstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches (Wiesbaden 2004).

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 15–23. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11945

What Can Eliade Still Say to Assyriology?

The Reception of a Historian of Religions in Ancient Near Eastern Studies

Beatrice Baragli

Abstract: The work and thinking of Mircea Eliade represent a fundamental turning point in modern history of religion. His work on the concept of the sacred was strongly innovative. However, the reception of Eliade's philosophy was and is still today strongly criticised for many reasons, one of them is the accuracy of his method. The present work does not aim to "rehabilitate" the past work of the philosopher as to re-evaluate it in the light of Assyriology and analyse his reception in the field. The main question is whether his approach might be closer to ancient thinking than the one of other modern theories.

1. Introduction

The historian of religions Mircea Eliade made some fundamental contributions to his field. Although his many interests included Mesopotamian religion, literature, and myth, he was often little taken into account by Assyriologists. This paper aims therefore to analyse his work from an Assyriological perspective and look at his reception in the field. The question is then the following: can he still contribute to Ancient Near Eastern Studies and if so, to which degree? I will answer these questions by identifying some valuable aspects of Eliade's thinking that have been largely neglected in the field.

2. Life[1]

Eliade was born in Bucharest in 1907. In 1928 he completed his philosophy degree at the University of Bucharest with a thesis on Tommaso Campanella, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Giordano Bruno, already showing his interest in early modern philosophy. Thereafter he made an Indian sojourn (1929–1931), where he consolidated his interest in Indian philosophy and spiritualism. He completed his doctoral thesis on yogic techniques, and then he returned to Romania to serve in the military. Thereafter, he began to teach under the assistance of Nae Ionescu, professor of logic and metaphysics, and ideological leader of the Legion of the Archangel Michael (popularly known as the Iron Guard). His more or less direct association with the Iron Guard,[2] which was historically connected with terrorism and pro-Nazism, caused him some troubles including incarceration. His political conservatism through all these years remained constant, even if sometimes ambivalent. Needless to say, his far-right tendency was and is still today the main source of criticism directed at him. Several studies have been conducted regarding this controversial part of his life and I will not repeat them here.[3] From

[1] All information about the life of Eliade according to Olson 1–7.

[2] See *ibid.* 3–4.

[3] See, e.g., the strong position of *ibid*. 4–5: 'Even if Eliade was a hard-core Fascist throughout his life, for which I have not found any evidence, this political

1941 to 1945 he lived in Lisbon, where he was appointed as a cultural adviser to the Romanian legation. From 1950 onwards, he lived in the United States, where he received a permanent position at the University of Chicago in 1957. He remained there until he died in 1986.

Among his most famous books are *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (first edition of 1949), *The Sacred and the Profane* (first edition of 1957), and *A History of Religious Ideas* (first edition of 1975). He devoted several works, specifically chapters, to Mesopotamia (see in detail § 6).

3. Criticism

The figure of Eliade is nowadays considered controversial. Besides his far-right tendency, one of the main criticisms directed at him concerns methodology; in particular, the over-generalisation of ancient cultures due to the lack of empirical support, lack of guiding principles in the selection of data, and lack of distinction between primary and secondary sources.[4] The question of sources should be addressed, although not all his works, especially not the last ones can be designated as 'overgeneralised' to the same extent. My intention here is not so much to update and revise the Assyriological sources he quoted, but rather to consider which of his concepts are still valid for the study of cuneiform sources. Furthermore, his field of interest was explicit and intentional: 'The better to bring out the specific characteristics of life in a world capable of becoming sacred, I shall not hesitate to cite examples from many religions belonging to different periods and cultures.'[5] In other words, what e.g. Olson called 'universalism of [Eliade's] vision',[6] others called over-generalisation.

Another criticism addresses his so-called ahistorical approach, accusing him of undervaluing the historical particularities in favour of general models. This critique reflects the specific historical context of the debate between Historicism and Phenomenology of Religions: most of Eliade's critics were Historicists, while Eliade can be identified as a phenomenologist. Both approaches present advantages and disadvantages, and this point will be discussed in detail in § 5.

4. The Sacred and its Related Concepts

One of the most important concepts in Eliade's thought, which is still applicable to Ancient Near Eastern studies, is the conception of the sacred, to which all the others are linked: it exists in the world as an autonomous reality.

> Objects or acts acquire a value, and in so doing become real, because they participate, after one fashion or another, in a reality that transcends them. Among countless stones, one stone becomes sacred and hence instantly becomes saturated with being because it constitutes a hierophany, or possesses mana, or again because it commemorates a mythical act, and so on. The object appears as the receptacle of an exterior force that differentiates it from its milieu and gives it meaning and value.[7]

Thus, the sacred is considered as a force that confers true reality to entities when it becomes present, 'manifest', in the world. This understanding profoundly differs from other positions in the history of religions, like the Historicists or Sociologists, who consider the sacred a historical or social construction.[8] The sacred is a non-reducible category (category *sui generis*), which cannot be reduced to any other

ideology did not affect his scholarship to any sinister extent, and it is unjust to taint someone and to judge them guilty by association.'

[4] For a review of Eliade's critics see *ibid.* 7–11, and in particular that of Smith (1978).

[5] Eliade 1959, 15.

[6] Olson 1992, 12.

[7] Eliade 1954, 3–4.

[8] For this debate see Filoramo 2004, 63–70.

kind of force (i.e. mental in Psychology of Religion, social in Sociology of Religion, etc.).

Furthermore, Eliade's concept of sacred is contrasted with the profane: 'the archaic world knows nothing of "profane" activities: every act which has a definite meaning—hunting, fishing, agriculture; games, conflicts, sexuality, in some way participates in the sacred.'[9] The only profane activities would be those which lack a mythical model (an archetype) and there is no word for them since they do not possess the same reality. However, this perception of the ancient man (the *homo religiosus*) has evolved and the modern man is profane: 'desacralisation pervades the entire experience of the nonreligious man of modern societies and […], in consequence, he finds it increasingly difficult to rediscover the existential dimensions of the religious man in the archaic societies.'[10] While for Eliade the distinction between sacred and profane is mainly (but not only) temporal, other scholars applied such difference among the same present time.[11]

This view implies an idealisation of the ancient man at the expense of modern man, who is 'non-religious'. Modern scholars of ancient religions would thus belong to the latter category. Although a little bit simplistic, such vision allows for a better demarcation of the conceptual differences, or limitations, of modern scholars, who are interpreting the thinking of ancient cultures. It helps to make boundaries between emic and etic more defined, which presents a challenge in Assyriology, too. This is an example of an epistemological problem in studying ancient cultures:

> It is useless to search archaic languages for the terms so laboriously created by the great philosophical traditions: there is every likelihood that such words as 'being,' 'non-being,' 'real,' 'unreal,' 'becoming,' 'illusory,' are not to be found in the language of the Australians or of the ancient Mesopotamians. But if the word is lacking, the thing is present; only it is 'said' that is, revealed in a coherent fashion through symbols and myths.[12]

Searching for terms typical of the philosophical tradition, like 'real' or 'unreal', in languages that precede the coinage of such terms is simply anachronistic. At the same time, claiming the existence of a concept, although not attestable, can raise methodological concerns. However, keeping in mind the possibility of such concepts is extremely useful in our attempt to interpret ancient texts such as cuneiform records, and when other data are lacking; it expands the possibilities of interpretation. B. Alster already said something similar: 'Unless we [Assyriologists] understand these [Eliade's] ideas, we shall never hope to be able to translate basic terms in Mesopotamian texts with some degree of justification.'[13]

Furthermore, the sacred can be more or less dense within space and time. In space, the Centre is a place where the sacred concentrates; it is intended in an ontological rather than a geographical sense. It constitutes a break in the homogeneity of space and thus creates passages from one cosmic region to another (heaven, earth, and netherworld); in some traditions, it is the cosmic axis (*axis mundi*) around which the world lies:[14] cities, temples, and mountains lie at this axis, at the Centre.[15] This is particularly valid in Mesopotamia as well, where temples represent the bond between heaven and earth, as already noted by Alster, speaking about how Eliade understood such connection: 'It is tragi-comic to observe that the essential ideas in the Gudea Cylinders have been better understood by scholars who have never been able to read a

[9] Eliade 1954, 27–28.
[10] Eliade 1959, 13.
[11] See, e.g., Bell 2009, 91.
[12] Eliade 1954, 3–4.
[13] Alster 1976, 20, fn. 32.
[14] Eliade 1959, 37.
[15] Eliade 1954, 5.

cuneiform sign, than by Assyriologists who wrote entire books about them.'[16] Another example is the Mesopotamian dichotomy between the steppe and the city. The first symbolises the profane uncivilised world of chaos, in a stage of pre-creation, where uncultivated regions lie. The second represents the sacralisation of such regions; the occupation of territory, intended as the city and its 'civilised' surroundings, through colonisation means a symbolic repetition of the original act of creation.[17]

In a similar vein, sacred time stands in opposition to profane time. The sacred time is the mythical time beyond, and before, history, which happened 'in that time' (*in illo tempore*). This time can be recreated in history through ritual acts and festivals, which 'deliberately repeat such and such acts posited *ab origine* by gods, heroes, or ancestors.'[18] On the contrary, the profane time is the ordinary temporal duration, and it can be periodically stopped through rituals, which 'can be homologised to eternity'.[19] The effort to go back to the sacred time is the core idea presented in *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. This is related to another key concept, the terror of history: the ancient man constantly tries to abolish the flow of historical time by tapping into the sacred time by means of transhistorical models. Whereas the man of the ancient civilisations 'accorded the historical event no value in itself; in other words, he did not regard it as a specific category of his own mode of existence'; the modern man 'consciously and voluntarily creates history'.[20] While the concept of the sacred time is certainly largely present in Ancient Near Eastern myths and rituals, it does not imply any attempt to escape from the real world to an imaginative one.[21]

5. Historicism

One of the problems addressed by Eliade against Historicism indeed concerns the terror of history. How can it be tolerated by Historicism?[22]

Moving one step backwards, the debate between Historicism and Phenomenology within the history of religion can be summarised as follows: for the former, the sacred is socially constructed, for the latter it is independently present in the world.[23] Eliade saw in Hegel's thought the break between the 'ancient' and the 'modern' man; with him begins every effort 'directed toward saving and conferring value on the historical event as such', since for him 'the historical event was the manifestation of the Universal Spirit.'[24]

Eliade reviewed many theories of Historicists concerning what he called the terror of history and could not find a valid answer in any of them: some of them put, e.g., a mythical age not at the *beginning* of history, but rather at the *end*.[25] With such an argument, which is only partially valid for Historicism at Eliade's time, he meant to question the concept of history as a linear progressive direction. It is therefore hardly surprising, that the criticism towards Eliade of being 'ahistorical' is to be found in such debate.

Within Ancient Near Eastern studies, M.-A. Ataç stated that ideologies of escaping history existed despite historiographical texts; moreover, they 'were never divorced from ritual paradigms of sacral time and sacral history'.[26] Therefore, the phenomenological approach seems closer to the Mesopotamian conception than Historicism. This statement does not imply in any way that Historicism is

[16] Alster 1976, 19, fn. 28.
[17] *Ibid.* 9–11.
[18] *Ibid.* 5. See also more recently Podemann Sørensen 2003, 159.
[19] Eliade 1959, 70.
[20] Eliade 1954, 141.
[21] *Ibid.* 94.
[22] *Ibid.* 150.
[23] For broader analysis see Filoramo 2004, 63–70.
[24] Eliade 1954, 141/ 147–148.
[25] *Ibid.* 147–154.
[26] Ataç 2018, 23–24.

less valid than Phenomenology, but that the latter, for a long time fallen into disgrace, can offer some valid understanding. Sometimes scholarship takes a certain direction for a specific reason, as the case of this debate has shown, and discards some valid insights together with the ones it dismisses. In other words, both approaches should be valued and addressed critically.

6. Eliade and the Ancient Near East

Until now we have seen some aspects of Eliade's thought that are potentially applicable to cuneiform sources. However, Eliade himself worked specifically with such sources, with a particular focus on Mesopotamian alchemy and metallurgy in the chapter *Cosmologie şi alchimie babiloniană* within *Alchimia asiatică* (1934), some parts of which have been incorporated into his *Metallurgy, Magic and Alchemy* (1939) and *The Forge and the Crucible* (first edition of 1956). He also treated Mesopotamian religion in the third chapter of *A History of Religious Ideas* (first edition of 1975).

Cosmologie şi alchimie babiloniană is an attempt to generally apply his ideas of the sacred, the Centre, and the time to the Mesopotamian civilisation. The critique of over-generalisation applies here since the quoted sources are few. However, we should keep in mind that at that time fewer secondary sources were available[27] to non-specialists than nowadays. Nevertheless, some of his concepts are still valid from a broader perspective. One of the main merits of this work concerns epistemology: he claimed that other 'sciences of nature', such as the Mesopotamian one, existed, which were not based on criteria of quantity and measure, in contrast to modern science.[28] Furthermore, he recognised in the homology between Heaven and the World the main *Weltanschauung* of the Mesopotamian culture: everything on earth has an identical correspondence in Heaven, which serves as an ideal model. This cosmology is not only expressed in texts, since it is only by chance that specific cuneiform documents are transmitted to us, but also by means of symbols, architecture, cosmography, etc.[29] Furthermore, he recognised the sacred character of Mesopotamian metallurgy, separating it from its technical aspect within the history of chemistry, and identifying more affinities with a ritual than a technical operation. Eliade states that the difference between an 'alchemical' operation, like the purification of the oven, and a recipe, like the manufacture of the so-called *immanakku*-stone (a not yet fully understood term in Akkadian, formerly translated as 'glaze'), corresponds to the difference between sacred and profane. These two texts, brought by him as an example, belong to the same Neo-Assyrian recipe for the blue *zagindurû*-glass. What he quite surely never looked at, is that these two parts belonging to the same text are divided in the two clay tablets (K.6246+, K.203+) by dividing lines.[30] This can resemble once again Eliade's distinction between the sacred and the profane: the first 'sacred' introductory part corresponds to the usual purificatory part of any ritual text containing building works,[31] whereas the second indicates the proper instructions. This does not correspond to the division between incantation and technical instructions, as it usually happens in texts of this kind, rather to a division between two different actions, which, according to Eliade, are sacred and profane respectively. I'm not arguing that this is always the function of dividing lines in manuscripts of this genre,

[27] Eliade quoted mainly Campbell Thompson (1925), Meissner (1925) and Eisler (1926), often without reference to the specific cuneiform text.
[28] Eliade 1992 [1934], 9–10.
[29] *Ibid.* 12.
[30] Eliade 1992 [1934], 56–58 with literature; see now Schmidt 2019, 122–124 ll. 1–12 for the first case, and ll. 44–49 for the second one (with earlier literature).
[31] Schmidt 2019, 125–126.

rather than in this specific case, Eliade's thought could be reflected in the manuscripts themselves.

A History of Religious Ideas is a much more mature work, where he summarises many myths and compositions (the flood,[32] Inana's Descent to the Netherworld, etc.) analysing directly several secondary sources. For example, he presented an original interpretation of the Gilgameš Epic as a failed initiation, certainly worthy of further study. Whereas Gilgameš went successfully through heroic ordeals (the journey through the tunnel, the 'temptation' by Siduri, crossing the Waters of Death), the last one, the sleep ordeal imposed by Ūta-napišti, is a 'spiritual' one: 'conquering sleep, remaining "awake," is equivalent to a transmutation of the human condition.'[33] Gilgameš's failure of the sleep ordeal represents his failure in obtaining immortality, which is, in this view, not understood as a mere unlimited amount of time, but of a spiritual nature, intended as the awakening in a higher consciousness.

7. Eliade's reception in Assyriology

Despite the aforementioned studies in Mesopotamian culture and religion, Eliade has not been, until recent times, much received in Assyriology. Different was the case of Rudolf Otto, a historian of religions, who also belonged to some degree to the stream of Phenomenology of Religion. Eliade's concept of the sacred differs from Otto's idea expressed in *Das Heilige* (2004 [1917]), which was innovative because instead of focusing on the ideas of God and religion, as it was customary at that time, he focused on the modalities of religious experience. He presented it as frightening and irrational, in other words *numinous* (from Latin *numen* 'god'), which was furthermore 'wholly other' (*ganz andere*), in the sense that it was not expressible by human language. Eliade clearly claimed that he was neither interested in the aspect of 'otherness' nor in the irrational aspect of the sacred expressed by Otto: 'what will concern us is not the relation between the rational and non-rational elements of religion but the *sacred in its entirety*.'[34] Eliade saw the sacred as a *force* rather than an *experience*. I do not intend to underestimate Otto's conception of the sacred here, but rather contrast the two different views.

It is noteworthy that in contrast to Eliade, Otto has often been quoted in Assyriology, although he did not address cuneiform sources specifically. Jacobsen was among the first Assyriologists to apply Otto's idea of the sacred in *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (1976). Since the *numinous* cannot be described, religious metaphors 'constitute the only means of communicating [its] experience'. Here, Jacobsen attempted to trace the history of Mesopotamian religion as a history of different responses given by people at different times to the *numinous*.[35] This work is still the reference point for anyone with any degree of interest in Mesopotamian religion, whether Assyriologist or not. Otto has probably been so well received in Assyriology because of Jacobsen: his reception in the field deserves a separate study.[36]

Eliade on the other hand has only marginally been considered in Ancient Near Eastern studies. Besides the aforementioned Ataç and Alster,[37] Sommer (2000) discusses Eliade's interpretation of the Akītu festival as a renewal's act of cosmos in light of the debate with Smith (1978). Sommer finds valid arguments both for the nationalistic and political

[32] Eliade 1978 [1975], 62–63 analyses in the chapter 'The first myth of the flood' the various compositions in which this myth appears.
[33] Eliade 1978 [1975], 77–80.
[34] Eliade 1959, 10.
[35] Jacobsen 1976, 4.
[36] See, e.g., Sallaberger (2020) about Jacobsen's *Central Concerns*.
[37] Ataç 2018, 23–24; Alster 1975, 106: 7, 9/ 10, 130–131: 3/ 10; Alster 1976, 19–20.

interpretation of the Akītu festival argued by Smith and for the ritual as a form of reordering from chaos suggested by Eliade. However, Sommer in his analysis remains quite cold and distant from Eliade's idea of the sacred.[38]

8. Conclusion

With this summary of Eliade's principal thoughts, we saw that some of his concepts are still valid and applicable to Ancient Near Eastern sources:

The sacred conceived as a natural force, of which the ancient man was aware, seems particularly appropriate. Confluences of the sacred within space and time, like temples and festivals, are perfectly suitable for the available cuneiform sources like ritual and mythical texts. The difference between the sacred and the profane, and consequently between the 'ancient' and 'modern' man, can help modern scholars to be more aware of the gap between the emic and etic ways of thinking. Eliade has reasonably stated that precise words for such a concept cannot be directly found in cuneiform sources; nevertheless, indirect evidence, like the dividing lines on some glass recipe manuscripts, can point to some degree of a division between the sacred and the profane.

The concept of history, viewed within sacred time, and disconnected from a linear progressive view, is also fully applicable to cuneiform sources, as, for example, Alster (see § 4, 7) already pointed out.

Concerning the reception in Ancient Near Eastern studies, Eliade was only marginally acknowledged in the field, whereas other historians of religions like Otto through Jacobsen had a greater impact. We can, therefore, only wish that further studies will apply the phenomenological method, such as Eliade's, to textual analysis as well, since such an approach seems closer to the ancient way of thinking. Needless to say, such an approach, as with any other, should be addressed critically, with the knowledge of both their strengths and limitations.

Acknowledgements

In Summer Semester 2014 I took part within the Focus Area 'Construction of Norms' of the Graduate School Distant Worlds in a reading group about theories of myth, where I had the opportunity to give a brief presentation about Eliade. The present paper is an improved version of that discussion. The final stage of this paper was written with the support of the Martin Buber Society of Fellows at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A warm thank goes to the participants of the seminar: Henry Albery, Aaron Tugendhaft, Paolo Visigalli, Gioele Zisa and Laurien Zurhake. I am also indebted to Hannelore Agnethler, Jonathan Beltz, Céline Debourse, Zsombor Földi, Elizabeth Knott, and Evelyne Koubková for their valuable comments. Of course, all mistakes remain mine.

[38] Sommer 2000, 95 fails, in my opinion, saying that Eliade's idea of the Centre is not archaic only: for Eliade, the definition of 'archaic' should be framed in macro-history (ancient religious as opposed to modern non-religious man), and not in micro-history (second as opposed to first millennium), as argued by Sommer and to some degree by Smith. As already said (§ 5), for Eliade, the turning point between ancient and modern man can be rather found in Hegel.

Bibliography

Alster 1975
B. Alster, Studies in Sumerian Proverbs, Mesopotamia 3 (Copenhagen 1975).

Alster 1976
B. Alster, Early Pattern in Mesopotamian Literature, in: B. L. Eichler (ed.), Kramer Anniversary Volume. Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 25 (Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976) 13–24.

Ataç 2018
M.-A. Ataç, Art and Immortality in the Ancient Near East (New York 2018).

Bell 2009
C. Bell, Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice (Oxford – New York 2009).

Campbell Thompson 1925
R. Campbell Thompson, On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians (London 1925).

Eisler 1926
R. Eisler, Die chemische Terminologie der Babylonier, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete 37, 1926, 109–131.

Eliade 1939
M. Eliade, Metallurgy, Magic and Alchemy (Paris 1939).

Eliade 1954 [1949]
M. Eliade, Cosmos and History. The Myth of the Eternal Return. Translation by W. R. Trask (New York 1954 [1949]).

Eliade 1959
M. Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion. Translation by W. R. Trask (New York 1959).

Eliade 1962 [1956]
M. Eliade, The Forge and the Crucible. The Origins and Structures of Alchemy. Translation by S. Corrin (Chicago – London 1962 [1956]).

Eliade 1978 [1975]
M. Eliade, A History of Religious Ideas. Vol. 1: From the Stone Age to the Eleusinian Mysteries. Translation by W. R. Trask (Chicago 1978 [1975]).

Eliade 1992 [1934]
M. Eliade, Cosmologia e alchimia babilonesi. Translation by A. R. Leone (Florence 1992 [1934]).

Eliade 2003 [1934]
M. Eliade, Alchimia asiatică (Bucharest 2003 [1934]).

Filoramo 2004
G. Filoramo, Che cos'è la religione. Temi metodi problemi (Turin 2004).

Jacobsen 1976
Th. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness. A History of Mesopotamian Religion (New Haven – London 1976).

Meissner 1925
B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien, II. Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek 1/4 (Heidelberg 1925).

Olson 1992
C. Olson, The Theology and Philosophy of Eliade. A Search for the Centre (Houndmills, Basingstoke – London 1992).

Otto 2004 [1917]
R. Otto, Das Heilige: Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen (München 2004 [1917]).

Podemann Sørensen 2003
J. Podemann Sørensen, The Rhetoric of Ritual, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 18, 2003, 149–161.

Sallaberger 2020
W. Sallaberger, Zur Genese der mesopotamischen Götterwelt. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Thorkild Jacobsens *Central Concerns*, in: J. Baldwin – J. Matuszak (eds.), mu-zu an-za$_3$-še$_3$ kur-ur$_2$-še$_3$ ḫe$_2$-ĝal$_2$. Altorientalistische Studien zu Ehren von Konrad Volk, Dubsar 17 (Münster 2020) 391–412.

Schmidt 2019
K. Schmidt, Glass and Glass Production in the Near East During the Iron Age. Evidence from Objects, Texts and Chemical Analysis (Oxford 2019).

Smith 1978
J. Z. Smith, Map Is Not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden 1978).

Sommer 2000
B. D. Sommer, The Babylonian Akitu Festival: Rectifying the King or Renewing the Cosmos?, Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society 27, 2000, 81–95.

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 25–34. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11946

Acknowledging the Philosophical and Spiritual Value of Doxography as a Literary Genre

Karl-Stéphan Bouthillette

Abstract: Doxographical writings appeared early on in the Graeco-Roman world. The genre of doxography never disappeared ever since. It can be found in Islamic and Christian literature, and even, in some ways, in some modern writings on the history of philosophy. My doctoral dissertation explored the genre in the Asian context, through three early Indian models. In Asia, doxographies are found pretty much anywhere philosophy developed, in Tibet and China in particular. Despite the widespread use of doxographical formats of writing in various cultures, modern philosophers tend to look down on the genre, which they perceive as an unreflective and by times even misleading presentation of philosophical ideas. Recent research in classical doxography, however, has shown that there is more to be found under their covers than a mere listing of opinions. My own contribution to the discussion shows that early Indian models can even be seen as 'spiritual exercises' in their own rights. This paper challenges the pejorative connotations some may entertain towards doxography and calls for a renewed appreciation of the genre.

Prolegomena

My research project at *Distant Worlds* focused on a peculiar genre of philosophical literature which had so far received but a minimal amount of attention. The kinds of texts which preoccupied me were those Sanskrit writings which appear as philosophical digests summarising the arguments of various schools of thought on key points of debate. Since the practice of labelling such materials as 'doxographies' was already established, and since there are several similarities between the Indian genre and the related doxographical literature theorised by classicists, I kept the convenient label. However, as is customary when one borrows Western philosophical categories to reflect on the Indian context, I was aware that the term 'doxography' already carries a meaning which needs be attuned in order not to misrepresent the peculiarities of the Indian sources I deal with.

This short paper reflects back on that crucial categorical choice which determined my overall doctoral research. It explains why I consider the label 'doxography' to be an appropriate designation for the texts on which I worked. It spells out how my research endeavoured to bring forth a new critical perspective on a literary genre often denigrated by philosophers. While doing so, I engage with a relevant piece of scholarship which I have unfortunately failed to include in my thesis, that of Pierre-Julien Harter. Moreover, to exemplify the overall research project which I carried out while being a *Distant Worlds* Fellow, I reframe some of its critical points around the notion of 'doxography' and 'spiritual exercises', as articulated in the resulting monograph *Dialogue and Doxography in Indian Philosophy: Points of View in Buddhist, Jaina, and Advaita Vedānta Traditions*, published in 2020 at Routledge. In this way, this paper offers a condensed version of the theoretical framework I used to analyse my Sanskrit materials. It summarises some of my conclusions on the matter and provides a deliberative addendum.

Doxography

Today, what remains of the early Western doxographical tradition is chiefly found in the imperfectly preserved *Placita* of Aëtius, an extensive collection to be dated to the first century CE. This corpus was the main focus behind the theories of the revisionist movement of interpretation of Western doxographical sources initiated by Jaap Mansfeld and David Theunis Runia (1997–). For my purpose, the primary significance of this enterprise is the definition of 'doxography' which it produced, insisting on the dialectical nature of such writings.

By combining the broad and narrow definitions of doxography formulated out of extensive scholarship in Classical philosophical literature by Mansfeld and Runia, my research has put forward a broad definition of 'doxography' that can be used on either side of the Indus river.

A doxography is:

1. either a whole text, or a part of a text:
2. where competing views of philosophers or schools are presented following a division of topics organised into sets and sub-sets with specific differences to which a name-label is attached in most cases.
3. where the original argumentative support of such views may or may not be given;
4. where the author's own view and arguments may or may not be criticised;
5. where the content consists either in literal or in non-literal renderings of sources; and
6. where the overall concern is primarily systematic, dialectic, with little or no historiographical character.[1]

This definition outlines with concision and precision the formal structure of doxographical writings, highlighting the dialectical disposition of their content, philosophical views. The fact that it can be applied to a broad range of materials across cultures and time periods makes this definition a valuable comparative apparatus.

Perhaps the most critical elements of my definition rest in the last two points (5–6), stressing that doxographies consist either in literal or in non-literal renderings of sources and that their overall concern is primarily systematic, dialectic. This is particularly important concerning Indian doxographies which, out of idealised/abstract renderings of philosophical postures, tend to reproduce specific dialectical strategies which can be traced back to famous founding figures and narratives.

In Western Classical literature, Mansfeld stresses that doxographies are always fully dedicated to the presentation of competing views on a given topic and are not independent compositions where philosophers would formulate their own view. This remains true in the Indian context. Doxographical contents are either 'fragments' or 'testimonies' dependent on a certain tradition of transmission.

Indian doxographies consist mainly in testimonies, sometimes accompanied by limited identifiable fragments. However, their purpose is not merely to list competing views, and especially not to render them in their exact initial form, as one would expect of modern histories of philosophy. But, as with Aristotle's own dialectical listing, they teleologically orient the reader towards a 'solution.' This may answer for the frustrations of some Indologists who, overlooking the dialectical nature and function of the material they were dealing with, accused Indian doxographers of not being rigorous in their descriptions of competing philosophical tenets.

[1] Bouthillette 2020, 13–14.

Indian Doxography

Within Indian doxographies, systematisers are breaking down the doctrinal contents of competing schools of Indian thoughts into more or less coherent topical lists. Through them, the Indian philosophical world itself is made to appear as a somewhat coherent list. We hear of six or more philosophical schools, generally referred to as *darśana*-s, literally referring to an established 'view', or 'authoritative opinion', shared by a certain community. To me, this does not primarily refer to a network of authors, although these are undoubtedly the systemisers and promoters of *darśana*-s, but, rather, as in doxography, a *darśana,* concretely, is an architecture of finely organised topical lists structuring different schemes of reasoning, designed to convey specific 'cognitive products.' These cognitive structures interact with one another to form as coherent an identity as needed by a given religious community. They tend to vary according to given sociohistorical contexts but are generally presented in literature as quasi eternal truths (*padārtha*/*tattva*-s), for obvious rhetorical reasons. For example, the doxographical literature dealing with various *darśana*-s typically presents them as ideal abstractions, given all at once by some authority (*āpta*/*devatā*), and not as a historical product. These doxographical lists have shaped the way we talk of Indian philosophy. But one should not mistake the aesthetic depiction of the Indian philosophical realm found in doxographies with the actual complex sociohistorical puzzle in which Indian philosophy actually developed. These texts, I argue, are designed to inform an aesthetic exercise of though formation and transformation, which I theorise as a spiritual exercise. In doxography, as in ritual, sharp categorical oppositions are negotiated by an informed perspective, a certain vision of order which organises the world in strings of symbolic reasoning. As Classicists have noted, dialectic is the *Sitz im Leben* of doxography.

Tibetan Doxography

I am not the only one to have taken notice of the dialectical nature of the doxographical materials found in and around the Indic cultural milieu. Similar reflections have been made before me by Pierre-Julien Harter while discussing the Tibetan *grub mtha'* genre. Though he does not discuss 'dialectic' explicitly, Harter argues that this discriminative nature is in fact what makes doxography interesting from a philosophical point of view, while it is generally disappointing from a historical perspective. He explains that, in Tibetan doxographies, a genre which developed out previous Indic materials,

> [t]he treatments of the schools are partial ones, and could even be interpreted as historical distortions. This partiality may be damaging from a historical point of view, but it is not so from a philosophical point of view. The specific interest of a philosophical approach is not the opinion or position of some individual or group as such (which is justifiably the focus of a history of ideas). Rather, what is at stake is what should be considered to be right or true about a specific topic that is addressed universally. By universality I mean the mode through which an issue can be analyzed, elaborated, and given an answer (or even solved), abstracted from its mere historical, contingent conditions. A universal treatment should be capable of being transferred to other times and places without losing its power to 'make sense'.[2]

In brief, Harter argues that the peculiar dialectic he encounters within his *grub mtha'* sources is one where 'truth' is distinguished among a range of possible options or views concerning a given topic. These texts, he suggests, work in abstraction of historical reality, to rather focus on universal principles valid beyond temporal contingencies. It is in this sense that, according

[2] Harter 2011, 102.

to him, they can be considered to be genuinely philosophical, since they seek to establish truth.

> [T]he elimination of all schools but one necessarily leads to a true position—even if this position is only provisionally true, before being itself reconsidered as a framework for a new question.[3]

Harter and I agree on the dialectical nature of the different doxographical sources we engage with. We both see our sources as presenting genuine philosophical exercises, what I insist on further by theorising such practices as 'spiritual exercises', in tune with Pierre Hadot's work. Where Harter and I slightly disagree concerns the use of the label 'doxography' to denote such literature.

Idealist Philosophy and its Pejorative Views on Doxography

Harter perpetuates an understanding of the doxographical genre initially articulated by idealist philosophers in the 19th century. For example, he observes, that,

> [g]enerally, doxographies were digests providing the tenets of a school or of an individual philosopher—the conclusions or 'dead thoughts' as Hegel would say, since the life of the thinking process was missing, and only the inanimate results were given. In a sense, we could say that they were no more, and maybe no less, philosophical than is a Dictionary of Philosophy from A to Z.[4]

I am also aware of such readings of doxography entertained in similar Western philosophical scholarship. One of the most succinct expression of this view is that formulated by Jorge J. E. Gracia. The latter plainly stated what is commonly expected of the Western doxographer:

> The main characteristic shared by all doxographical approaches is their emphasis on uncritical description. In contrast with the more probing and critical character of the polemical approaches […], doxography aims to present views and ideas in a descriptive fashion without aiming to evaluate them critically. Indeed, in keeping with its historical emphasis, doxography often discourages interpretation.[5]

Influenced by similar ideas, Harter is hesitant to refer to his *grub mtha'* texts as 'doxographies.'

> I am proposing two points for consideration. First, the term doxography may not be the best term to translate *grub mtha'*. Other genres of Greek literature may better map onto Tibetan *grub mtha'*. Second, interpreting certain Tibetan texts from the perspective of doxography may prevent us from seeing the philosophical significance of those texts. This is why I will use the phrase school denominations rather than the phrase doxographical categories.[6]

That other genres of Greek literature share similar features with the *grub mtha'* does not preclude the term 'doxography' from being a skilful designation of such texts, given that one defines the genre in a way which reflects its most probing features in relation to the materials one studies. Harter's second point is more interesting. He suggests that merely referring to a text as being 'doxographical' may discredit its philosophical worth in the eyes of philosophers. Hence, to avoid displeasing the crowd, Harter bows to old habits and avoids the designation of 'doxography' altogether, preferring the no-less problematic concept of 'school denomination'.

[3] Harter 2011, 106.
[4] Harter 2011, 97.
[5] Gracia 1992, 246.
[6] Harter 2011, 98.

On my part, I believe it to be most useful to challenge the 'idealist' reading of doxographies, especially knowing that its interpretation is out of touch with state-of-the-art research in field. Recent philological studies of classical doxographies (Mansfeld – Runia 1997, etc.) have consistently shown that various ancient doxographical texts adopted a dialectical structure similar to that devised by Aristotle himself and, thus, were not intended as purely descriptive or historiographical accounts. Hence, I would rather dispute philosophers' views on doxography instead of reinforcing their prejudices towards a literature (or a people!) for which they have little understanding. After all, doxography was not the only domain where Hegel has shown a peculiar aptitude to denigrate what he did not understand. Concerning Indian thought in general, for example, he could not help but see it as mere child's play, 'fantastic', 'subjective', 'wild', 'dreamy', 'frenzied', 'absurd', and 'repetitive'.[7] I do not see any substantial reason to perpetuate such unhelpful 'reasoning'. On the contrary, I consider it to be of utmost importance, for the future of philosophical inquiry, to refute such prejudices once and for all.

Philosophy and Doxography

Besides the label issue, the name 'doxography', Harter's project and mine have much in common. His interest lies in pointing out the philosophical substance of his sources.

> I want to show that school denominations can function as more than just labels for classifying opinions, and are used for purposes beyond the desire to create a worldview or order. They also participate in *authentic philosophical inquiries*. […][8]
>
> Using school denominations is a way to situate one's own philosophical position and not just a way to categorise other people's opinions. Using school denominations as a way to map the possible answers of a philosophical problem and to enclose the totality of the problem within a logical frame enables one to navigate through possible solutions to find the one that responds accurately to the problem, to find one that is necessarily true. […][9]
>
> [W]e can allow the texts to speak to us in the present, where 'speaking' means causing us to fundamentally question our own conceptions and behaviors. It is the only way that these texts can be meaningful with regard to truth and falsehood.[10]

Harter stresses the 'authentic philosophical inquiries' articulated in his Tibetan sources. He suggests that, by using school denominations (which I read as 'doxographical schemes') to identify the best philosophical position on a given topic, they cause the student to fundamentally question his or her own conceptions and behaviours. It is precisely this kind of self-reflection triggered by teleological schemes, the structural rhetoric of doxographies, which I argue constitutes the 'spiritual exercise' of doxography,[11] at least within the texts I studied.

Doxography and Spiritual Exercises

I borrow the expression 'spiritual exercise' from the historian of Classical philosophy Pierre Hadot (1922–2010), who was *Directeur d'études* at the *École pratique des Hautes Études* (EPHE) and Professor at the *Collège de France*. By moving away from a historiographical reading of doxographical materials, and by rather insisting on their dialectical nature, I suggest that the point of Indian doxography is primarily transformative, before being informative. Doxography is designed to direct the student in a precise doctrinal direction

[7] On Hegel and India, see Rathore – Mohapatra 2018.
[8] Emphasis is mine. Harter 2011, 94–95.
[9] Harter 2011, 113.
[10] Harter 2011, 114.
[11] On Indian doxography as a spiritual exercise, see Bouthillette 2020, 18–20.

signposted by rhetoric and dialectic, not by historicity. The point is not merely to inform students about philosophical exotica. Doxography engages students in a dialogue. Being dialogic, and by times dramatic, doxographies tend to take some rhetorical liberty with 'historical reality'. Doxography is but a means to an end: converting/confirming. And the end justifies the means. In brief, doxographies are intended to shape one's view.

Indian doxography, as a spiritual exercise, adopts different dialectical forms, dependent on the sectarian filiation in which it is embedded, for example. My research at *Distant Worlds* has highlighted three different dialectical forms. It is essential, in order to understand the dialogical dynamic of Indian doxographies, to firmly establish each of these forms in its dialogical soil. Only then can their doxographical scheme reveal its full pedagogic and psychagogic value. Uprooted from their doctrinal sectarian context, doxographies are literally insignificant.

Three Indian Doxographical Models Studied

The analysis of each of the three doxographies I studied sought to elucidate the dialectical teleology through which each doxographer is guiding his student, towards the adoption of 'right-view' (*samyag-darśana*). In doing so, the author engages each student in a process of conversion and confirmation, depending on one's initial station within the *maṇḍala* (symbolic disposition) of views. In that sense, doxographies can engage with a broad array of students of different capacities. Only by establishing the right view indicated by the doxographer can a student's view move from its conventional status to the position of truth, the ultimate perspective. This is the ultimate outcome of the spiritual exercise.

My research looked at the earliest doxographies of Madhyamaka Buddhism, Jainism and Advaita Vedānta to highlight three dialectical teleologies peculiar to each tradition. By organising philosophical views in these specific patterns, doxographies manage to both level a certain criticism of the doctrinal content of each *darśana* (philosophical view or cosmovision[12]), and to establish a dialectical path to 'right-view'. Each teleology reproduces a dialectical attitude which can be traced back to the narrative forms and pedagogies of its specific tradition. This should come as no surprise since these dialectical methods, by conveying specific propaedeutic to truth, characterise the spiritual identity of each tradition: their own conception of the way to go about cultivating liberative knowledge. It is only natural that Indian doxographies display idiosyncrasies in tune with their respective worldview.

Madhyamaka

For Madhyamaka Buddhism, I showed how the dialectic of no-view underpins the thematic progression of Bhāviveka's *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (MHK), directing its dialectical teleology. The first three chapters of the whole text form a single dialectical unit. It establishes the author's perspective through a negation of Abhidharma categories. Thereafter, every succeeding doctrine is refuted in a movement going from the most acceptable position, from a Madhyamaka perspective, to the most problematic one, leaving the Mīmāṃsā view at the extreme end of a downward spiral into absurdity. This *reductio ad absurdum* of world philosophy is typical of Madhyamaka dialectics. Bhāviveka's dialectical model, in the MHK, can be said to be a declining teleology, a fall away from truth. The ultimate perspective is first provisionally established through the corrective negation of the most acceptable

[12] On 'cosmovision' as an apt rendering of the Sanskrit term 'darśana', see Schlieter (2020 draft version on Academia.edu, yet unpublished).

conventional standpoint. From there on, Bhāviveka continues to grind to pieces all other mundane views.

This brief presentation of the MHK's dialectical strategy now leads me to address a slight criticism towards another piece of scholarship with which I could not engage in my thesis due to its later publication, that of Jan Westerhoff's interpretation of Bhāviveka's doxographical strategy, formulated in his excellent monograph *The Golden Age of Indian Buddhist Philosophy*. Overall, Westerhoff's treatment of Bhāviveka's doxographical work is helpful. I seek here to stop upon only one detail, when he argues, that,

> one key aim of such doxographic treatises was to establish a doxographic hierarchy, that is, to set out different schools **in ascending order of truth**. This idea mirrors the early Buddhist distinction between *sūtras* with interpretable meaning (*neyārtha*) and those that did not need to be interpreted but could be taken literally (*nīthārtha*). Applied to doxographies, this distinction entails that different doctrines are not described as a set of varying wrong views that differ from the one correct view the author wants to defend; instead **they are arranged in a hierarchy with the view to be defended at the top**.[13]

My only concern with this passage is to the effect that, as I just explained, within Bhāviveka's MHK, the best position is found at the beginning of the text, where the author exposes his own views through a traditional discussion on foundational Abhidharma categories. In that way, there is indeed a hierarchy, and a top position, but the latter is found at the beginning and not at the end of the list, as in the Advaita model which I will present in a moment. Thus, the MHK is particularly interesting exactly because it employs a different teleological model than the most common pyramidal ones used in Indian doxographies. It is an inverted pyramid of sort. Instead of an ascension towards truth, it offers a descent into absurdity. This, I argue is in tune with the general rhetoric of 'no-view' and the distinguishing *reductio ad absurdum* methodology of the Madhyamaka school.

Jaina

As for Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* (ṢDS), its dialectical model is one of equipoise. For the followers of the Jina, the *jaina-mārga* is the *axis mundi* of philosophy. It is *madhyastha*, implying that it stands in the middle. The Jaina path developed all the necessary conceptual tools to abide by the salutary middle way, and the purifying ascetic disciplines suited to remove obscuring *karma*-s. Through the ṢDS, Haribhadra engages his students in a propaedeutic to truth. This dialectical training revolves within the conceptual realm. Nonetheless, it gravitates towards the non-conceptual axis of truth, the ultimate reality, using heterodoxy as a training ground for engaging in a multiplexed (*anekānta*) soteriological method designed to lay the foundations of omniscience. In the end, views are mere perspectives. Only in that sense can they be equal. However, the superior 'perfect' vision (*samyag-darśana*) of the omniscient one (*sarvajña*), which is discussed exactly in the middle of the list of views enumerated within the ṢDS, is not bond to them. It is no mere view. Though the text seems to objectively present each view in an egalitarian manner, its subtle rhetoric clearly indicates that the Jaina middle way revealed by the virile Jina is the only true superior omnivision.

[13] Emphasis is mine. Westerhoff 2018, 130.

Advaita

When it comes to (pseudo) Śaṅkara's *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha* (SSS), where every view negates the preceding, ever progressing upwards towards the throning Advaita Vedānta position, the dialectical model is a gradual ascension. Every further step on the stairway to enlightenment broadens the previous perspective. It is a movement towards the overarching truth of the Advaita, the worldly expression of which can only be found within scriptures, acting as fingers pointing at the moon of ultimate truth. The journey is said to culminate in pure *brahman*, where all views, all singulars, subside in the one general category, the only being (*sat*), the cosmic *axis mundi*. Perhaps one could talk of the Advaita methodology as a dialectical movement from the particular to the universal, using doxographical categories as instantiations of necessary particulars to be dissolved as they are outgrown by a wider truth. They are necessary only in the sense that they represent various stages of ignorance found among worldlings and, most importantly, in oneself. Appearing as general models of thought, they serve a skilful pedagogy. In practice, the SSS contributes to a rediscovery of one's 'true nature', pure consciousness. And this ultimate state does not exist among the views listed in texts and debated by scholars.

Last Words

My research thus presented three different teleological models structuring the overall rhetoric of Indian doxographies. The Madhyamaka model presented the best view at the beginning of its listing. The Jaina model opted for a middle position, while the Advaita assumed the final position. This by no means indicates that each tradition consistently perpetuated these models. It is not the case. The most common model of doxography I have seen thus far, regardless of sectarian filiation, is in fact the pyramidal ascending hierarchy represented here by the Advaitin SSS. This diversity of models is nonetheless worthy of notice. It appears to be unique to India. When I presented these findings to Classicists (including Runia and Baltussen) at the Munich conference *Received Opinions: Doxography in Antiquity and the Islamic World* (6–8 March 2018), during a discussion period, none had ever heard of any other model than the ascending pyramidal one. The idea that doxographical dialectic may constitute a form of spiritual exercise in its own right was also novelty. This confirmed my intuition to the effect that a better understanding of the nature and function of Indian doxography could lead to a reappraisal of the genre worldwide. It is an idea I now propose to study further through the notion of 'list' and 'list-making' in Indian philosophy.

One last time, I would like to express my gratitude to all the wonderful people I met at *Distant Worlds* and for the generous support I received.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bhāviveka 490–570 CE
Bhāviveka, *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (MHK) (India 490–570 CE).

Haribhadra Sūri 700–800 CE
Haribhadra, *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* (ṢDS) (India 700–800 CE).

(Uncertain authorship of) Śaṅkara (700–900 CE)
Śaṅkara, *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha* (SSS) (India 1000–1400 CE).

Secondary Sources

Baltussen 2005
H. Baltussen, The Presocratics in the Doxographical Tradition. Sources, Controversies, and Current Research, Studia Humaniora Tartuensia 6.A.6, 2005, 1–26.

Bouthillette 2020
K. S. Bouthillette, Dialogue and Doxography in Indian Philosophy: Points of View in Buddhist, Jaina, and Advaita Vedānta Traditions (London – New York 2020).

Bunnin – Yu 2004
N. Bunnin – J. Yu, The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy (Malden, Mass. 2004).

Diels 1879
H. A. Diels, Doxographi Graeci. Collegit recensuit prolegomenis indicibusque instruxit Hermannus Diels Opus adademiae litterarum regiae Borussicae praemio ornatum. (Berlin 1879).

Eltschinger 2008
V. Eltschinger, Pierre Hadot et les "Exercices Spirituels". Quel Modèle pour la philosophie Bouddhique Tardive?, Asiatische Studien Études Asiatiques LXII, 2008, 485–544.

Gracia 1992
J. J. E. Gracia, Philosophy and Its History, Issues in Philosophical Historiography (Albany 1992).

Harter 2011
P. J. Harter, Doxography and Philosophy. The Usage and Significance of School Denominations in Red Mda' Ba Gzhon Nu Blo Gros' Ornament of the Proofs of Consciousness, Revue d'Études Tibétaines, 2011, 93–119.

Laks 2007
A. Laks, Histoire, doxographie, vérité, Études sur Aristote, Théophraste et la philosophie présocratique (Louvain-la-Neuve 2007).

Mansfeld 1999
J. Mansfeld, Sources, in: A. A. Long (ed.), The Cambridge Companion to Early Greek Philosophy (Cambridge 1999) 22–44.

Mansfeld 2002
J. Mansfeld, Deconstructing Doxography, Philologus, 146, 2002, 277–286.

Mansfeld 2016
J. Mansfeld, Doxography of Ancient Philosophy, in: E. N. Zalta (ed.), The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2016) <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/doxography-ancient/>, accessed 28.02.2021)

Mansfeld - Runia 1997
J. Mansfeld – D. T. Runia, Aëtiana. 1. The Sources (Oxford 1997).

Rathore – Mohapatra 2018
A. S. Rathore – R. Mohapatra, Hegel's India. A Reinterpretation, with Texts (Oxford 2018).

Schlieter (unpublished)
J. Schlieter, The Indian Origins of "Comparative Religion". Compendia of Religious-Philosophical Worldviews or "Cosmovisions" (darśana-s), (2020, yet unpublished).

Westerhoff 2018
J. Westerhoff, The Golden Age of Indian Buddhist Philosophy (Oxford 2018).

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 35–46. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11947

Barrierefreier Zugang?

Der Engelspfeiler von Öşk Vank

Sabine Feist

Abstract: Woher weiß ich, dass ich mich an einem heiligen Ort befinde? Auf diese Frage findet nicht nur jede Religion, sondern auch jede Region und jede Epoche eine ganz eigene Antwort. In der christlichen Sakralarchitektur spielen bei der Grenzziehung zwischen profan und sakral in aller Regel Atria, Narthices und Türen eine gleichermaßen zentrale wie standardisierte Rolle. Was geschieht aber, wenn plötzlich ein neues Element – ein mit Engelsdarstellungen reliefierter Pfeiler, der die Besucher im Eingangsbereich in Empfang nimmt – eine ansonsten unbekannte Barriere zwischen den verschiedenen Sphären bildet? In diesem Beitrag wird mit dem Engelspfeiler in der südlichen Vorhalle von Öşk Vank ein einzigartiges Beispiel für die Grenzziehung zwischen Profanem und Sakralem in der christlichen Sakralarchitektur vorgestellt.

Öşk Vank erhebt sich im Ort Çamlıyamaç im Tal des Tortum Çayı in der Provinz Erzurum im Nordosten der Türkei. Das Gebiet war einst Teil des georgischen Königreiches Tao-Klardschetien, und hier entstanden unter König David III., der zwischen 958 und 1001 regierte, mehrere Kirchen und Klosteranlagen.[1] Dank einer Inschrift im Tympanonfeld oberhalb des Zugangs im Südkreuzarm, in der die Kirchenstifter David III. und sein Bruder Bagrat genannt sind – beide sind an der Südfassade auch als Stifterfiguren ins Bild gesetzt –, wissen wir, dass auch Öşk Vank in dieser Zeit errichtet wurde.[2]

Die Johannes dem Täufer geweihte Kirche von Öşk Vank ist ein kreuzförmiger Bau mit überkuppelter Vierung.[3] Die Kreuzarme in Nord, Süd und Ost münden in drei eingeschriebenen Apsiden; der mittleren südlichen Apsis ist ein Vestibül vorgeblendet (**Abb. 1**).[4] Der Westarm wird in Nord und Süd von jeweils einem schmalen Raum flankiert.[5] Der nördliche tonnenüberwölbte Raum ist nur über eine Tür in seiner Westwand zu betreten; mit dem Westarm der Kirche verbinden ihn keine Durchgänge. Im Gegensatz dazu ist der südlich an den Westarm angrenzende Raum deutlich aufwendiger als Vorhalle gestaltet und dieser soll im Folgenden besondere Aufmerksamkeit gelten.

Südliche Vorhalle

Die südliche Vorhalle öffnet sich über vier bogenförmige Zugänge nach Süden (**Abb. 2**).[6] Alle Zugänge werden von giebelförmigen Dachaufbauten bekrönt, die auf drei zentralen

[1] Grundlegend zur Sakralarchitektur Tao-Klardschetiens sind Djobadze 1992; Sinclair 1989, 1–46.

[2] Zur Inschrift s. Djobadze 1978, 123–128; 1992, 125–127/ 131–134. Eine ausführliche Beschreibung der Stifterfiguren mit Abbildungen und Umzeichnung findet sich bei Djobadze 1992, 116–119. Vgl. außerdem Djobadze 1976.

[3] Zu weiteren Gebäuden der Klosteranlage s. Djobadze 1992, 92/ 127–131.

[4] Maße der Kirche: L 40,6m; B 27,0m; H 34,0m.

[5] Ein heute nicht mehr erhaltener Narthex ist erst nachträglich errichtet worden (Djobadze 1992, 97/ 104).

[6] Da die Südwand der Vorhalle in das Mauerwerk der Westwand des südlichen Kreuzarmes einbindet, dürften beide Strukturen zeitgleich errichtet worden sein. Jeweils ein weiterer Zugang zur Kirche befindet sich in den beiden mittleren Apsiden von Nord- und Südkreuzarm sowie an der Westfassade.

freistehenden Pfeilern und zwei seitlichen Wandvorlagen ruhen.

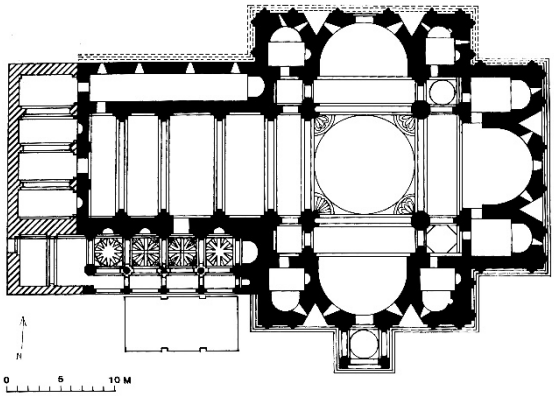


Abb. 1: Grundriss der Kirche von Öşk Vank (nach Djobadze 1992, Fig. 27).

Durch jeden der vier Zugänge betritt man zunächst ein schmales Vorjoch, bevor man in das gleichermaßen in vier, nun quadratische Joche gegliederte Halleninnere gelangt; über einen Eingang im zweiten Joch von Osten erreicht man von dort das Kirchenlanghaus. Die vier flachen, mit unterschiedlich reliefierten Kreuzen dekorierten Rippenkuppeln der Vorhallenjoche ruhen in Nord und Ost auf Wandvorlagen, im Süden werden sie von vier freistehenden Stützen getragen, die sich allesamt sowohl in Form als auch in Dekor voneinander unterscheiden (**Abb. 3**): Ganz im Osten handelt es sich um eine Säule, deren Basis, Schaft und Echinus von horizontal durchlaufenden Kanneluren geschmückt werden. Daran schließt sich westlich eine vierpassförmige Stütze an, die ebenfalls Kanneluren, nun aber spiralförmig verlaufende, zeigt, die auch hier die Basis schmücken. Die dritte Stütze ist erneut eine Säule, deren Schaft vollständig mit einem dichten Netz aus in Kreise eingeschriebenen Kreuzen überzogen ist. Die Säulenbasis zeigt eine Folge von Bogenarchitekturen mit palmettenähnlichem Dekor, das Kapitell wird ebenfalls von einer Art Palmettenfries geschmückt. Die westlichste der vier kuppeltragenden Stützen ist ein achteckiger Pfeiler, der wegen seines ungewöhnlichen Bildprogramms im Detail beschrieben werden soll.

Abb. 2: Blick von Südwesten auf die südliche Vorhalle (S. Feist).

Abb. 3: Blick von Westen in die südliche Vorhalle (S. Feist).

Der Engelspfeiler in der südlichen Vorhalle

Der Engelspfeiler, die westlichste der vier Stützen, befindet sich wegen der nachträglich westlich an die Südhalle angeschlossenen Räume heute im Inneren (**Abb. 4**).[7] Umso mehr muss betont werden, dass sich der Pfeiler ursprünglich an exponierter Stelle, nämlich an der südwestlichen Ecke der Südhalle befand. Blicken wir auf Dekor und Bildprogramm des Pfeilers (**Abb. 5**):[8] Seine Basis ist achteckig und in vier

[7] Zur nachträglichen Entstehung s. Djobadze 1992, 104.

[8] Der aus lokalem Kalkstein gearbeitete Pfeiler wurde durch ein Feuer teilweise beschädigt. T'akaišvili 1960 beschrieb den Pfeiler während einer Reise im Jahr 1917, wodurch auch heute nicht mehr erhaltene Beischriften überliefert sind. Winfield publizierte 1968 eine ausführliche Beschreibung des damals noch bes-

Profilleisten unterteilt, von denen die obere zinnenförmigen Dekor zeigt.

Der ebenfalls achteckige Pfeilerschaft ist allseitig und ganzflächig mit einem palmettenartigen Dekor überzogen, in den mehrere einzelne kleine Köpfe eingefügt sind.[9] Der palmettenartige Dekor erstreckt sich auf fünf der acht Seiten über die gesamte Schafthöhe, auf den drei übrigen, nach Westen gerichteten Seiten ist der obere Bereich anders gestaltet.[10] An der Westseite war dort eine heute zerstörte Deesis dargestellt (**Abb. 6**): Christus mit Kreuznimbus wird von Maria zu seiner Rechten und Johannes dem Täufer zu seiner Linken flankiert; Christus und Maria halten in ihrer Rechten eine ausgerollte Schriftrolle.[11]

Die Pfeilerwestseite stach jedoch nicht nur durch die Darstellung der Deesis hervor, auch der palmettenartige Dekor wies im oberen Abschnitt ursprünglich weitere, heute nicht mehr erhaltene Ergänzungen auf (**Abb. 6**). Mittig war dort ein Kreuz dargestellt, darüber ein bärtiger Kopf mit Juwelenkrone.[12] Rechts des Kreuzes, zu Füßen Johannes des Täufers, kniete zudem eine Person, die inschriftlich als Grigol, dem Baumeister der Kirche, benannt war[13]; Grigol wird auch in der bereits erwähnten Inschrift im Tympanonfeld oberhalb des Zugangs im Südkreuzarm genannt. Auch die beiden seitlich angrenzenden Flächen, die süd- und nordwestliche Pfeilerseite, unterscheiden sich mit ihren heute stark beschädigten vorkragenden Rechteckfeldern mit Brustbild von dem im oberen Bereich ansonsten durchlaufenden palmettenartigen Dekor (**Abb. 7**).[14]

Abb. 4: Blick von Nordwesten auf den Engelspfeiler (S. Feist).

ser erhaltenen Pfeilers mitsamt Umzeichnungen (Winfield 1968, 45–57). Basis, Schaft und Kapitell sind separat gearbeitet (Winfield 1968, 45).

[9] Vgl. Winfield 1968, 46–47.

[10] Auf der nordöstlichen Seite befindet sich im oberen Drittel ein vorkragendes Rechteckfeld, das vegetabilen Dekor zeigt; im oberen Drittel der Südostseite ist ein gleichermaßen vorkragendes Dekorelement stark bestoßen und nicht mehr zu erkennen (Winfield 1968, 47–48 möchte hier einen Widderkopf sehen). An der Nordseite ist im oberen Bereich inmitten des Dekors eine stehende Figur zu sehen, die jedoch nicht benannt werden kann (vgl. Winfield 1968, 47).

[11] Zu Beginn des 20. Jh. soll noch eine rote Schrift zu erkennen, aber nicht mehr zu lesen gewesen sein (Djobadze 1992, 107; T'akaišvili 1960, 40). Zu den insgesamt vier Darstellungen einer Deesis in Öşk Vank vgl. Djobadze 1988.

[12] Wenig überzeugend erkennt Djobadze 1992, 105 mit Verweis auf das Gologothakreuz hier Konstantin den Großen.

[13] T'akaišvili 1960, 51–52 konnte die Inschrift 1917 noch entziffern.

[14] Ein Kopf befindet sich heute im Georgischen Nationalmuseum in Tiflis (Djobadze 1992 107). Winfield 1968, 46–47 ist der Meinung, bei den insgesamt vier vorkragenden Rechteckfeldern habe es sich um Transportvorrichtungen gehandelt.

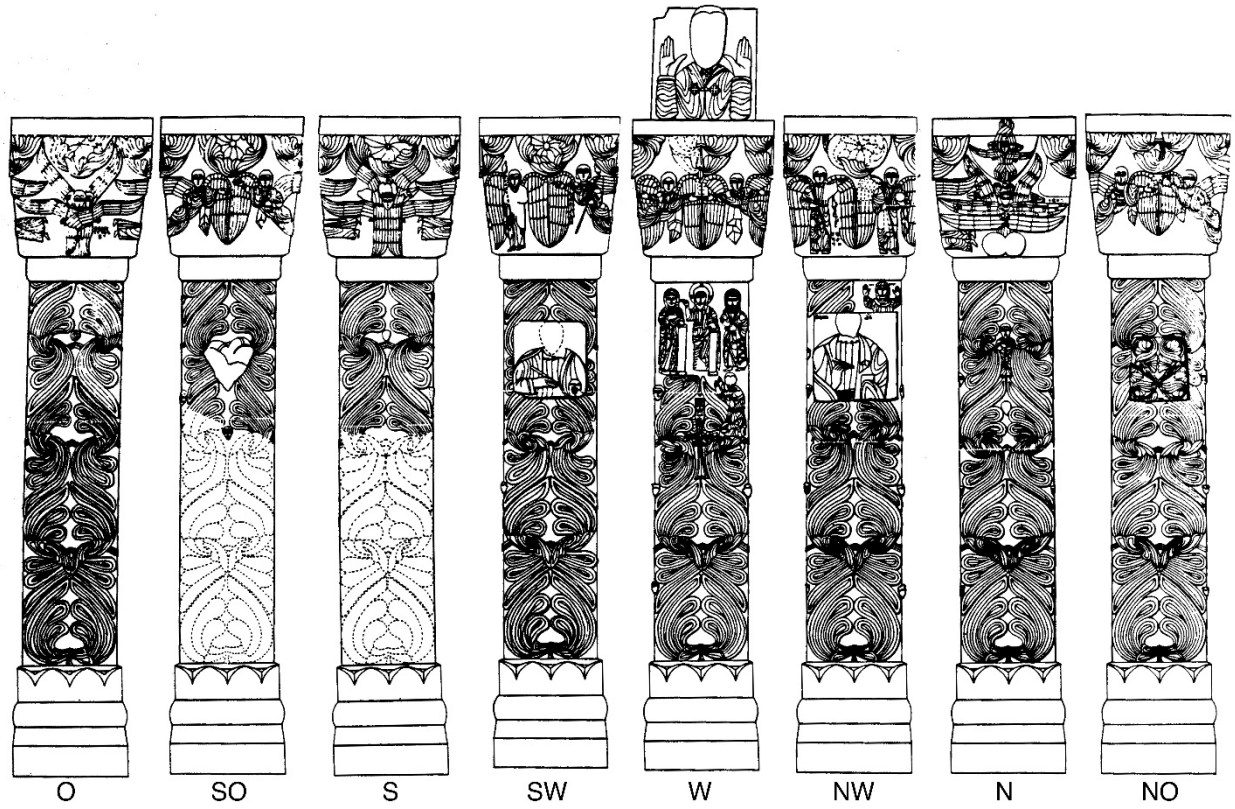


Abb. 5: Umzeichnung des Engelspfeilers von June Winfield (nach Winfield 1968; Djobadze 1992, Fig. 30).

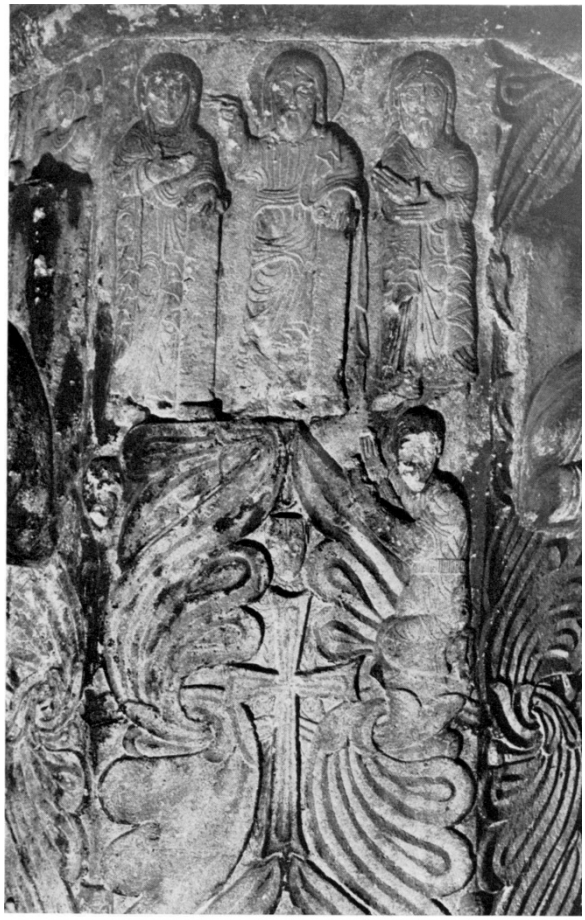


Abb. 6: Westseite des Pfeilerschaftes (nach Wienfield 1968, Pl. 20a).

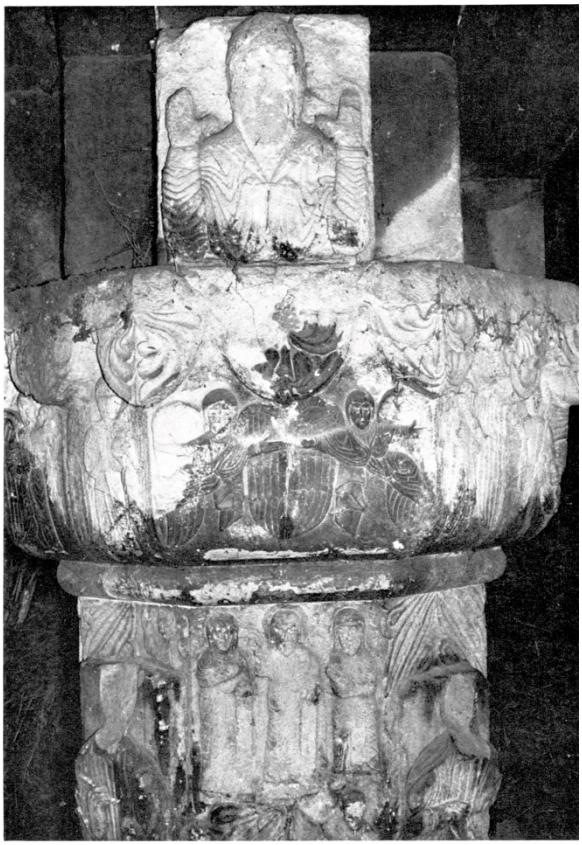


Abb. 7: Nordwest-, West- und Südwestseite von oberem Pfeilerschaft und Kapitell (nach Winfield 1968, Pl. 18a).

Dank ihrer heute nicht mehr erhaltenen Beischriften konnten die beiden Dargestellten als die Ärzteheiligen Kosmas und Damian identifiziert werden.[15] Während sich der palmettenartige Dekor oberhalb des Rechteckfeldes der südwestlichen Seite weiter fortsetzt, war in der oberen rechten Ecke der nordwestlichen Fläche ein heute ebenfalls nicht mehr erhaltenes Brustbild einer Orantin zu sehen, die durch eine Beischrift als die Heilige Nino identifiziert werden konnte (**Abb. 8**).[16]

Abb. 8: Orantin, die inschriftlich als Heilige Nino benannt war, in der oberen rechten Ecke der nordwestlichen Pfeilerseite (nach Winfield 1968, Pl. 19a).

Auf dem Pfeilerschaft ruht ein abermals achteckiges Kapitell, das auf allen Seiten verschiedene himmlische Wesen zeigt (**Abb. 4**). Im Westen, oberhalb der Deesis, sieht man zwei einander zugewandte fliegende Engel, die durch Beischriften als Erzengel Michael und Gabriel benannt sind (**Abb. 9**). Auch auf den beiden seitlich angrenzenden Kapitellseiten sind Engel dargestellt, im Nordwesten abermals zwei stehende, im Südwesten ein stehender und ein fliegender; einer der beiden Engel der südwestlichen Kapitellseite war Anfang des 20. Jh. noch inschriftlich als Raphael benannt.[17] Weitere, nun abermals einander zugewandte fliegende Engelpaare, befinden sich auf der südöstlichen und nordöstlichen Seite des Kapitells (**Abb. 10a**).

Abb. 9: West-, Nordwest- und Südwestseite des Kapitells (S. Feist).

Abb. 10a: Ost-, Südost- und Nordostseite des Kapitells (S. Feist).

Die Kapitellseiten in Süd, Ost und Nord unterscheiden sich von den bisher beschriebenen: Auf der Südseite ist ein Seraph mit den vier Gesichtern von Mensch, Löwe, Stier und Adler zu sehen, außerdem erkennt man unterhalb der Flügel Hände (**Abb. 11a+b**).

Teile dieser Darstellung gehen wohl auf die bei Ezechiel beschriebene Erscheinung Gottes zurück, doch ist hier ein Seraph statt eines Cherubs dargestellt und auch die Feuerräder fehlen.[18] Gleichermaßen mit vier Gesichtern,

[15] Tʿakaišvili 1960, 52.
[16] Tʿakaišvili 1960, 52.
[17] Tʿakaišvili 1960, 52.

[18] Ez 1, 4–28. Vgl. zu Ikonographie und Unterscheidung von Cherubim und Seraphim Michl 1962, 176–

nun aber allesamt menschlich, und nicht als Seraph, sondern als Cherub, ist das inschriftlich als Tetramorph bezeichnete himmlische Wesen auf der Ostseite des Kapitells dargestellt (Abb. 10a+b).[19] Eine weitere Variante von Engelsdarstellungen zeigt schließlich die Nordseite des Kapitells, auf der zwei übereinander angeordnete himmlische Wesen zu sehen sind (Abb. 12a–c): Dort sieht man auf einer vorkragenden annähernd halbkreisförmigen Fläche im oberen Bereich einen Seraph abermals mit vier Gesichtern. Darunter befindet sich ein gleichermaßen mit vier Gesichtern dargestellter Cherub, dessen Flügel mit Augen bedeckt und unter dem außerdem Räder zu erkennen sind. Den oberen Abschluss des Kapitells bilden insgesamt 16 der vorkragenden etwa halbkreisförmigen Flächen, die, mit Ausnahme der Nordseite mit dem gerade beschriebenen Seraph, erneut den palmettenartigen Dekor des Pfeilerschaftes aufgreifen (**Abb. 9**). Die Westseite des Pfeilers wird von einem separat gearbeiteten Brustbild einer Orantenfigur bekrönt.[20]

Abb. 10b: Detail des Tetramorphs auf der Ostseite des Kapitells (nach Winfield 1968, Pl. 23b).

Abb. 11a: Südseite des Kapitells (S. Feist).

Abb. 11b: Detail des Seraphs auf der Südseite des Kapitells (nach Winfield 1968, Pl. 25b).

Abb. 12a: Nordseite des Kapitells (S. Feist).

180; zu Ikonographie und Bedeutung des Tetramorphs s. Bergmeier 2017, 137–166.

[19] Dargestellt sind nur drei Gesichter, doch muss sich der vierte Kopf genau hinter dem vorderen befunden haben, so dass er verdeckt wird. Winfield 1968, 52 hält es wegen der vermeintlich nur drei Gesichter für möglich, dass hier die Tugenden Glaube, Hoffnung und Barmherzigkeit gemeint seien.

[20] T'akaišvili 1960, 52 identifiziert diese als Symeon Stylites d. Jüngeren. Winfield 1968, 54 meint, es handele sich um eine spätere Ergänzung.

Abb. 12b: Detail des Seraphs auf der Nordseite des Kapitells (nach Winfield 1968, Pl. 27a).

Abb. 12c: Detail des Cherubs auf der Nordseite des Kapitells (nach Winfield 1968, Pl. 26b).

Der Engelspfeiler hat in der Forschung wegen seiner Einzigartigkeit unterschiedlichste Deutungen erfahren. Vorgeschlagen wurde z. B., der Pfeiler stehe in der Tradition der Trajanssäule und verwandter Denkmäler, eine Überlegung, die schon wegen des historischen narrativen Bildprogrammes der kaiserzeitlichen Siegessäulen nicht überzeugt.[21] Auch wurden verschiedene reliefierte Stützen spätantiker und byzantinischer Zeit als Prototyp vorgeschlagen, doch unterscheidet sich der Engelspfeiler unter anderem dadurch, dass er nicht paar- oder gruppenweise angeordnet ist, und seine Funktion somit nicht nur die einer Stütze, sondern auch die des Bildträgers ist.[22] Mit Blick auf den Zeitpunkt der Entstehung wurde zudem vorgeschlagen, es handele sich bei dem Pfeiler um ein apotheotisches Denkmal der damals herrschenden Bagratiden-Dynastie, doch lässt sich kein einziges Mitglied dieses Königshauses im Bildprogramm finden.[23] Die einzig benannte historische Person ist stattdessen Grigol, der Baumeister der Kirche, an der Westseite des Pfeilerschaftes (**Abb. 6**). Wachtang Djobadze schließt daraus, es handele sich um ein ganz auf den Erbauer der Kirche ausgelegtes Bildprogramm und interpretiert die in den Ranken des Pfeilerschaftes zu sehenden Köpfe als Darstellung der beteiligten Arbeiter.[24]

Der Engelspfeiler als Wächter

Die bisherigen Deutungen des Engelspfeilers lassen seine Position unberücksichtigt. Wie bereits erwähnt, ruht die westlichste Kuppel der Südhalle auf dem Pfeiler und er war ursprünglich von außen sichtbar. Diese Position ist von besonderer Bedeutung für die Interpretation des Engelspfeilers, denn der Hauptzugang zur Kirche befand sich in Öşk Vank – ganz typisch für die Kirchen Tao-Klardschetiens – an der Südseite.[25] Das gibt auch die figürliche Bauskulptur der Südfassade zu erkennen, die sich mit ganzfigurigen Engelreliefs am oberen Abschluss des westlichen Kreuzarms, den inschriftlich benannten Erzengeln Michael und

[21] Vgl. zu dieser Überlegung Winfield 1968, 54.
[22] Vergleichsbeispiele bei Winfield 1968, 54. Auch die Säulen des Altarziboriums in San Marco in Venedig sind gleichermaßen Stütze wie Bildträger. Dennoch können auch sie u. a. wegen ihres grundverschiedenen Bildprogrammes nur bedingt als Vergleich herangezogen werden (vgl. zu den venezianischen Säulen zuletzt Favaretto 2015).
[23] Djobadze 1992, 108; Winfield 1968, 54–55. Winfield 1968, 55 hält auch eine Apotheose Symeon Stylites, der auf dem den Pfeiler bekrönenden Relief dargestellt sein soll, für möglich.
[24] Djobadze 1992, 108. Vgl. zur Rolle von Baumeistern und Arbeitern weiterer Kirchen Tao-Klardschetiens außerdem Djoabdze 1978, 128–130.
[25] Djobadze 1978, 114–115; Djobadze 1992, 92.

Gabriel sowie einem einen Stier greifenden Adler oberhalb des südlichen Vestibüls und einer um die beiden bereits erwähnten Stifterfiguren erweiterten Deesis-Szene am südlichen Parabema deutlich von den übrigen Fassaden abhebt.[26]

Abb. 13: Ein Cherub bewacht den Eingang zum Paradies, Wiener Genesis.

Betrachtet man das Bildprogramm des Pfeilers unter Berücksichtigung der ursprünglichen Zugangssituation, eröffnen sich neue Deutungsmöglichkeiten, die sich auf eine konkrete biblische Erzählung und in der Folge auf eine lange und variantenreiche Bildtradition beziehen lassen: So findet sich die Verbindung von Zugang und himmlischen Wesen schon im ersten Buch Mose, in dem es heißt: „Er vertrieb den Menschen und stellte östlich des Gartens von Eden die Kerubim auf und das lodernde Flammenschwert, damit sie den Weg zum Baum des Lebens bewachten“.[27] Ebendiese Szene, in der der Eingang zum Paradies von einem Cherub bewacht wird, ist z. B. schon in der Wiener Genesis ins Bild gesetzt (**Abb. 13**).[28] Das Motiv des Engels als Türwächter trifft man auch in gebautem Türschmuck an, z. B. am Hauptportal der Westkirche im kilikischen Alahan Manastir (**Abb. 14a–c**).

Abb. 14a: Hauptportal der Westkirche in Alahan Manastir (K. Palmberger).

Abb. 14b: Unterseite des Türsturzes des Hauptportals der Westkirche in Alahan Manastir (K. Palmberger).

[26] Djobadze 1992, 113–122; Winfield 1968, 38–44. Zu den anderen Fassaden vgl. Djobadze 1992, 112–113/ 122–125. Heute dislozierte Fragmente lassen darauf schließen, dass es ursprünglich noch weiteren Dekor gab (Winfield 1968, 42). Auch die Südfassaden nahegelegener Kirchen, etwa des Haho-Klosters oder in Dolishane, stechen durch ihren figürlichen Bauschmuck hervor (Winfield 1968, 35–38/ 58–65).

[27] Gen 3, 24. Auch die Bundeslade wird mit Darstellungen von Cherubim versehen (Ex 25, 17–22).

[28] Wien, ÖNB, Cod. Theol. gr. 31, fol. 1v (vgl. dazu Zimmermann 2003, 80).

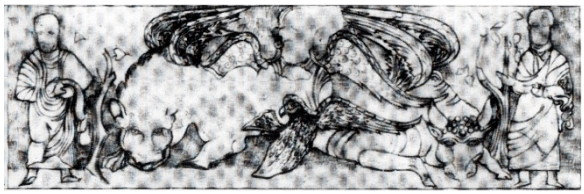


Abb. 14c: Umzeichnung des Tetramorphs an der Unterseite des Türsturzes von Michael Gough (nach Gough 1955, Tf. IX).

Dort sind auf der Stirnseite des Türsturzes zwei einander zugewandte fliegende Engel zu sehen, die zwischen sich ein Christusmedaillon tragen; zwei weitere Engel sieht man in der Türlaibung. Die Unterseite des Türsturzes trägt die Darstellung eines Cherubs, dessen Flügel von Augen überzogen sind und der die vier Wesen in sich vereint.[29] In Alahan Manastir befinden sich diese Darstellungen am Durchgang zwischen Narthex und Kirchenlanghaus, kennzeichnen also den Eintritt in den sakralen Kircheninnenraum. In Öşk Vank ist der Engelspfeiler am Hauptzugang zur Kirche, der südlichen Vorhalle, positioniert. Ganz ähnlich sowohl dem Bibeltext und seiner Illustration in der Wiener Genesis als auch dem Portal in Alahan Manastir wird der Übergang zwischen verschiedenen Sphären, zwischen profanem und sakralem Bereich, folglich auch dort von Engeln, Seraphim und Cherubim bewacht. Die Darstellung von Seraphim und Cherubim an solch liminaler Position ist in spätantiker und byzantinischer Zeit weit verbreitet, man denke etwa an den Eingang bekrönenden Türsturz der al-Muʿallaqa Kirche in Alt-Kairo, die kuppeltragenden Pendentifs der Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, die Außenfassaden der Kirche in Ahtamar oder die Fresken im Narthex der Hagia Sophia in Trapezunt, um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen, in denen diese himmlischen Wesen zugleich räumliche Sphären markieren und voneinander trennen bzw. miteinander verbinden.[30]

Der Engelspfeiler von Öşk Vank ragt allerdings durch gleich mehrere Aspekte unter den hier genannten Beispielen heraus: Zunächst ist das Bildprogramm in regionalspezifischer Weise geprägt und neben der prominenten Darstellung des Baumeisters Grigol wird die wichtigste Lokalheilige Nino gezeigt – der Legende nach erste christliche und auf Belohnung verzichtende Missionarin Georgiens. Wohl auch deshalb wird sie gemeinsam mit den beiden berühmtesten, im gesamten spätantiken und byzantinischen Reich verehrten Anagyroi Kosmas und Damian dargestellt. Die Heilsfunktion aller drei Anagyroi wird mit Cherubim und Seraphim als Wächter zu einem speziellen Bildprogramm verbunden, wodurch die Stütze der südlichen Vorhalle zu einem einzigarten Bildträger wird.[31] Mit dieser Kombination aus regionalen wie überregionalen Charakteristika

[29] Vgl. dazu die bereits erwähnte Passage bei Ez 1, 4–28. Vgl. zur Ikonographie und Bedeutung des Portals von Alahan Manastir Bergmeier 2017, 144–146 (dort auch weitere Literaturangaben).

[30] Vgl. zu einer Zusammenstellung von Darstellungen von Cherub, Seraph und Tetramorph Iacobini 2000, 129–170. Zuletzt hat sich Catharina Baumgartner, Doctoral Fellow der Distant Worlds Graduiertenschule, mit der zwischen irdischer und himmlischer Sphäre vermittelnden Funktion von Seraphim und Cherubim in Spätantike und Byzanz in ihrer 2020 an der LMU München eingereichten Dissertation beschäftigt.

[31] Diese Kombination legt zudem eine Assoziierung des palmettenartigen Dekors auf Pfeilerschaft und Kapitell mit Flügeldarstellungen der himmlischen Wesen nahe. Ähnliche Anknüpfungspunkte finden sich z. B. bei den *flabella* aus dem Schatz von Kaper Koraon (heute in Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Inv.-Nr.: BZ1936.23) und Istanbul, Archäologisches Museum (Inv.-Nr. 3758)); (s. zu den *flabella* des Schatzfundes auch Mundell Mango 1986, Kat. 31; allg. zu Seraphim und Cherubim auf *flabella* außerdem Michl 1962, 179). Weitere typische Darstellungen in Eingangsbereichen sind z. B. Paradeisos-Szenen (zum Vorbild Alt-St. Peter vgl. zuletzt de Blaauw 2018) und Christus Anapeson (Lucchesi Palli 1968; Studer-Karlen (in Vorbereitung)). Außerdem wurde die transitorische Funktion von Zugängen auch durch Inschriften verdeutlicht, die z. B. an Ps 118,20 („Das ist das Tor des Herrn, nur Gerechte treten hier ein“) angelehnt waren (Beispiele der Region Tao-Klardschetien sind zusammengestellt bei Djobadze 1986, 99; ein weiteres prominentes Beispiel ist die ebenfalls an diesen Psalm angelehnte Portalinschrift des Katharinenklosters auf dem Sinai (Ševčenko 1966, 262, Nr. 1); zur Verbindung zwischen diesem Psalm und Zugängen allgemein zuletzt Agosti 2018, 258–261).

sticht der Engelspfeiler unter den weitestgehend standardisierten architektonischen Elementen – Atria, Narthices und Türen – hervor, derer man sich in der spätantiken und byzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur zur Abgrenzung sakraler Bereiche meist bediente.[32] Dabei werden die liminalen Funktionen von ebendiesen Atria, Narthices und Türen in Öşk Vank in nur einer Stütze vereint, ist der Engelspfeiler in seinem Bildprogramm doch wohldurchdachte Barriere, die den Eingang in den Sakralraum vorbildlich bewacht.

Dank

Mein Dank gilt Franz Alto Bauer und Rolf M. Schneider, die meine Dissertation zur Byzantinischen Sakralarchitektur der Dunklen Jahrhunderte als *Principal Investigators* der Graduiertenschule *Distant Worlds* zwischen 2013 und 2016 betreut haben. 2013 fand unter ihrer Leitung eine Exkursion der Spätantiken und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte und der Klassischen Archäologie in die Nordost-Türkei statt, in deren Rahmen wir gemeinsam Öşk Vank besuchten. Die ausführliche Diskussion, noch viel mehr aber die Begeisterung über den einzigartigen Engelspfeiler waren Ausgangspunkt für die hier verschriftlichten Überlegungen. Für Anregung und Diskussion sei außerdem Armin Bergmeier und Norbert Zimmermann gedankt. Widmen darf ich den Beitrag Johannes G. Deckers zum 80. Geburtstag.

[32] Die Literatur zu Eingangsbereichen auch unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer liminalen Funktion ist kaum noch zu überblicken. Stellvertretend sei verwiesen auf einige der zuletzt erschienenen Sammelbände: Westcoat – Ousterhout 2012; Kurapkat – Schneider – Wulf-Rheidt 2014; van Opstall 2018; Doležalová – Foletti 2019. Für Portale seien zudem die Untersuchungen von Spieser genannt (Spieser 1995; ders. 2009 (in Iacobini 2009 mit weiteren Beiträgen)). Neben Atrien und Narthices wurden in der christlichen Sakralarchitektur auch klassische Bogenarchitekturen, Tetrapyla u. Ä. als Zugänge genutzt (vgl. dazu Jacobs 2014). Vgl. zu Untersuchungen, was das Durchschreiten von Durchgängen bei Besuchern bewirken kann, z. B. Radvansky – Copeland 2006; Radvansky – Krawietz – Tamplin 2011.

Bibliographie

Agosti 2018
G. Agosti, Versus *De Limine* and *In Limine*. Displaying Greek *paideia* at the Entrance of Early Christian Churches, in: E. M. van Opstall (ed.), Sacred Thresholds. The Door of the Sanctuary in Late Antiquity (Leiden – Boston 2018) 254–281.

Bergmeier 2017
A. F. Bergmeier, Visionserwartungen. Visualisierung und Präsenzerfahrung des Göttlichen in der Spätantike (Wiesbaden 2017).

de Blauuw 2018
S. de Blaauw, The Paradise of Saint Peter's, in: E. M. van Opstall (ed.), Sacred Thresholds. The Door of the Sanctuary in Late Antiquity (Leiden – Boston 2018) 160–186.

Der Nersessian 1965
S. Der Nersessian, Aght'amar. Church of the Holy Cross (Cambridge 1965).

Djobadze 1976
W. Djobadze, The Donor Reliefs and the Date of the Church at Oški, Byzantinische Zeitschrift 69, 1976, 39–62.

Djobadze 1978
W. Djobadze, The Georgian Churches of Tao-Klarjetʿi: Construction Methods and Materials, Oriens Christianus 62, 1978, 114–134.

Djobadze 1986
W. Djobadze, Observations on the Architectural Sculpture of Tao-Klarjetʿi Churches Around One Thousand, in: O. Feld – U. Peschlow (eds.), Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst. Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet (Bonn 1986) 81–100.

Djobadze 1988
W. Djobadze, Four Deesis Themes in the Church of Oški, Oriens Christianus 72, 1988, 168–182.

Djobadze 1992
W. Djobadze, Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klarjeti and Šavšeti (Stuttgart 1992).

Doležalová – Foletti 2019
K. Doležalova – I. Foletti (eds.), The Notion of Liminality and the Medieval Sacred Space (Brno 2019).

Favaretto 2015
I. Favaretto (ed.), Le colonne del ciborio. Arte, storia, restauri della Basilica di San Marco a Venezia (Venedig 2015).

Gough 1955
M. Gough, Some Recent Finds at Alahan (Koja Kalessi), Anatolian Studies 5, 1955, 115–123.

Iacobini 2000
A. Iacobini, Visione dipinte. Immagini della contemplazione negli affreschi di Bawit (Rom 2000).

Iacobini 2009
A. Iacobini (ed.), Le porte del Paradiso. Arte e tecnologia bizantina tra Italia e Mediterraneo (Rom 2009).

Jacobs 2014
I. Jacobs, Ecclesiastical Dominance and Urban Setting. Colonnaded Street as Back-Drop for Christian Display, Antiquité Tardive 22, 2014, 281–304.

Kurapkat – Schneider – Wulf-Rheidt 2014
D. Kurapkat – P. I. Schneider – U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), Die Architektur des Weges. Gestaltete Bewegung im gebauten Raum. Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 8.–11. Februar 2012, veranstaltet vom Architekturreferat des DAI (Regensburg 2014).

Lucchesi Palli 1968
E. Lucchesi Palli, Christus – Anapeson, in: Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie 1, 2012, 396–398.

Michl 1962
J. Michl, Engel IV (christlich), in: Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 5, 1962, 109–200.

Mundell Mango 1986
M. Mundell Mango, Silver from Early Byzantium. The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures (Baltimore 1986).

van Opstall 2018
E. M. van Opstall (ed.), Sacred Thresholds. The Door of the Sanctuary in Late Antiquity (Leiden – Boston 2018).

Radvansky – Copeland 2006
G. A. Radvansky – D. E. Copeland, Walking through Doorways Causes Forgetting: Situation Models and Experienced Space, Memory & Cognition 34.5, 2006, 1150–1156.

Radvansky – Krawietz – Tamplin 2011
G. A. Radvansky – S. A. Krawietz – A. K. Tamplin, Walking through Doorways Causes Forgetting: Further Explorations, The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology 64, 2011, 1632–1645.

Ševčenko 1966
I. Ševčenko, The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of the Inscriptions, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 20, 1966, 255–264.

Sinclair 1989
T. A. Sinclair, Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey, Bd. 2 (London 1989).

Spieser 1995
J.-M. Spieser, Portes, limites et organisation de l'espace dans les églises paléochrétiennes, Klio 77, 1995, 433–445.

Spieser 2009
J.-M. Spieser, Réflexions sur décor et fonctions des portes monumentales, in: A. Iacobini (ed.), Le porte del Paradiso. Arte e tecnologia bizantina tra Italia e Mediterraneo (Rom 2009) 65–73.

Studer-Karlen (in Vorbereitung)
M. Studer-Karlen, Das ikonographische Programm der byzantinischen Kirchen und die Liturgie: Untersuchungen zum Christus Anapeson (in Vorbereitung).

Tʿakaišvili 1960
E. Tʿakaišvili, 1917 c'lis arḥeologiuri ekspedicia Samḫretʿ Sakʿartʿveloši (Tiflis 1960).

Westcoat – Ousterhout 2012
B. D. Westcoat – R. G. Ousterhout (eds.), Architecture of the Sacred. Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium (Cambridge 2012).

Winfield 1968
D. Winfield, Some Early Figure Sculpture from North-East Turkey, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 31, 1968, 33–72.

Zimmermann 2003
B. Zimmermann, Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei (Wiesbaden 2003).

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 47–59. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11948

The Lost Seal of a Tax Collector

Zsombor J. Földi

Abstract: The present contribution deals with the loss of cylinder seals in 3rd and 2nd millennium BCE Mesopotamia. It gives an overview of the official documents drawn up when cylinder seals were lost and presents a hitherto unpublished example. In addition, this article presents a handful of texts from other genres that attest to the loss of seals. The study ends with a discussion of the similarities and differences between the known Old Babylonian documents recording seal loss, and the possible conclusions that can be drawn from them.

Foreword

While working on his PhD research project on Mesopotamian court procedure in the Old Babylonian period (2003–1595 BCE), the author benefitted from being a doctoral fellow at the *Graduate School Distant Worlds* (Nov. 2014–Oct. 2017).[1] One of the main goals of his project was to provide up-to-date editions of Old Babylonian court documents from the city of Larsa (modern Senkereh in southern Iraq) and its neighbourhood. As the Yale Babylonian Collection is particularly rich in 'Larsa' material, a visit to New Haven soon turned out to be essential. The financial support of GSDW allowed the author to spend five weeks at Yale in Autumn 2015, and it was during this stay that he came across YBC 11976, a tablet edited in the following contribution. Moreover, it was also due to GSDW that the author came into contact with the DigANES project of A. Otto, A. Kurmangaliev, and E. Roßberger (since then ACAWAI-CS[2]) –, all of whom offered him helpful advice in the development of his current research project on Old and Middle Babylonian seal inscriptions.[3] It seems therefore appropriate to offer this contribution to the last fascicle of *Distant Worlds Journal*.

Introduction

In ancient Mesopotamia, legal documents were written on clay tablets, and the primary method of authenticating them was to use one's cylinder seal.[4] The seal was rolled or impressed on the wet clay to express the seal owner's acknowledgement of the contents of the document, and/or his presence when it was drawn up. This act could happen either before or after the document was written. Cylinder seals, made of precious or semi-precious stone for the most part, usually depict one or more of a handful of scenes that often feature divine and semi-divine beings, animals, or the king himself. These depictions are frequently accompanied by an

[1] The PhD thesis resulting from this research (Földi 2018) is currently being prepared for publication.

[2] *Annotated Corpus of Ancient West Asian Imagery: Cylinder Seals*, www.acawai-cs.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/ (accessed 31.12.2020).

[3] *Die Götter der Siegelgebete. Gottheiten und ihre Epitheta in den spätaltbabylonischen und kassitenzeitlichen Siegelinschriften*, see www.assyriologie.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte/siegelinschriften/index.html (accessed 31.12.2020). The author's research is funded by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung (Az. 40.19.0.033AA) and benefits from cooperation with the MTA–ELTE Lendület *Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals and Divine World* Research Group (Eötvös Loránd Research Network) in Budapest.

[4] For an overview of seals and sealing in Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East, see Collon [2]2005.

inscription, naming the seal owner as a rule and identifying him/her by paternal name, title, or office etc. The engraved imagery and text on cylinder seals made each one unique and they can be seen as a symbol of the owner's identity. But what happened if one lost one's seal?

Sources

Several 'announcements of lost seals' dating from the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE are preserved. These are legal documents which name the seal's owner and the day the seal was lost, probably in order to avoid legal claims that resulted from the seal's unauthorized use. In one instance, the text seems to be a model exercise composed for the purposes of scribal education. What follows is a brief overview of the available sources.

1) The earliest of such records dates to Ur III times (2012–2004 BCE). BiMes. 6, 55[5] (Umma; AS 09(/07/19)) is written in Sumerian, and reads: (1–4) The tur-ul$_x$(?)[6]-stone seal of Lu-Ninšuburka has been lost (ú-gu ba-an-dé) since Month VII, the 19th day passed (ba-ra-zal-la-ta). (5)The year following (the year): 'The en(-priestess) of Nanna of Gaeš was appointed.' The edition does not reveal whether or not the tablet itself was sealed; unfortunately, CDLI does not offer any image.[7]

2) The first known Old Babylonian example of an announcement of a lost cylinder seal was OrNS 37, 217[8] (Dilbat; Ad 23/11/01), which was published by H. Klengel in 1968. It is in Akkadian and reads as follows: (1–5)The name seal (^{na4}KIŠIB *šu-mi*)[9] of Ṣillī-Uraš has been lost (*iḫliq*) since (*ištu*) Month XI, the 1st day. (6–9)Before Irībam(?)-Uraš,[10] the deputy; before Ēṭirum, son of Gimil-Marduk; before Iddin-Lāgamāl, son of Ilī-iddinam; before Marduk-muballiṭ, scribe. (10–12)Month XI, the 1st day; the year: 'King Ammī-ditāna, his images of copper'. Seals: (S.1)(uninscribed); (S.2)Inbuša, son of Pirḫum, servant of [DN]. (S.3)Iddin-Lāgamāl, son of Ilī-iddinam, servant of Lugal-Gudua.[11]

[5] UT 1599-16 (CDLI P105806); ed. Hallo 1977, 55.

[6] See Civil *apud* Hallo 1981.

[7] Apart from this document, the Ur III evidence is scant and is further complicated by the multiple meanings of Sumerian kišib, i.e. 'seal' or 'sealed document', depending on the context. (On this ambiguity see below; for an overview of the terminology see Radner 2010, 466–467.) JCS Suppl. Ser. 5, 104 (ed. Studevent-Hickman 2018, 145) deals with the loss of a sealed document *concerning* a ditch and dated to a year of Ibbi-Sîn (2028–2004 BCE); an alternative interpretation as a cylinder seal lost *in* the ditch (Sharlach 2019, 162–163) is artificial and does not account for the date, nor for the remark that the seal(ed document), if found, should be destroyed. For references on lost tablets that should be destroyed see already Hallo (1977, 56 with n. 5) and Kleinerman (2011, 40 with n. 93; apparently interpreting them as seals rather than as sealed tablets), and most recently Widell (2020, 121 with n. 4) with further references.

[8] VAT 6002 (CDLI -); ed. Klengel 1968 and Charpin 2017, 169. For a photo of the obverse see Stein 1997, 118 fig. 122. The tablet was collated by the author in 2016.

[9] See already Michalowski *apud* Hallo 1977, 59 n. 23; Stol 1980, 187 n. 6.

[10] Klengel (1968, 218 n. 3), assuming that the scribe skipped the damage of this line, considered *i-bi-* and *i-din-* as possible readings and called attention to the prosopographical evidence supporting the latter. Pientka (1998, 412 no. 13) and Charpin (2017, 169) accepted Klengel's prosopographical arguments and read Iddin(*i*-[*d*]*in*$^!$)-Uraš. Although collation cannot fully resolve the matter, the preserved traces make one expect four signs in the first part of the name. Of possible readings such as *i-k*[*u*$^!$-*u*]*n*$^!$*-pí-*, *i-n*[*a-q*]*á*$^!$*-bé-*, *i-p*[*í*$^!$*-i*]*q*$^!$- or *i-r*[*i-b*]*a-am*$^!$-, the last one is the most convincing from an epigraphical point of view. That name, either as Irībam-Uraš (e.g., YOS 13, 261: 7) or as Erībam-Uraš (e.g., VS 7, 101: 6 with seal and YOS 13, 371: 19 with seal B), is only infrequently attested in records from Dilbat.

[11] For a description of S.1 see Klengel 1968, 219. The remaining two seals, designated by Klengel as illegible, read as follows: S.2 [*i*]*n-bu-*[*ša*] / [DU]MU ˹*pir*˺*-ḫu-*[*um*] / [ARAD] ˹^{d}x˺ [x (x)]. S.3 [*i-di*]*n-*^{d}*la-*˹*ga*˺*-*[*ma-al*] / [DUMU] *ì-lí-i-d*[*in-nam*] / [ARAD] ^{d}lugal$^!$-gú-[du$_8$-a]. Inbuša, son of Pirḫum appears to be unknown so far. As prosopographical parallels (Pientka 1998, 412 no. 13) show, Ēṭirum son of Gimil-Marduk had a seal inscribed with his own name. This leads to the assumption that S.1 and S.2 were used by Irībam(?)-Uraš and Marduk-muballiṭ; Pirḫum might be the father of one of them. For S.3 see the attestations noted by Pientka (1998, 412 no. 13).

3) AUCT 5, 47[12] (Kiš[?]; date lost[13]) reads: (1–5)The name seal (na4KIŠIB *šu-mi*) of the general (UGULA MAR.TU) Warad-Sîn has been lost (*iḫliq*) in/at Bāb-Niraḫ[14] since (*ištu*) Month XI, the 30th day. The remainder of the text is lost; the CDLI image shows no clear traces of seal impressions.

4) AulaOr. 20, 94[15] (Sippar; Aṣ 09/06/04) reads as follows: (1–7)The name seal (na4KIŠIB *šu-mi*) of Ilšu-ibni, the captain (UGULA [ĜIDRU]) of the troops at Šarrum-laba, was lost (*ḫaliq*) in the house of Tarību(m), son of Muti-Sumuqan(?) during the feast of (the god) Šubula, since (*ištu*) Month VI, the 4th day. (8–16)Before Pirḫum, son of Ina-palêšu; before the captain Ina-palêšu, son of Ilšu-nāṣir; before Lugalbi-dugga, the chief lamentation priest of Ištar of Akkade; before Marduk-muballiṭ, son of Izza[…]; before Ubār-Nabûm, military scribe; before Šumum-līṣi, military scribe. (17–20)Month VI, the 4th day; the year: 'King Ammī-ṣadūqa, a statue of his sovereignty (with) a curved staff of gold'. Seals: (S.1)Šumum-līṣi, son of Bēlšunu, servant of Ninsianna and [DN]; (S.2)(uninscribed) 'seal of [Pirḫum(?)]'; (S.3)(uninscribed) 'seal of Ina-palêšu'; (S.4)(uninscribed) 'seal of Lugalbi-dugga'.

5) A further case is provided by collections of Sumerian literary letters and model contracts studied as part of Old Babylonian scribal education.[16] SEpM 14 is preserved on multiple school tablets from Nippur, but a Mari copy and tablets of unclear provenience are also known, some of them probably from Larsa or its vicinity. The manuscripts show considerable variation in the names of witnesses, which encourages one to question the authenticity of the original case.[17] The composition is to be dated to the late Ur III to early Old Babylonian times. The text tells that a seal inscribed with the name (kišib(3) mu-sar) of the merchant Ur-DUN was lost, and, at the (Nippur) assembly's order, the herald sounded the horn throughout the streets, announcing the loss. As a consequence, no one can have any claim against Ur-DUN. Leading officials of Nippur appear as witnesses: a governor, a temple manager, a scholar, a scribe, a steward, a lamentation priest, a mayor and the herald himself.

There has been some debate about whether the crucial sign at the beginning of SEpM 14 and in similar stipulations has to be read as dub 'tablet', kišib or kišib3(DUB), and whether kišib should be understood as a 'sealed document' or a '(cylinder) seal' (a question left open by the absence of the determinative na4 'stone'). In the author's opinion, whenever the breaking of such lost objects is stipulated, sealed documents rather than cylinder seals are meant:[18] the seals themselves were considered too

[12] AUAM 73.2661 (CDLI P249520); ed. van Koppen 2002, 157 n. 11; Sigrist 2003, 124 and Charpin 2017, 169–170.

[13] Although the CDLI image shows some traces of signs at the end of the reverse, these do not suffice for a safe restoration of a year-name. As the date of the loss of the seal reveals, the tablet was probably dated to 11/30. The palaeography points to a Late Old Babylonian date.

[14] This GN is otherwise known from YOS 13, 205: 2 (see Groneberg 1980, 32 and Pientka 1998, 365 *Bāb-Šaḫan; Charpin 2005, 416 and 2017, 170), a Late Old Babylonian text from Kiš. An origin in the vicinity of Kiš thus seems likely.

[15] BM 97468 (CDLI P512197); ed. De Graef 2002, 78–79.

[16] SEpM 14 (CDLI P478975 = ETCSL 5.7.a); ed. Kleinerman 2011, 154–155 and 269–272 with earlier literature. Add Peterson 2010, 566–567 (UM 29-13-503; from Nippur) and Spada 2011, 238–239 §41 (in an anonymous private collection; possibly from Isin). The corresponding sections of NBC 7800 and YBC 12074 have been edited meanwhile by Bodine 2014, 123–130 and 138–143 (with Spada 2017, 305 §19).

[17] See Michalowski 2011, 23 and Kleinerman 2011, 45–47 with earlier literature; cf. also Charpin 2017, 170.

[18] See also Hallo 2002, 151 with n. 64 with further attestations. This applies to the corresponding section of YOS 1, 28 as well (cf. Roth 1979, 54 and [2]1997, 42; Kleinerman 2011, 41). For a clear case of a sealed document (kišib) that should be destroyed, see Spada 2011, 214–215 §5; see also Spada 2017, 305 and Reid – Spada 2020 with some recently published parallels.

expensive to destroy them (instead of re-cutting them etc.).[19] In SEpM 14, where such a stipulation is absent, it seems more likely that a cylinder seal was meant: if a sealed contract were implied, it would have been satisfactory to inform the contractual partner instead of all community members.

6) Further cases of lost seals are known from references in other genres. An example of the first is the letter AbB 11, 77 (Sippar; undated[20]), the relevant passage of which reads: (24–27)My seal has been lost (*iḫliq-ma*) at Maškan (or: at the threshing floor), therefore I sealed with another (or: another person's) seal.[21] Sometimes one sealed a contract with someone else's seal and a corresponding clause explained why,[22] as appears to be the case in JCS 5, 80[23] (Ṣupur-Šubula; Ae 'g'/04/10), the relevant passage of which reads as follows: (51–52)The seal of the captain (UGULA ĜIDRU) Ilšu-nāṣir was lost (*ḫaliq-ma*), therefore he sealed with a seal (that is) not his (*i-na la ku-nu-ki-šu ik-ˀnu**ˀ*-uk**[24]). Even if their loss is not explicitly referred to, further cases of lost seals can be deduced using other information, as in the case of the seal of one Sîn-iddinam, an Overseer of Merchants of Sippar: based on prosopographical data and what is known of his activities in Ḫalab (Aleppo), Stol assumed that he 'may have lost his seal in Syria during a business trip'.[25]

Finally, the loss of personal seals[26] is known from divinatory and magical contexts from the 1st millennium BCE. Dreaming of having one's cylinder seal taken by someone else was a bad omen,[27] and there are apotropaic rituals (namburbi) with instructions on what to do if someone's cylinder seal was broken, lost, or fell into a canal.[28]

[19] Cylinder seals were usually made of semi-precious or precious stones – in the Old Babylonian period mostly of haematite and goethite but lapis lazuli is also attested – that had to be imported and were expensive. Their value and importance are shown by the fact that they sometimes appear in inheritance division contracts as part of the inheritance (see Kalla 2008, 198 with n. 51) and that a son could continue using his father's seal without any restriction (compare n. 11 above). Some seals are known to have remained in use for more than a century (see, e.g., Van Lerberghe – Voet 1989; compare Colbow 2002, I, 19).

[20] The first editor of the letter assumed, probably for reasons of palaeography, that the letter was written in the reign of Ammī-ditāna (Ungnad 1915, 48).

[21] CBS 1573 (CDLI P258906); ed. Stol 1986, 44–45 no. 77 (with earlier literature); cf. also Kraus 1985, 145.

[22] On such instances see Patrier 2017 (with earlier literature).

[23] MAH 15970 (CDLI P423939); ed. Szlechter 1953, 94–95 no. 22.

[24] Collation from the CDLI image confirms the final verb's reading as proposed by CAD L (1973, 2). See also Radner (2010, 468 §4): 'he sealed (it) with a seal that was not his own'.

[25] Stol 2016, 737 *ad* no. 60; on the seal itself see also Frayne 1990, 410 RIME 4.3.8.2007 and Lambert 2004.

[26] On a lapis lazuli seal, allegedly stolen from Assyria and later recovered by Sennacherib, see Casero Chamorro 2017; on the loss of a divine seal from the 1st mill. BCE see most recently Joannès 2019 (both with earlier literature).

[27] Oppenheim 1956, 276–277 with Hallo 1977, 58.

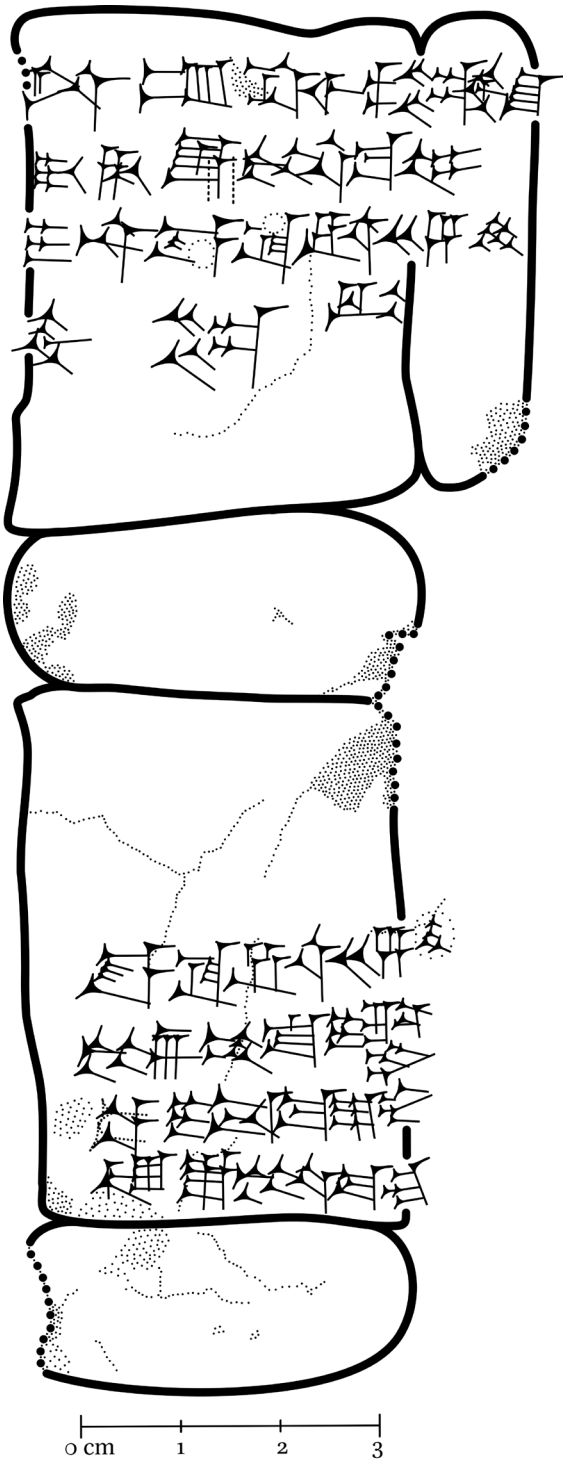
[28] LKA 110, see Maul 1994, 208–209 with earlier literature.

A new text: YBC 11976

Dimensions: 4.8×3.7×1.9 cm
Mus. no.: YPM BC 25772 = YBC 11976
CDLI no.: P311945
Date: Si 10/07/25
Literature: Beckman 2000, 230 (description)

obv.
1.) ^{na_4}KIŠIB *ša-lim-pa-li-iḫ-šu*
2.) ENKU *e-mu-ut-ba-lum*
3.) *i-na* ^{iti}DU$_6$.KÙ U$_4$ 25.KAM
4.) *iḫ-li-iq*
(-)
lo.e.
(-)
rev.
(-)
5.) ^{iti}DU$_6^!$.KÙ U$_4$ 25.KAM
6.) mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* / lugal
7.) °érin° *i-da-ma-ra-aṣ*
8.) *ù e-mu-⌜ut-ba-la⌝*
up.e.
(-)

seals[29]
S.1) *pi-ir-ḫu-*[*um*]
DUMU ^{d}NIN.URTA-⌜*a-bi*⌝
ARAD *sa-am-su-i-lu-na*
S.2) *ṣi-lí-*^{d}[…]
DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-*[*mil*$^{?}$]
ARAD ^{d}DIĜIR.M[AR.TU]
S.3) ⌜x x⌝ […]
DUMU *zi-ki-ir-*[*ì-lí-šu*]
ARAD $^{d?}$DIĜIR.M[AR$^{?}$.TU$^{?}$]



(1–4)The seal of Šalim-pāliḫšu, the tax collector of Emutbālum, has been lost in Month VII, on the 25th day.
(5–8)Month VII, the 25th day; the year: 'King Samsu-ilūna, the army(ies) of Ida-Maraṣ and Emutbālum'.

Seals: (S.1)Pirḫu[m], son of Ninurta-abī, servant of Samsu-ilūna. (S.2)Ṣillī-[DN], son of Sîn-gā[mil(?)],[30] servant of Il-A[murrum]. (S.3)…, son of Zikir-[ilīšu(?)],[31] servant of Il-A[murrum(?)].

[29] Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it has not been possible to collate the seal inscriptions from the original. For this reason, only a transliteration of them can be provided here.

[30] Besides *-ga-*[*mil*], the less frequently attested *-kà-*[*ši-id*] might be another possible restoration.
[31] While the restoration is uncertain, Zikir-ilīšu is by far the most frequently attested name beginning Zikir-.

Discussion

The text records the loss of a seal of a certain Šalim-pāliḫšu, designated as 'tax collector of Emutbālum'. The name Emutbālum or Yamutbālum, originally a region east of the Tigris, was transferred to Larsa and its neighbourhood under Kudur-Mabuk and his sons Warad-Sîn (1834–1823 BCE) and Rīm-Sîn I (1822–1763 BCE). After Ḫammu-rāpi's (1792–1750 BCE) conquest of Larsa, the territory of the former Kingdom of Larsa became part of the Kingdom of Babylon and was referred to as Emutbālum.[32] In the 8th year of Ḫammu-rāpi's successor Samsu-ilūna (1749–1712 BCE), several cities of southern Babylonia simultaneously revolted against Babylon. In his 9th year (Si 09), Samsu-ilūna defeated the forces of Ida-Maraṣ, Emutbālum, Uruk and Isin (and eventually of Ešnunna); this event was commemorated in the ceremonial name of his next year,[33] and an abbreviated form of this appears in YBC 11976.[34]

It was in this historical context that YBC 11976 was written. Although the text itself does not reveal where it was drawn up, the appearance of a tax collector of Emutbālum makes an origin in southern Babylonia[35] likely. While there are no texts dated to Si 09 from the south, documents from Si 10 are represented in all major southern cities,[36] which makes a southern origin plausible. The use of the sign PI for /pi/ in S.1: 1 may be considered an orthographic argument for a southern origin.

The name Šalim-pāliḫ-DN and its short form Šalim-pāliḫšu[37] are infrequently attested in southern Babylonian records; most of the known attestations come from the north (especially from Sippar[38]), from Mari,[39] and the Diyāla region.[40] An attestation in a 'Larsa' text (possibly from the neighbouring town Kutalla) occurs in MLC 1858: 35.[41] To sum up, the circumstances point to a tax collector[42] of northern Babylonian origin who was sent by the Babylonian government to the south where the revolt had just been crushed by Samsu-ilūna's troops. Considering that even in times of peace it could be necessary to have the tax collector accompanied by soldiers,[43] Šalim-pāliḫšu's task was presumably a challenging one.

[32] See Stol 1976, 63–72.

[33] See Horsnell 1999, II, 193–195. For an important new source on Samsu-ilūna's struggle for the south see now Lambert – Weeden 2020.

[34] YBC 11976 is thus one of the YBC texts from the reign of Samsu-ilūna that was not included in S. I. Feigin's (1979) YOS 12. That volume contains the majority of dated tablets from Samsu-ilūna's reign between YBC 3315 (YOS 12, 168) and YBC 9101 (YOS 12, 309), but not those with lower or higher numbers. On similar tablets published in the meantime see Földi 2020, 43 n. 3 (with an edition of YBC 10839 in the same study).

[35] The text might thus come from Larsa or its neighbourhood, which are particularly well-represented in the Yale Babylonian Collection's holdings.

[36] See Stol 1976, 57 and now Lambert – Weeden 2020, 27. Compare especially two texts from the same month as YBC 11976: ŠumAkk. 192 = St. Louis 223 (Si 10/07/27), a delivery of sesame from the 'Bad-tibira' archive and YOS 12, 317 (Si 10/07/21) from the archive of a certain Nabi-Sîn.

[37] 'He who fears DN is doing well' and 'He who fears him is doing well', respectively. That the latter is indeed a short form of the former is shown by prosopographical evidence; see, e.g., Tanret 2010, 37 n. 25 and 44 n. 4.

[38] Cf. Bowes 1987, 1131 and 1202. Especially well-known is one Šalim-pāliḫ-Marduk, (second) temple manager (*šangûm*) of Šamaš (see Tanret 2010, 100–104). For a Šalim-pāliḫ-Marduk in Dilbat see VS 7, 128: 29. A Šalim-pāliḫša occurs in VS 18, 83: 8 (collated), possibly from Kiš.

[39] Birot – Kupper – Rouault 1979, 190.

[40] See, for instance, BIN 7, 80: 16 (Šaduppûm); JCS 9, 118 no. 102: 8 (Tutub); unpubl. FLP 2166: 6 *ša-lim-pa-la-aḫ-ša* (Nērebtum(?); courtesy P. Paoletti).

[41] Földi 2018, 107–110 (edition) and 801 (autograph).

[42] Generally, the Akkadian term *mušaddinum* has a broader meaning: 'collecting agent (of dues, taxes, and other payments)', see CAD M2 (1977), 252–253. However, the genitive construction with the name of a province ('the collector of GN') implies that a high official in charge of taxes from an entire province of the kingdom was meant.

[43] See AbB 13, 31, a letter sent by Ḫammu-rāpi to his governor Sîn-iddinam, in which the king recounts how Šēp-Sîn, the Overseer of Merchants of Larsa has been complaining to the king about the district governors who obstructed him in his collection of silver for Babylon. In response to this complain Ḫammu-rāpi

What remains is to overview the similarities and differences between the already known Old Babylonian legal documents and YBC 11976. These are summarized in the following chart:

	YBC 11976	AUCT 5, 47	OrNS 37, 217	AulaOr. 20, 94
seal's description	seal	name seal	name seal	name seal
seal owner	Šalim-pāliḫšu	Warad-Sîn	Ṣillī-Uraš	Ilšu-ibni
title or office	tax collector of Emutbālum	General	–	captain of the troops at Šarrum-laba
main verb	has been lost (*iḫliq*)	has been lost (*iḫliq*)	has been lost (*iḫliq*)	was lost (*ḫaliq*)
where?	–	in/at Bāb-Niraḫ	–	in the house of Tarību(m), son of Muti-Sumuqan(?) during the feast of (the god) Šubula
when?	on (*ina*) 07/25	since (*ištu*) 11/30	since (*ištu*) 11/01	since (*ištu*) 06/04
Date	Si 10/07/25	(lost)	Ad 23/11/01	Aṣ 09/06/04
Witnesses	–	(lost)	4	6
Seals	3	(not sealed or lost)	3 (at least 1 of a witness)	4 (at least 3 of the witnesses)

All four documents were written in Akkadian and come from the Kingdom of Babylon. YBC 11976's wording almost exactly corresponds to that of OrNS 37, 217, AUCT 5, 47 and AulaOr. 20, 94: they all use the verb *ḫalāqum* 'to disappear, to be/get lost', the former three in the preterite *iḫliq*, and AulaOr. 20, 94 in the stative form *ḫaliq*.

While each of the three late Old Babylonian texts speaks of a 'name seal' (*kunuk šumim*) of PN, YBC 11976 has only 'seal' of PN.[44] If the wording reflects a deliberate differentiation, this might mean that Šalim-pāliḫšu's seal was uninscribed.[45] Nevertheless, a parallel case from Larsa shows that a tax collector of similarly high position might very well possess a seal with an inscription describing him as a servant of the king. 'Šamaš-lamassašu, son of Muḫaddûm, servant of Ḫammu-rāpi': this seal inscription is preserved on CHJ, HE 139 and JCS 31, 140 no. 13 – the former text designates him as tax collector, the latter relates that he was responsible for collecting ca. 50 kg of silver for the Palace, out of the so-called *zagmukkum*-silver of Emutbālum 'that was given to Šamaš-lamassašu for collecting'.[46] Both texts are dated to the 40th year of Ḫammu-rāpi, and thus they precede YBC 11976 by 13 years. This means that Šamaš-lamassašu had a very similar title and task to Šalim-pāliḫšu. Alternatively, one might consider if the further specification of a seal as 'name seal' in later documents reflects a development within the

orders Sîn-iddinam to have the tax collector accompanied by soldier(s).

[44] Unlike the above case of BiMes. 6, 55, the material of the cylinder seal is never specified.

[45] Alternatively, it might have been inscribed with a seal prayer that did not, as a rule, contain the owner's name.

[46] See Stol 1982, 152–154. On the seal inscription itself see also Frayne 1990, 368–369 RIME 4.3.6.2017.

genre, even if kišib$_{(3)}$ mu-sar in the Sumerian text of SEpM 14 has the same meaning as *kunuk šumim*.

Only two of the four documents, OrNS 37, 217 and AulaOr. 20, 94, are witnessed by high officials and/or well-known members of the community; the corresponding section of AUCT 5, 47 is lost. YBC 11976 does not contain a list of witnesses. Yet the sealings on OrNS 37, 217 and AulaOr. 20, 94 show that it was the witnesses who sealed the document, and the sealings on YBC 11976 have the same authenticating function despite the lack of a witness list. It is impossible to tell who the people sealing YBC 11976 were, however their high status may be indicated by the seal inscription of one of them (S.1). While ordinary people described themselves as a servant of a deity, state officials, especially the higher-ranking ones, emphasized their position by referring to themselves as a servant of the king (in Pirḫum's case, of Samsu-ilūna).

In fact, the seal owners might belong to the same professional circle: except for OrNS 37, 217, all these documents reveal that the seal owner was a state official, either in the Palace's service (as a tax collector) or in the army's (as an officer). This in turn suggests that the Babylonian state was interested in having such documents drawn up. It cannot yet be shown if Ṣillī-Uraš in OrNS 37, 217 was associated with the Palace in any way.[47]

All four documents name the exact day on which the seal was lost and at least three of them were dated to the very day this happened, resulting in a kind of 'double-dating'. This either means that the loss of a seal was reported immediately and a corresponding document had to be drawn up without delay,[48] or the documents were dated back to the very day of the loss. This latter date was expressed by means of the preposition *ištu* 'from; since' in the late Old Babylonian documents, whereas YBC 11976 has *ina* ('in; on'). The minor differences in the formulation may suggest that the practice of drawing up such documents was not yet fully established.

Two of the four documents provide more or less precise details as to the circumstances of the loss: AUCT 5, 47 records in which town the seal was lost, and AulaOr. 20, 94 records exactly in whose house the loss took place. Why was it important to name such details? What legal importance did these circumstances have? Unlike 'modern' announcements of similar nature,[49] the Old Babylonian announcements of lost seals did not, in fact, declare the seal void. If, later on, it happened to turn up, the owner could probably have continued to use it.[50] This may be a reason why the

[47] Since all four tablets come from the antiquities market, they lack an archaeological context. Their archival context, which might enable one to find out more about the seal owners, is likewise lost – except for AulaOr. 20, 94. In that case, K. De Graef's (2002) prosopographical analysis allows the identification of Ilšu-ibnišu in a series of documents, several of which contain his seal inscription, which describes him as 'Ilšu-ibnišu, son of Qaqqadu(m), servant of Ammī-ṣadūqa' (De Graef 2002, 66). Although this relates what the inscription of the lost seal probably was, all secure attestations are later than the announcement of the loss and cannot therefore reveal whether a new seal was made or the old one was found. In the other three cases, the available data does not suffice for a prosopographical identification: even if we knew the seals lost by Šalim-pāliḫšu, Ṣillī-Uraš and Warad-Sîn, either from the cylinder seals themselves or from their impressions, we would probably be unable to identify them as such due to the lack of paternal names in the corresponding announcements.

[48] See De Graef 2002, 67 n. 17 with earlier literature.

[49] The author allows himself to present the case of a stamp, lost by the author's father more than two decades ago. On the 22nd November 1995, the following announcement was published in the corresponding section of the Hungarian newspaper *Népszabadság* ('Liberty of the People'), p. 16: ELVESZETT 1995. november 17-én az alábbi feliratú bélyegző: FÖLDI SÁNDOR Írószer, Könyv, Ajándék Kereskedő, 2132 Göd, Pesti út 155/A. Adósz.: 50148020-2-33. Használata a fenti időponttól érvénytelen. ('On the 17th November 1995, a stamp with the following text was LOST: SÁNDOR FÖLDI Dealer in stationery, books, gifts, Pesti str. 155/A, 2132 Göd. Tax no.: 50148020-2-33. Its use is invalid from the above date.')

[50] Note that even the death of the seal owner did not automatically invalidate a seal (see n. 19 above).

above circumstances, as far as they could be ascertained, were recorded. Therefore, the main purpose of drawing up such records was to document the loss and the fact that the leading members of the community were aware of the loss.[51] In this way, the possibility of the misuse that could potentially harm the Babylonian state's interests was also recorded. And whose seal could be misused in a way to do more harm than a tax collector's?[52]

Acknowledgements

The author expresses his gratitude to Benjamin R. Foster, Ulla Kasten, and Agnete W. Lassen for their permission to publish YBC 11976, as well as for their kind assistance during the author's research stay at the Yale Babylonian Collection (18.09.–23.10.2015). Albert Dietz, Mary Frazer and Sarah P. Schlüter gave useful insights and Mary Frazer also improved the English style. Needless to say, the author assumes responsibility for any remaining mistakes.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations are those of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (see www.keilschrift.badw.de/reallexikon/abkuerzungslisten.html), to which the following are added: Ad: Ammī-ditāna; Ae: Abī-ešuḫ; AS: Amar-Suena; Aṣ: Ammī-ṣadūqa; HE: École pratique des Hautes Études, museum siglum; S.: seal; SEpM: Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany (see Kleinerman 2011); Si: Samsu-ilūna; St. Louis: Freedman 1975 (text no.); UT: University of Texas; YPM BC: Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, Babylonian Collection, museum siglum.

Relative dates throughout this paper follow the pattern RN YY/MM/DD.

[51] Unlike the case of SEpM 14, nothing points to a more general, public announcement of the loss.

[52] Indeed, although sheer speculation, it is possible that Šalim-pāliḫšu's seal was stolen rather than lost.

Bibliography

Beckman 2000
G. Beckman, Old Babylonian Archival Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection (ed. U. Kasten). CBCY 4 (Bethesda 2000).

Birot – Kupper – Rouault 1979
M. Birot – J.-R. Kupper – O. Rouault, Répertoire analytique. II: Tomes I-XIV, XVIII et textes divers hors-colletion. 1: Noms propres. ARM 16/1 (Paris 1979).

Bodine 2014
W. R. Bodine, How Mesopotamian Scribes Learned to Write Legal Documents. A Study of the Sumerian Model Contracts in the Babylonian Collection at Yale University (Lewiston – Lampeter 2014).

Bowes 1987
A. W. Bowes, A Theological Study of Old-Babylonian Personal Names. Vol. I–II. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Dropsie College 1987).

Casero Chamorro 2017
M. D. Casero Chamorro, Stolen, Not Given?, in: Y. Heffron – A. Stone – M. Worthington (eds.), At the Dawn of History. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of J. N. Postgate (Winona Lake 2017) 85–93.

Charpin 2005
D. Charpin, Données nouvelles sur la vie économique et sociale de l'époque paléobabylonienne, OrNS 74, 2005, 409–421.

Charpin 2017
D. Charpin, Chroniques bibliographiques 20. Pour une diplomatique des documents paléo-babyloniens, RA 111, 2017, 155–178.

Colbow 2002
G. Colbow, Tradition und Neubeginn. Eine ausführliche Bearbeitung der spät[alt]babylonischen Abrollungen aus Sippar und ihres Beitrags zur Glyptik der Kassiten. I: Textteil, II: Katalog und Abbildungen (München – Wien 2002).

Collon ^{2}2005
D. Collon, First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East (London ^{2}2005; 1st ed. 1988).

De Graef 2002
K. De Graef, Two Ilšu-ibni's, two ugula gidru's. Šarrum-Laba^{ki}, a Military Settlement at the Irnina, AulaOr. 20, 2002, 61–97.

Feigin 1979
S. I. Feigin, Legal and Administrative Texts of the Reign of Samsu-iluna. YOS 12 (New Haven 1979†).

Földi 2018
Zs. J. Földi, The Trial Documents from Old Babylonian Larsa in their Legal, Economic, Social and Archival Contexts. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München 2018).

Földi 2020
Zs. J. Földi, The Property of the City, the Property of the King? A New Fragment of YOS 12, 321, Hungarian Assyriological Review 1, 2020, 43–59.

Frayne 1990
D. R. Frayne, Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC). RIME 4 (Toronto – Buffalo – London 1990).

Freedman 1975
R. D. Freedman, The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Columbia University 1975).

Groneberg 1980
B. Groneberg, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit. RGTC 3 (Wiesbaden 1980).

Hallo 1977
W. W. Hallo, Seals Lost and Found, in: McG. Gibson – R. D. Biggs (eds.), Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East. BiMes. 6 (Malibu 1977) 55–60.

Hallo 1981
W. W. Hallo, Correction to *Seals Lost and Found*, BM 6 (1977), 55 f., RA 75, 1981, 95.

Hallo 2002
W. W. Hallo, A Model Court Case Concerning Inheritance, in: T. Abusch (ed.), Riches Hidden in Secret Places. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen (Winona Lake 2002) 141–154.

Horsnell 1999
M. J. A. Horsnell, The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon. I: Chronological Matters: The Year-Name System and the Date-Lists. II: The Year-Names Reconstructed and Critically Annotated in the Light of their Exemplars (Hamilton 1999).

Joannès 2019
F. Joannès, « Mettez-vous en quête de ce sceau ! », in: G. Chambon – M. Guichard – A.-I. Langlois (eds.), De l'argile au numérique. Mélanges assyriologiques en l'honneur de Dominique Charpin. Publications de l'Institut du Proche-Orient Ancien du Collège de France 3 (Leuven – Paris – Bristol 2019) 491–506.

Kalla 2008
G. Kalla, Ein altbabylonischer Haushalt aus Ur, in: Á. Szabó – P. Vargyas (eds.), Cultus deorum. Studia religionum ad historiam. I: De Oriente antiquo et regione Danuvii praehistorica. In memoriam István Tóth. Ókortudományi dolgozatok 1 (Budapest 2008) 183–202.

Kleinerman 2011
A. Kleinerman, Education in Early 2nd Millennium BC Babylonia. The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany. CunMon. 42 (Leiden – Boston 2011).

Klengel 1968
H. Klengel, Eine altbabylonische Verlustanzeige, OrNS 37, 1968, 216–219.

van Koppen 2002
F. van Koppen, Redeeming a Father's Seal, in: C. Wunsch (ed.), Mining the Archives. Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday 4 October 2002. BabA 1 (Dresden 2002) 147–176.

Kraus 1985
F. R. Kraus, Altbabylonische Briefe mit Siegelabrollungen, in: J.-M. Durand – J.-R. Kupper (eds.), Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot (Paris 1985) 137–145.

Lambert 2004
W. G. Lambert, Some Thoughts on Fakes, NABU 2004/61.

Lambert – Weeden 2020
W. G. Lambert† – M. Weeden, A Statue Inscription of Samsuiluna from the Papers of W. G. Lambert, RA 114, 2020, 15–62.

Maul 1994
S. M. Maul, Zukunftsbewältigung. Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi). BagF 18 (Mainz am Rhein 1994).

Michalowski 2011
P. Michalowski, The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur. An Epistolary History of an Ancient Mesopotamian Kingdom. MesCiv. 15 (Winona Lake 2011).

Oppenheim 1956
A. L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East. With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book, TAPS 46, 1956, 179–373.

Patrier 2017
J. Patrier, Entrusting One's Seal in the Ancient Near East in the First Half of the 2nd Millennium BC, Ash-sharq 1, 2017, 40–47.

Peterson 2010
J. L. Peterson, Sumerian Literary Fragments in the University Museum, Philadelphia II. Eduba Compositions, Debate Poems, Diatribes, Elegies, Wisdom Literature, and Other Compositions, UF 42, 2010, 535–572.

Pientka 1998
R. Pientka, Die spätaltbabylonische Zeit. Abiešuḫ bis Samsuditana. Quellen, Jahresdaten, Geschichte. Imgula 2 (Münster 1998).

Radner 2010
K. Radner, Siegelpraxis (sealing practice). A. Philologisch., RlA 12, 2010, 466–469.

Reid – Spada 2020
J. N. Reid – G. Spada, From Oslo to Atlanta: An Old Babylonian Prism Collecting Model Contracts, RSO NS 93, 2020, 37–58.

Roth 1979
M. T. Roth, Scholastic Tradition and Mesopotamian Law: A Study of FLP 1287, a Prism in the Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Pennsylvania 1979).

Roth ^{2}1997
M. T. Roth, Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor (ed. P. Michalowski). SBL WAW 6 (Atlanta ^{2}1997; 1st ed. 1995).

Sharlach 2019
T. M. Sharlach, Review of Studevent-Hickman 2018, JNES 78, 2019, 160–163.

Sigrist 2003
R. M. Sigrist, Old Babylonian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum. AUCT 5 = IAPAS 8 (Berrien Springs 2003).

Spada 2011
G. Spada, A Handbook from the Eduba'a: An Old Babylonian Collection of Model Contracts, ZA 101, 2011, 204–245.

Spada 2017
G. Spada, Review of Bodine 2014, ZA 107, 2017, 290–306.

Stein 1997
D. L. Stein, Siegelverwendung in Wirtschaft und Verwaltung, in: E. Klengel-Brandt (ed.), Mit Sieben Siegeln versehen. Das Siegel in Wirtschaft und Kunst des Alten Orients [anläßlich der Sonderausstellung «Mit Sieben Siegeln versehen», Vorderasiatisches Museum 30.5. – 28.9. 1997] (Mainz – Berlin 1997) 104–123.

Stol 1976
M. Stol, Studies in Old Babylonian History. PIHANS 40 (Istanbul – Leiden 1976).

Stol 1980
M. Stol, Review of D. Charpin, Archives familiales et propriété privée en Babylonie ancienne. Étude des documents de «Tell Sifr», RA 74, 1980, 185–188.

Stol 1982
M. Stol, State and Private Business in the Land of Larsa, JCS 34, 1982, 127–230.

Stol 1986
M. Stol, Letters from Collections in Philadelphia, Chicago and Berkeley. AbB 11 (Leiden 1986).

Stol 2016
M. Stol, Review of R. Feingold, Engraved on Stone. Mesopotamian Cylinder Seals and Seal Inscriptions in the Old Babylonian Period, BiOr. 73, 736–739.

Studevent-Hickman 2018
B. Studevent-Hickman, Sumerian Texts from Ancient Iraq. From Ur III to 9/11. JCS Suppl. Ser. 5 (Atlanta 2018).

Szlechter 1953
É. Szlechter, Les tablettes juridiques datées du règne d'Abī-ešuḫ conservées au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève, JCS 7, 1953, 81–99.

Tanret 2010
M. Tanret, The Seal of the Sanga. On the Old Babylonian Sangas of Šamaš of Sippar-Jaḫrūrum and Sippar-Amnānum. CunMon. 40 (Leiden – Boston 2010).

Ungnad 1915
A. Ungnad, Babylonian Letters of the Ḫammurapi Period. PBS 7 (Philadelphia 1915).

Van Lerberghe – Voet 1989
K. Van Lerberghe – G. Voet, A Long Lasting Life, in: H. Behrens – D. M. Loding – M. T. Roth (eds.), DUMU-E_2-DUB-BA-A. Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg. OccPubl. S. N. Kramer Fund 11 (Philadelphia 1989) 525–538.

Widell 2020
M. Widell, Ur III Economy and Bureaucracy: The Neo-Sumerian Cuneiform Tablets in the Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College (I), Orient 55, 2020, 117–154.

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 61–72. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11949

Agôn kainos

Suffering and Salvation in the Ancient Greek Novel

Susanne Gödde

Abstract: The ancient Greek novels (1st–4th cent. CE) are novels of travel and adventure in which two lovers, both characterized by their exceptional beauty, become entangled in dangerous and distressing situations. In the end, however, according to the conventions of the genre, both are saved from their sufferings. This paper examines the relationship between suffering and salvation in the novel, and asks whether the narrative is informed by religious patterns, including specifically Christian motifs. For this question, religious ordeals and the potential exaltation of suffering are of central importance.

Since the early 20th century, scholarship on the ancient Greek novel, particularly in Germany, has tried time and again to read these works exclusively or in part as religious texts.[1] For someone unfamiliar with the novels, this might at first glance appear quite surprising, since it is not self-evident that a love story combined with numerous adventures and travels should provide a strong *religious* message. Seen retrospectively, the earlier interpretation of the novels as religious writings seems to be strongly related to the allegedly precarious status of this text corpus, which was, for a long time, considered inferior to the 'high' literature of the classical age. Allegorical readings that understood the novels as the sacred texts of mystery cults, as most notably in the approach of Reinhold Merkelbach (1962, 1994), were potentially able to increase the value of the novels as literature and to uncover a deeper meaning behind their plots. This way of reading the novels, however, has been felt to be somewhat narrow and pragmatic, for which reason it has since become obsolete.[2]

On the other hand, religion and gods are undeniably ubiquitous in the novels. Their plots rely heavily on the significant influence of various divinities. Almost every turn of the action is explained by the plotting of a god, a *daimon*, or fate, sometimes benevolent, sometimes begrudging, regardless of whether the respective event occurs by providence or at random.[3] Additionally, from an ancient Greek

[1] The leading proponents of this approach in the older scholarship are Kerényi 1927 and Merkelbach 1962 and 1994. For a critical overview and evaluation of this line of interpretation, see Beck 1996; Henrichs 2006; Stark 1989; Suarez de la Torre – Pérez Benito 2013; Zeitlin 2008. – The extant corpus of complete (i.e. non-fragmentary) Greek novels comprises five texts, written between the 1st and the 4th century CE: Chariton, *Callirhoe*, Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaca* or *Anthia and Habrocomes*, Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, and the *Ethiopian Stories* (or: *Charicleia and Theagenes*) by Heliodorus.

[2] But see Beck 1996, 150, who, following Frye 1976, compares the plot of the novels and the experience of initiation into mysteries: 'Journeys out and back, descents to suffering and disintegration, ascents to joy and reintegration, these are the stuff of mysteries, and of novels too.' Zeitlin 2008, 97–98 comments on this analogy, but does not see it as the symptom of a society in crisis longing for salvation (as earlier scholarship has often claimed). Bierl 2007 emphatically bases his interpretation of the novels on the mystery metaphor.

[3] The gods as agents in the novels have been examined by Alperowitz 1992; Baier 1999; Bargheer 1999; Weißenberger 1997.

perspective, it might not come as a complete surprise that the love gods, Eros and Aphrodite, also take part in the action of a love story. Both of these observations could be taken as arguments for reading the ancient Greek novels as religious texts in a very general sense. This assumption, however, leads in the wrong direction, as it ignores the fact that the ancient literature of non-Christian cultures could present divine characters and ritual practices as part of its story without having a specifically religious message.

The search for a religious dimension in these novels implies a further central question regarding the relationship between pagan and Christian literature. Interestingly, there is not a single explicit reference to Christian discourse in the novels – even crucifixion, which we tend to associate with a specifically Christian context, was a common form of the death penalty in the centuries in which the novels were written. On the other hand, we can assume that the general mentality depicted in the novels – particularly in the latest novel of the corpus, Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* – has been influenced at least in part by the dissemination of Christian morality, especially in regards to notions of sexuality and marriage as well as abstinence and virginity.[4] The same Christian morality, however, had been anticipated by Stoic philosophy and was developed over the centuries in which the novels were written into a distinct 'care for the self', or *souci de soi-même*, to use the words of Michel Foucault.[5] The fundamental question, however, is whether this care for the self is dominated in the discourse of the novels by an overarching theological system that demands complete submission to a higher power and an otherworldly realm. In this regard, it is crucial to ask how and when Christian concepts became influential, and which elements of pagan religion provided an appropriate point of contact for old and new ideas to merge together.

Just how odd the mixture of pagan and supposedly Christian religious plot elements in the novels may appear to the reader can be illustrated by a first example from the novel *Callirhoe* by Chariton, written in the 1st century CE. At the beginning of the eighth and final book of the novel, the goddesses Tyche and Aphrodite and their respective plans concerning the fate of the protagonist are brought into direct opposition to each other. Eventually, it is Aphrodite who gains the upper hand and achieves her goals:

> Fortune was now planning a blow as grim as incredible [...] But Aphrodite thought this excessive; by now she was becoming reconciled to Chaereas, though earlier she had been intensely angered at his intemperate jealousy; for, having received from her the fairest of gifts, surpassing even that given to Alexander surnamed Paris, he had repaid her favor with insult. Since Chaereas had now made full amends to Love [Eros] (καλῶς ἀπελογήσατο τῷ Ἔρωτι) by his wanderings from west to east amid countless tribulations, Aphrodite took pity on him, and, as she had originally brought together this handsome pair, so now, having harassed (γυμνάσασα) them over land and sea, she resolved to unite them again.[6]

One of the main questions I would like to examine here is, how suffering and salvation, trials and survival interrelate with one another. The many wanderings and misfortunes endured by the protagonists in the first seven books of Chariton's novel function, from a structural point of view, to extend the narrative time between the moment of the first encounter and the concluding reunion, which is thus delayed

[4] This context has been discussed thoroughly by Brown 1990a and 1990b; see further Cooper 1996; Elm 1994; Perkins 1995.

[5] Foucault 1984/1986; on Stoic features in the ethics of the novels see Doulamis 2007.

[6] Chariton 1995/2004, VIII, 1, 2–3.

and desired throughout the novel by both the couple and the reader.[7]

The passage just quoted creates a second – moral – reason for these sufferings: Chaereas' jealousy, which had been enflamed by the scheming of his rivals at the very beginning of the novel and had provoked him to kick Callirhoe in the stomach. The reasoning which the narrator ascribes to Aphrodite obeys the logic of crime and punishment; the tribulations imposed on Chaereas by Aphrodite are divine retribution for his failure to master his passions. This retribution, however, includes both the idea of juridical procedure and moral testing. The phrase 'since Chaereas had now made full amends to Love' translates the Greek word *apologeisthai*, which means 'to speak in defence, to defend oneself [*sc.* in a court of law]'. In order to deliver his defence, Chaereas must prove that he is able to endure so many torments and pains; this is meant at the same time to appease the goddess and to attest his true and strong love for Callirhoe. The word *apologeisthai* is here used in a metaphorical sense: the tribulations undergone by Chaereas are the equivalent of a defence speech before a court of law and may therefore be regarded as a rhetorical showpiece meant to demonstrate his innocence and virtue. And if we think of the widespread use of the noun *apologoi* (here in the Plural) for the stories told by Odysseus at the court of Alcinoos, we notice another connotation in Chaereas' *apologia*: in later literature and rhetoric, *apologia* commonly refers to miraculous tales and has become a *terminus technicus* for a novella that primarily provides entertainment.[8] The adventurous experiences of the protagonist serve both as an apology before Eros (it is in this sense that Chaereas 'made full amends to Love [Eros]') and are the stuff of diverting storytelling.

Chaereas' wanderings might be described as oscillating between punishment and proving oneself. This interpretation is supported by a further highly ambivalent term in the passage, namely *gymnazein*. George Goold translates the word as 'to harass', thus emphasizing the aspects of torment, pain and victimization, but again, this is not a literal translation. The verb *gymnazein* means firstly 'to exercise, train or practise'. The active form can also have the meaning 'to teach' (in the sense of 'to train or coach someone'). It therefore has a much more 'positive', educational sense than comes through in Goold's translation, which foregrounds a second meaning and implies that too much physical exercise has a negative effect on the body and wears it out.[9] If we consider the full meaning of the verb *gymnazein*, Chaireas' dangerous adventures during his search for Callirhoe can be seen as a (physical) exercise in constancy.

Having now considered the moralistic sense of Chaireas' sufferings, I would like to turn briefly to the first sentence of the novel: 'I, Chariton of Aphrodisias, clerk of the lawyer Athenagoras, am going to relate a love story which took place in Syracuse.'[10] Here, Chariton introduces his novel very simply as a *pathos erôtikon*, literally an 'erotic suffering' or, in a more positive sense, an 'erotic experience'. Goold translates this phrase rather laconically as 'a love story', implying that any 'passion', whether positive or negative, and especially an erotic one, provides excellent material for a literary composition. In ancient literature, love

[7] The analogy between adventurous and narrative desire is one of the central research topics of the 'Philology of Adventure' research group; see Schuler forthcoming.

[8] See Adler 1994–2001, Vol. I, 3402 and Crusius 1895, 168. The proverbial expression can also indicate an excess of narrative and refer to 'long and tedious stories': cf. Liddell – Scott – Jones (1843/1940), s.v. *apologos* I.

[9] This second meaning can also be found in Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus* 586, 592, Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 540, and Euripides, Fr. 682. On *gymnasion* as an instance of trial in Achilles Tatius, see Bouffartigue 2001, 132, n. 22.

[10] Chariton 1995/2004, I, 1, 1.

almost never exists without *pathos*. The novelists, however, extend the notion of *pathos* and construct love as attainable only after an ordeal of 'passion' in the etymological sense of 'suffering' (cf. the 'Passion' of Christ).

The first Chariton passage illustrates a tendency that pervades the entire corpus of Greek novels: not only do the many adventures and misfortunes suspend the *telos*, they also provide opportunities for the protagonists to prove their constancy and faithfulness. In this sense, they may be understood as a kind of 'test'. The causality of suffering and gratification, however, is not always as explicit as in the passage quoted. Very often the novels display the protagonists' incapacity to make any sense out of their fate. From this perspective, suffering results from the irrational scheming of a playful and mocking *daimon*. In Achilles Tatius' novel, the male protagonist, Clitophon, when his beloved Leucippe has suffered an attack of madness and been bound with ropes to calm her agitation, laments with a certain cynicism that they had become 'a toy of madness':

> Is it for this that Fortune saved us from the bandits, so that you could become the toy of madness? Oh, how unlucky we are whenever good luck comes our way! We escaped from our fears at home, to meet with bad luck at sea; we survived the sea; we were saved from the bandits; all because we were being kept for this madness! If your sanity returns (σωφρονήσῃς), dearest, I for one fear that the god will devise some new calamity for you. Who has suffered more divine persecution than us? We fear even good fortune! But may your sanity only return (σωφρονήσειας) and may you come to yourself again, and Fortune is welcome to devise some new game.[11]

Leucippe's madness is, of course, emblematic of the protagonists' loss of control, the opposite state from the ideal *sophrosyne*, often translated as 'endurance', 'chasteness' or 'sanity', as in this passage. The raging of Fate, Tyche or the *daimon* is here joined with madness as a controlling and personified force which plays with the couple as if they were helpless pieces on a gameboard. Clitophon expresses his despair in this passage not only with the personification of madness, who controls the game, but also by means of a paradox: any stroke of luck means being unlucky at the same time, because good luck is only the precondition of an unlucky turn of events. The Greek phrase makes clear that there is no way to enjoy a happy moment to the full. In this unstable world, happiness always entails unhappiness. The irrationality of this situation, however, leaves no room for rationalizing or a theologically tenable link between suffering and salvation.

Far from embarking on a deliberate quest for suffering or accepting it as an opportunity to demonstrate their virtue, the protagonists time and again are presented as contemplating whether they should resign and kill themselves in order to avoid further pain. As a second example of the idea of a cruel and unjust Fate and of a *daimon* who mocks the protagonists, I quote a passage from Heliodorus in which a similar lament is voiced. The lament again comes not, as might be expected, from the female partner, but from the male, Theagenes:

> How much longer shall we flee from a destiny that pursues us wherever we turn? Let us yield to fate! Let us embrace the current that sweeps us along! What do we have to lose? A life of exile and vagrancy! Heaven's incessant mockery (τὴν ἐπάλληλον τοῦ δαίμονος καθ' ἡμῶν πομπείαν)! Can you not see the glee with which it forges the chain of our misfortune? […] To wage this campaign against us is heaven's sport (πόλεμον), as if our lives were a drama played on stage for its

[11] Achilles Tatius 1955/2001, IV, 9, 5–7.

> pleasure. So why do we not cut short its tragic plot (ὑποτέμνομεν [...] τὴν τραγικὴν ταύτην ποίησιν) and give ourselves up to those whose desire it is to kill us? Otherwise heaven in its desire to bring our play to a melodramatic conclusion (ὑπέρογκον τὸ τέλος) may compel us to die by our own hands![12]

The metaphor of a game or theatrical play indicates the control of the dramatist, who takes the place of the gods, and the dependence of the characters, who are mere puppets in the hands of the director. Theagenes, in a metapoetical sense, uses the phrase 'to cut short [the *daimon*'s] tragic plot' (*hypotemnein*)[13] and thus implies that suffering the blows of fate and travelling the routes that it provides can be compared to writing a play – or, of course, a novel.

Although the last two quotations are meant to demonstrate that, from the point of view of the protagonists, suffering is *not* seen as meaningful, the metaphor of life as a drama suggests at least the possibility of a well-designed closure composed by an author. By describing this closure as ὑπέρογκον, however, – the word is translated as 'melodramatic' here, but literally means 'immoderate, excessive' or, when applied to style, 'ponderous, verbose' – Heliodorus hints at a certain disproportionality and describes a fatal ending as a violation of a stylistic and poetic ideal.

The novels – and in this point they can be assessed collectively – do not exhibit a straight and dogmatic programme of salvation by *means* of suffering, let alone imbed such a programme in an explicitly theological concept. Even if the protagonists admit that their suffering has been apportioned to them by fate,[14] they do not believe that this is the volition of a just and good divinity. The question, however, whether they reach the goal of marriage in the end *after* – and in spite of – many tribulations and dangers, or precisely *because* they have endured these incidents, remains a significant one. The repetitive feature of danger and rescue and the motif of survival work towards creating the illusion of causality between the two phases of the narration, although this is almost never expressed explicitly. What the reader internalizes after having read more than one of these novels is that there is no happy ending without the preceding turmoil.

I would now like to discuss three passages that seem to indicate a positive evaluation of suffering. When the boorish husband of Melite, Thersander, falls in love with Leucippe in book 6 of Achilles Tatius and violently wants to possess her, she delivers a courageous speech and defends her virginity by offering her body to the instruments of torture. Achilles Tatius here presents the heroic behaviour of a female protagonist who is no longer the passive victim of misfortune, but instead takes an active role and fights, as the text has it, a 'novel kind of contest' against her morally inferior and brutal enemy. After having enumerated the various types of torture she is prepared to withstand, Leucippe continues with the words: 'You will behold a novel kind of contest (ἀγῶνα […] καινόν): one woman competes against all your tortures (βασάνους), and conquers them all!'[15] The Greek word *agôn*, 'contest', here recalls the earlier discussion of Chariton's use of *apologeisthai* and *gymnazein*. Leucippe imagines herself as viewed by an audience of spectators, and presents her endurance as a competition from which she will emerge victorious. As soon as suffering becomes part of such a trial and can be rewarded with a prize, it

[12] Heliodorus 1960/1989, V, 6, 2–4.
[13] On this feature see Hardie 1998, 23, n. 3.
[14] E.g. Xenophon of Ephesus 1926/2009, I, 11, 4: 'but if fate has some misfortune in store …' (ἂν δ' ἄρα τι ᾖ πεπρωμένον παθεῖν).
[15] Achilles Tatius 1995/2001, VI, 21, 1–2. The passage is also discussed in King 2012, 151–157.

becomes a way to stand out and excel by demonstrating moral or physical qualities. This scene, which has been compared to descriptions of Christian martyrs,[16] establishes a symmetrical relationship between suffering and excellence: as she implies in her speech, the more Thersander tortures her, the more this adds to her future praise:

> You do not know it, but your shameless deeds will redound all the more to my praise (ἐγκώμιον). Even if you kill me in your mad passion, someone will say: "Leucippe was a virgin after the Herdsmen, a virgin even after Chaereas, a virgin even after Sosthenes ..." (that will be the moderate version, but the more glorious praise (ἐγκώμιον) will continue as follows). "... a virgin even after Thersander, who was even more lecherous than the bandits: because he could not commit his outrage upon her, he even killed her.[17]

Leucippe is ready to die in order to maintain and prove her devotion to her virginity, but at the same time she claims that not only the praise of her deeds will survive, but also her freedom, since the fire will not be hot enough to burn it away:

> So, arm yourself, bring on the whips, the wheel, the fire, the knife, and use them on me! Let your counsellor Sosthenes fight by your side! I am unarmed, alone, a woman: freedom is my only weapon (καὶ ἓν ὅπλον ἔχω τὴν ἐλευθερίαν), but it will not be battered by your blows, nor cut up by your knife, nor scorched by your fire. My freedom I will never renounce – not I! Even if you set it ablaze, you will find the fire is not hot enough.[18]

The overall message of the novels is that chastity always triumphs, but the passage just cited further implies that it can also be heightened when threatened by violence. The same correlation between virtue and the endurance of pain which we find here can also be found in Heliodorus. The following passage is, in fact, one of the few places where it is asserted that the protagonists can improve the state of their soul proportionately to the amount of bodily pain suffered – contrary to Bachtin's famous observation that the heroes of the Greek novel do not develop and mature.19 Theagenes, who, at the palace of Arsake, the sister of the Persian king, has to ward off her courting, is described by Heliodorus as follows:

> But on the contrary [Theagenes] was more of a man than ever and rebuffed her advances (πείρας) with redoubled firmness. Though his body was in torment, his spirit had the strength of virtue (ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ῥωννύμενος), [...].[20]

The rest of the passage explains that pain and suffering are even welcomed by Theagenes, because they give him the opportunity to 'display his love and devotion to Charicleia' (εὐνοίας τε καὶ πίστεως could be translated literally as 'benevolence' and 'faith').[21] This reasoning makes it clear that the mechanism in operation here is one by which the experience of pain and turmoil leads to an increase in value. A second passage from the same book also presents the endurance of hardships as proof of the right sentiment and has the two protagonists compete

[16] Compare Leucippe's demand that Sosthenes witness (μαρτύρησον) her actions in VI, 20, 3. On connections between Leucippe's speech to Sosthenes and martyrdom see King 2012, 151–157 (with references to Morales 2004, 201–206 and Goldhill 1995, 117). We find a similar scene of female martyrdom in Heliodorus VIII, 9, 11–15, where Charicleia prepares to be burnt alive on a pyre; on this novel's relation to Christian martyr literature, see Andújar 2013.

[17] Achilles Tatius 1995/2001, VI, 22, 2–3. Bouffartigue (2001, 137) sees Leucippe in this scene as becoming a Stoic.

[18] Achilles Tatius 1995/2001, VI, 22, 4.

[19] Bachtin 1975/1981, 89–90.

[20] Heliodorus 1960/1989, VIII, 6, 4.

[21] *Ibid*.

with one another in their punishment, neither wishing to suffer less than the other:

> But on the contrary, this [i.e. being shut up in the same cell] proved a great solace to them, and they were glad that they were both enduring identical hardships (τὸ ἐν ὁμοίοις τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐξετάζεσθαι κέρδος ἐνόμιζον), for each felt that to undergo less severe punishment would have been a defeat at the other's hands, a sign of deficiency in love (εἰ ἔλαττον αὐτῶν τις κολασθήσεται νενικῆσθαι ὑπὸ θατέρου καὶ μειονεκτεῖν τῶν ἐρωτικῶν οἰόμενος). Besides they were able to be together, to provide mutual consolation, to inspire in one another the courage to face with resolution and bravery whatever befell them, and not to flinch from the struggle for their chastity and devotion (τοὺς ὑπὲρ σωφροσύνης τε καὶ πίστεως […] ἀγῶνας).[22]

The centrality of suffering and the implicit connection between suffering and salvation brings us back to the search for religious elements in the novels. Since the appearance of Karl Kerényi's influential study on the ancient novel in 1927 (*Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*), scholars have become obsessed with trying to find an underlying religious pattern, whether aretalogy or initiation into the mysteries, in the ancient Greek novels. In his chapters 'Göttlichkeit und Leiden' ('Divinity and Suffering') and 'Rettung vom Kreuze und Verklärung' ('Salvation by the Cross and Transfiguration'), Kerényi asks essentially the same questions that I have examined in this paper. He does not hesitate, however, to use religious terminology in explaining the connection between suffering and salvation. He reads the novels as 'Passionsgeschichten' ('Passion narratives'), assesses their language as at times religious and liturgical,[23] and compares the romances excessively with Christian literature, although he rules out the direct influence of Christian genres on the novel and points instead to the martyr acts in the pagan philosophical tradition as the predecessor of the novels and of Christian martyrdoms.[24] The passivity of the heroes, which, in his view, dominates the plots, reminds him of the initiate in the mysteries who has to endure ritual flagellations without any resistance.[25] The many scenes of pyres and near encounters with death, should, according to Kerényi, be understood as variations on the motif of resurrection.[26] But a remark in the final chapter of the book modifies this strong (and, in our eyes, exaggerated) religious reading in a significant way. Kerényi here adds the detail that the religious pattern in the novels has been *secularized* and the originally cultic material transformed into *profane* plots:

> The historical appreciation of these authors cannot begin until we recognize their intention to secularize, as it were, religious assets, to use cultic material in profane contexts**,** and to elevate a non-literary narrative form – that of divine sagas, mythical stories and fairy tales, aretalogies, and the stuff of folkloric novels – to high literature.[27]

The assumption that romance is a secularization of earlier 'sacred' myths also stands at the centre of Northrop Frye's study *The Secular*

[22] Id. VIII, 9, 22. – The 'economics of virginity' have been discussed by von Koppenfels 2006 in connection with Cervantes (see especially 330 and 332). On the economic value of virgins in the ancient novel, see Herrenschmidt 2003. Hirschberger 2010 has also examined virginity as a value in a power game in the Greek novels, as has Perkins 1995, 46–47, who sees chastity as 'the actual embodiment of social control'.
[23] Kerényi 1927, 103.
[24] Kerényi 1927, 125–126.
[25] Kerényi 1927, 127–129.
[26] Kerényi 1927, 138.
[27] Kerényi 1927, 230 (translated by Emrys Schlatter). With his emphasis on the features of 'demythologization' and 'profanation', Kerényi differs significantly from Merkelbach, who adheres to an assessment of the novels as mystery texts. For further elaboration on aretalogy as an important link between religious and profane literature in Kerényi's genealogy of the novel, see Henrichs 2006, 64–65.

Scripture. A Study of the Structure of Romance from 1976. In my view, however, even the thesis of secularisation posits an overly 'sacred' background for the Greek novels, inasmuch as secularisation always refers back to and remains bound up with an earlier sacred context which it transforms. The literature which precedes the ancient novel – epic, tragedy, historiography, and New Comedy, amongst others – should not be classed as 'sacred', not even in the case of tragedy, although this genre relies almost exclusively on mythological material.[28] In the absence of sacred texts, ancient Greece lacked the background for developing anything like secularization or secular tendencies in its literature.

There is no doubt that the five extant Greek novels praise the virtues of endurance and self-control. At first glance, however, and in the logic of the text itself, this is part of a philosophical or ethical rather than a religious programme. This is suggested by the fact that terms such as 'chastity', 'virginity', 'purity', and 'innocence' in our translations almost always stand for *sôphrosynê* in the original Greek, a word which describes a philosophical or moral ideal.[29] At the same time, it is clear that these novels demonstrate a moral in which the heightening of suffering and turmoil creates an increase in value. This is true even when the protagonists themselves do not recognize their future reward in the course of their sufferings. The literary feature of the happy ending, however, sets the stage for a new ethics which praise suffering as the precondition of salvation and can be transformed easily in a religious – and more specifically, Christian – device.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the members of the Graduate School 'Distant Worlds' with whom I had the pleasure of working between 2012–2016. I fondly remember the lively and creative atmosphere, the desire to exchange insights across disciplines, and the search for new questions and methods. The present paper has evolved from a different research context at LMU, i.e., the 'Philology of Adventure'-Research Group, but it would certainly have profited from exchange with the colleagues and fellows of 'Distant Worlds', had I still been part of this group during the time writing it.

I am deeply grateful to Emrys Schlatter for his help and assiduousness in preparing the English version of this paper.

[28] On the relation between religion and literature in ancient Greece, especially with regard to tragedy, see Gödde 2015 and 2016.

[29] On *sophrosyne* in the novels see Kasprzyk 2009.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Achilles Tatius, Leucippe and Clitophon, E. Vilborg (ed.) (Stockholm 1955).

Achilles Tatius, Leucippe and Clitophon, T. Whitmarsh (trans.) (Oxford 2001).

Chariton, De Callirhoe narrationes amatoriae, B. P. Reardon (ed.) (München – Leipzig 2004).

Chariton, Callirhoe, G. P. Goold (trans.) (Cambridge 1995).

Héliodore, Les Éthiopiques (Théagène et Chariclée), T. W. Lumb – J. Maillon – R. M. Rattenbury (eds.) (Paris ^{2}1960).

Heliodorus, An Ethiopian Story, J. R. Morgan (trans.), in: B. P. Reardon (ed.), Collected Ancient Greek Novels (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1989) 349–588.

Xénophon d'Éphèse, Les Éphésiaques ou le roman d'Habrocomès et d'Anthia, G. Dalmeyda (ed.) (Paris 1926) (repr. 1962) 3–77.

Xenophon of Ephesus, Anthia and Habrocomes, J. Henderson (ed.; trans.) (Cambridge, MA London 2009) 212–365.

Secondary Sources

Adler 1994–2001
A. Adler (ed.), Suidae lexicon, 5 vols (Leipzig 1928–1938; reprint 1994–2001).

Alperowitz 1992
M. Alperowitz, Das Wirken und Walten der Götter im Roman (Heidelberg 1992).

Andújar 2013
R. M. Andújar, Charicleia the Martyr: Heliodorus and Early Christian Narrative, in: M. P. Futre Pinheiro – R. Pervo – J. Perkins (eds.), The Ancient Novel and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative. Fictional Intersections, Ancient Narrative Supplements 16 (Havertown 2013) 139–152.

Bachtin 1975/1981
M. Bachtin, Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel. Notes towards a Historical Poetics, in: M. Bachtin: The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays, ed. by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin 1981) 84–258, Russian original (Moscow 1975).

Baier 1999
T. Baier, Die Funktion der Götter bei Chariton, Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft NF 23, 1999, 101–113.

Bargheer 1999
R. Bargheer, Die Gottesvorstellung Heliodors in den Aithiopika (Frankfurt a. M. 1999).

Beck 1996
R. Beck, Mystery Religion, Aretalogy and the Ancient Novel, in: G. Schmeling (ed.), The Novel in the Ancient World (Leiden et al. 1996) 131–150.

Bierl 2007
A. Bierl, Mysterien der Liebe und die Initiation Jugendlicher, Literatur und Religion im griechischen Roman, in: A. Bierl – R. Lämmle – K. Wesselmann (eds.), Literatur und Religion 2. Wege zu einer mythisch-rituellen Poetik bei den Griechen, MythosEikonPoiesis 1/2 (Berlin 2007) 239–334.

Bouffartigue 2001
J. Bouffartigue, Un triangle symbolique: Eros, Aphrodite et Artémis dans le roman de *Leucippé et Clitophon*, in: A. Billaut (ed.) ᾽ΩΠΩΡΑ. La belle saison de l'hellénisme. Études de litterature antique offerte au recteur Jaques Bompaire (Paris 2001) 125–138.

Brown 1990a
P. Brown, The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity (London 1990).

Brown 1990b
P. Brown, Bodies and Minds. Sexuality and Renunciation in Early Christianity, in: D. M. Halperin – J. J. Winkler – F. I. Zeitlin (eds.), Before Sexuality.The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient World (Princeton 1990) 479–493.

Cooper 1996
K. Cooper, The Virgin and the Bride. Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity (Cambridge, MA 1996).

Crusius 1895
O. Crusius, s.v. Apologos, in: Realenzyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. G. Wissowa, II.1, 1895, 167–170.

Doulamis 2007
K. Doulamis, Stoic Echoes and Style in Xenophon of Ephesus, in: J. R. Morgan – M. Jones (eds.), Philosophical Presences in the Ancient Novel (Groningen 2007) 151–176.

Elm 1994
S. Elm, Virgins of God. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity (Oxford 1994).

Foucault 1984/1986
M. Foucault, The History of Sexuality. Vol. 3: The Care of the Self (London 1986), French original: Le souci de soi (Paris 1984).

Frye 1976
N. Frye, The Secular Scripture. A Study of the Structure of Romance (Cambridge, MA – London 1976).

Gödde 2015
S. Gödde, Theatre, in: J. Rüpke – R. Raja (eds.), A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World (Oxford 2015) 333–348.

Gödde 2016
S. Gödde, Antike, in: D. Weidner (ed.), Handbuch Literatur und Religion (Stuttgart 2016) 120–127.

Goldhill 1995
S. Goldhill, Foucault's Virginity. Ancient Erotic Fiction and the History of Sexuality (Cambridge 1995).

Hardie 1998
P. Hardie, A Reading of Heliodorus' Aithiopika 3.4.1–5.2, in: R. Hunter (ed.), Studies in Heliodorus (Cambridge 1998).

Henrichs 2006
A. Henrichs, Der antike Roman: Kerényi und die Folgen, in: R. Schlesier – R. Sanchino Martínez (eds.), Neuhumanismus und Anthropologie des griechischen Mythos. Karl Kerényi im europäischen Kontext des 20. Jahrhunderts (Locarno 2006) 57–70.

Herrenschmidt 2003
C. Herrenschmidt, Callirhoé et Chariclée héroïnes monétaires? Une proposition à propos de Chéréas et Callirhoé de Chariton et des Éthiopiques d'Héliodore, in: M. Guglielmo – E. Bona (eds.), Forme di comunicazione nel mondo antico e metamorfosi del mito: dal teatro al romanzo (Alessandria 2003) 215–233.

Hirschberger 2010
M. Hirschberger, Die Macht der Ohnmächtigen: Strategien sexueller Bewahrung im griechischen Liebesroman (Chariton, Xenophon von Ephesos, Heliodor), in: B. Feichtinger – G. Kreuz (eds.), Gender Studies in den Altertumswissenschaften: Aspekte von Macht und Erotik in der Antike, Iphis. Beiträge zur altertumswissenschaftlichen Genderforschung 3 (Trier 2010) 135–150.

Kasprzyk 2009
D. Kasprzyk, Morale et sophistique: sur la notion de sophrosyne chez Achille Tatius, in: B. Pouderon – C. Bost-Pouderon (eds.), Passions, Vertus et Vices dans l'Ancien Roman. Actes du colloque de Tours, 19 - 21 octobre 2006, organisé par l'Université François-Rabelais de Tours et l'UMR 5189, Histoire et Sources des Mondes Antiques (Lyon 2009) 97–116.

Kerényi 1927
K. Kerényi, Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung (Tübingen 1927); reprint (Darmstadt 1964).

King 2012
D. King, "Taking It Like a Man": Gender, Identity and the Body in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon, in: M. P. Futre Pinheiro – M. B. Skinner – F. I. Zeitlin (eds.), Narrating Desire. Eros, Sex, and Gender in the Ancient Novel, Trends in Classics – Supplementary 14 (Berlin 2012) 147–159.

von Koppenfels 2006
M. von Koppenfels, Die Ökonomie der Jungfräulichkeit. Psychoanalytische Bemerkungen zu Cervantes' Novelle El amante liberal, in: H. Ehrlicher – G. Poppenberg (eds.), Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares im Streitfeld der Interpretationen. Exemplarische Einführungen in die spanische Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit (Berlin 2006) 320–336.

Liddell – Scott – Jones 1843/1940
H. G. Liddell – R. Scott – H. S. Jones, Greek–English Lexicon (Oxford [1]1843, [9]1940, reprint 1989).

Merkelbach 1962
R. Merkelbach, Roman und Mysterium in der Antike (München 1962).

Merkelbach 1994
R. Merkelbach, Novel and Aretalogy, in: J. Tatum (ed.), The Search for the Ancient Novel (Baltimore, MD 1994) 283–295.

Morales 2004
H. L. Morales, Vision and Narrative in Achilles Tatius' "Leucippe and Clitophon". Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge 2004).

Perkins 1995
J. Perkins, The Suffering Self. Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era (London 1995).

Schuler forthcoming
N. Schuler, (A)symmetrien des Begehrens im antiken Roman, in: E. Hutter – N. Schuler – W. Ette – S. Gödde (eds.), Triebökonomien des Abenteuers (München forthcoming) 13 pages.

Stark 1989
I. Stark, Religiöse Elemente im antiken Roman, in: H. Kuch (ed.), Der antike Roman. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Kommunikation und Gattungsgeschichte (Berlin 1989) 135–149.

Suarez de la Torre – Pérez Benito 2013
E. Suarez de la Torre – E. Pérez Benito, Love, Mysteries and Literary Tradition: New Experiences and Old Frames, in: M. P. Futre Pinheiro – A. Bierl – R. Beck (eds.), Intende, Lector – Echoes of Myth, Religion and Ritual in the Ancient Novel. MythosEikonPoiesis 6 (Berlin – Boston 2013) 51–66.

Weißenberger 1997
M. Weißenberger, Der ‚Götterapparat' im Roman des Chariton, in: M. Picone – B. Zimmermann (eds.), Der antike Roman und seine mittelalterliche Rezeption (Basel – Boston – Berlin 1997) 49–73.

Zeitlin 2008
F. I. Zeitlin, Religion, in: T. Whitmarsh (ed.), The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel (Cambridge 2008) 91–108.

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 73–80. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11950

Plagues Past and Present

The Archaeological Dimension

Anthony Harding

Abstract: With the world currently focused on the COVID-19 pandemic, it is timely to remember that over long timescales plagues or pandemics are nothing unusual. The Black Death is the most famous of these, but there are several others that caused major disruption in ancient times: the Justinianic plague of the 540s CE, the Antonine plague of the second century CE, or the outbreak that occurred in Athens in 430 BCE. Evidence has recently been adduced to show that *Yersinia pestis*, the bacterium responsible for the disease, was present in Eurasia by the end of the 4th millennium BCE. In this paper I discuss possible implications for the later prehistory of Europe, in which puzzling gaps in the archaeological record are usually assumed to reflect lack of relevant fieldwork, but which may actually be the consequence of widespread disease bringing about a collapse in the normal life of communities.

Introduction

Plagues are something with which we in the modern western world are not familiar. Even though a range of writers, from Defoe to Camus, have written eloquently about them and their effects, they seem remote from our daily existence – or they did until recent times.

Daniel Defoe wrote his *Journal of the Plague Year* in 1722, though it describes the Great Plague of London of 1665, when he was only five years old. Half novel, half documentary, it gives a vivid picture of what it would be like to live in a plague-ridden city prior to the advances of modern medicine. Albert Camus wrote *La Peste* in 1947, the events taking place in the French-Algerian city of Oran. Its plot uncannily resembles recent events: the initial denials and downplaying of the seriousness of the situation, followed by lockdown, depression, personal tragedy, the eventual discovery of a cure, and delivery. Hardly known at all is a play by Karel Čapek, *Bílá nemoc* (*The White Disease*), written in 1937 and setting a disease similar to leprosy, and preferentially infecting those over 45, as the backdrop to a tale of war and politics, with a cure being used as blackmail to stop warmongering. While we probably do not have to worry about blackmail in the present pandemic, vaccine nationalism is another matter, with countries trying to assure their own access to vaccine before allowing others to acquire it.

Today we find ourselves in a situation that for all of us living in Europe is unprecedented. All around us drastic changes are taking place: we are restricted from travelling or even leaving our homes, we have to wear face-masks if we do, we cannot meet our friends and family, and people we know are ill or, sadly, have left us for good (including a number of senior archaeologists). These are all the results of an extraordinary phenomenon which hit us in 2020, even though medics have been warning us of the dangers for years. Yes, SARS-CoV-2, commonly known as COVID-19, has affected almost everyone in the world, and at the time of writing (mid-January 2021), the numbers

affected are approaching 100 million, with nearly 2 million deaths worldwide (Worldometers, and Johns Hopkins University Coronavirus Resource Center). With a 'case fatality rate' (CFR) around 1%, the virus is not nearly as dangerous as other recent epidemics such as SARS (over 10%), MERS (35%), Ebola (up to 90%), let alone the 'Spanish' flu of 1918–19 (H1N1 influenza A virus), which is estimated to have killed more than 50 million people worldwide. But its ubiquitous presence in the world today serves to make us think about the effects of such diseases in earlier populations, when medical knowledge was rudimentary or absent altogether.

Looking back in time, there are several well-known pandemics in European or world history. The most famous is the Black Death, at its most virulent between 1347 and 1351, and estimated to have killed over 100 million people world-wide. The disease, also known in English at the time as the Plague, was caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis* being carried on fleas and infecting humans, resulting in bubonic plague. Records of the period indicate that those affected usually suffered from the growth of buboes (painful swellings in the neck, groin or armpit), as well as a high fever and nausea. Untreated, as people obviously were at that time, death usually occurred within a few days.

Such 'plagues' have occurred at various times, often restricted geographically and therefore not attracting as much attention as global pandemics. The Great Plague of London in 1665 was a major event there, but it is often forgotten (by people in England, at least) that the disease had been around for centuries, flaring up in particular places at particular times. London lost around one quarter of its population, some 100,000 people; though nationwide its effects were not as drastic as those of the Black Death, it was still a major setback, the end of which is usually attributed to the destruction of the medieval city of London in the Great Fire of 1666. (In fact the infection had probably played itself out by then naturally, as so many people had been infected or died that 'herd immunity' had built up.)

Other plagues include those of Moscow (1770–72), Marseille (1720–23), Mexico (1545–48), as well as other epidemics in modern, medieval and ancient history.

There have been many epidemics in history, but few pandemics. For those suffering the effects of such an infectious disease, the difference between the two is academic. Epidemics are serious but restricted in geographical spread; pandemics are universal or almost so. Seen in that light, many 'plagues' recorded in historical sources were epidemics, since they affected a relatively small area. This might well include outbreaks of diseases such as cholera or typhoid fever, which have occurred with some frequency over the ages.

Historical Accounts

Before going further back in time, one may recall how sickness is often mentioned in literature. The 'sweating sickness' is mentioned in many 16th century English sources, causing very rapid deterioration and frequently death; Shakespeare refers to it in *Macbeth*. A number of notables are thought to have died from it, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Reginald Pole, while several people at the court of Henry VIII (including his then mistress Anne Boleyn, later his second wife) may have suffered from it. For this reason he left London with his court for a time in 1528, as the disease was rife in the city. The disease is thought to have been viral, but there is no agreement on exactly what it was.

A manuscript in the Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, brought from the monastery of Elbing (now Elbląg), and dating to the 15th century but containing a range of pieces from 100 years earlier, describes the

'Signs of the Plague'.[1] These numbered ten, and included comets, a bad conjugation of planets, unusual variations of temperature, increased numbers of frogs, toads, mice and fleas, and birds abandoning their nests. The observation of these phenomena served as a guide to action at the time, when the Black Death was still circulating in Europe.

The Justinianic Plague, dating ca. 541–549 CE, also known as the First Pandemic, left an indelible mark on those who recorded it. As described by Procopius (*History of the Wars* II, 22),

> (…) with the majority it came about that they were seized by the disease without becoming aware of what was coming either through a waking vision or a dream. And they were taken in the following manner. They had a sudden fever, some when just roused from sleep, others while walking about, and others while otherwise engaged, without any regard to what they were doing. And the body shewed no change from its previous colour, nor was it hot as might be expected when attacked by a fever, nor indeed did any inflammation set in, but the fever was of such a languid sort from its commencement and up till evening that neither to the sick themselves nor to a physician who touched them would it afford any suspicion of danger. It was natural, therefore, that not one of those who had contracted the disease expected to die from it. But on the same day in some cases, in others on the following day, and in the rest not many days later, a bubonic swelling developed; and this took place not only in the particular part of the body (…) below the abdomen, but also inside the armpit, and in some cases also beside the ears, and at different points on the thighs (…). (…) there ensued with some a deep coma, with others a violent delirium, and in either case they suffered the characteristic symptoms of the disease (…). And those who were attending them were in a state of constant exhaustion and had a most difficult time of it throughout. For this reason everybody pitied them no less than the sufferers, not because they were threatened by the pestilence in going near it (for neither physicians nor other persons were found to contract this malady through contact with the sick or with the dead, for many who were constantly engaged either in burying or in attending those in no way connected with them (…).
>
> Death came in some cases immediately, in others after many days; and with some the body broke out with black pustules about as large as a lentil and these did not survive even one day, but all succumbed immediately. With many also a vomiting of blood ensued without visible cause and straightway brought death.

The symptoms described seem similar to those of the Black Death; hence the assumption that *Y. pestis* was to blame. This being the case, this was also a bacterial disease, unlike influenza or COVID-19, which as we know are viral. The effect on those attending the sick is very striking and reminiscent of health workers in hospitals at the present day, who are suffering exhaustion, burnout and acute mental stress. It is also evident from several passages in Procopius and other authors that this was indeed a pandemic, since it spread around the Roman Empire and Europe, and was not confined to Constantinople as an epidemic might have been.

Of the various outbreaks of sickness that are reported before this, the most famous is that relating to the 'plague of Athens' in the second year of the Peloponnesian War (430 BCE). According to Thucydides (*History* II, 7):

[1] Source: Dr Philippa Hoskin in the Newsletter of Corpus Christi College, April 2020.

> (…) there was no ostensible cause; but people in good health were all of a sudden attacked by violent heats in the head, and redness and inflammation in the eyes, the inward parts, such as the throat or tongue, becoming bloody and emitting an unnatural and fetid breath. These symptoms were followed by sneezing and hoarseness, after which the pain soon reached the chest, and produced a hard cough. When it fixed in the stomach, it upset it; and discharges of bile of every kind named by physicians ensued, accompanied by very great distress. In most cases also an ineffectual retching followed, producing violent spasms, which in some cases ceased soon after, in others much later. Externally the body was not very hot to the touch, nor pale in its appearance, but reddish, livid, and breaking out into small pustules and ulcers. But internally it burned so that the patient could not bear to have on him clothing or linen even of the very lightest description; or indeed to be otherwise than stark naked. What they would have liked best would have been to throw themselves into cold water; as indeed was done by some of the neglected sick, who plunged into the rain-tanks in their agonies of unquenchable thirst; though it made no difference whether they drank little or much. Besides this, the miserable feeling of not being able to rest or sleep never ceased to torment them. The body meanwhile did not waste away so long as the distemper was at its height, but held out to a marvel against its ravages; so that when they succumbed, as in most cases, on the seventh or eighth day to the internal inflammation, they had still some strength in them. But if they passed this stage, and the disease descended further into the bowels, inducing a violent ulceration there accompanied by severe diarrhoea, this brought on a weakness which was generally fatal. For the disorder first settled in the head, ran its course from thence through the whole of the body, and, even where it did not prove mortal, it still left its mark on the extremities; for it settled in the privy parts, the fingers and the toes, and many escaped with the loss of these, some too with that of their eyes. Others again were seized with an entire loss of memory on their first recovery, and did not know either themselves or their friends.[2]

Estimates of fatalities are necessarily speculative, but a figure of 30,000 is often cited; the highest profile fatality was Pericles himself, along with members of his family. It is thought that the effects of the epidemic were strong enough to weaken Athens in the war, leading eventually to her defeat.

In this case, there is no direct archaeological or DNA evidence to indicate more precisely the cause of the sickness, as far as I am aware. The descriptions in the literary sources are all we have to go on.

Archaeogenetic Studies

Although literary sources tell us about epidemics and their effects on particular populations, in most cases it is impossible to be sure what the cause of the infection was. The listing of symptoms is certainly indicative, but not conclusive. This is where recent studies of surviving DNA have proved essential, since traces of the pathogen involved are present in recovered human remains. In order to associate particular studied individuals with known outbreaks, it is necessary that good dating evidence is available. This is easier said than done, though certain medieval and early modern populations have been found to be well dated archaeologically.

DNA studies on victims in cemeteries recovered archaeologically have shown that the Black Death was caused by *Yersinia pestis*

[2] A version of this account was also given by Lucretius in his *De rerum natura* (Book VI).

(Haensch *et al.* 2010; Schuenemann *et al.* 2011). Many other outbreaks of plague between the 14th and 17th centuries were also caused by *Y. pestis* (Spyrou *et al.* 2016; Spyrou *et al.* 2019).[3] Further back in time, there is now strong evidence that the Justinianic plague was also caused by *Y. pestis* (Wagner *et al.* 2014; Keller *et al.* 2019). It seems clear that *Y. pestis* is always latent in the background; it emerges into a fully fledged epidemic at particular times, perhaps as a chance result of poor hygiene, the infected fleas being carried by rats.

What is more, recent work has shown that *Y. pestis* was present by at least 3000 BCE (Rasmussen *et al.* 2015). By sequencing the genomes, it was found that ancient plague strains were ancestral to known historical strains, though apparently causing pneumonic and septicaemic plague, not bubonic; that came along somewhat later, perhaps by 1000 BCE. Spyrou *et al*. (2018) have suggested on the basis of their DNA work that bubonic plague can be traced back to the Bronze Age.

For archaeologists, the importance of these studies is their ability to shed light on ancient populations where there are otherwise puzzling gaps in the record.

Prehistory

Since *Y. pestis* was present in human populations in later prehistory, there are potentially important implications for the trajectory of human health in the millennia prior to recorded history. Some of these have already been suggested: the effects of the viral vector being present in human populations have been blamed for the decline of Neolithic communities across Eurasia, for instance the disappearance of the Tripillya mega-sites in the later centuries of the fourth millennium BCE (Menotti – Korvin-Piotrovskiy 2012; Müller *et al.* 2016; Rascovan *et al.* 2019). These authors maintain that their results show that such declines were not caused by the migrations of populations that other studies have confirmed.

Archaeologically speaking, there are many times when there are puzzling gaps in the record, with few sites known for particular periods of time. A good example is the decline of the lake villages of the sub-Alpine region, in both the Neolithic and the Bronze Age (Menotti 2015). Many potential reasons have been suggested, though in this case a rapid rise in lake level is usually assumed to be the most plausible. The gaps in the record are often attributed to inadequate knowledge of an area or period, with a lack of survey work or excavation having taken place, or inadequate preservation of suitable remains; at others it seems that in spite of good coverage, and with sites of other periods being abundant, there is a genuine absence of human activity at particular times. How, then, are these lacunae to be explained? And how are well-known 'collapses' in the archaeological or historical record (such as the Mycenaean or the Mayan) to be understood?

Catastrophes of various kinds have been invoked as causes in a number of instances, ranging from climatic effects (drought, flooding), volcanic eruptions, asteroid strikes, internal strife, invasion from abroad, and – finally – disease. Jared Diamond, in his book *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive* suggests several more causes: environmental degradation of various kinds, over-exploitation of resources, energy shortages, and above all overpopulation, relative to the practicable (as opposed to the theoretical) carrying capacity of the environment. In most cases it is hard, if not impossible, to come to any definitive

[3] Many news reports from 2016 (e.g., Stanbridge 2016) stated that the Great Plague of London had been associated with *Y. pestis*, but I thank Kirsten Bos (pers. comm.) for informing me that the samples in question actually date somewhat earlier in the 17th century.

conclusion about which of these, if any, might be responsible.

Disease brought about by *Y. pestis* is obviously not the only possible sickness that may have affected ancient populations. Without scientific knowledge of how disease is caused or transmitted, pre-industrial societies would have been at risk from many sources, especially those relating to poor hygiene. Diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever, as well as the many varieties of gastroenteritis, result from the ingestion of infected food or water. Tuberculosis is believed to have been present in antiquity (Barberis *et al*. 2017), as is smallpox (Riedel 2005); the origin of measles is uncertain but it has been suggested as a possible cause of the Antonine Plague in the second century CE (Düx *et al.* 2019). Any or all of these might have caused severe loss of life in prehistoric societies.

As well as 'collapses', there are plenty of situations where a particular cultural phenomenon came to an end, being replaced by different cultural manifestations. Here changes brought about by technological advances, or by human actions, cannot easily be disentangled from those potentially attributable to disease. Thus most commentators agree that the start of the Neolithic way of life in Europe was due to the spread of farming across the continent, by whatever means – and genetic work shows beyond reasonable doubt that it was actual people who moved, not just ideas (Haak *et al.* 2010; Hofmanová *et al.* 2016). The same is true for the Beaker phenomenon, as we now know (Olalde *et al.* 2018). In the Bronze Age of central Europe, there has been speculation over many years about the rise and fall of the 'Koszider period' in Hungary, when a particular set of artefacts distinguished certain levels in tell sites, after which they were abandoned; usually attributed to hostile incursions, it seems equally possible that other factors, including disease, were to blame (Mozsolics 1957; Bóna 1958; Pusztainé Fischl *et al.* 2013; Vicze *et al.* 2013; Kienlin 2015, 40).

These matters must await further DNA work relating to the disease vectors, present in human and animal remains from various contexts. For now it remains to be thankful that modern science can not only develop means to ward off the present disease, but also identify when and where it occurred in the past. Both of these achievements can be regarded as a triumph for modern science.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my wife for her help in locating references to historical and archaeogenetic sources.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Procopius, *History of the Wars*, Loeb edition, trans. H. B. Dewing (Harvard 1914).

Thucydides, *History*, trans. R. Crawley, Internet Classics Archive (http://classics.mit.edu/Thucydides/pelop-war.2.second.html, 14.01.2021).

Secondary Sources

Barberis *et al*. 2017
I. Barberis – N. L. Bragazzi – L. Galluzzo *et al*., The history of tuberculosis: from the first historical records to the isolation of Koch's bacillus, J Prev Med Hyg. 58/1, E9–E12.

Bóna 1958
I. Bóna, Chronologie der Hortfunde vom Koszider-Typus, Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 9, 1958, 211–243.

Diamond 2005
J. Diamond, Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive (New York 2005).

Düx *et al.* 2019
A. Düx – S. Lequime – L.V. Patrono *et al*., The history of measles: from a 1912 genome to an antique origin, bioRxiv doi: https://doi.org/10.1101/2019.12.29.889667 .

Haak *et al.* 2010
W. Haak – O. Balanovsky – J. J. Sanchez *et al.*, Ancient DNA from European Early Neolithic farmers reveals their Near Eastern affinities, PLoS Biology 8/11, 2010.

Haensch *et al.* 2010
S. Haensch – R. Bianucci – M. Signoli *et al.*, Distinct clones of *Yersinia pestis* caused the Black Death, PLoS Pathogens 6/10, 2010, doi: https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.ppat.1001134 .

Hofmanová *et al.* 2016
Z. Hofmanová – S. Kreutzer – G. Hellenthal *et al.*, Early farmers from across Europe directly descended from Neolithic Aegeans, PNAS 113/25, 6886–6891.

Keller *et al.* 2019
M. Keller – M. A. Spyrou – C.L. Scheib *et al.*, Ancient *Yersinia pestis* genomes from across Western Europe reveal early diversification during the First Pandemic (541–750), PNAS 116/25, 2019, 12363–12372.

Kienlin 2015
T. L. Kienlin, Bronze Age Tell Communities in Context. An exploration into culture, society, and the study of European prehistory - Part 1: Critique. Europe and the Mediterranean (Oxford 2015).

Menotti 2015
F. Menotti, The 3500-year-long lake-dwelling tradition comes to an end: what is to blame? In: F. Menotti (ed.), The end of the lake-dwellings in the Circum-Alpine region (Oxford 2015), 236–250.

Menotti – Korvin-Piotrovskiy 2012
F. Menotti – A. G. Korvin-Piotrovskiy (eds.), The Tripolye culture giant-settlements in Ukraine: formation, development and decline (Oxford 2012).

Mozsolics 1957
A. Mozsolics, Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der grossen Wanderung, Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 8, 1957, 119–156.

Müller *et al*. 2016
J. Müller – K. Rassmann – M. Videiko (eds.), Trypillia Mega-Sites and European Prehistory: 4100-3400 BCE. Themes in Contemporary Archaeology 2 (London 2016).

Olalde *et al.* 2018
I. Olalde – S. Brace – D. Reich *et al.*, The Beaker phenomenon and the genomic transformation of northwest Europe, Nature 555, 2018, 190–196.

Pusztainé Fischl *et al*. 2013
K. Pusztainé Fischl – V. Kiss – G. Kulcsár *et al.* Transformations in the Carpathian Basin around 1600 B.C. In: H. Meller – F. Bertemes – H.-R. Bork – R. Risch (eds.), 1600 – Kultureller Umbruch im Schatten des Thera-Ausbruchs? 1600 – Cultural Change in the shadow of the Thera-Eruption? 4. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 14. bis 16. Oktober 2011 in Halle (Saale) (Halle 2013), 355–371.

Rascovan *et al.* 2019
N. Rascovan – K.-G. Sjögren – K. Kristiansen *et al.*, Emergence and spread of basal lineages of *Yersinia pestis* during the Neolithic decline, Cell 176/1–2, 2019, 295–305.

Rasmussen *et al.* 2015
S. Rasmussen – M. E. Allentoft – K. Nielsen *et al.*, Early divergent strains of *Yersinia pestis* in Eurasia 5,000 years ago, Cell 163/3, 2015, 571–582.

Riedel 2005
S. Riedel, Edward Jenner and the history of smallpox and vaccination, Proceedings (Baylor University Medical Center) 18/1, 2005, 21–25.

Schuenemann *et al.* 2011
V. J. Schuenemann – K. Bos – S. DeWitte *et al.*, Targeted enrichment of ancient pathogens yielding the pPCP1 plasmid of *Yersinia pestis* from victims of the Black Death, PNAS 108/38, 2011, E746–E752.

Spyrou *et al.* 2016
M. A. Spyrou – R. I. Tukhbatova – M. Feldman *et al.*, Historical *Y. pestis* genomes reveal the European Black Death as the source of ancient and modern plague pandemics, Cell Host & Microbe 19/6, 2016, 874–881.

Spyrou *et al.* 2018
M. A. Spyrou – R. I. Tukhbatova – C.-C. Wang *et al.*, Analysis of 3800-year-old Yersinia pestis genomes suggests Bronze Age origin for bubonic plague, Nature Communications 9: 2234, 2018, 1–10.

Spyrou *et al.* 2019
M. A. Spyrou – M. Keller – R. I. Tukhbatova *et al.*, Phylogeography of the second plague pandemic revealed through analysis of historical *Yersinia pestis* genomes, Nature Communications 10: 4470, 2019, 1–13.

Stanbridge 2016
N. Stanbridge, DNA confirms cause of 1665 London's Great Plague, BBC Today programme 8 September 2016 (https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-37287715, 26.01.2021).

Vicze *et al*. 2013
M. Vicze – I. Poroszlai – P. Sümegi (eds.), Koszider: Hoard, Phase, Period? Round table conference on the Koszider problem (Százhalombatta 2013).

Wagner *et al.* 2014
D. M. Wagner – J. Klunk – M. Harbeck *et al.*, *Yersinia pestis* and the Plague of Justinian 541–543 AD: A genomic analysis, The Lancet Infectious Diseases 14, 2014, 319–326.

Webpage

Worldometers (www.worldometers.info, 13.01.2021).

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 81–86. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11951

Petamenophis

An Egyptian Priest in Italy?

Patrizia Heindl

Abstract: Petamenophis is probably the best known lector priest (*ḫr.j-ḥ3b.t-ḥr.j-tp*) of the Egyptian Late Period. So far, three partially preserved statues of him have come to light in Italy. One of them had long been in private hands and was not available for detailed study. Thanks to a travel grant from the Graduate School Distant Worlds, I went in June 2018 on a research trip to Italy where I happened upon this statue in the Museo Correale di Terranova. By chance, the museum had received it as a gift only a few days before my visit. This article describes my search for and recovery of this statue during the work on my PhD thesis. It also gives an overview of the story of all three statues of Petamenophis found in Italy, whose complex research histories are intriguing in their own right. They show the complex web of ancient engagement with Egyptian statues, early modern interpretation, and recent archaeological work.

Petamenophis in Italy

We may access distant worlds in many surprising ways, for instance, by finding three statues of the ancient Egyptian priest Petamenophis in today's Italy, to which they were taken already in antiquity. They illustrate the often very rich transmission history of ancient Egyptian statues, from antiquity through later times to the present day.

The chief lector priest Petamenophis was a legendary figure in ancient Egypt. Today, he is regarded as an outstanding intellectual of the Egyptian Late Period (700–600 BCE) who had unique connections to the royal family. Where he came from and who his father was is unclear; the filiations mention only his mother, a certain Menekhaset.[1] It is also uncertain which king(s) he served. Although many objects and inscriptions refer to Petamenophis himself, none of them includes the name of a king. On the basis of the location and architecture of his monumental tomb (TT 33), he was a contemporary of Monthemhat, the famous mayor of Thebes. That is to say, he seems to have been active in the transitional from the 25th, Kushite Dynasty, and the 26th Dynasty under the reigns of Taharqo to Psammetik I.[2]

In order to understand the history of the three statues of Petamenophis, we need to take a closer look at the ways in which scholarship and wider audiences have perceived Tomb TT 33. This monumental complex, which comprises up to twenty-two underground rooms, was by no means hidden or unknown. On the contrary, sources dating from antiquity through the Middle Ages to the early modern period attest to fact that at least the front rooms have been known and studied for centuries.[3] In the past, locals and strangers went into them simply to see the branching underground passages that

[1] Traunecker 2014, 209–211.

[2] The dates of Padiamenope's life are uncertain. To my mind, the date 710–640 BCE that Traunecker (2014, 227) has proposed seems to be most persuasive, as it fits both archaeological and cultural-historical evidence.

[3] In 1900, Gaston Maspero ordered the tomb to be closed to control a plague of bats. See Traunecker 2014, 207.

were shrouded in legend with their own eyes. Desolate descriptions, stories and fantasies from the early modern period survive in European travel literature. In the imagination of the general public, TT 33 assumed the form of an endless labyrinth that not only ran through the entire Theban necropolis, the so-called Asasif (Arabic العساسيف, underground passages that lead into each other) but stretched across almost unfathomable dimensions. Supposedly, the passages reached as far as the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, or even the pyramids of Giza, 600 km to the north.[4] In Europe, the tomb became particularly well known through the *Description del'Égypte*, which pictured it as "syringes", alluding to ancient authors such as Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Ammianus Marcellinus.[5] In the 19th century, too, captivating accounts of the monument and its impressive dimensions abounded. Famous examples are Johannes Dümichen's vivid descriptions of the acrid stench inside the tomb and stories of explorers who held half oranges under their noses as improvised face masks to withstand the high ammonia levels in the air that stemmed from the faeces of millions of bats.[6] To this day, due to the high accident rate in the shaft of Room XII, parts of the tomb are believed to be cursed. In short, awareness of Petamenophis' tomb has fuelled adventurous stories that have even crossed over to popular forms of media outlets such as documentaries.[7]

Fascination with Petamenophis is, however, much older and certainly not limited to the architecture of his tomb. To judge by a lintel that bears his name and titles in the "Small Temple of Medinet Habu," the Ptolemies already paid special attention to his person in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE.[8] The temple itself was considered to be the "Sacred Place of the First Time" and the "Holy Duat of the Ogdoad" (a group of pre-primeval deities).[9] In addition to this extraordinary reference to Petamenophis in one of the most significant temples of the Theban West Bank, his tomb in the Asasif was also known and probably at least partly, accessible until Roman times.[10] Neither his person nor his burial place seem to have been forgotten by then.

We know that three statues or statue fragments of the lector priest Petamenophis were brought to the region of today's Italy at some point. However, given the available data, it remains unclear whether the statues were once removed from their original position because people were aware of Petamenophis's status, or they were taken indiscriminately from prominent places in the temple of Karnak. Nonetheless, the fact that the statues were brought to Italy at all seems to indicate that someone attributed great importance to them, either because of their inherent qualities or because of where they came from. Regardless of whichever reason may have caused their relocation to Italy, their journeys are highly instructive of the ways Petamenophis has been perceived.

Rome

The earliest evidence of the presence of one of the three statues in Europe comes from drawings by the Italian painter and architect Pirro Ligorio (1514–1583). They suggest that the so-called cuboid or block statue was already in

[4] E.g., Anton Kreil propounded that idea in a lodge lecture on "Scientific Freemasonry" in April 1785 that was probably attended by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; see Assmann 2010, 383–384.
[5] Jomard 1809, 309–310.
[6] Dümichen 1884–1894, vii–x; Traunecker 2014, 207.
[7] E.g., Weidenbach 2007.
[8] See Demuß 2010, 32.
[9] The rebuilding of the temple complex is documented in particular under Ptolemy IX Soter II. On the temple's function as a primordial mound and Duat of the Ogdoad, see Demuß 2010, 96–118.
[10] For overviews of the continued use and cult in the Asasif in Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see Riggs 2003; Strudwick 2003; Budka 2016, 171–172. On the connection between tomb TT 33 and the temple of Medinet Habu, see Traunecker 2014, 226, who latter mentions an inscription in the tomb that seems to be addressed to an external cult location site and to all the deceased.

Rome in the early modern period.[11] From then on, it became one of the most frequently cited pieces of *Aegyptiaca* in Europe, partly because it is almost completely preserved: it is missing only its base and parts of the feet. Since the statue's sale to the Marcellus Delfinus Collection end of the 16th century, it has also been given the additional epithet *Delfini*.[12] Although Jean-Jacques Boissard misunderstood its form as a Canopic vessel, his identification as *Canopus Delfini* is now famous.[13] Moreover, under these monikers it entered the standard works of the European *Thesauri Aegyptiaci*. Apparently, the name Canopus Delfini has also inspired Atanasius Kircher the miraculous "translation" of the sacrificial formula in his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*:

> Thaustus or Osiris will, by providence (and) virtue, fill the subterranean temple chamber of the sacred Nilotic vessel with abundance (of all) necessary things, and the fourfold world will be overthrown by the prostrate owl Bebonia […][14]

Today, the cuboid statue is in the Louvre collection in Paris and designated simply A.92 in the museum's inventory.

Syracuse

In 1864, a team led by Francesco Di Giovanni discovered the second statue during the excavations of the Apollonium in Syracuse, Sicily.[15] They found the lower body of a "scribe statue" whose base had been chipped off. How exactly it made its way to Sicily remains unclear. For Egyptologists, this object initially seemed to be of little importance due to its having been taken to Italy and its fragmentary state of preservation.[16] It took the publication of a 1901 letter from Alfred Wiedemann to the English entrepreneur, philanthropist, and collector John Rylands[17] to introduce the statue's inscription to a wider audience, but details of the statue itself were not published until 1978.[18] Today, the statue belongs to the collection of the Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi di Siracusa and is listed under inventory number 288.[19]

Sorrento

At the city centre of Sorrento, in front of the famous Sedil Dominova, a headless sculpture of Sesostris I (ca. 1975–1965 BCE) towered on top of a column close to the findspot of Petamenophis's third statue.[20] The Sedil Dominova has a prominent position in Sorrento's townscape, as it is the former seat of noble families and was most likely built on the ancient structures that once contained the Egyptian statues. In 1866, the statue of Sesostris I was transferred to the Museo Correale di Terranova. Although the statue no longer stood prominently in the town square, it did not disappear from people's memory in the town but continued to be associated with the building. In 1877, the building was taken over by the Società Operaia per il Mutuo Soccorso, an organization dedicated to peace and mutual aid. Once again, the significance of an ancient Egyptian statue was riddled with misunderstandings. These began with the misidentification of Sesostris I's sculpture as a "sfinge", and the notion of a lost sphinx was perpetuated over time.[21] In the 1960s, construction work around

[11] See in detail Grimm – Schoske 2005, 70–71.
[12] Grimm – Schoske 2005, 71.
[13] Boissard – de Bry 1681, 27–28.
[14] Kircher 1652, 441.
[15] Di Giovanni 1864, 18.
[16] Koldewey – Puchstein 1899, 62.
[17] Wiedemann 1901.
[18] Sist 1978.
[19] I am grateful to the staff of the Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi di Siracusa for the opportunity to take new working photos of the object.
[20] On the discovery of the third statue of Petamenophis in the 1960s, see D'Este 1975. Giulio Cesare Capaccio's descriptions of the statue of Sesostris I indicates that fragments of Egyptian statues were found in front of the Sedil Dominova no later than the 17th century. See d'Este – Russo 2018, 11 / 18. The first drawing of their placement was made by Ercole Gigante in 1860.
[21] For the history of the statues, see D'Este – Russo 2018, 11–19.

the Sedil Dominova revealed that the statue of Sesostris I was not the only ancient Egyptian object in Sorrento as a fragmentary statue of Petamenophis in the pose of a seated scribe appeared in the construction pits. As with the statue in Syracuse, it is obvious that this piece had been intentionally mutilated. This time, only the right knee remained, together with Petamenophis's right hand that rested on top of it and part of the base. Immediately after the excavation took place, the private collector Aldo Bellone acquired the find. Thirty years later, Margherita D'Este (who also used the name Di Savoia-Aosta-Habsburg) was the first scholar to undertake an extensive study.[22] Unfortunately, Sorrento's densely developed old town with its numerous historic buildings renders large-scale excavations impossible. Consequently, the exact find context of the statue will continue to elude us for a long time. Yet, some scholars have speculated that both statues may have belonged in the villa of a Roman aristocrat or in a temple of Isis.[23]

So far, available images of the statue's hieroglyphic inscription are rather blurred. I therefore attempted to locate the object in order to take better photos and hopefully to gain deeper knowledge of the contents of the inscription. Since I was unable to contact either the excavators or Margherita D'Este I decided to visit the Museo Correale di Terranova in Sorrento, which is the current home of the statue of Sesostris I. I hoped to find out if there was any further documentation relating to the Petamenophis statue or its location. Thanks to a Distant Worlds travel grant, I was indeed able to make the trip to Italy and visit the museum. Imagine my surprise when I entered the exhibition room only to find the fragment I was looking for sitting on the floor below the statue of Sesostris I! Prof. Mario Russo, director of the Museo Correale di Terranova, was no less surprised when I asked him to work on the object because he told me that it had been donated to the museum only a few days before.[24] Thanks to the permission of Prof. Mario Russo to work on the object, I was able to eliminate ambiguities regarding the inscriptions.[25]

At this point, there is no clear answer as to exactly why statues of Petamenophis were brought to Italy and by whom. It also remains uncertain whether these objects were regarded as statues in their own right or ended up being used as mere building materials in local architecture. Only further research may help to shed more light on the dark chapter of their journeys to Italy.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to many people for help and support during the trip and for advice for this article: John Baines, Julia Budka, Bastian Obrecht, Mario Russo, Armin Selbitschka, the staff of the Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi di Siracusa and the Graduate School Distant Worlds.

[22] D'Este 1998.
[23] D'Este – Russo 2018, 18–19.
[24] On the donation, see D'Este – Russo 2018, 19. I would like to thank Mario Russo for the permission to work on the object.
[25] Results of this will be presented as part of my dissertation, Heindl (in preparation).

Bibliography

Assmann 2010
J. Assmann, Ägypten und der Ursprung der Esoterik. Zur Geschichte und Genese eines Mythos, in: A. B. Kilcher (ed.), Constructing Tradition. Means and Myths of Transmission in Western Esotericism (Leiden 2010) 373–393.

Boissard – de Bry 1681
J.-J. Boissard, – D. de Bry, Topographia urbis Romæ. Das ist: Eigentliche Beschreibung der Stadt Rom / Sampt Allen Antiquitäten / Pallästen / Amphitheatris oder Schauplätzen, Obeliscis, Pyramiden, Lustgärten, Bildern, Begräbnüssen, Oberschrifften und dergleichen, so in und umb der Stadt Rom gefunden / und in vier Tagen ordentlich beschauet und gesehen werden können (Frankfurt 1681).

Budka 2016
J. Budka, Kontinuität und Adaption. Zur Einbindung von Ritualhandlungen in die Architektur spätzeitlicher Tempelgräber in Theben (25. Dynastie bis Ptolemäerzeit), in: A. H. Pries (ed.), Die Variation der Tradition. Modalitäten der Ritualadaption im Alten Ägypten; Akten des internationalen Symposions vom 25.–28. November 2012 in Heidelberg (Leuven 2016) 171–200.

Demuß 2010
K. Demuß, Dsr s.t. Studien zum Kleinen Tempel von Medinet Habu, Dissertation (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen 2010) (https://ediss.uni-goettingen.de/handle/11858/00-1735-0000-0006-B4B4-3).

D'Este 1975
M. Di Savoia-Aosta-Habsburg (= D'Este), I monumenti faraonici di Sorrento. La statua di Seti Io e la recentemente ritrovata statua di Padimenemipet, Studi Classici e Orientali 24, 1975, 211–215.

D'Este 1998
M. D'Este, Petamenofi a Sorrento, Egitto e Vicino Oriente 20–21, 1998, 119–124.

D'Este – Russo 2018
M. D'Este – M. Russo, I monumenti egizi di Sorrento. Le statue frammentarie del faraone Seti I (XIX dinastia 1303–1290 a.C.) e dello scriba Petamenofi, sacerdote di Tebe (VII sec. a.C.) (Sorrento 2018).

Di Giovanni 1864
F. Di Giovanni, Scoverte nel Tempio creduto di Diana in Siracusa, Bull. Comm. Ant. Sic. 1, 1864, 17.

Dümichen 1884–1894
J. Dümichen, Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis (Leipzig 1884–1894).

Grimm – Schoske 2005
A. Grimm – S. Schoske (eds.), Winckelmann und Ägypten. Die Wiederentdeckung der ägyptischen Kunst im 18. Jahrhundert (München 2005).

Heindl (in preparation)
P. Heindl, Monthemhat und Padiamenope. Die Statuen zweier thebanischer Elitebeamter zur Spätzeit (Dissertation in preparation).

Jomard 1809
E. F. Jomard, Description de l'Égypte : ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française, publié par les ordres de Sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoléon le Grand. 2,1,1: Texte 1 (Paris 1809).

Kircher 1652
A. Kircher, Athanasii Kircheri; E Soc. Iesv, Oedipvs Aegyptiacvs. Hoc Est Vniuersalis Hieroglyphicæ Veterum Doctrinæ temporum iniuria abolitæ Instavratio; Opus ex omni Orientalium doctrina & sapientia conditum, nec non viginti diuersarum linguarum authoritate stabilitum (Roma 1652).

Koldewey – Puchstein 1899
R. Koldewey – O. Puchstein, Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien (Berlin 1899).

Riggs 2003
C. Riggs, The Egyptian Funerary Tradition at Thebes in the Roman Period, in: N. Strudwick – J. H. Taylor (eds.), The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future (London 2003) 189–201.

Sist 1978
L. Sist, Una statua di scriba nel Museo Archeologico di Siracusa, Vicino Oriente 1, 1978, 133–140.

Strudwick 2003
N. Strudwick, Some Aspects of the Archaeology of the Theban Necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, in: N. Strudwick – J. H. Taylor (eds.), The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future (London 2003) 167–188.

Traunecker 2014
C. Traunecker, The "Funeral Palace" of Padiamenope (TT 33): Tomb, Palace of Pilgrimage, and Library. Current Research, in: E. Pischikova – J. Budka – K. Griffin (eds.), Thebes in the First Millennium BC (Cambridge 2014) 205–234.

Wiedemann 1901
A. Wiedemann, Egyptian Notes, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 23, 1901, 248–251.

Webpages

Weidenbach 2007
T. Weidenbach, Ägypten – Das Rätsel um Grab 33, Südwestrundfunk, Redaktion Länder-Menschen-Abenteuer, 2007 (https://www.swr.de/lma/lma-aegypten-luxor-petamenophis/-/id=100886/did=4866446/nid=100886/17jmhx/index.html, 29.01.2021).

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 87–93. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11952

Leben mit Bildern

Skizze einer sozialgeschichtlichen Bildtheorie der Antike

Tonio Hölscher

Abstract: Das Ziel der hier skizzierten Theorie der antiken Bildkunst ist die Erweiterung des semiotischen Konzepts der Übermittlung von visuellen Bedeutungen im Medium von Bildern zu einer Praxis des sozialen Umgangs mit Bildern als Mitgliedern einer konzeptuellen Gemeinschaft, die die lebenden Menschen und die verstorbenen Vorfahren, die Helden der Mythen und die Götter umfasst. Die Praxis dieser sozialen Bildkultur wird nach Normen und Regeln vollzogen, die spezifische Ordnungen des Lebens begründen. Die spezifische Präsenz der Bildwerke im sozialen Leben wird in einem ‚konzeptionellen Realismus' hergestellt, der die formalen Phänomene nicht als künstlerische Übersetzung, sondern als historisch sich wandelnde konstruktive Wahrnehmung von Wirklichkeit begreift.

1. Die Agenda der Bildwissenschaft: Leben mit Bildern

Die Grundfrage, von der eine Theorie der antiken Bildkunst auszugehen hat, ist: Was wollen wir von den Bildwerken wissen? Die aktuelle Bildwissenschaft ist vielfach auf die Frage gerichtet, was ein Bild *ist*, was es *kann* und *macht*, wie es *wirkt* und – modisch gesagt – *funktioniert*? Gemeint ist: in welcher Weise Bilder von den Herstellern in ihre Form gebracht und von den Betrachtern wahrgenommen werden, welche spezifischen Leistungen die Bildwerke dabei entwickeln und welche visuellen Strategien sie erlauben. Methodologisch ist das herausfordernd und voller komplexer Probleme – aber letzten Endes bleibt es ein theoretischer Diskurs der Ästhetik. Die vitalere Frage an die Werke der Bildkunst ist darum: Warum und wofür wurden die Bildwerke *gebraucht*? Was ist der Grund dafür, dass die Ägypter und Assyrer, und dann die Griechen, Römer und Byzantiner so unvergleichlich dichte Bildkulturen ausgebildet haben wie wenige andere Gesellschaften? Brauchten sie sie zum Leben?

These 1: *Die antiken Gesellschaften haben Bildwerke für den vitalen Vollzug ihres sozialen Lebens gebraucht. In diesem sozialgeschichtlichen Sinn sollte Bildwissenschaft auf das „Leben mit Bildern" ausgerichtet sein (Susanne Muth, Erleben von Raum – Leben im Raum, Heidelberg 1998).*

2. Bilderwelt und Bildkultur

Die Untersuchung von Bildwerken als Zeugnisse fremder Kulturen erfordert zunächst eine grundsätzliche Unterscheidung: zwischen der Funktion der Bilder als Medien von *Bildthemen* auf der einen Seite und ihrer Rolle als Gegenstände der *Bildkultur* auf der anderen. Die beiden Felder sind aufeinander bezogen, werden aber durch unterschiedliche methodische Zugangsweisen erschlossen.

- Die Klassische Archäologie, soweit sie sich als historische Wissenschaft versteht, ist weitgehend auf die Bilder als Übermittler von visuellen *Bildthemen* und *bildlichen Vorstellungen* ausgerichtet: Sie betrachtet die Bilder der griechischen Vasen als reale oder imaginierte Szenen des sozialen

Lebens und der Mythologie, oder politische Denkmäler Roms als Dokumente von historischen Ereignissen, bedeutenden Persönlichkeiten oder politischen Botschaften. In den Formen der Bildkunst werden spezifische visuelle Auffassungen der Themen erkannt. In diesem Sinn werden die Bilder als Zeugnisse von Ereignissen, Personen und Konzepten verstanden, die ihre Existenz außerhalb des Bildes haben.

- Daneben, und eigentlich vor dieser Funktion, sind Bildwerke als solche, als materielle Gegenstände, Faktoren in sozialen Praktiken. Sie spielen eine Rolle, mit einer gewissen eigenen Kraft, in Aktionen von Menschen und Interaktionen zwischen Menschen, in religiösen Ritualen, in der politischen und sozialen Repräsentation, in kulturellen Diskursen. In diesem Sinn sind Bildwerke Faktoren einer spezifischen *Bildkultur*.

These 2: *Die beiden Aspekte von Bildwerken, als visuelle Zeugnisse und als Gegenstände der kulturellen Praxis, implizieren zwei verschiedene Formen der ‚Benutzung'. Das Bild als Zeugnis ist Objekt des Wahrnehmens und Verstehens visueller Tatbestände und Vorstellungen, das Bild als materieller Gegenstand ist Objekt der kulturellen Praxis. Beides zusammen macht ‚Leben mit Bildern' aus.*

3. Gegen den musealen Habitus

Seit dem 18. Jahrhundert wurde ein Konzept der autonomen, nicht von Funktionen geprägten Kunst ausgebildet, die auf freier Kreativität des Künstlers beruht. Die idealen Räume dieses Konzepts von Kunst sind das Museum und das Buch. Sie stellen die Grundlage der modernen ästhetischen Kultur dar, indem sie die Voraussetzungen für reine Betrachtung der Bilder und ihre Zusammenstellung nach ästhetischen Kriterien möglich machen. Der daraus resultierende ‚museale Habitus' findet seinen Ausdruck in dem gängigen Vokabular der Herstellung und Wahrnehmung von Bildwerken: „Künstler", „schöpferischer Akt", „Kunstwerk", „Betrachter". Er mündet in eine Semiotik der intensiven Produktion und Rezeption, die das Bild als explizite „Botschaft" eines Senders und seine Wahrnehmung als aktive Interpretation durch die Betrachter versteht.

Diese ‚museale' Situation der modernen ‚Kunst' steht im diametralen Gegensatz zu dem Umgang mit Bildwerken in der Antike, in der es keine Einrichtung gab, die dem modernen Konzept des Museums entspricht. Die Bildwerke waren Teil der Lebenswelt und Faktoren im sozialen Leben: in den Tempeln und Heiligtümern, auf den Gräbern und den öffentlichen Plätzen der Städte. Das bedeutet nicht zuletzt, dass in der kunstgeschichtlichen Terminologie die Begriffe der kreativen Produktion und Rezeption einzubetten sind in Begriffe der sozialen Praxis, der Aufstellung und Präsenz von Bildwerken und der Begegnung und Interaktion mit ihnen.

These 3: *‚Leben mit Bildern' bedeutet den Umgang mit Bildwerken im Kontext einer vielfältigen Lebenspraxis, in der die Bilder einen unter vielen Faktoren darstellen, in der sie mal stärker mal schwächer die Aufmerksamkeit erregen, und in der sie Reaktionen hervorrufen, die nicht nur Interpretieren und Verstehen, sondern soziale Handlungen sind.*

4. Bildwerke und materielle Präsenz

Die fundamentale Leistung von Bildwerken ‚im Leben' ist: Gestalten und Vorgängen aus distanten Zeiten und Räumen eine bedeutungsvolle Präsenz in den Lebensräumen aktueller Gesellschaften zu geben, die sie dort de facto nicht haben. Bildwerke holen die Götter des Olymp, die Vorgänge der mythischen Vorzeit und die Toten des Hades in die Welt der Lebenden ein und geben ihnen Orte im Hier und Jetzt; und sie präsentieren Personen, Situationen und ideelle Konzepte der eigenen Lebenswelt an Orten, an denen sie nicht dauerhaft präsent sind: Staatsmänner auf der Agora, idyllische Landschaften im Haus, exotische

Monster im städtischen Raum. Sie führen Ereignisse und Geschichten vor Augen, die zu anderen Zeiten, an anderen Orten oder ganz in der imaginierenden Vorstellung spielen. In der Form der Bildwerke werden diese Gestalten und Vorgänge in der Lebenswelt gegenwärtig gemacht, damit die Menschen mit ihnen in kulturellen Handlungen umgehen können.

These 4: *Bilder versetzen Personen und Vorgänge aus der Absenz von Raum und Zeit in die Präsenz der sozialen Lebenswelt. Dort spielen die Bilder ihre Rolle in sozialen Handlungen.*

5. Räume und Bilder: ‚konzeptuelle Gemeinschaften'

Das ‚Leben mit Bildern' hatte seine Bühne und seinen Rahmen in den konstitutiven Räumen der Gesellschaft. Antike Städte besaßen verschiedene 'konzeptuelle Räume', in denen das politische und soziale Leben sich abspielte: die öffentlichen Heiligtümer, die Agora bzw. das Forum mit den politischen Gebäuden im Zentrum der Städte und die Nekropolen außerhalb der Stadtmauern; dazu kamen zunehmend die Theater, die athletischen Stätten und die Thermenanlagen.

Die Gemeinschaften der griechischen und römischen Städte wurden nicht nur von ihren lebenden Mitgliedern gebildet. Es waren ‚konzeptuelle Gemeinschaften', zu denen auch die Götter, die Helden der mythischen Frühzeit und die Toten der jüngeren Vergangenheit gehörten. Das Leben der Gemeinschaft entfaltete sich im Wesentlichen in der Interaktion dieser drei ‚sozialen Gruppen', der Lebenden, der Götter und der Toten, in den gemeinsamen öffentlichen Räumen. In den Heiligtümern kamen die städtischen Gemeinschaften zusammen, um im Kult mit den Göttern und den Heroen in Kontakt zu treten, auf der Agora versammelten sich die männlichen Bürger, um miteinander die politischen und sozialen Angelegenheiten auszuhandeln, in den Nekropolen vereinigten sich die Angehörigen und Freunde zum Kult und zur Verehrung der verstorbenen Vorfahren. Hinzu kommen die Räume des privaten Wohnens, als Zentren der Familien, aber auch der männlichen Gruppierungen, die sich zum Symposion zusammenfanden.

In diesem Zusammenhang gewinnen die Bildwerke ihre Bedeutung für das Leben der Gemeinschaften. Die Bilder gaben den bedeutenden Gestalten und Vorgängen der Ferne und der Vergangenheit, den Göttern, mythischen Heroen und verstorbenen Vorfahren, eine visuelle Präsenz in den sozialen Lebensräumen der Städte. Es war eine ‚Gesellschaft von Bildern'.

Die Lebensräume hatten ihre spezifischen Bildwerke, das heißt: ihre spezifischen Mitglieder der ‚konzeptuellen Gemeinschaft'. In den Tempeln standen die Statuen der Götter, in den Heiligtümern die Bilder der Repräsentanten der religiösen Gemeinschaft, auf der Agora vor allem die Ehrenbildnisse der politischen Protagonisten, im Theater die der Dichter, in den Philosophenschulen die der großen Denker, in den idyllischen Gärten der Villen die Bilder der Satyrn und Tiere der freien Natur. Dabei waren die Themen nicht kanonisch fixiert, es gab Spielräume, die nach spezifischen politischen, sozialen und kulturellen Optionen ausgefüllt wurden. Räume und Bilder standen in einem Wechselverhältnis zueinander: Die Räume bestimmten die Bilder, die Bilder prägten die Räume.

These 5: *Die Rolle der Bilder im Leben der Gemeinschaft wird von den sozialen Räumen und Situationen bedingt, in denen die Interaktion mit ihnen sich abspielt.*

6. Drei Wurzeln der antiken Bildkultur

In den Räumen und Situationen des Lebens erfüllten die Bildwerke im Wesentlichen drei fundamentale Funktionen, in denen drei Wurzeln der antiken Bildkunst sichtbar werden: Repräsentation, Dekor und diskursive Darstellung.

- ***Repräsentation*** ist die primäre Aufgabe großfiguriger Standbilder. Diese bringen die

dargestellten Gestalten zu voller körperlicher Präsenz, als Partner für den Umgang in signifikanten Formen: Standbilder der Götter in den Tempeln, Bilder der Toten auf den Gräbern, Bildnisstatuen berühmter Personen der jüngeren Vergangenheit und der Gegenwart auf der Agora. In rituellen Handlungen, kommemorativen Akten und aktuellen Diskursen erhielten die Bildwerke eine aktive Lebenskraft.

- ***Dekor*** kann, über die gegenwärtig aktuelle Rehabilitierung des Begriffs hinaus, als eine fundamentale Kategorie der Kultur verstanden werden. Jeder Gegenstand von besonderer kultureller Bedeutung, wie Festkleider, rituelle Geräte, sakrale Gebäude, muss in seiner äußeren Form über die Anforderungen der reinen Funktion auf eine höhere Ebene der Bedeutung gehoben werden. Diese Aufwertung wird in verschiedenen Formen erreicht, die in dem ursprünglichen römischen Konzept des Decors zusammengefasst werden können: als Gestaltung, die der Bedeutung des Gegenstands angemessen ist:
    - *Wertvolles Material*.
    - *Ornamente*.
    - *Technische Perfektion*.
    - *Figürlicher Schmuck*.

  Im Begriff des Decors, wie in dem griechischen Begriff *kosmos*, fallen die Vorstellungen von angemessenem Schmuck und formaler Ordnung zusammen. Beide Begriffe bezeichnen die materielle und visuelle Steigerung des kulturellen Wertes und Ranges über die praktische Funktion hinaus.

  Bilddiskurse. Vielfach kann der Bildschmuck von Bauwerken und kulturellen Gegenständen eine Autonomie erreichen, die das Konzept des Decors übersteigt. Auf bemalten Vasen entwickeln sich seit dem 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Szenen in großem Format, die den Blick gegenüber dem Gefäß, seiner Form und Funktion weitgehend okkupieren können. In der Architektur ist eine ähnliche Veränderung von dem Schmuck griechischer Tempel mit untergeordneten Metopen, Friesen und Giebeln zu römischen Denkmälern wie der Ara Pacis des Augustus zu beobachten, an der großformatige Reliefbilder in Augenhöhe wirkungsvolle politische Botschaften vermitteln. Diskursive Bilder in diesem Sinn bewirken nicht in erster Linie die körperliche Begegnung mit einer im Bildwerk präsenten Person, sie leisten nicht nur die decorative Aufwertung zu hohem kulturellem Rang, sondern fordern deutlicher zur Reflexion und zu Diskursen über die Bedeutung der Bildthemen auf.

Die Kategorien der Repräsentation, des Decors und des bildlichen Diskurses sind nicht durch klare Grenzen voneinander getrennt. Dennoch bleibt die Unterscheidung als Idealtypen sinnvoll und nützlich, weil sie verschiedene Leistungen des Bildes und verschiedene Einstellungen der Betrachter definieren hilft.

These 6: *Die Grundfunktionen der Repräsentation, des Decors und des Diskurses bezeichnen drei kommunikative Leistungen des Bildes: die Interaktion der Menschen mit den dargestellten Gestalten, die Steigerung der Gegenstände der Lebenswelt vom funktionalen Nutzwert zu kulturellem Rang sowie die Reflexion über komplexe Bildthemen und ihre kommunikative Vermittlung in der sozialen Interaktion.*

7. Normen, Regeln und Praktiken des Lebens mit Bildern

Die Kommunikation und Interaktion zwischen den aktuell lebenden Menschen und den Göttern, den Helden der Vorzeit und den verstorbenen Vorfahren fand nach spezifischen sozialen Normen, Regeln und Praktiken statt, die sich in den betreffenden Lebensräumen ausbildeten.

Ein großer Teil der Bildwerke der griechischen Bildkunst, von Statuen in großem Format bis

zu den verschiedenartigsten Werken der Kleinkunst, wurde den Göttern in die Heiligtümer dediziert. Dem liegt die soziale Praxis der Geschenkkultur zugrunde, wie sie seit der Frühzeit in den griechischen Städten ausgebildet worden war. Das Geschenk aber ist grundsätzlich von den beiden Seiten des Austauschs her determiniert: Es soll dem Beschenkten gefallen, aber es muss auch dem Schenker angemessen sein. Daraus erklärt sich die bezeichnende Ambivalenz, die allen Votivgaben in antiken Heiligtümern eigen ist: Sie dienen einerseits der Gottheit zur Ehre und stellen andererseits den Ruhm der Dedikanten vor Augen. Beides ergänzt sich wechselseitig: Weihgeschenke sind soziale Brückenschläge.

Eine prägnante Bildpraxis wurde in Griechenland und Rom bei der Aufstellung von öffentlichen Ehrenstatuen entwickelt. Die Standbilder waren Medien in komplexen Verfahren der Aushandlung von Macht und Prestige zwischen den Ansprüchen der führenden Männer und ihrer Anerkennung durch die Gemeinschaft. Daraus ergaben sich bei den Entscheidungen Akte der Balance, die je nach den politischen Strukturen wechselten: im demokratischen Athen zwischen ambitionierten Staatsmännern und der egalitär eingestellten Bürgerschaft, in Rom zwischen erfolgreichen Feldherren der Expansion und ihren senatorischen Konkurrenten. Die Debatten in der athenischen Volksversammlung und im römischen Senat bezeugen eine Praxis mit komplexen Kriterien: wer eine solche Ehre verdient hatte, für welche Verdienste, an welchem Ort, in welcher Form. Nach der Aufstellung wurden die Standbilder zu Mustern des öffentlichen Verhaltens, man benutzte sie als Argumente in politischen Debatten und verglich sie mit den lebenden Staatsmännern.

These 7: *Das ‚Leben mit Bildern' war eine soziale Interaktion, deren Normen und Regeln in enger Verbindung mit der sozialen Praxis der Lebenswelt standen.*

8. Konzeptueller Realismus

Wenn die Bildwerke der Antike eine Realität der sozialen Welt waren, dann ergibt sich die grundsätzliche Frage nach dem Realismus der antiken Bildkunst. Sofern die Bildwerke die Aufgabe hatten, distante Gestalten, Vorgänge und Themen in den Lebensräumen der Gemeinschaften präsent zu machen, damit die Menschen in den Situationen des sozialen Lebens mit ihnen umgehen konnten, kann diese Kunst nur in einer fundamentalen Weise auf die Erfassung von Wirklichkeit ausgerichtet gewesen sein. In diesem Sinn steht in den Äußerungen antiker Autoren zur Bildenden Kunst die Referenz der Bilder auf die Realität im Vordergrund.

Dies Konzept des grundsätzlichen Realismus steht in diametralem Gegensatz zu den Grundvorstellungen, die man sich seit Winckelmann vor allem von der Idealität der griechischen Kunst gemacht hat. Hinzu kommt in neuerer Zeit zunehmend die allgemeine Einsicht, dass Bilder Konstruktionen der menschlichen Vorstellung sind, die als solche eine ‚ästhetische Differenz' und eine grundsätzliche Autonomie gegenüber der Realität bewahren.

Der Widerspruch löst sich auf, wenn man versteht, dass die Antithese von Realität und Kunst eine irreführende Prämisse ist. Auch die reale Lebenswelt ist keine ‚objektive' Realität, sondern ist immer schon eine Projektion von kulturellen Bedeutungen. Diese Behauptung umfasst zwei verschiedene Aspekte: Wahrnehmung und Gestaltung.

- Die Gestalten und Gegenstände der Lebenswelt werden nach kulturellen und psychischen Vorgaben wahrgenommen. In der kulturell und psychisch geprägten Rezeption erhalten die Gestalten und Gegenstände der Lebenswelt eine soziale Bedeutung.
- Die Lebenswelt wird in vielfacher Weise vom Menschen nach kulturellen Vorstellungen gestaltet. In ihren gestalteten Formen, die teils aus individuellen Intentionen, teils aus kollektiven Normen, teils aus halb- und

unbewussten Verhaltensweisen entspringen, erhält die Lebenswelt ihre soziale Bedeutung.

Die Realität der Lebenswelt ist ein kulturelles und psychisches Konzept und Konstrukt. Sofern sie vom Menschen als Träger von Bedeutungen wahrgenommen wird, erhält sie die Qualitäten eines Bildes. Soweit sie vom Menschen gestaltet ist, wird sie zum lebenden Bild. Die Realität ist ein Bild.

Dies visuelle Konzept der Realität ist der Gegenstand der Bildkunst. Es bestimmt die Darstellung der aktuellen Lebenswelt ebenso wie die der vorgestellten Welt der Mythen. In diesem Sinn ist die griechische und weitgehend auch die römische Bildkunst von einem fundamentalen ‚konzeptuellen Realismus' geprägt. Bildende Kunst ist eine Übersetzung der konzeptuell wahrgenommenen und gestalteten Realität in die Materialität der Kunst. Lebenswelt und Bildende Kunst sind zwei Medien, die mit ihren spezifischen Techniken und Praktiken kulturelle und psychische Bedeutungen schaffen.

Aus dieser Sicht bekommen auch die übergreifenden Stilformen der Bildkunst einen neuen Sinn. Die Körper und Gegenstände werden nicht nur in verschiedenen stilistischen Techniken wiedergegeben, sondern werden als reale Körper in verschiedener Weise, in jeweils spezifischen Bedeutungen verstanden: Archaische, klassische und hellenistische Standbilder sind nicht unterschiedliche Wiedergaben einer objektiv zugrunde liegenden Realität, sondern unterschiedliche ‚konzeptuelle' Auffassungen der Realität selbst.

These 8: *‚Konzeptueller Realismus' bedeutet, dass der Mensch die reale Lebenswelt konzeptuell und visuell in den Aspekten begreift, die für ihn Bedeutung haben, und sie in Bildwerken nach solchen Bedeutungskonzepten darstellt. Die Konzepte der Realität ändern sich von Epoche zu Epoche und unterscheiden sich von einer Gesellschaft zur anderen, aber sie haben immer die Realität im Blick.*

9. Fazit: Leben in Bildern und mit Bildern

Was bedeutet Leben mit Bildern? Eine Grundvoraussetzung des sozialen Lebens in der Antike war, dass alle sozialen Beziehungen und Interaktionen sich in unmittelbarer Präsenz aller beteiligten Personen und Gruppen abspielten. Kriege wurden in Schlachten Mann gegen Mann ausgetragen, die Jagd wurde idealiter mit Schwert und Lanze, in direkter Konfrontation mit dem Tier, betrieben, die Athletik war ein direkter Agon mit den Gegnern, die Demokratie wurde in unmittelbarer Präsenz aller Bürger ausgeübt. Man kann von einer „Kultur der unmittelbaren Präsenz" sprechen.

Wenn die Bildwerke dazu dienten, dass die lebenden Menschen mit den anderen Mitgliedern der ‚konzeptuellen Gemeinschaft', den Göttern, Heroen und Toten, in Interaktion treten konnten, dann wurde es nötig, dass diese ‚sozialen Partner' konkret in den Lebensräumen präsent waren. Diese Präsenz wurde von den Bildwerken geleistet.

In dieser Interaktion spielten visuelle Botschaften des Körpers eine zentrale Rolle: Haltungen, Gesten, Bewegungen und Verhaltensformen bildeten eine Semantik der Kommunikation, mit der ethische Einstellungen und psychische Zustände zum Ausdruck gebracht wurden. Es gab Normen des Verhaltens, und diese Normen haben auch die Bildkunst geprägt: Standbilder reproduzierten (oder konterkarierten) anerkannte Haltungen und dienten umgekehrt als Vorbilder (oder negative Gegenbilder) für soziales Verhalten.

In diesem Sinn war das Sehen von Bildwerken weit mehr als ein betrachtendes Interpretieren. Man setzte den eigenen Körper in Beziehung zu den Körpern der Bildwerke, in derselben Weise wie zu den Körpern lebendiger Menschen. Umgekehrt aber nahmen die Formen des Lebens immer wieder Wirkungen wie Bildwerke an. Kunst und Leben durchdringen einander.

Zur weiteren Lektüre empfohlen

Grundlegend für die pragmatische und praxeologische Erweiterung des Begriffs des Bildes: D. Freedberg, The Power of Images (Chicago 1989); A. Gell, Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory (Oxford 1998, 2. Auflage 2010); H. Belting, Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft (München 2001, 4. Auflage 2011); H. Bredekamp, Theorie des Bildakts (Berlin 2010). Zum Konzept des Decors soeben grundsätzlich, aber in einem anderen Sinn als hier, A. Haug, Decor-Räume in pompeianischen Stadthäusern (Berlin – Boston 2020).

Arbeiten zur Semantik des Körpers zwischen Realität und Bild: T. Hölscher, Ideal und Wirklichkeit in den Bildnissen Alexanders des Großen (Heidelberg 1971); B. Fehr, Bewegungsweisen und Verhaltensideale (Bad Bramstedt 1979); L. Giuliani, Bildnis und Botschaft (Frankfurt am Main 1986); P. Zanker, Die Maske des Sokrates (München 1995); M. L. Catoni, Comunicazione non verbale nella Grecia antica (Pisa 2005).

Frühere eigene Arbeiten zur Sozialtheorie der antiken Bildkunst: Bilderwelt, Lebensordnung und die Rolle des Betrachters im antiken Griechenland, in: O. Dally – S. Moraw – H. Ziemssen (Hgg.), Bild, Raum, Handlung. Perspektiven der Archäologie (Berlin 2012) 19–44; ‚Is Painting a Representation of Visible Things?' Conceptual Reality in Greek Art: A Preliminary Sketch, in: J. Bintliff – K. Rutter (Hgg.), The Archaeology of Greece and Rome. Studies in Honour of Anthony Snodgrass (Edinburgh 2016) 262–288; La vie des images grecques. Sociétés de statues, rôles des artistes et notions esthétiques dans l'art grec ancien (Paris 2015); deutsche Ausgabe: Die Geschöpfe des Daidalos. Vom sozialen Leben der griechischen Bildwerke (Heidelberg 2017); Visual Power in Ancient Greece and Rome. Between Art and Social Reality (Oakland 2018).

Dank

Die vorgestellten Überlegungen und Thesen waren Thema eines Doktoranden-Seminars am Münchner Zentrum für Antike Welten im Wintersemester 2014/15. Den Teilnehmer*innen danke ich für stimulierende und weiterführende Diskussionen. Eine Zusammenfassung wurde später im Seminar von Rolf Michael Schneider vorgetragen. Dieser Text liegt, in starker Verkürzung auf das vorgegebene Format des Distant Worlds Journal, dem hier vorgelegten Beitrag zugrunde.

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 95–109. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11953

An der Grenze des *Imperium Romanum*

Forschung zu Mobilität und Migration anhand archäologischer Quellen aus den spätrömischen Gräberfeldern in *Guntia* / Günzburg

Sophie Hüdepohl

Abstract: Die heutige Stadt Günzburg in Bayerisch-Schwaben besitzt eine lange römische Vergangenheit, die sich von den Anfängen der Provinz Raetien im 1. Jh. n. Chr. bis an das Ende des *Imperium Romanum* erstreckt. Diesem letzten Zeitabschnitt der Spätantike widmete sich das im Rahmen einer Doctoral Fellowship an der *Graduate School Distant Worlds* in der Fokusgruppe „*Organisation of Coexistence*" bearbeitete Dissertationsprojekt mit dem Titel „Das spätrömische *Guntia* / Günzburg – Kastell und Gräberfelder". Der vorliegende Beitrag stellt den Fundplatz und das Projekt kurz vor und greift einen der zentralen Punkte des Dissertationsprojekts auf: die Erforschung von Mobilität und Migration inner- und außerhalb der römischen Provinzen anhand spätrömischer Gräber. Nach einer knappen Charakterisierung der Günzburger Gräberfelder folgen allgemeine und methodische Überlegungen zur Aussagekraft archäologischer Quellen zu den genannten Themenkomplexen. Der Beitrag schließt mit einem Fallbeispiel, einer außergewöhnlichen Gruppe von Frauen- und Mädchengräbern mit Beigabennischen, das eindrücklich den hohen Grad von Mobilität in der spätantiken Bevölkerung bezeugt.

Das spätantike *Guntia*

Nach der Aufgabe des Obergermanisch-Raetischen Limes in der Mitte des 3. Jhs.[1] und dem damit einhergehenden Rückzug auf die nassen Grenzen entlang Donau, Iller und Rhein, befand sich *Guntia* an der nördlichen Grenze des Römischen Reichs. In der Folge wurde es Teil der in der Provinz Raetien um 300 mit militärischen Befestigungen ausgebauten Donaugrenze (**Abb. 1**).[2] Die strategische Bedeutung des Ortes fußt v. a. auf der günstigen Lage für einen Donauübergang: Am jenseitigen Ufer öffnete sich der Zugang zu einer direkten Passage durch die Schwäbische Alb nach Nordwesten in die *Alamannia* und an die Rheingrenze. Die Bedeutung des Flussübergangs spiegelt sich nicht zuletzt in der Erwähnung des *transitus Guntiensis* in einer im Jahr 297 am Kaiserhof in Trier gehaltenen Lobrede auf Constantius I. Chlorus (293–306) wider.[3]

Die Kastell- und Grabbefunde des spätantiken *Guntia* standen seit dem 19. Jh. im Zentrum der archäologischen Forschungen in Günzburg.[4] Der örtliche Historische Verein beschäftigte sich mit ihnen seit seiner Gründung im Jahr 1902 und erkannte einige Gräber anhand ihrer typischen Beigaben bereits sehr früh als spätrömisch.[5] Die bis 1971 bekannten Gräber wurden

[1] Alle Zeitangaben im Text beziehen sich auf die Zeit n. Chr.
[2] Zur Entwicklung der spätantiken Grenze Mackensen 2018.
[3] Paneg. Lat. V,2.1; vgl. Czysz 2002, 180–182.
[4] Zur „Römerfeste Günzburg" von Raiser 1823, 3–14; von Raiser 1831, 22. – Ausführlich zur archäologischen Forschungsgeschichte in Günzburg Czysz 2002, 9–18.
[5] Vgl. Berichte des Historischen Vereins Günzburg im Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen seit 1907.

von Erwin Keller vorgelegt.[6] In den 1970er Jahren begannen unter der Leitung des damaligen Gebietsreferenten Wolfgang Czysz auch die großflächigen Grabungen im Gräberfeld an der Ulmer Straße, die im Bereich des spätrömischen Areals bis 2008 andauerten.[7] 2002 legte W. Czysz schließlich eine umfassende Monographie zum römischen Günzburg vor, die alle bis dahin bekannten archäologischen Quellen erfasste und eine sehr gute Ausgangsbasis für das Dissertationsprojekt bot.[8]

In diesem wurde zunächst ein möglichst umfassendes Bild des spätrömischen *Guntia* erarbeitet. Aufbauend auf weiterführenden, regional vergleichenden Analysen der Gräberfelder und Grenzbefestigungen wurden die Ergebnisse schließlich in den regionalen Kontext der Provinz *Raetia secunda* eingebunden. Die wichtigsten Fundstellen sind die beiden spätrömischen Bestattungsplätze, die sich im Westen an der Ulmer Straße (**Abb. 2,1**) und im Osten auf dem Geländesporn der Günzburger Oberstadt (**Abb. 2,2**) befanden. Die Befestigung selbst lag in *Guntia* nicht, wie sonst an der raetischen Grenze üblich, in einer geschützten Höhenlage,[9] sondern – sicher zum Schutz des *transitus* – direkt am südlichen Donauufer (**Abb. 2,3**).

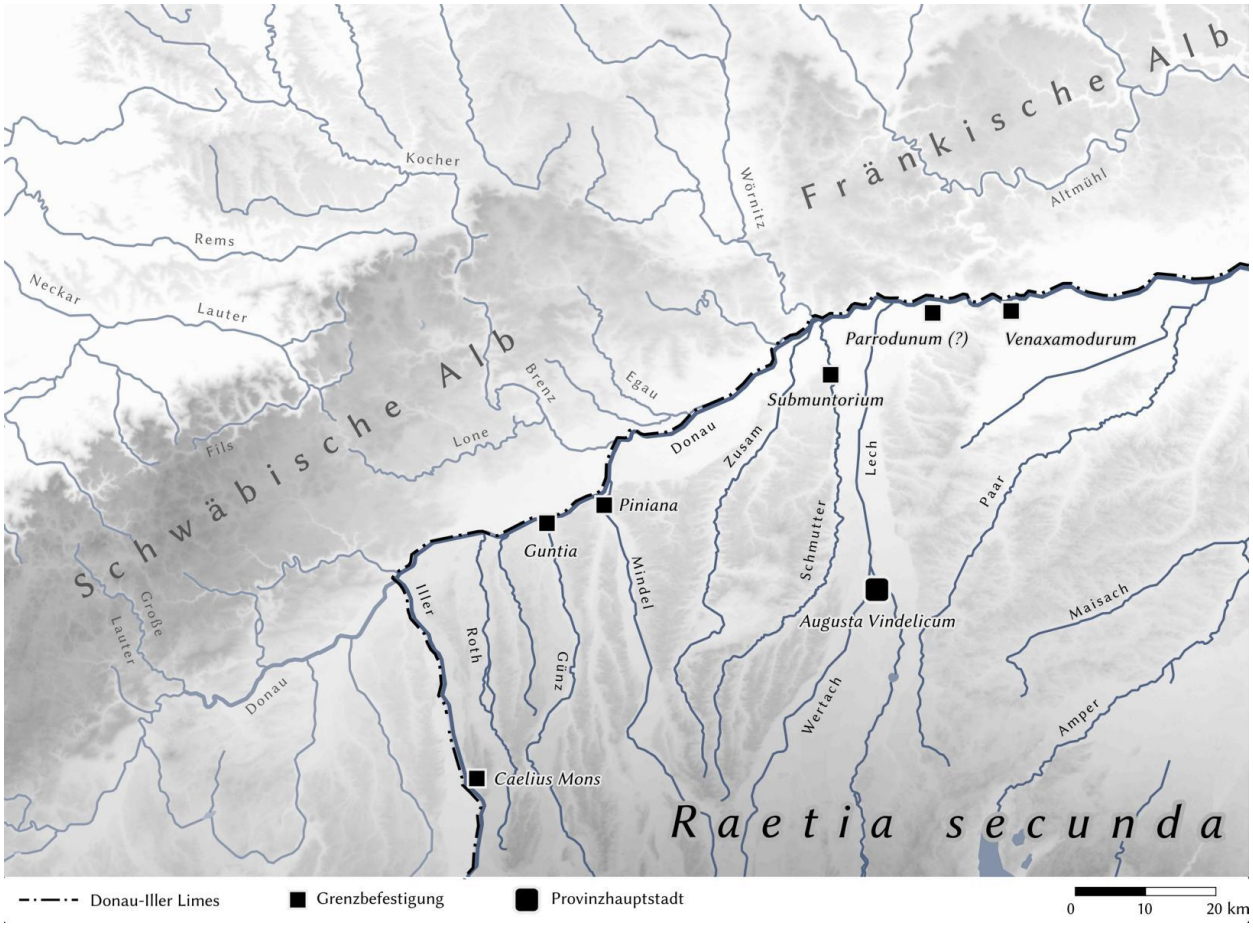


Abb. 1 Lage von *Guntia* / Günzburg im Nordwesten der spätrömischen Provinz *Raetia secunda* (Karte: Sophie Hüdepohl. Kartengrundlagen: srtm.csi.cgiar.org; naturalearthdata.com; diva-gis.org).

[6] Keller 1971, 160–162.
[7] Czysz 2002, 14/ 132–133/ 195–206.
[8] Czysz 2002. – Die Dissertation wurde am Institut für Vor- und frühgeschichtliche Archäologie und Provinzialrömische Archäologie der LMU München verfasst und im Wintersemester 2019/2020 abgeschlossen (Publ. i. Vorb.); großer Dank für die Betreuung der Arbeit gebührt Prof. Dr. Michael Mackensen.
[9] Zu den Charakteristika der Kastelle Mackensen 1999, 221; Mackensen 2018, 53.

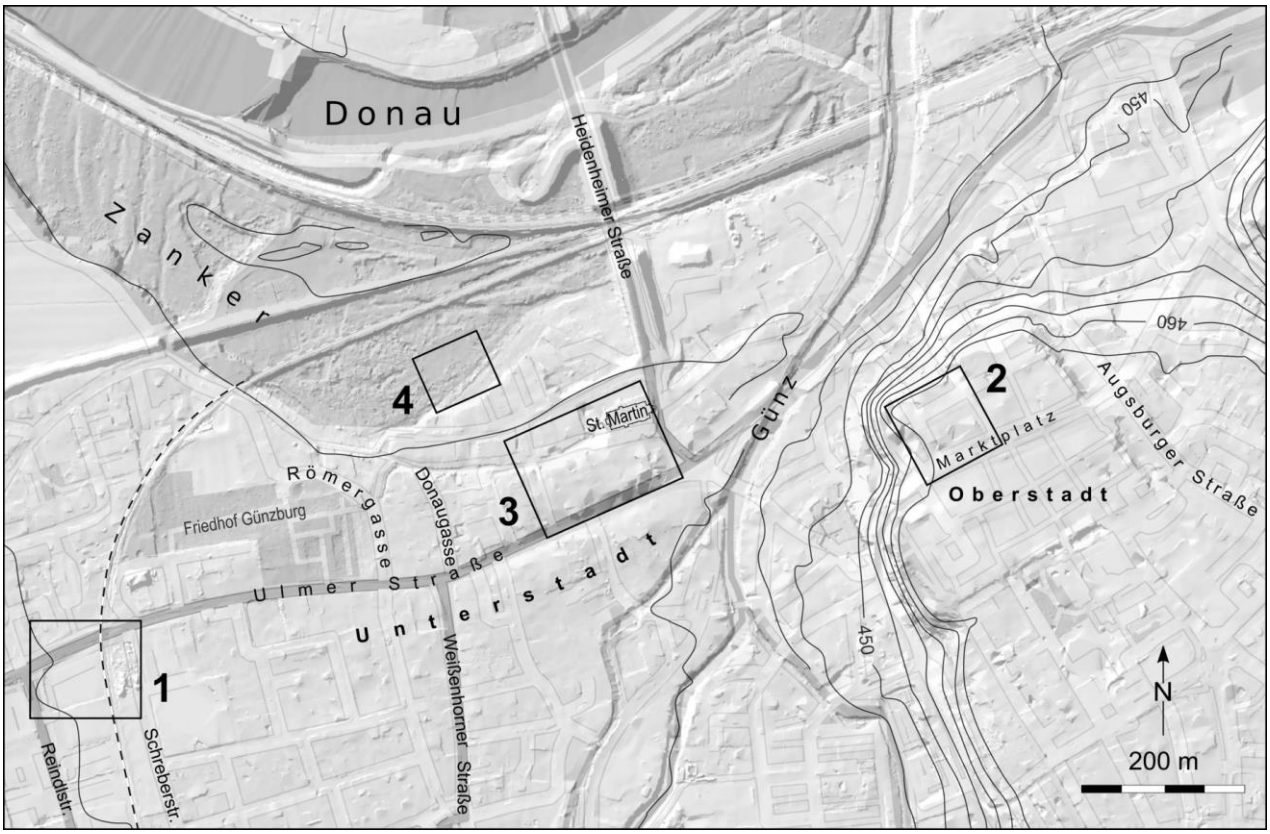


Abb. 2 Spätrömische Fundstellen in Günzburg. 1: Gräberfeld Ulmer Straße. 2: Gräberfeld Oberstadt. 3: Kastellbefunde. 4: Spätrömische Mauerreste im alten Donaubett (Karte: Sophie Hüdepohl. Grundlagen: openstreetmap.org; Geländerelief © Bayerische Vermessungsverwaltung 2017).

Die spätrömischen Gräberfelder in *Guntia*

Die Bestattungsplätze mit 109 Gräbern an der Ulmer Straße und 45 dokumentierten Gräbern in der Oberstadt wurden hinsichtlich ihrer Belegungschronologie, Demographie, Grabbefunde und -ausstattung sowie ihrer räumlichen Anlage ausgewertet. Darüber hinaus gab eine außergewöhnlich hohe Zahl von Funden aus dem sog. Barbaricum Anlass, die Gräber im Rahmen der Fragestellung zur Herkunft dieser – im provinzialrömischen Formenkreis fremden – Objekte einer diachronen und kontextuellen Analyse zu unterziehen. Bevor auf dieses komplexe Thema unten näher eingegangen wird, werden die beiden Bestattungsareale kurz vorgestellt.[10]

Der Beginn ihrer Belegung lässt sich anhand des Fundmaterials und von ^{14}C-Analysen gut in die Zeit zwischen 280/290 und 300/310 datieren. Die Gräberfelder wurden lange gleichzeitig genutzt, bis in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. die Belegung an der Ulmer Straße endete und von nun an die Oberstadt das hauptsächliche Bestattungsareal war. Hier reichen die jüngsten Gräber bis in das zweite Drittel des 5. Jhs.

Was die Alters- und Geschlechterverteilung angeht, so zeigt der anthropologische Befund eine starke Überrepräsentanz verstorbener erwachsener Männer.[11] Dies ist charakteristisch für spätrömische Militärplätze und zeugt, ebenso wie zahlreiche am Skelettmaterial belegte und teils letale Traumata, von den aus der historischen Überlieferung bekannten kriegerischen

[10] Vgl. auch Czysz 2002; Czysz 2004.

[11] Zum Skelettmaterial aus der Ulmer Straße Gerstmann et al. 2015.

Auseinandersetzungen entlang der spätantiken Grenzen.[12]

Als Bestattungsritus wurde hauptsächlich die in der Spätantike vorherrschende Körperbestattung gewählt. Es handelt sich in *Guntia* meist um einfache Grabgruben, in denen sich oft noch Reste von Holzsärgen fanden. Nur gelegentlich treten Ziegelplattengräber auf, die in der *Raetia secunda* außerhalb der großen Städte bislang insgesamt selten sind.[13] Zu den Besonderheiten gehören neben einigen der in Raetien recht seltenen, spätantiken Brandbestattungen auch einige hier bisher singuläre Gräber mit Beigabennischen, die weiter unten näher besprochen werden.

Bemerkenswert ist auch die räumliche Anlage der zwei Gräberfelder, die signifikante Unterschiede aufweist. Im Gräberfeld an der Ulmer Straße, das bereits seit dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. genutzt wurde, ist auch im spätantiken Areal eine für römische Nekropolen typische Ausrichtung entlang der in die Siedlung führenden Hauptverkehrsachse zu beobachten (**Abb. 3**).[14] Dagegen besitzt das Gräberfeld in der Oberstadt, das in der Spätantike neu gegründet wurde, eine ungewöhnliche Lage. Für die Wahl des Bestattungsplatzes auf dem Geländesporn war offenbar keine Straße ausschlaggebend, sondern die erhöhte Lage (**Abb. 2,2**). Dies zeigen die ältesten Gräber, die entlang der Geländekante mit Blick über *Guntia* und das Donautal angelegt wurden. In Zusammenhang mit der in ihnen enthaltenen germanischen Keramik ist zu vermuten, dass die Gründung des neuen Gräberfeldes auf Impulse einer aus dem Barbaricum zugewanderten Bevölkerung zurückging.[15]

Gräber als archäologische Quellen zu Mobilität und Migration

Seitdem in den 1970er Jahren im Gräberfeld an der Ulmer Straße zahlreiche Gräber mit germanischen Funden zutage kamen, wurden diese als Beleg für eine Präsenz von Soldaten aus dem Barbaricum in *Guntia* gewertet.[16] Deren Rekrutierung ist seit dem 3. Jh. für die spätrömische Armee aus der historischen Überlieferung bekannt, so dass sich der Fokus meist auf Männergräber mit typischer Grabausstattung wie Bügelknopffibeln, waffenartigen Messern und bestimmten Gürteltypen richtet. Solche Gräber sind auch aus Günzburg bekannt.[17] Insgesamt zeigt sich jedoch ein differenzierteres Bild, in dem auch Frauen und Kinder vorkommen[18] und in dem sich eine starke transkulturelle Verflechtung der spätantiken Bevölkerung abzeichnet.

Für die Beschreibung der Prozesse kulturellen Wandels, die aus dauerhaften Formen menschlicher Mobilität wie der Migration entstehen, werden verschiedene Konzepte verwendet, denen oft unterschiedliche Kulturbegriffe zugrunde liegen.[19] Vielversprechend erscheint das Konzept der Transkulturalität.[20] Hierbei richtet sich die Perspektive auf den dynamischen Prozess von ineinander verflochtenen und einander beeinflussenden Kulturen, die nicht als separate Entitäten betrachtet werden. Um die Komplexität und Vielschichtigkeit menschlicher Interaktion zu beschreiben, kann dies ein geeigneter Ansatz sein. Dagegen bergen die in der Archäologie häufig genutzten und auf den ersten Blick passenden Begriffe wie „Kulturaustausch“, „Assimilation“ und „Akkulturation“ – zumindest ohne weitere Definition – Schwierigkeiten. Sie beruhen letztlich auf der

[12] Ähnliche Befunde bei Keller 1979, 54 (*Venaxamodurum* / Neuburg a. d. Donau); Moosbauer 2005, 108 (Straubing).
[13] Z. B. Befunde aus Regensburg: von Schnurbein 1977, 112.
[14] Keller 1971, 17–20; Czysz 2002, 288–305.
[15] Zu Anhöhen als bevorzugte Gräberfeldlagen in Teilen des Barbaricums vgl. z. B. Schach-Dörges 1970, 34; Pescheck 1978, 10 Anm. 35; Teichner 1999, 32; Haberstroh 2000, 31. – Vgl. auch Czysz 2004.
[16] Vgl. Keller 1985, 254; Czysz 2002, 201–206; Czysz 2004; Scholz 2009, 496.
[17] Z. B. Ulmer Straße Grab 377, 379, 523, 860; bereits teilweise publiziert bei Czysz 2002, 206 Abb. 247.
[18] Ebd. 203–204.
[19] Prien 2005, 28–47.
[20] Zu dem von Fernando Ortiz Fernández 1940 in Kuba aufgestelltem Konzept der Transkulturalität und seiner Anwendbarkeit auf historische Gesellschaften vgl. Mersch 2016.

dualistischen Abgrenzung von Kulturen, da sie zwar eine (gegenseitige) Übernahme oder eine Vermischung kultureller Eigenheiten beschreiben, dabei jedoch implizit von statischen (= einheimischen und fremden) Kulturen ausgehen.[21] Ein dualistischer Eindruck mag auch in der Erforschung römisch-germanischer Kontakte in der Spätantike durch die gegensätzlich verwendeten Begriffe „römisch" und „germanisch" entstehen, da sie während der römischen Kaiserzeit zwei durch eine politische Grenze getrennte Gebiete bezeichnen: das *Imperium Romanum* und die *Germania* bzw. das Barbaricum jenseits der Grenzen an Rhein und Donau.[22] Beide Räume sind jedoch kulturell äußerst divers und besonders an den Grenzen auch stark miteinander verbunden.[23] Die vorrangige Bedeutung der beiden Begriffe bezieht sich hier daher auf ihre regionalen Eigenschaften und impliziert vor allem für den germanischen Raum keine zugrundeliegende Gruppenidentität.

Mobilität und Migration waren zu allen Zeiten Bestandteil der Menschheitsgeschichte und üben starken Einfluss auf das Leben von Menschen aus. Es handelt sich daher um Themen, die verstärkt seit den letzten Jahrzehnten auch in der Archäologie große Forschungsfelder darstellen.[24] Ein Nachweis von Mobilität oder Migration nur anhand archäologischer Quellen ist oft nur schwer möglich, nicht zuletzt da sich eine ortsfremde Herkunft nicht zwingend im Befund niederschlagen muss.[25] Von den archäologischen Quellen kommt dem Grab jedoch eine besondere Bedeutung zu, da die erhaltenen Funde und Befunde die Überreste des Totenrituals darstellen und daher auf eine intentionelle Auswahl zurückzuführen sind.[26] Das Totenbrauchtum und die aus ihm resultierende Zusammensetzung der Funde und ihres Kontextes können allerdings durch verschiedene Faktoren beeinflusst sein, die aus heutiger Perspektive kaum mehr in ihrer Gesamtheit erfasst werden können. So kann sich auch die Herkunft der Verstorbenen – als ein Faktor unter vielen – im Grabkontext niederschlagen, z. B. im plötzlichen Auftreten fremder Objekte oder ungewöhnlicher Bestattungssitten.[27] Bei der Suche nach plausiblen Interpretationsmöglichkeiten ist jedoch eine über die Identifikation potentiell fremder Objekte hinausgehende, kontextuelle Analyse notwendig.[28] Diese sollte so viele Interpretationsebenen der Quelle „Grab" wie möglich einbeziehen; dazu gehören neben dem Grabkontext selbst (z. B. Grabbau, -ausstattung, -ritus, Anthropologie, Lage der Toten und der Objekte) auch der Gräberfeldkontext (z. B. Ortswahl, innere Struktur und Lage des Grabes).[29]

Um die Aussagekraft der Funde im Grab bewerten zu können, ist als erster Schritt eine detaillierte antiquarische und kontextuelle Analyse des Fundmaterials wichtig. Dabei wurden neben Datierung und Verbreitung auch regionale Besonderheiten bezüglich der Grabkontexte berücksichtigt. Bei der anschließenden Auswertung der Gräberfelder wurde eine vergleichende Analyse der Gräber vor dem Hintergrund sog. Mobilitätsindikatoren durchgeführt. Sie nimmt das von Eva Stauch am Beispiel des frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldes von Wenigumstadt entwickelte System zum Vorbild, in dem solche Indikatoren aus dem Grabkontext herausgearbeitet und unterschiedlich gewichtet

[21] Ebd. 241; Hofmann 2013, 174–182.
[22] Zur Verwendung des Begriffs *Germania* als regionale Bezeichnung in den historischen Quellen noch in der Spätantike z. B. Fehr 2010, 35. – Dagegen wurde die allgemeine Gruppenbezeichnung „Germanen" seit dem späteren 3. Jh. in den Quellen nicht mehr verwendet: Pohl 2004, 23; Zerjadtke 2019, 19–24.
[23] Swift 2006, 99.
[24] Prien 2005, zur Geschichte der archäologischen Migrationsforschung vgl. ebd. 28–41. Fallbeispiele aus der provinzialrömischen Archäologie: Böhme 2009; Swift 2010.
[25] Strontiumisotopenanalysen des Zahn- und Skelettmaterials können unterstützend hinzugezogen werden, liegen für *Guntia* jedoch bislang nicht vor.
[26] Hofmann 2008, 92–100 / 123–132.
[27] Ebd. 100 Abb. 29.
[28] Keim 2007, 145–158; Koch 2013 mit kritischem Blick auf die Interpretation fremder Objekte in prähistorischen Frauengräbern.
[29] Hofmann 2008, 91–165.

werden.[30] Neben dem Auftreten fremder Objekte können weitere Indikatoren, z. B. Abweichungen in Bestattungsritus oder Grabbau sowie eine auffällige Lage oder räumliche Gruppierung von Gräbern sein. Besonders wenn mehrere Indikatoren zusammentreffen, kann eine fremde Herkunft der Verstorbenen als Grund für das Auftreten bestimmter Phänomene in Betracht gezogen werden.[31]

Die Ergebnisse der Analyse zeigen deutliche Hinweise auf Mobilität und Migration für einige der in *Guntia* bestatteten Personen. Dabei weisen die Funde meist in den alamannisch-elbgermanischen Raum (etwa Südwest-/Nordostdeutschland). Die betreffenden Gräber gehören schwerpunktmäßig bereits in die tetrarchisch-constantinische Zeit, datieren aber bis in das 5. Jh.

Frauen- und Mädchengräber mit Beigabennischen: einzigartig in der *Raetia secunda*

Von diesen Gräbern soll nun eine besonders interessante Gruppe aus dem Gräberfeld an der Ulmer Straße näher vorgestellt werden: Es handelt sich um einige Frauen- und Mädchengräber mit Beigabennischen aus dem frühen bis mittleren 4. Jh. (**Abb. 3 u. Tab. 1**).[32] Die Nischen wurden vor der Beisetzung angelegt und waren daher nur für die Bestattungsgemeinschaft sichtbar.[33] In ihnen wurden v. a. Gefäße aus Keramik, Glas und Lavez aufgestellt. Außerdem beinhalteten sie zwei Tonlampen sowie einige Perlen und Anhänger mit apotropäischem Charakter im Kindergrab 813.

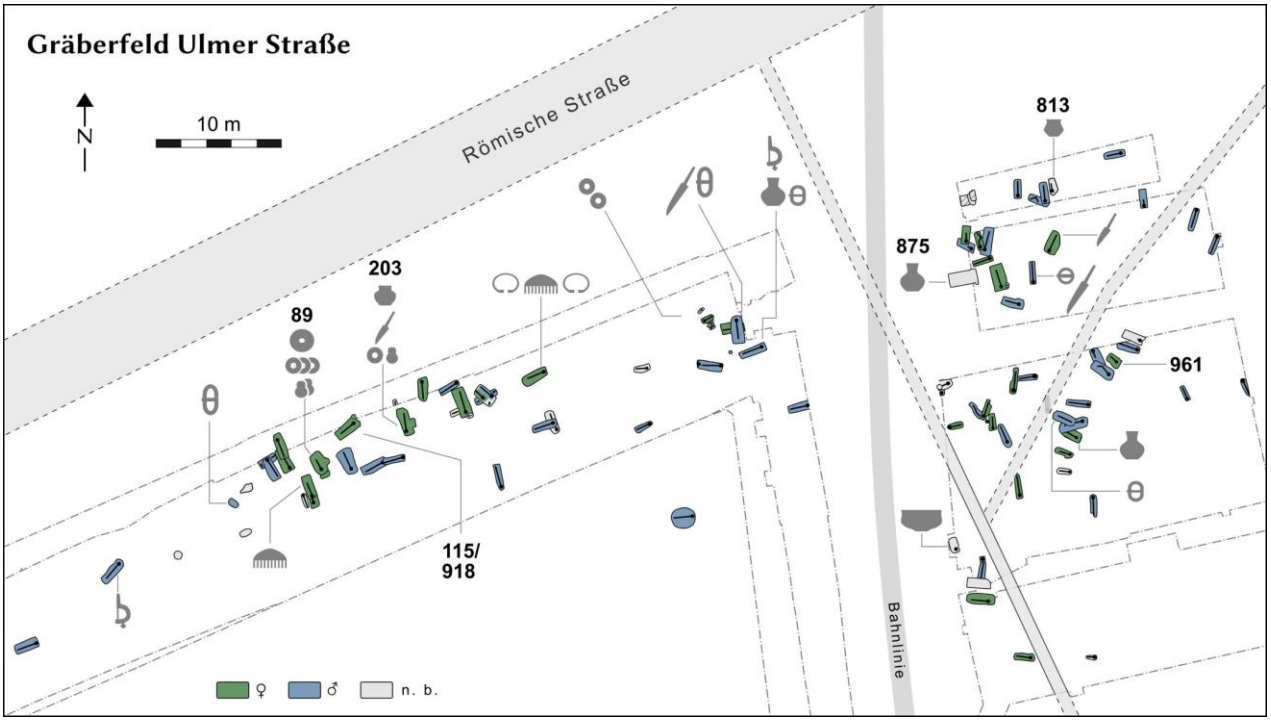


Abb. 3 Günzburg, Gräberfeld Ulmer Straße. Übersicht über die Lage der Gräber mit Beigabennischen (mit Bef. Nr.) und der Gräber mit germanischer Grabausstattung (graue Fundsignaturen). Vereinfachter Gesamtplan des spätrömischen Areals ohne ältere Gräber (Plan: Sophie Hüdepohl).

[30] Vgl. Stauch 2017, 235–237 Abb. 8.
[31] Ebd. – Vgl. auch Swift 2010.
[32] Die Kat. Nr. in Tab. 1 sowie Abb. 4–5 entsprechen den in der Dissertation d. Verf. vergebenen Nummern.
[33] Zu Grabeinbauten Hofmann 2008, 151–154.

Grab	♀/♂, Alter	Lage	Inhalt der Nische	Datierung
89 (**Abb. 4**)	♀, 5–9	rechte Seite, mittig	Lavezeimer, Holzgefäß (Kat. Nr. U-89.7–8)	2. Viertel / 1. Hälfte 4. Jh.
		Kopfende (Bef. 132)	Sigillatakrug, Keramikteller und Reibschüssel, Spinnwirtel, Fleischbeigabe (Kat. Nr. U-132.1–5)	
115/918 (?)	♀, 30–40	rechte Seite, Kopfende	Lampe, Keramikkrug (Kat. Nr. U-913.1–2)	ca. 1.–2. Drittel 4. Jh. (?)
203 (**Abb. 5**)	♀, 50–60	rechte Seite, mittig	Lampe, Lavezeimer (Kat. Nr. U-203.18–19)	1. Hälfte 4. Jh.
813 (?)	?, 18 Monate	linke Seite, mittig	3 Glasanhänger, 1 Trilobitenperle (Kat. Nr. U-813.2)	2.–3. Drittel 4. Jh.
875	?	linke Seite, Kopfende	germanische Keramikflasche (Kat. Nr. U-875.1)	ca. 1. Hälfte 4. Jh. (?)
961	♀ (?), 5	linke Seite, mittig	Glasbecher (Kat. Nr. U-961.3)	2. Drittel 4. Jh.

Tab. 1. Günzburg; Beigabennischen in den spätrömischen Gräbern an der Ulmer Straße.

Beigabennischen dieser Art sind in Raetien außerhalb von *Guntia* bisher nicht bekannt.[34] Es handelt sich bei ihnen jedoch um eine typische regionale Besonderheit der Rheinprovinzen, wo sie v. a. im Umland von Köln und in der Provinz *Germania secunda* auftreten.[35] Sie dienten zur Aufnahme von Beigaben in Form von Geschirrsätzen und waren meist leicht erhöht über der Grabsohle in die Seiten der Grabschächte eingegraben. Es scheint sich hier um eine Fortführung älterer Traditionen zu handeln, da es im Rheinland gleichartige Nischen bereits in mittelkaiserzeitlichen Brandgräbern gibt (2./3. Jh.).[36] Von den Günzburger Gräbern sind aufgrund von Form, Lage und der erhöhten Position der Nischen im Grabschacht besonders Grab 89 und 203 gut mit den rheinischen Nischen vergleichbar. Die beiden Gräber befinden sich im Westen des spätrömischen Gräberfeldareals an der Ulmer Straße und liegen in gleicher Ausrichtung recht nahe beieinander (**Abb. 3**). Sie weisen neben der Gemeinsamkeit der Nischen auch eine insgesamt auffällig ähnliche Grabausstattung auf, was auf eine enge Beziehung zwischen den beiden Verstorbenen hinweist.[37] Zu ihrer Gruppe dürfte auch die Frau aus Grab 115/918 gehört haben, da sie zwischen ihnen begraben wurde und wohl auch ihr Grab eine Beigabennische besaß.[38]

Grab 89 und Grab 203 gehören mit sehr großen Grabgruben und umfangreicher Grabausstattung zu den aufwändigsten Bestattungen in *Guntia* (**Abb. 4–5**).[39] Zur Totenausstattung der beiden Verstorbenen gehörte je eine Perlenhalskette, die neben den typischen Glasperlen auch wertvolle Materialien wie Bernstein, Koralle oder Gagat enthalten.[40] Den Wert der Ketten verdeutlichen die 116 zylindrischen Gagatperlen in Grab 203, die eines der größten

[34] Abzuwarten bleibt die Vorlage der zahlreichen noch unpublizierten Gräber aus Augsburg und Regensburg.
[35] Vgl. z. B. Pöppelmann 2010, 176–177; Gottschalk 2015, 28–31.
[36] Gottschalk 2015, 29.
[37] Zu Vrwandtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Verstorbenen in Nischengräbern aus Hürth-Hermühlheim: Gottschalk 2007, 246 Abb. 15.
[38] Das Grab lag an der Grabungsgrenze und wurde in zwei Kampagnen mit größerem zeitlichen Abstand jeweils zur Hälfte ausgegraben und dokumentiert; die Dokumentationslage ist hier daher nicht ganz eindeutig.
[39] Vgl. Anm. 32.
[40] Zu Perlenmaterialien vgl. Riha 1990, 79.

Ensembles ihrer Art in der gesamten *Raetia secunda* darstellen.[41]

Interessant sind auch germanische Komponenten in der Totenausstattung und Beigabensitte in einigen Gräbern mit Beigabennischen (**Abb. 3**). Die aus Grab 89 und Grab 203 (**Abb. 4–5**) stammenden Perlenketten enthalten beide ein bzw. zwei achterförmige sog. Berlockperlen aus Bernstein, charakteristische Perlen des germanischen Formenspektrums.[42] Solche Perlen sind in Raetien nur aus einem weiteren Grabkontext bekannt.[43] Darüber hinaus finden auch andere Perlen gute Parallelen in spätkaiserzeitlichen germanischen Ketten, v.a. die Bernsteinscheiben,[44] aber auch die in Günzburg recht häufigen Korallenperlen.[45] Ungewöhnlich für die Beigabensitte ist die im Frauengrab 203 angetroffene Messerbeigabe. Hier ist zu diskutieren, ob diese auf Totenbrauchtum aus dem Barbaricum zurückgeht, da es in den Provinzen eher unüblich ist, Messer in Frauengräbern beizugeben und dies häufig in Kombination oder

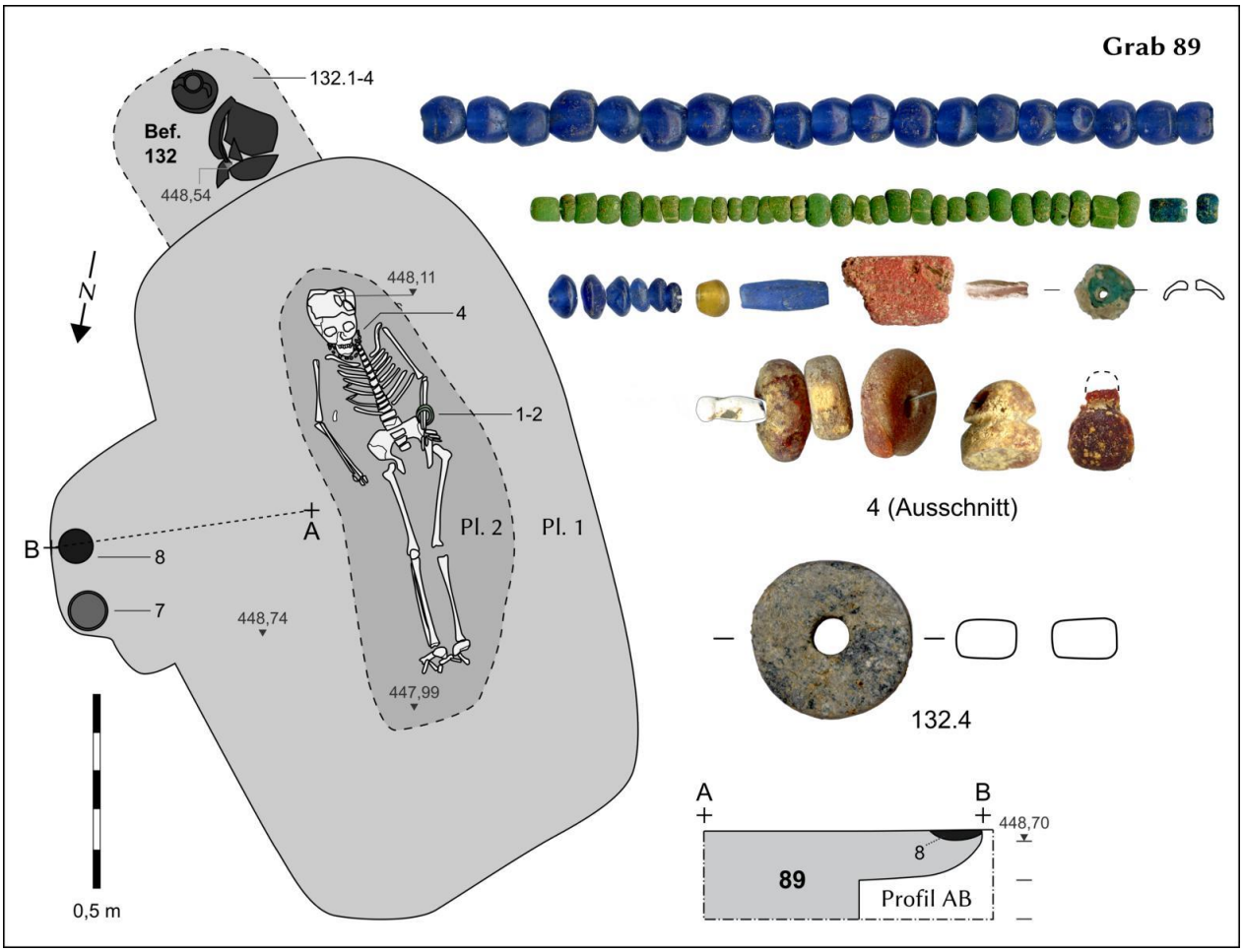


Abb. 4 Günzburg, Gräberfeld Ulmer Straße. Grab 89. 4: Teil der Perlenkette aus Glas, Koralle, Bronze und Bernstein M. 1:1. 132.4: Spinnwirtel aus Lavez M. 2:3. – Nicht abgebildet: 2 Bronzearmringe (Nr. 1–2); 1 Eisenarmring (Nr. 3); 2 Haarnadeln aus Bein (Nr. 5–6); 1 Lavezeimer (Nr. 7); 1 Holzgefäß; 3 Keramikgefäße (Nr. 132.1-3) (Zeichnungen und Fotos: Sophie Hüdepohl).

[41] Größere Stückzahlen solcher Gagatperlen finden sich bislang nur in den noch unpublizierten Grabfunden aus Regensburg.
[42] Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985, 13–14 (Typ 465, 471).
[43] Unterbiberg Grab 31, auch hier vergesellschaftet mit zylindrischen Gagatperlen (Schefzik – Volpert 2003, 49).
[44] Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985, 65–67.
[45] Gruber – Hüdepohl – Mach 2019.

Nachbarschaft zu Gräbern mit germanischen Funden auftritt.[46] Gleiches gilt für die Beigabe des Spinnwirtels in Grab 89, bei dem es sich zwar um lokales Material handelt (ein sekundär verwendeter Lavezbecher); die Beigabe von Spinnwirteln ist jedoch im früheren 4. Jh. in den römischen Provinzen im Gegensatz zum Barbaricum ungewöhnlich.[47] Zuletzt gehört möglicherweise auch der handaufgebaute Becher aus Grab 203 in das germanische Formenspektrum.

Im Hinblick auf den Grabbau stellen die Beigabennischen in Raetien im Gegensatz zum Rheinland eine absolute Rarität dar. Daher ist anzunehmen, dass diese Art von Grabeinbauten von einer aus den Rheinprovinzen, vermutlich der *Germania secunda*, zugewanderten Personengruppe an die raetische Donaugrenze mitgebracht wurde.

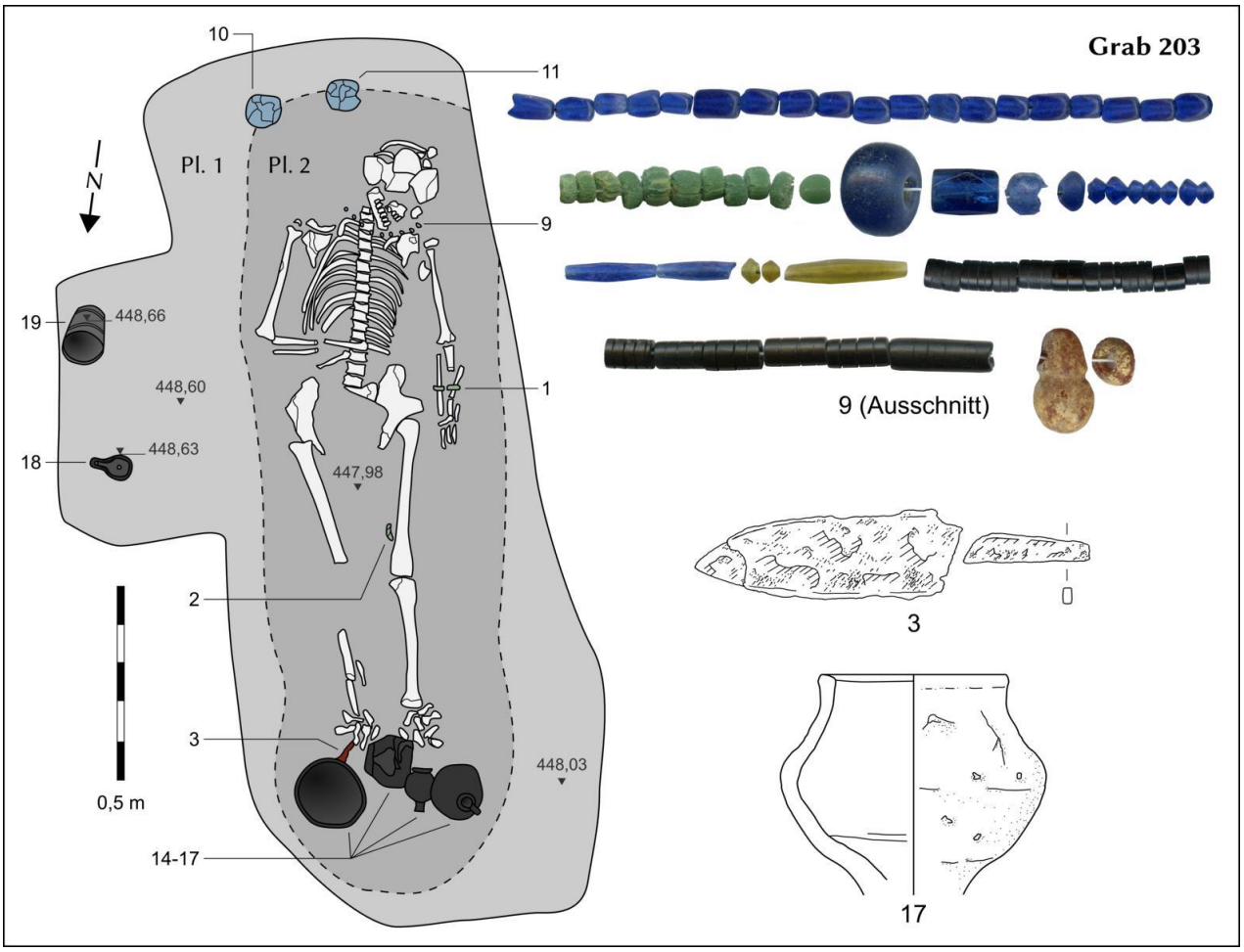


Abb. 5 Günzburg, Gräberfeld Ulmer Straße. Grab 203. 3: Eisenmesser M. 2:3. 9: Teil der Perlenkette aus Glas, Gagat und Bernstein M. 1:1. 17: handaufgebauter Keramikbecher M. 1:3. – Nicht abgebildet: 2 Bronzearmringe (Nr. 1–2); 5 Haarnadeln aus Bein (Nr. 4–8); 4 Glasgefäße (Nr. 10–13); 3 weitere Keramikgefäße (Nr. 14–16); 1 Tonlampe (Nr. 18); 1 Lavezeimer (Nr. 19) (Zeichnungen und Fotos: Sophie Hüdepohl).

[46] Konrad 1997, 177–178; die Messer aus Frauengräbern in *Guntia* passen zu dieser These.

[47] Z. B. Keller 1971, 114; Böhme 1974, 47–48; Pirling – Siepen 2006, 427 Anm. 69. – Kritisch: Gottschalk 2015, 115–116 Anm. 1056.

Was die germanische Komponente in der Grabausstattung angeht, so können die Beigabe des Messers und des Spinnwirtels als Mobilitätsindikatoren gewertet werden. Dies ist auch bei den Berlockperlen der Fall, die nach Aussage ihres Verbreitungsgebiets kein übliches Handelsgut in die römischen Provinzen darstellten. Vielmehr sprechen die wenigen Grabbefunde in der *Raetia secunda*, in denen nur einzelne der hier sehr seltenen Bernsteinberlocks mit sonst typisch römischen Glas- oder Gagatperlen kombiniert wurden, dafür, dass es sich bei ihnen um Gegenstände von hohem persönlichen Wert handelte.

Beide Gräber besaßen außerdem eine umfangreiche provinzialrömische Grabausstattung. So enthielten Grab 89 und 203 neben typischem Schmuck auch Geschirr aus Glas und Sigillata. Dabei wird die kulturelle Diversität der Grabausstattung um lokale, typisch westraetische Produkte wie Gefäße aus Lavez und lokale Gebrauchskeramik erweitert.

Ein Blick auf die Gräber mit Beigabennischen des früheren 4. Jhs. im Rheinland zeigt, dass auch hier germanische Bezüge auftreten.[48] Es scheint also, dass diese Sitte in der *Germania secunda* durchaus von Personen aus dem Barbaricum aufgegriffen wurde. Dies unterstützt die anhand der rheinischen Grabeinbauten und der teils germanischen Grabausstattung aufgestellte These, dass es sich bei dem Mädchen aus Grab 89 und der Frau aus Grab 203 um Personen aus dem Barbaricum handelte, die zunächst einige Zeit in den Rheinprovinzen verbrachten und erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt von dort aus an die raetische Grenze nach *Guntia* kamen. Vor dem Hintergrund des Charakters von *Guntia* als militärische Grenzbefestigung wäre eine Truppenverschiebung an die Donaugrenze eine plausible Erklärung für den vorliegenden, komplexen Befund. Dass es sich hier um Frauen- und Mädchengräber handelt, steht dieser Interpretation nicht entgegen, da Zivilpersonen wie Familien im Gefolge der Truppen nicht unbekannt sind.[49] Die Grabausstattung der Verstorbenen aus Grab 89 und 203 lässt dabei an wohlhabende Familienangehörige höherrangiger Offiziere denken.[50]

Fazit und Ausblick

Gräber besitzen als archäologische Quellen einen nicht zu unterschätzenden Wert für sozioarchäologische Fragestellungen. Die kontextuelle Analyse der verschiedenen Facetten der Bereiche Fundmaterial, Grab und Gräberfeld vermag auch zu den Themen Mobilität und Migration einen wichtigen Beitrag zu leisten. So zeigen die Gräber aus *Guntia* beispielhaft den hohen Grad an Mobilität von Personengruppen inner- und außerhalb der römischen Rhein- und Donauprovinzen. Darüber hinaus geben die Gräber auch für die Militärgeschichte der spätantiken Provinz wichtige Informationen. Denn die militärisch geprägte Grabausstattung einiger der ältesten Gräber und die durch sie belegte Anwesenheit einer germanischen Bevölkerung spätestens in der Zeit um 300 zeigt, dass in *Guntia* bereits in tetrarchischer Zeit eine militärische Befestigung bestand – dies ist bedeutsam, da die bisher bekannten, strukturellen Befunde des Kastells nach Ausweis der Dendrodatierung erst in die Jahre 380–400 zu datieren sind.[51] Erst aus dieser Zeit kennen wir auch den Namen der Truppe in *Guntia*: Nach der *Notitia Dignitatum* waren hier im späten 4. und 5. Jh. die *milites Ursarienses* stationiert.[52] Über sie ist nicht viel bekannt, außer dass anhand des Namens eine Verbindung mit dem im 3. Jh. am Niederrhein stationierten *numerus Ursariensium* bestehen könnte.[53] Dies würde gut zu der aufgrund der vorgestellten Gräber mit Beigabennischen aufgestellten

[48] Hürth-Hermülheim Grab 15 mit germanischem Namen auf Glasbecher: Gottschalk 2008, 102/ 255.
[49] Allason-Jones 2005, 42–60.
[50] Vgl. Swift 2010, bes. 250.
[51] Czysz – Tschokke 2003.
[52] Not. Dign. oc. 35,17–22.
[53] Czysz 2002, 211–212; Dietz 2011, 67–68.

These einer Truppenverschiebung aus der *Germania secunda* nach *Guntia* passen. Allerdings lässt sich die Angabe aus der *Notitia Dignitatum* nicht ohne Weiteres auf die Verhältnisse im früheren 4. Jh. übertragen. Zudem käme anhand der Listung in der *Notitia* auch ein Detachement der in der Spätantike aufgeteilten *legio III Italica* in Frage.[54] Da im spätrömischen Grenzheer der *Raetia secunda* durchaus mit Truppenverschiebungen zu rechnen ist,[55] schließen sich beide Möglichkeiten letztlich jedoch nicht aus.

[54] In diesem Sinne Nuber 1992, 665.

[55] Mackensen 2013, 409; Mackensen 2018, 55–56.

Bibliografie

Zur Auflösung der abgekürzt zitierten Literatur vgl. das Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Zeitschriften im Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 73, 1992, 477–540.

Allason-Jones 2005
L. Allason-Jones, Woman in Roman Britain (York 2005).

Böhme 1974
H. W. Böhme, Germanische Grabfunde des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts zwischen unterer Elbe und Loire. Studien zur Chronologie und Bevölkerungsgeschichte. Münchner Beitr. Vor- u. Frühgesch. 19 (München 1974).

Böhme 2009
H. W. Böhme, Migrantenschicksale. Die Integration der Germanen im spätantiken Gallien, in: Th. Kölzer – R. Schieffer (Hrsg.), Von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter. Kontinuitäten und Brüche, Konzeptionen und Befunde. Vortr. u. Forsch. 40 (Ostfildern 2009) 35–59.

Czysz 2002
W. Czysz, Gontia. Günzburg in der Römerzeit (Friedberg 2002).

Czysz 2004
W. Czysz, Germanische Söldner sichern die Donaugrenze - Neue spätrömische Gräber in Günzburg. Arch. Jahr Bayern 2004, 107–110.

Czysz – Tschokke 2003
W. Czysz – D. Tschocke, Betonhart. Die spätrömische Kastellmauer in Günzburg. Landkreis Günzburg, Schwaben. Arch. Jahr Bayern 2003, 89–93.

Dietz 2011
K. H. Dietz, Zur Verteidigung der Nordgrenze des römischen Reiches in der Spätantike aus althistorischer Sicht, in: M. Konrad – C. Witschel (Hrsg.), Römische Legionslager in den Rhein- und Donauprovinzen – Nuclei spätantik-frühmittelalterlichen Lebens? (München 2011) 63–77.

Fehr 2010
H. Fehr, Germanen und Romanen im Merowingerreich. Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie zwischen Wissenschaft und Zeitgeschehen. RGA Ergbd. 68 (Berlin– Boston 2010).

Gerstmann et al. 2015
A. Gerstmann – G. Grupe – S. Hüdepohl – M. Lex – G. McGlynn – G. Rodschinka – S. Sebald – L. Stenzel, The Roman Cemetery of Günzburg / Site Ulmer Straße – The Uncremated Skeletal Finds. Documenta Archaeobiologiae 12, 2015, 81–168.

Gottschalk 2007
R. Gottschalk, Zur spätrömischen Grabkultur im Kölner Umland. Zwei Bestattungsareale in Hürth-Hermülheim. Erster Teil. Die Gräber und ihre Befunde. Bonner Jahrb. 207, 2007, 211–298.

Gottschalk 2008
R. Gottschalk, Zur spätrömischen Grabkultur im Kölner Umland. Zwei Bestattungsareale in Hürth-Hermülheim. Zweiter Teil. Die Funde und ihre Deutung. Bonner Jahrb. 208, 2008, 91–160.

Gottschalk 2015
R. Gottschalk, Spätrömische Gräber im Umland von Köln. Rheinische Ausgr. 71 (Darmstadt 2015).

Gruber – Hüdepohl – Mach 2019
C. Gruber – S. Hüdepohl – M. Mach, Korallenperlen aus spätrömischen Gräbern von *Guntia*/Günzburg und ihre archäometrische Analyse mittels Raman-Spektrometrie. Ber. Bayer. Bodendenkmalpfl. 60, 2019, 129 – 147.

Haberstroh 2000
J. Haberstroh, Germanische Funde der Kaiser- und Völkerwanderungszeit aus Oberfranken. Materialh. Bayer. Vorgesch. A 82 (Kallmünz/Opf. 2000).

Hofmann 2008
K. P. Hofmann, Der rituelle Umgang mit dem Tod. Untersuchungen zu bronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Brandbestattungen im Elbe-Weser-Dreieck. Arch. Ber. Lkr. Rotenburg (Wümme) 14 (Oldenburg 2008).

Hofmann 2013
K. P. Hofmann, Hogbacks - Zeichen akkulturierter Migranten? In: E. Kaiser – W. Schier (Hrsg.), Mobilität und Wissenstransfer in diachroner und interdisziplinärer Perspektive. Topoi 9 (Berlin 2013) 173–208.

Keim 2007
S. Keim, Kontakte zwischen dem alamannisch-bajuwarischen Raum und dem langobardenzeitlichen Italien. Int. Arch. 98 (Rahden/Westf. 2007).

Keller 1971
E. Keller, Die spätrömischen Grabfunde in Südbayern. Münchner Beitr. Vor- u. Frühgesch. 14 (München 1971).

Keller 1979
E. Keller, Das spätrömische Gräberfeld von Neuburg an der Donau. Materialh. Bayer. Vorgesch. A 40 (Kallmünz/Opf. 1979).

Keller 1985
E. Keller, Germanische Fremdenlegionäre in Rätien: Der Bruderkrieg an der Grenze, in: Petzet 1985, 252–255.

Koch 2013
J. K. Koch, Mobilität und Geschlecht in der Prähistorischen Archäologie – oder: Wer ist am Kulturkontakt beteiligt?, in: A. McPherson – B. Paul – S. Pritsch – M. Unseld – S. Wenk (Hrsg.), Wanderungen. Migrationen und Transformationen aus geschlechterwissenschaftlichen Perspektiven. Stud. interdis. Geschlechterforsch. 8 (Berlin– Bielefeld 2013) 89–104.

Konrad 1997
M. Konrad, Das römische Gräberfeld von Bregenz - Brigantium I. Die Körpergräber des 3. bis 5. Jahrhunderts. Münchner Beitr. Vor- u. Frühgesch. 51 (München 1997).

Mackensen 1999
M. Mackensen, Late Roman Fortifications and Building Programmes in the Province of Raetia: the Evidence of Recent Excavations and Some New Reflections, in: J. D. Creighton – R. J. A. Wilson (Hrsg.), Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction. Journal Roman Arch. Suppl. Ser. 32 (Portsmouth/Rhode Island 1999) 199–244.

Mackensen 2013
M. Mackensen, Archäologisch-historische Auswertung: Submuntorium in der späten römischen Kaiserzeit, in: M. Mackensen – F. Schimmer (Hrsg.), Der römische Militärplatz Submuntorium/Burghöfe an der oberen Donau. Archäologische Untersuchungen im spätrömischen Kastell und Vicus 2001-2007. Münchner Beitr. Provinzialröm. Arch. 4 (München 2013) 396–426.

Mackensen 2018
M. Mackensen, Organization and Development of the Late Roman Frontier in the Provinces of Raetia prima et secunda (ca. AD 270/300-450), in: S. Matešić – C. S. Sommer (Hrsg.), Limes XXIII. Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Ingolstadt 2015. Beitr. Welterbe Limes Sonderbd. 4 (Mainz 2018) 47–68.

Mersch 2016
M. Mersch, Transkulturalität, Verflechtung, Hybridisierung - ”neue” epistemologische Modelle in der Mittelalterforschung, in: W. Drews – Ch. Scholl (Hrsg.), Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne. Das Mittelalter Beih. 3 (Berlin– Boston 2016) 239–251.

Moosbauer 2005
G. Moosbauer , Kastell und Friedhöfe der Spätantike in Straubing. Passauer Univschr. Arch. 10 (Rahden/Westf. 2005).

Nuber 1992
H. U. Nuber, Rez. zu Garbsch/Kos 1988. Fundber. Baden-Württemberg 17, 1, 1992, 661–666.

Pescheck 1978
C. Pescheck, Die germanischen Bodenfunde der römischen Kaiserzeit in Mainfranken. Münchner Beitr. Vor- u. Frühgesch. 27 (München 1978).

Pirling – Siepen 2006
R. Pirling – M. Siepen (Hrsg.), Die Funde aus den römischen Gräbern von Krefeld-Gellep. Germ. Denkm. Völkerwanderungszeit B 20 (Stuttgart 2006).

Pohl 2004
W. Pohl, Vom Nutzen des Germanenbegriffes zwischen Antike und Mittelalter: eine forschungsgeschichtliche Perspektive, in: D. Hägermann – W. Haubrichs – J. Jarnut – C. Giefers (Hrsg.), Akkulturation. Probleme einer germanisch-romanischen Kultursynthese in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter. RGA Ergbd. 41 (Berlin 2004) 18–34.

Pöppelmann 2010
H. Pöppelmann, Das spätantik-frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Jülich, Kr. Düren. Bonner Beitr. Vor- u. Frühgesch. Arch. 11 (Bonn 2010).

Prien 2005
R. Prien, Archäologie und Migration (Bonn 2005).

von Raiser 1823
J. N. F. A. von Raiser, Guntia, und merkwürdigere Ereignisse der Donau-Stadt Günzburg, in der Umgegend, und in der Markgrafschaft Burgau; Beschreibung des römischen Antiquariums zu Augsburg; und neue Funde römischer und deutscher Alterthümer in Augsburg, und in der Nachbarschaft (Augsburg 1823).

von Raiser 1831
J. N. F. A. von Raiser, Der Ober-Donau-Kreis des Königreichs Bayern unter den Römern. IIte Abtheilung. Die Römermale von Coelio Monte ad Castra Vetoniana (Augsburg 1831).

Riha 1990
E. Riha, Der römische Schmuck aus Augst und Kaiseraugst. Forsch. Augst 10 (Augst 1990).

Schach-Dörges 1970
H. Schach-Dörges, Die Bodenfunde des 3. bis 6. Jahrhunderts nach Chr. zwischen unterer Elbe und Oder. Unters. Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmus. Vor- u. Frühgesch. 23 (Neumünster 1970).

Schefzik – Volpert 2003
M. Schefzik – H.-P. Volpert, Vivamus. Ausgrabungen in Unterbiberg, Lkr. München, 1995 und 2001. Symposium (Volkenschwand 2003).

Scholz 2009
M. Scholz, Die spätantike Besiedlung der östlichen Schwäbischen Alb, in: J. Biel – J. Heiligmann – D. Krausse (Hrsg.), Landesarchäologie [Festschr. D. Planck]. Forsch. u. Ber. Vor- u. Frühgesch. Baden-Württemberg 100 (Stuttgart 2009) 469–501.

von Schnurbein 1977
S. von Schnurbein, Das römische Gräberfeld von Regensburg. Archäologische Forschungen in Regina Castra – Reganesburg 1. Materialh. Bayer. Vorgesch. A 31 (Kallmünz/Opf. 1977).

Stauch 2017
E. Stauch, On the Validation of Archaeological and Physical-Anthropological Mobility Indicators. Migration History of an Early Medieval Settlement Community, in: H.-W. Dämmer – J. Richter – A. Zimmermann (Hrsg.), Mobility in Prehistoric Sedentary Societies. Papers of the CRC 806 Workshop in Cologne 26.–27. June 2015. Kölner Stud. Prähist. Arch. 8 (Rahden/Westf. 2017) 229–261.

Swift 2006
E. Swift, Construction Roman Identities in Late Antiquity? Material Culture on the Western Frontier, in: W. Bowden – A. Gutteridge – C. Machado (Hrsg.), Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity. The Roman State: from Identity to Policy. Late Antique Arch. 3.1 (Leiden – Boston 2006) 97–111.

Swift 2010
E. Swift, Identifying Migrant Communities: A Contextual Analysis of Grave Assemblages from Continental Late Roman Cemeteries. Britannia 41, 2010, 237–282.

Teichner 1999
F. Teichner, Kahl a. Main. Siedlung und Gräberfeld der Völkerwanderungszeit. Materialh. Bayer. Vorgesch. A80 (Kallmünz/Opf. 1999).

Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985
M. Tempelmann-Mączyńska, Die Perlen der römischen Kaiserzeit und der frühen Phase der Völkerwanderungszeit im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum. Röm.-germ. Forsch. 43 (Mainz 1985).

Zerjadtke 2019
M. Zerjadtke, Das Amt „Dux“ in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter. Der ducatus im Spannungsfeld zwischen römischem Einfluss und eigener Entwicklung. RGA Ergbd. 110 (Berlin– Boston 2019).

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 111–131. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11954

Chariots and Horses in the Carpathian Lands During the Bronze Age

Carola Metzner-Nebelsick

Abstract: This article reconsiders the use and meaning of chariots in the 2nd millennium BCE during the Bronze Age in the Carpathian lands. Up to now, evidence for the use of chariots with four-spoked wheels in this region, has been dated to the 14th to 12th c. BCE, based on pictorial representations and artefacts from hoard finds. A new find from western Ukraine of a double burial of bridled horses dating to the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE, makes it probable that chariots were used within the Carpathian Basin at an even earlier date since the horse gear in this burial is of Carpathian type. This find also makes it likely that the custom of horse burials as a substitute for chariots was inspired by the Sintashta-Petrovka cultural complex in the Ural region and Kazakhstan. I argue that the use of chariots conveyed a highly symbolic meaning and was not primarily used in warfare. The lack of evidence for the use of chariots in the Bronze-Age in central and western Europe supports this argument. Finally, it is suggested that the custom of horse burials and the presence of two-wheeled vehicles in the eastern Carpathian Basin in the Iron Age may represent an aspect of long durée cultural memory and revival of a probably religiously connoted custom.

Introduction

Why should one write again about a much-discussed topic? The reason is, as often in archaeology, a discovery of a new archaeological find which inspired me to look again at the well-published record of chariots and horses and their transcultural connections within Bronze Age Europe. The technical innovation of the two-wheeled light horse-drawn vehicle and connected with it the question of primacy or place of origin and chronology was probably the most intensively discussed aspect of the whole debate.[1]

Chariots have been seen in the context of fighting techniques, a new ideological concept of warriorhood, and the status representation of a male elite.[2] It has been assumed that warriors fighting from chariots such as the well-known depiction of a sword-bearer who chases another warrior on foot on the grave stele of shaft grave V from Mycenae (**Fig. 1**), represented a supremely attractive role model. This not only holds true for the Aegean but also in Scandinavia[3] and other regions north of the Aegean world. The evidence for charioteering in the Carpathian lands reflected complex modes of exchange between the Aegean and Carpathian elites in the Middle Bronze Age (according to Carpathian chronology) on one side and between the Carpathian Basin and northern Europe on the other.

A third aspect traditionally connected with chariots is an ethnic and linguistic interpretation which connects the inventors of the light horse-drawn chariot with the construct of a so-

[1] For the most recent summary see: Lindner 2021.

[2] Anthony 2007; for a summary of the debate with particular emphasis on the Aegean and Anatolia and a critical view on the military use of chariots in the Carpathian Basin: Maran 2020, 518–520.

[3] Vandkilde 2014; Kristian Kristiansen called the horse-drawn chariot a "specialised package of material culture" (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005, 180–181; 185).

called Aryan or Indo-Aryan people and the expansion of the Indo-European language (for a critical assessment: Raulwing 2000; 2004; Teufer 2012), which I will not discuss in this paper.

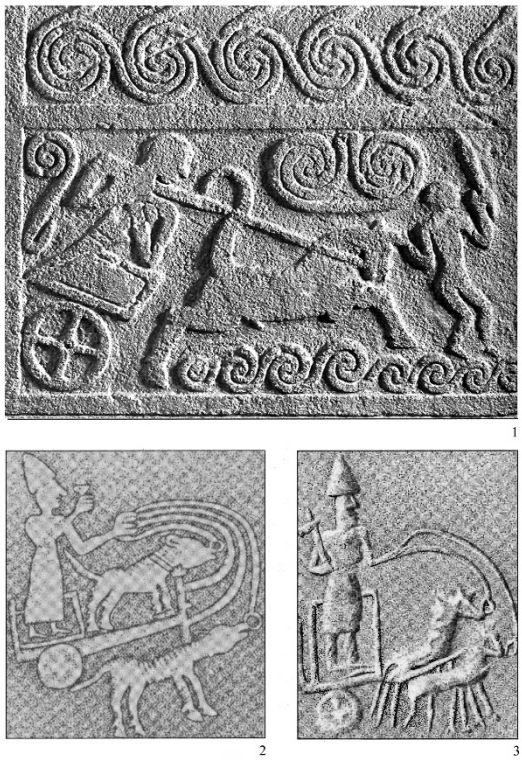


Fig. 1. Mycenae, stone stele from shaft grave V, early Mycenaean period; 1,2. seal impression from Kültepe-Kanesh (Kārum level II); 1,3. Asia Minor, unknown provenance, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (wiki common; Littauer – Crouwel 1979, Fig. 28–29).

Evidence of Bronze Age Chariots outside the Carpathian Lands – a Short Overview

Let us begin with chronology. Questions of mobility and transport have always fascinated archaeologists around the globe. However, since Stuart Piggott published his book on 'Early Wheeled Transport' in 1983, there has been such a vast number of publications dealing with this complex topic, that a comprehensive account cannot be given in this paper. Until recently attention focussed on the invention of the wheel and wagons.[4] A separate chapter of wheeled movement and its cultural significance addresses the two-wheeled light horse-drawn vehicle or chariot.

Different but intertwined strands of discourses evolved, most importantly around the questions of chronology, and place, i. e., where the invention of the horse-drawn chariot originated.[5] The basic prerequisite was the invention of spoked-wheel technology. Spoked wheels reduced the weight of vehicles making it possible for horses to be used as draft animals.[6] Their physical abilities offered a hitherto unknown potential of speed over longer distances. This exceeded both the human potential of movement and that of cattle/oxen in front of a four-wheeled wagon with disc-wheels exponentially. However, horses needed to be harnessed to control speed and direction of movement – in contrast to a ridden horse which can be guided by simple means like nasal leather bands or cords (Taylor – Bayarsaikhan – T. Tuvshinjargal 2015; Levine 1999; 2005). The new wagon and harnessing technology created groundbreaking new potential as military equipment, and thus a new way of warfare and entangled self-representation as a status marker of a male bellicose ruling elite.

Until recently, questions about when this fundamental and consequential invention of the horse-drawn chariot was made have generated a multitude of archaeological studies.[7] Christopher Pare wrote in 1987: "Der genaue Ursprung des von Pferden gezogenen Streitwagens, der während der Bronzezeit in Europa auftaucht, ist immer noch unklar" ("The origin of the horse-

[4] For the invention of the wheel: several contributions in Fansa – Burmeister 2004; Burmeister 2011; 2017; for the most recent overview of the relevant publications: Lindner 2021.

[5] The same holds true for the question of early wagons and the invention of the wheel in the middle of the 4th millennium BCE.

[6] For four-wheeled and two-wheeled vehicles in the Ancient Near East and the use of other equids see Mühl 2014.

[7] I. e. Pare 1987; Littauer – Crouwel 1979; Crouwel 2004a; most recently Lindner 2021.

drawn chariot, which appears in Bronze Age Europe, is still unclear"), and referred to an either Eurasian or western Asian place of origin.[8] More than 30 years later, a clearer picture is emerging. Radiocarbon dates provide ample evidence in favour of one of the contesters. Graves of the Sintashta-Petrovka cultural complex, also referred to as Sintashta culture, located at the south-eastern Urals and in northern Kazakhstan,[9] include chariot burials with spoked wheels, which in several cases are augmented by entombed horses (Lindner 2021, 56–83 Fig. 24–43b). These graves were dated between 2100–1800 cal BCE (Teufer 1999; Kaiser 2018). Recently Stephan Lindner assembled a comprehensive account of the chariot and horse burials as well as all bridles of the Sintashta-Petrovka cultural complex (Lindner 2021, esp. 47 Fig. 18; Cat. 2). Based on Bayesian modelling of the available ^{14}C-dates he postulated the latest possible date for the use of wagons with two spoked wheels in the southeast Ural's piedmont zone between 1950–1888 cal BCE (95,4%) (Lindner 2021, 92–110).

The earliest evidence for chariots with spoked wheels in Anatolia and other regions of western Asia are images with the depiction of horse-drawn chariots on sealings. Mary Littauer and Joost G. Crouwel argued vehemently in favour of an Anatolian origin.[10] One of the most often quoted examples is a seal impression from Kültepe-Kanesh (Kārum level II) showing a man or god wearing a helmet guiding a two-wheeled wagon with four-spoked wheels (**Fig. 1,2**). Level II of the Assyrian merchant colony Kültepe-Kanesh is dated between 1950–1836 BCE (Kulakoğlu 2011). A similar scene on a seal impression from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York shows a charioteer holding an axe, and the draft-animals appear to be horse-like (**Fig. 1,3**). Littauer and Crouwel labelled these wagons as proto-chariots (Littauer – Crouwel 1979, 50–55; Crouwel 2004a, 77–79). It is not surprising that an invention of such fundamental consequence and advantage was so quickly dispersed that it escapes the methods available to traditional archaeology to discern differences of a few generations.

Leaving the questions of the origin of the invention and its date aside, we can state that by the early second millennium BCE the horse-drawn wagon with spoked wheels or chariot was widely distributed in the southern Urals and adjacent central Asia, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Mycenaean Greece of the Shaft Grave period (Littauer – Crouwel; Penner 1998).

The Carpathian Evidence

Evidence for the first use of chariots in the Carpathian Basin comes from an image on an unimposing object in a modest context, a clay urn from a cremation grave in the cemetery of Vel'ke Raškovce, Michalovce district, in eastern Slovakia. It dates to the 14th c. BCE Suciu de Sus culture (**Fig. 2**) and shows the highly stylised image of three chariots from a bird's eye perspective whereas the horses[11] and the charioteer are shown in profile. The charioteers are reduced to a dot-and-line image. The wheels with four spokes are comparable to the Kültepe and Mycenae type, in contrast to the Sintashta-type chariots which have more spokes.

[8] See also Burmeister – Raulwing 2012, 100–101.

[9] Epimachov – Korjakova 2004; Koryakova 1998; Parzinger 2006, 244–262; 317–329; Anthony 2007, 371–411.

[10] Littauer and Crouwel believed that the Sintashta burials represented an imitation of the Mesopotamian and Anatolian role models, since two-wheeled platform wagons have a longer tradition in Mesopotamia (Littauer – Crouwel 1979; Crouwel 2004a), a view which can no longer be sustained. These wagons have disc-wheels and thus need to be differentiated from the chariot with spoked wheels; for a summary of the debate see: Lindner 2021, 111–123.

[11] In contrast to western Asia donkeys or onagers are not present in the prehistoric faunal record of large parts of Europe.

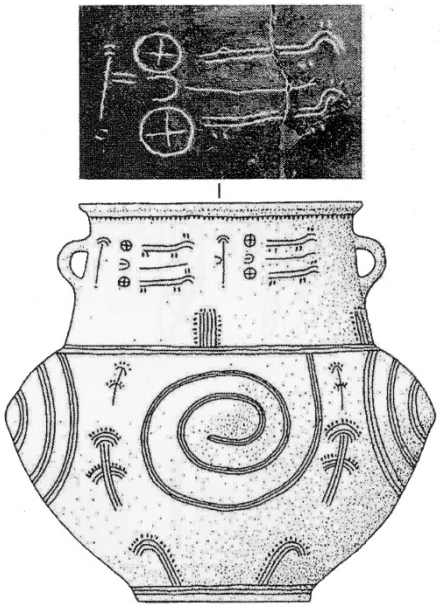


Fig. 2. Clay vessel from the cemetery of Vel'ke Raškovce, Michalovce district, eastern Slovakia (Boroffka 2004, 351 Fig. 12).

So far, there is only indirect evidence for earlier use of chariots in the Carpathian basin. It is based on the appearance of antler or bone cheekpieces (*Trensenknebel*). They have been discussed in detail by Hans-Georg Hüttel (1981), Nikolaus Boroffka discussed the rod-shaped cheekpieces or rod toggles (1998) and Mike Teufer dealt with the disc-shaped types (1999).[12] Whereas the various types of the disc- or plate-shaped cheekpieces are distributed between Kazakhstan and the eastern Carpathian Basin with one example from Mycenae which Teufer thinks is the youngest specimen (Teufer 1999),[13] the rod-shaped types or rod toggles (*Stangenknebel*) can be regarded as a Carpathian invention.[14]

The Middle Bronze Age tell-settlements in the eastern Carpathian Basin, which were central places of power with complex social organisation and wide-ranging exchange networks, functioned as ideal cultural background for this invention. From the Carpathian Basin this bridling technique using bone or antler cheekpieces either for draft-animals or for riding was transmitted westwards along the Danube via various modes of exchange (David 2001). Contact partners for the late Early Bronze Age Straubing culture in modern southern Bavaria in the late 18th to 17th c. BCE were Mad'jarovce and Věteřov communities in the western Carpathian Basin to name just some of the important players in this exchange network. As has been proposed by other scholars, the first bone rod toggles found west of the Carpathians were part of a cultural package consisting of the emergence of fortified hilltop settlements and changing trading networks, including metal trade (Metzner-Nebelsick – Pernicka – Kutscher – Krause 2020) at the transition from the Early to the Middle Bronze Age, according to central European chronology. These new communication networks are reflected by the distribution of several artefact types including the so-called *Brotlaibidole* (loaf-of-bread-idols) which are distributed in central Europe, northern Italy and the northern Adriatic, the Carpathian Basin, and the lower Danube region (David 2016). The invention of the long slashing blade (Sögel blades) and first full-hilted slashing swords also fall into this period (Hachmann 1957; Meller 2013; Metzner-Nebelsick 2013, 328 Fig. 1; Vandkilde 2014, 615 Fig. 5). The dissemination of horse gear into central Europe thus happened along with well-established exchange networks.

This context of intense east-west communication and exchange also went in an eastern direction with expanding networks between the eastern Alps, western Hungary, and western Slovakia on one side and the eastern Carpathian Basin and adjacent mountain areas on the other. The first ritual bronze hoards in the eastern Carpathian Basin reflect a composition pattern

[12] For the summarising discussion of their chronology see Lindner 2021 49–53.
[13] For further discussion of the Mycenaean cheekpiece see Maran – van de Moortel 2014, 541.
[14] Hüttel 1981; Boroffka 1998; maps: Kristiansen and Larsson 2005, 184 fig. 79; Lindner 2021, 48 fig. 19.

originating from the central European Únětice culture (Metzner-Nebelsick 2013, 340–342). The transmission of this specific ritual deposition practice was probably connected with or took place in the course of economic exchange activities. Interestingly, the artefacts in the famous Apa hoard (Hachmann 1957; David 2002, pl. 117–118) with the eponymous first Carpathian slashing-sword type were made of east Alpine Mitterberg copper (Pernicka – Nessel – Mehofer – Safta 2016) instead of the locally available ore from mining districts in the Maramureş, northwest Romania. Thus, it seems possible that mining specialists from the Mitterberg, but also the Slovakian Ore Mountain region,[15] were involved in prospecting and finally opening up new mining areas in the Romanian Carpathians.

A particular feature of many of the rod-shaped cheekpieces is a specific kind of wave-band-ornamentation, which also occurs on bone discs and other bone and antler objects.[16] They are seen as a reflection of cultural contacts with Mycenaean Greece of the Shaft Grave period and interpreted as specific Carpathian imitations (David 1997, 267; 273; 2001) or the appropriation of Mycenaean ornaments. Whereas in Mycenae, these specific circle and wave motives adorned golden objects as well (David 2007), in the Carpathian lands, the dominance of antler/bone objects with an equestrian context is obvious. Hüttel coined these ornaments on horse gear, i. e. the cheekpieces, as "Karpato-mykenischer Stil" (Carpathian-Mycenaean style) (Hüttel 1981, 83).[17]

The appearance of horse bridles and pictorial evidence for charioteering in the Mycenaean Shaft Grave period and material evidence in the Carpathian Basin does not allow us to establish a priority in either area (Boroffka 1998, 117; Maran – van de Moortel 2014, 541). According to the ^{14}C-dates of the Sintashta-Petrovka burials, both Mycenae and the Carpathian Basin were at the receiving end of external influences and found different solutions for the integration of this new technical complex of charioteering into specific and seemingly mutually different social practices.

It is noteworthy that at least in the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE all antler/bone cheekpieces in the Carpathian Basin were found in settlement contexts or come from ritual or unknown contexts (Hüttel 1981; Boroffka 1998). The same holds true for the south-central and even north Italian specimens (Hüttel 1981, 185–186). Furthermore, in settlement contexts, the cheekpieces were found singly. We can thus assume that this deposition is not merely waste but reflects a pattern, an intentional behaviour or ritual practice.[18] Unfortunately, this practice does not provide any information about whether the cheekpieces were used as riding or wagon-harness equipment.

An exception is a ritual context in the fortified ritual site of Oarţa de Sus-"Ghiile Botii" in the district of Maramureş in northwest Romania (Kacsó 2011, 408–415; 215–226 fig, 188–209; esp. 217 Fig. 192). Two unique bone plate cheekpieces (*Plattenknebel*) (Boroffka 1998, 92; Fig. 9,1–2) from this site were found in the mouth of one of two horses buried in an oval pit. This indicates that disc-shaped cheekpieces were highly likely used as wagon bridles. This unique find also shows that horses in connection with a bridle possessed a specific ritual and probably religious meaning.

[15] Other bronze objects analysed by Ernst Pernicka and Mathias Mehofer consisted of Slovakian Ore Mountain type copper.

[16] i.e., David 1997; 2001; David 2007 with comprehensive literature; Metzner-Nebelsick 2013, 330 fig. 2.

[17] For further discussions on the connection between Mycenae and the Carpathian Basin regarding horse gear see: David 2001 who calls the ornament: 'karpatenländisch-ostmediterrane Wellenbandornamentik', and Maran – van de Moortel 2014.

[18] This is supported by the fact that a few antler/bone cheekpieces were deposited in caves (Hüttel 1981).

These deposition rites in settlements or ritual contexts underline the specific Carpathian character of the cultural significance of either charioteering or riding. At least in the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE, there is no obvious elite context in graves for cheekpiece deposition in central and southeast Europe. This also means that we are unable to say whether or not riding or wagon driving was part of a specific representation habit of elite or aristocratic men as it was the case in the Aegean or western Asia. Since projectile weapons such as bow and arrow or spears that were used in conjunction with chariots are either absent or do not play a significant part in the archaeological record in the Carpathian Basin during the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE, Hüttel concluded that chariots were not used as military equipment in this region (Hüttel 1982, 60). The aforementioned unpretentious nature of the urn from Vel'ke Raškovce in Slovakia (Fig. 2) supports this view. The deposition of bridles or wagons and wagon parts was liable to taboo in a sepulchral context. The fact that vehicles did, however, play a significant role in ritual practices during the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE – in settlement contexts or ritual sites – can also be deduced from various clay models of four-wheeled wagons or clay wheel models in the eastern Carpathian basin (Boroffka 2004, 347 Fig. 1; Metzner-Nebelsick 2013, 334 Fig. 5).[19]

Horse Burials and Charioteering in the Circum-Carpathian Region

I will now come to the more recently published finds which caught my attention and inspired me to write this article. Except for the image on the urn from Vel'ke Raškovce dating to the 14th or even late 15th c. BCE and the even earlier find from Oarţa de Sus we may assume that chariots existed but there is no material evidence for the contemporary use of chariots in the Carpathian Basin: We do not know whether the Carpathian rod toggles or disc- and plate cheekpieces were used for either harnessing a ridden horse or horses in front of a chariot or even a four-wheeled wagon.

One can, however, say that the disc-shaped cheekpieces were most likely exclusively used as wagon/chariot bridles due to parallels in the southern Urals or western Kazakhstan (Lindner 2021, 46–51). Recent finds from the early Middle Bronze Age period in southeast Poland and western Ukraine show that rod toggles (*Stangenknebel*) which can be regarded as a Carpathian invention were also used for charioteering. Marcyn Przybyła has assembled the relevant evidence of horse gear and its contexts (Przybyła 2020). Most of the antler or bone toggles as well as some ornamented bone buttons he collected come from early Middle Bronze Age horse burials from south-east Poland and western Ukraine. As the map shows (**Fig. 3**), the burials are found in a restricted area associated with the Middle Bronze Age Trzciniec and Komariv cultures.

Bones from a horse in burial 38 from Moriawianki provided a radiocarbon date of 1742–1535 cal BCE with an interval of 68% (Przybyła 2020, 122). In the case of Miernów, barrow II he could date the grave on typological grounds to the transition of the Early to Middle Bronze Age period (BzA2 – Bz B1) according to central European chronology (Przybyła 2020, 123). Next to the horse burials, some horse bridles have also been found in settlement contexts (Przybyła 2020, 110 Fig. 6; 112 Fig. 8). I do not want to repeat Przybyła's arguments but rather comment on some of the most interesting finds. He argues that although there

[19] In Nižná Myšl'a a wagon model with originally four wheels was discovered in a children's burial (Olexa – Pitorák 2004, 311; 318).

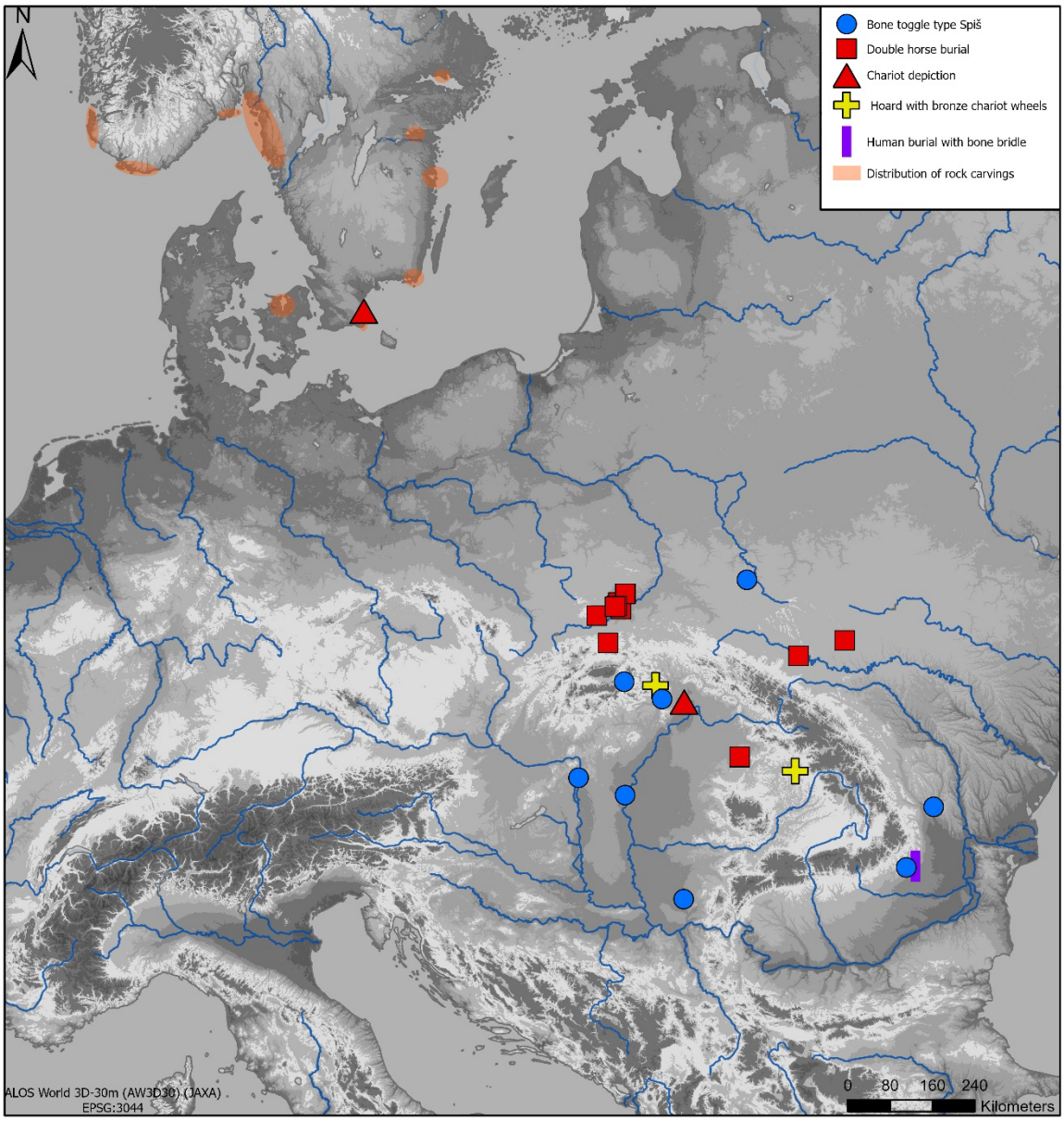


Fig. 3. Map showing evidence for the use of chariots in the 2nd Millennium BCE outside the Mediterranean/western Asian *koine* and the Sintashta-Petrovka cultural complex. square: burials with two bridled horses in a grave context or double burial of unbridled horses of the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE; cross: hoard finds with two bronze wheels, 13th–12th c. BCE; triangle: figurative depictions of chariots (Scandinavia limited to Kivik, here distribution of rock carvings indicated by shading); circle: rod toggles of type Spiš; rectangle: human burial with rod toggles (map: Metzner-Nebelsick using data from Hüttel 1981; Boroffka 1998; Larsson 2004; Przybyła 2020; Lindner 2021; map design and raw data processing: G. J. F. Nebelsick).

is no direct evidence for chariots, at least the dimensions in one of the burial chambers gives a hint in this direction. In the chamber in barrow II, grave 10 of the site of Miernów with two horses in disturbed position and one human individual, the western part of the burial chamber measuring 120×310 m was empty and could have been filled by a chariot (Przybyła 2020, 124 Fig. 14,5). The rudimentary grave plan, however, gives the impression of a disturbed,

stratigraphically unclear context.[20] Since all the other horse burials in southeast Poland and western Ukraine do not contain human burials, the Miernów II, grave 10 example remains questionable. On the contrary, the absence of human burials in the other known examples again accounts for a deliberate decision to bury the horses without a human body. In my view, this pattern reflects a specific ritual behaviour since the other graves were in most cases undisturbed.

The most striking example comes from a double burial of bridled horses from Husjatyn in the Ternopil' oblast in western Ukraine published by Vasyl' Il'chyshyn (Il'chyshyn 2016). The two horses in Husjatyn were buried facing each other with their bridles in situ (**Fig. 4a**).[21] No sign of an accompanying charioteer was found. The antler cheekpieces of the harness of both horses are different (**Fig. 4b**).

They carry bi-plane perforations for the reigns and harness straps. The ornamentation of the rod toggles resembles faintly the wave-band-ornaments of Mycenaean inspiration from contexts across the mountains in the Carpathian Basin (Il'chyshyn 2016, 87 Fig. 4,5–6; Przybyła 2020, 113 Fig. 9; 115 Fig. 10). They are, however, clearly of local style. Typologically, the rod toggles from horse 2 can be compared with Hüttel's Type Spiš (Hüttel 1981, pl. 8) or Boroffka's type IV ("*Zapfenknebel*") (**Fig. 5**).

All share a bi-plane perforation system (*Einrichtungssystem*) for the leather straps with two oval holes and a smaller one in between at a 90° angle (Il'chyshyn 2016, 86 Fig. 3,3; 87 Fig. 4,5–6; Przybyła 2020, 113 Fig. 9). This type has a distribution centre in the eastern Carpathian Basin and across the Carpathian mountain range. They were probably produced in the fortified settlements of late Early Bronze Age date in eastern Slovakia.

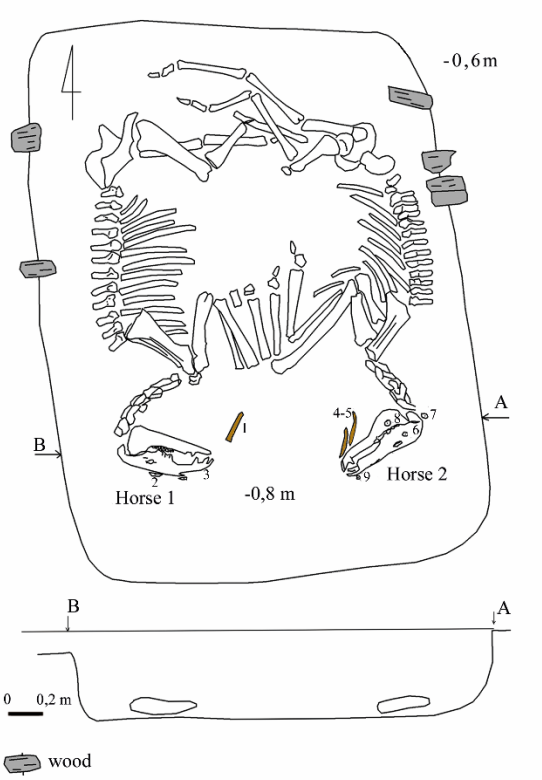


Fig. 4a. Double burial of horses with horse gear in situ from Husjatyn in the Ternopil' oblast in western Ukraine (after Il'chyshyn 2016, 85 fig. 2).

Il'chyshyn and Przybyła compare the round antler reign knobs with star-shaped incisions and a bronze rivet in its centre to fasten it to leather straps (**Fig. 4b,2–3; 6–9**) to examples from the southern Romanian Monteoru culture. A similar knob or small phalera was also found in the settlement of Nižná Myšl'a in eastern Slovakia (**Fig. 5,7**) (Olexa – Pitorák 2004, 310 Fig. 1). This site is known for its cemetery with hundreds of inhumation graves dating to the late Early Bronze Age in central European terms and the Middle Bronze Age according to local southeast European chronology. In the graves but also in the settlement of Nižná Myšl'a ample evidence of metalworking, the

[20] The excavator assumed a Corded Ware Culture burial (Przybyła 2020, 123) which Przybyła refutes.

[21] Vasyl' Il'chyshyn informed me in 2017 that ^{14}C- and archaeozoological analyses are being made in Poznań; to my knowledge the results are pending.

use of prestigious dress accessories with hundreds of faience beads in a single grave, golden dress accessories, and bronze or bone/antler artefacts – among them rod toggles – were found, the latter in the settlement (**Fig. 5,6**) (Olexa 2003; Olexa – Nováček 2013; Olexa – Pitorák 2004).

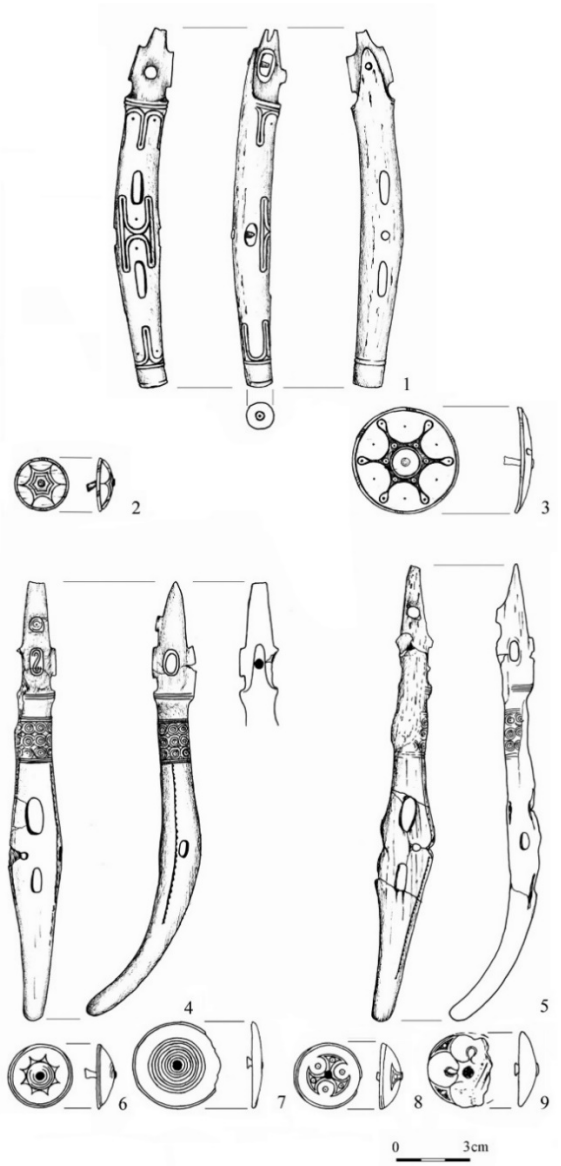


Fig. 4b. Husjatyn in the Ternopil' oblast in western Ukraine, horse gear of horse 1 (1–3) and horse 2 (4–9); antler/bone, 1–3; 6–9 with bronze rivets (after Il'chyshin 2016, 86 Fig. 3; 87 Fig. 4).

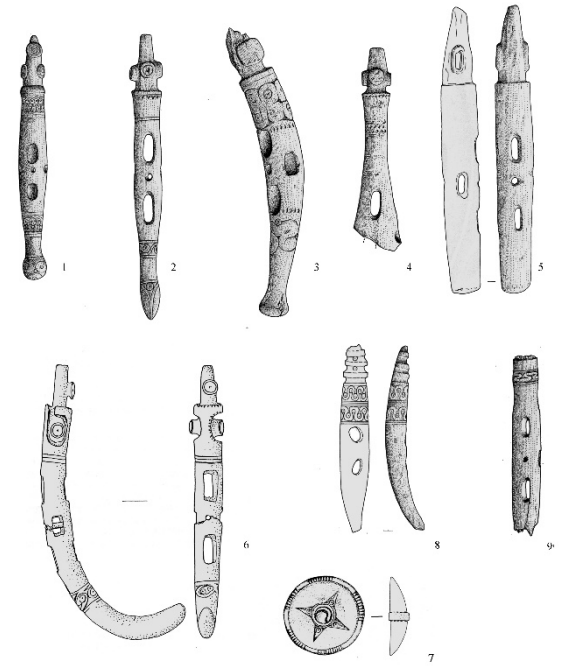


Fig. 5. Antler/bone rod toggles type Spiš (1–6.9) or related type (8) after Hüttel. 1 Belc, western Ukraine; 2 Budapest-Lágymányos, Hungary; 3 Spišsky Štvrtok, eastern Slovakia; 4 Gîrbovăţ, eastern Romania; 5 Tószeg-Laposhalom, eastern Hungary; 6–7 Nižná Mišľa, eastern Slovakia; 8 Sărata-Monteoru, southeastern Romania; 9 Vatin, northern Serbia (after Hüttel 1981, pl. 8–8; Olexa – Pitorák 2004, Fig. 1).

So far, I have avoided mentioning Sărata-Monteoru in the southern Romanian district of Buzău southeast of the Carpathian Mountains. It is the only site where two antler/bone rod toggles were found in a burial context other than in the Sintashta-Petrovka cultural complex in the Urals/Kazakhstan region or the Trzciniec-Komariv culture. Six cheekpieces of different type were discovered at the site (Boroffka 1998, 93). An identical pair from grave 35 of cemetery II (**Fig. 5,8**; Hüttel 1981, pl. 9,93; Boroffka 1998, 96 Fig. 6,4) is ornamented in the Carpathian-Mycenaean wave-band-style. Another pair of sidepieces from Sărata-Monteoru[22] is a disc-type with parallels in the Sintashta-Petrovka cultural complex, a third single one, type A2a after Teufer, has parallels there as well (Boroffka 1998, 98 Fig. 8,1–2.4; Teufer 1999, 92 Fig. 17; Lindner 2021, 50 Fig. 20).

[22] The find context is not certain (Boroffka 1998, 93).

Without being able to go into further typological detail, we can reach the following conclusions:

The ritual practice to bury either bridled horses or to deposit pairs of horse bridles in human graves is limited to the circum-Carpathian area: in southeast Poland and the Dniestr (now Tyra) river region in western Ukraine and Transylvania. This specific deposition mode represents a close link to the burial rites of the Sintashta-Petrovka cultural complex. Although the Sărata-Monteoru burial only contained a pair of rod toggles which probably stood for a riding bridle, this connection is represented by the presence of the type A-disc cheekpiece, which is typical for the Sintashta-Petrovka cultural complex (Teufer 1999, 87 Fig. 12; 88 Fig. 13) and may thus imply the use of chariots in the lower Danube region as well. In my view, the specific geographical situation of supposedly more open landscapes not confined by mountains supported more intense routes of communication between communities in this region or east of the Carpathian Mountain range than with those in the inner Carpathian Basin. In contrast, communities in the Carpathian Basin were involved in closer exchange with the south, i. e. with Mycenaean Greece of the Shaft Grave period.[23]

I any case, on a more basic level, the evidence of the horse burials from southeast Poland and north-western Ukraine, and the burial from Sărata-Monteoru provide support for the assumption that rod toggles were also used as bridles most likely for chariots or at least for wagons in the Carpathian lands in the first half of the second millennium BCE.

Later Evidence and Charioteering outside Carpathian Lands

Finally, I would like to discuss another aspect of this topic. If we look at the evidence for chariots in Bronze Age Europe of the 2nd millennium BCE, we observe regions in which the use of chariots is attested in form of pictorial evidence or indirectly via the context of bridles (see also Pankau – Krause 2017). Next to Mycenaean Greece and the Carpathian lands, this is Scandinavia (Larsson 2004; Kristiansen – Larsson 2005; Vandkilde 2014, 615 Fig. 5; Metzner-Nebelsick 2003). The evidence for Scandinavia has been discussed intensively, most recently by Helle Vandkilde (2014). It is commonly agreed that the horse-chariot technological complex as well as the afore mentioned new sword type (see above) were brought to Scandinavia via routes of personal contacts, exchange, and trade from the Carpathian Basin. These close links involved a variety of other objects and commodities such as glass from Egypt and western Asia from the 14th c. BCE contexts (Varberg – Gratuze – Kaul 2015) or symbolic items such as a form of gold bracelets with double spiral ends (Metzner-Nebelsick 2010; 2019), which occur in hoard finds with gold objects in the Carpathian Basin and elite warrior graves in northern Germany and southern Scandinavia, just to give two examples.

Chariots are depicted in large numbers on the rock carvings in the regions of Scania (Skåne) and Bohuslän in southern Sweden (Larsson 2004). They always show wheels with four spokes like those in the Aegean and Anatolia (Fig. 1) or on the vessel of Vel'ke Raškovce (Fig. 2). The ritual context is evident. The most famous rock carving, however, comes from a grave context – the intensively discussed stone cist burial underneath the giant tumulus from Kivik-Bredarör in Scania (Randsborg 1993; Bertilsson – Ling – Bertilsson – Potter – Horn

[23] For the mutual contacts between Mycenaean Greece and the Carpathian Basin in regard to horse gear and ornamentation see: Maran – van de Moortel 2014, 544–545.

2017). One of several stone slabs with figurative and symbolic images shows a unique scenic depiction of mythological content. In its upper part, it depicts a sword-bearing warrior on a chariot drawn by two stallions (**Fig. 6**).

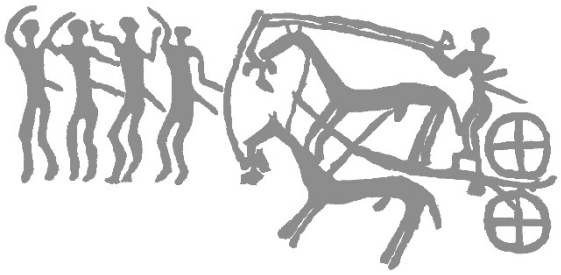


Fig. 6. Kivik-Bredarör, Scania, southern Sweden. Scene from the upper part of stone slab 7 from the stone cist grave with rock carving (drawing after a rub-off by Dietrich Evers published by Bertilsson – Ling – Bertilsson – Potter – Horn 2017, 297 fig. 6B; see also: Swedish Rock Art Research Archives, www.shfa.se).

He follows a procession of sword bearers with raised arms. Because of the remaining bronze objects in the robbed grave, including a sword pommel, a fibula, and a bronze sheet metal vessel (Randsborg 1993), the stone cist and its carvings were traditionally dated to Period II of the early Nordic Bronze Age that is the 14th c. BCE. Because of the extraordinary design of the giant tumulus and these finds, the stone cist grave of Kivik has been identified as the burial of a paramount leader with contacts that ranged as far as Hittite Anatolia and the Aegean (Kristiansen – Larsson 2005, 186–194). He was seen as a prominent member of "warrior aristocracies" in Scandinavia and beyond (ibid., 212–231). This view, however, was recently challenged by Joachim Goldhahn, who could show that the Kivik stone cist did not contain the burial of a single outstanding warrior hero, but rather multiple burials for what appears to be mostly individuals in their teens and was used over several centuries (Goldhahn 2009). Because of this, the mythological context of the depicted scenes is even more plausible. Despite the long period of burial activity, the earliest date for the chariot scene remains the 14th c. BCE.

After this short review of the evidence of Bronze Age charioteering the question remains, if the distribution of this particular practice of wagon driving reflects a specific fighting style as indicated on the stone stele of Mycenae or hinted at on the Kivik slab with the sword-bearing charioteer (**Fig. 6**) and if so, does that mean fighting techniques in the otherwise closely entwined Europe were so fundamentally different? As Hüttel (1982, 60) already argued, the weapon record but also the surprisingly scarce evidence for chariots in the Carpathian Basin make it unlikely that they played a significant role in warfare there in the 2nd millennium BCE. This argument finds support in the fact that in central Europe there is no evidence for two-wheeled vehicles or chariots during this period, although the weapon repertoire is comparable with that in the Carpathian Basin (Harding 2007). One would thus expect that conflicts would be fought with the same rules of conduct and equipment. The ritual connotation of the use of chariots however, is apparent and thus their significance as a prominent status marker. To sum up:

1. The recently published evidence from southeast Poland and western Ukraine has shown that the practice to bury horses with horse gear resembles the custom of the Sintashta-Petrovka complex. It is thus likely that the initial impulse to use chariots in this region came from Eurasia and not from the Aegean. However, the usage of genuinely Carpathian bridle types indicates not only a strong local touch and appropriation of this practice but also intensive contacts with communities across the mountains in the Carpathian Basin.

2. Although the early 2nd-millennium rod-shaped cheekpieces used in the Carpathian Basin are often ornamented with adaptations of the so-called wave-band-patterns of Mycenaean origin, they represent a local interpretation of

this inspiration. In Mycenaean contexts, these ornaments are applied to various, also precious golden object types and are with one exception not found on rod-shaped cheekpieces. The so far only rod toggle in Greece, a settlement find from Mitrou in Lokris, was interpreted by Joseph Maran and Aleydis van de Moortel as a local hybrid or reworked Carpathian import (Maran – van de Moortel 2014, 544).

Disc-shaped cheekpieces with a distribution between central Asia, the Carpathian Basin and Mycenae do not carry wave-band-motives. The connection of this specific ornament with a genuinely Carpathian bridle type is evident and may hint at a specific symbolic meaning with a possible religious connotation of this motive-complex and horses – in particular in the Carpathian lands.

3. The ritual and religious significance of horses in the Carpathian lands is further indicated by the fact that the early Middle Bronze Age horse burials in southeast Poland and western Ukraine do not contain human burials. The double burial in a pit in the fortified settlement and ritual site of Oarţa de Sus also points at the highly ritual significance of horses.

4. Since the horses of these recently published burials were bridled with Carpathian type rod toggles, we may suppose that the most likely imported and individually deposited rod toggles of late Early Bronze Age date in the west, i. e. in southern central Europe, were likewise used to bridle horses in front of wagons or that they were indeed used as riding bridles. Unfortunately, a taboo to depict the human body or narrating scenes in central Europe (in contrast to the Nordic Bronze Age) (Metzner-Nebelsick 2018) prevents us from reconstructing real-life practices regarding wagon driving or riding.

5. The use of prestigious horse gear items was highly susceptible to specific rules and taboos. Their deposition in graves was not the custom in the Carpathian Basin or southern central Europe in the 2nd millennium BCE. Thus, they did not play a role as status markers in sepulchral contexts as is the case in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

6. The use of chariots, in particular, seems to have been a highly ritualised practice, at least in some cases with a religiously or mythologically charged background. The well-known examples of Vel'ke Raškovce and Kivik make that clear.

Aspects of long durée Regarding Chariots in Carpathian Lands

Finally, it is worth noting that horse bridles and wagon mounts are occasionally found in bronze hoards of the late 2nd millennium BCE (Pare 1987). Although we are unable to reconstruct the wagons used in real-life from the selected deposition of single mounts in hoards, it is thus possible to say that the chariots maintained its ritual significance within the Carpathian Basin over several centuries.

There are two sacrificial hoards in the eastern Carpathian Basin which contained a pair of bronze wheels with four spokes of the type depicted on late Mycenaean frescoes or images on pottery (**Fig.7**).

In the hoard of Arcalia near Bistriţa in Transylvania discovered in 1793 the diameter of the wheels was 70 cm (**Fig. 8**). They were found together with seven bronze rings which supposedly (Roska 1942, 30–31) belonged to either the harness or a wagon. The second hoard with two bronze wheels symbolising a chariot was

found in Obišovce, Košice district, in eastern Slovakia (**Fig. 9**).

Fig. 7. Scene with 'Rail chariots' after J. W. Crouwel on a late Mycenaean crater from Tiryns, Argolis, Greece (Crouwel 2004, 345 fig. 7).

This selective mode of object deposition is typical for sacrificial hoards of the Late Bronze Age (13th–12th c. BCE) in the area. Because of the deposition in the ritual context of hoards, we have difficulties to reconstruct the social setting in which these chariots were used. Since the form of these full-size wheels compares with depictions from contemporary palatial contexts of Mycenaean Greece, we can suppose that chariots with bronze wheels from the last centuries of the 2nd millennium BCE were used in an elite context outside the Mediterranean world as well and functioned as status markers. The Carpathian finds are part of a *koine* of largely contemporary finds in Scandinavia, the Aegean and beyond.[24]

In southern central Europe and indeed in western Europe this concept of status representation did not have the same significance. As Pare has shown (1987; 1992) wagons with bronze-clad wheels or wagon boxes only started to be deposited in central Europe in the 13th and 12th c. BCE. Those wagons possessed four wheels and belonged to elite male graves. Intermittently, this custom survived regionally into the Early Iron Age Hallstatt period. There is no evidence for chariots in the 2nd millennium BCE. They only gained acceptance as a prominent grave good in the late Iron Age La Tène period attributed to the historic Celts (van Endert 1987) and may then have been a reflex of an Italian inspiration (Crouwel 2012).

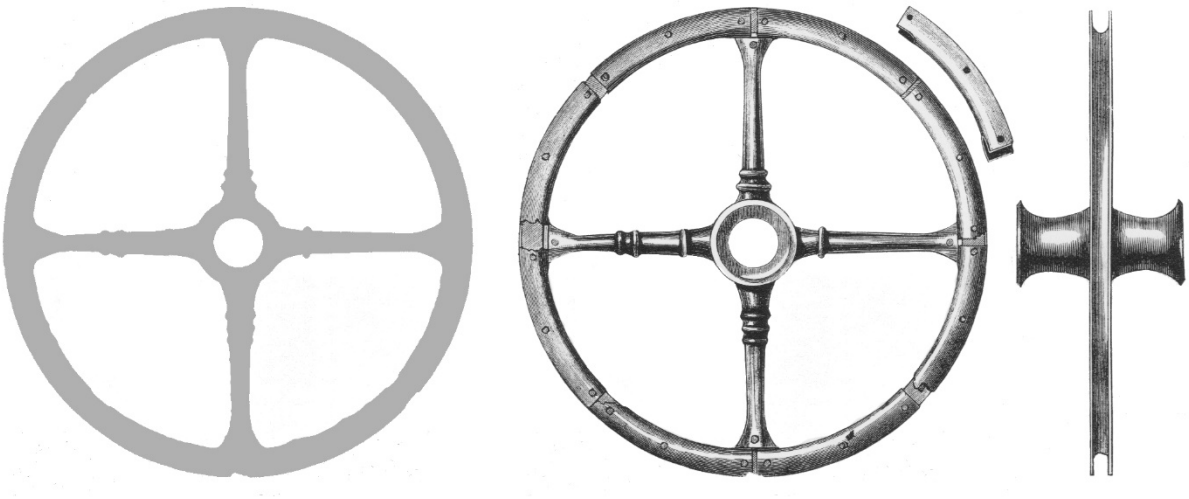


Fig. 8. Hoard/ritual deposit from Arcalia, Bistriţa district, Romania with two bronze wheels with 70 cm diameter (graphic L. D. Nebelsick after Hampel 1886, pl. 59,2a; Pare 1987, 36 fig. 13).

[24] The problem of absolute chronology remains. Because no associated finds can date the bronze wheels from Arcalia and Obišovce, it is difficult to determine if they were really produced ca. 200 years later than the vessel from Vel'ke Raškovce. I would like to assume this on grounds of hoarding practice and ceramic typology which cannot be explained in this article in detail.

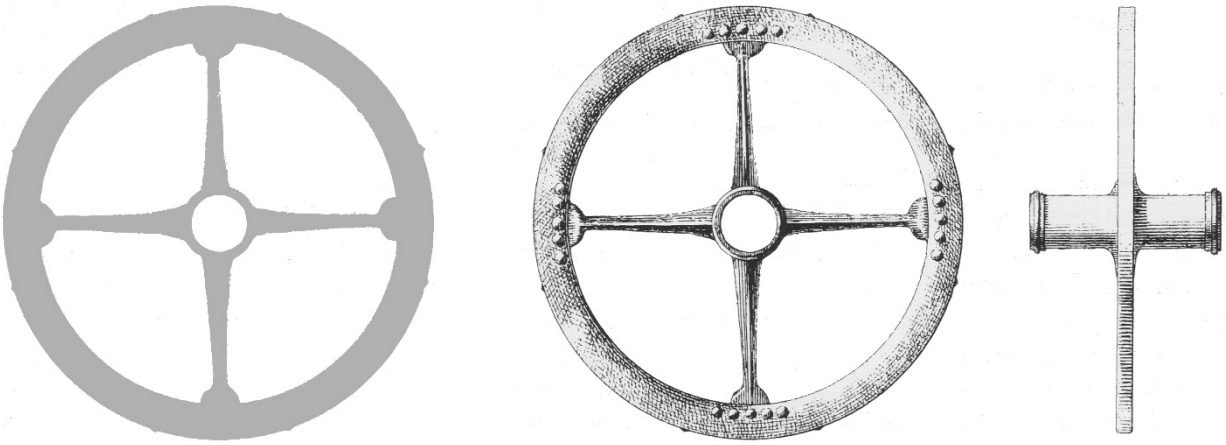


Fig. 9. Hoard/ritual deposit from Obišovce, Košice district, Slovakia with two bronze wheels with 55 cm diameter (graphic L. D. Nebelsick after Hampel 1886, pl. 59,1; Pare 1987, 33 fig. 10).

In the western Carpathian Basin, i. e. the eastern Hallstatt culture, early Iron Age burials with wagons are rare (Pare 1992). In the eastern Carpathian Basin, however, we find chariots and horses buried together in the Scythian period cemetery of Szentes Vekerzug in southeastern Hungary (Chochorovski 1985; Teleaga 2017). Also, in the late Hallstatt to early Latène period (6th to 5th c. BCE) in northeast Croatia and northwestern Serbia or Slovakia, bridled and unbridled horses are known either as single or double burials (Kmet'ová 2017; 2018). Interestingly, the charioteers or riders are not present in those graves. The notion that these customs may have been a faint reflection of the previous chronologically very distant practices, described in this article, is an appealing idea that cannot, however, be proven through archaeological research.

This overview had the intention to present the current state of knowledge concerning an eminent aspect of transcultural practices in combination with some new ideas.

I hope to have shown that, despite difficulties and restrictions by the fragmentary state of available information, to reconstruct the distant past or life and believes in Distant Worlds is always worth trying.

Bibliography

Anreiter – Bánffy – Bartosiewics – Meid – Metzner-Nebelsick 2012
P. Anreiter – E. Bánffy – L. Bartosiewics – W. Meid – C. Metzner-Nebelsick (eds.), Archaeological, Cultural and Linguistic Heritage. Festschrift for Erzsébet Jerem in Honour of her 70th Birthday (Budapest 2012).

Anthony 2007
D. Anthony, The Horse, the Wheel, and Language. How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World (Princeton 2007).

Bátora – Furmánek – Veliačik 2004
J. Bátora – V. Furmánek – L. Veliačik (eds.), Einflüsse und Kontakte alteuropäischer Kulturen. Festschrift für Jozef Vladár zum 70. Geburtstag (Nitra 2004).

Bergerbrant – Wessman 2017
S. Bergerbrant – A. Wessman (eds.), New Perspectives on the Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 13th Nordic Bronze Age Symposium Held in Gothenburg 9th to 13th June 2015 (Oxford 2017).

Bertilsson – Ling – Bertilsson – Potter – Horn 2017
U. Bertilsson – J. Ling – C. Bertilsson – R. Potter – C. Horn, The Kivik Tomb. Bredarör Enters into the Digital Arena – Documented with OSL, SfM and RTI, in: Bergerbrant – Wessman 2017, 289–305.

Boroffka 1998
N. Boroffka, Bronze- und früheisenzeitliche Geweihtrensenknebel aus Rumänien und ihre Beziehungen. Alte Funde aus dem Museum für Geschichte Aius, Eurasia Antiqua 4, 1998, 81–135.

Boroffka 2004
N. Boroffka, Bronzezeitliche Wagenmodelle im Karpatenbecken, in: Fansa – Burmeister 2004, 347–354.

Burmeister 2011
S. Burmeister, Innovationswege – Wege der Kommunikation. Erkenntnisprobleme am Beispiel des Wagens im 4. Jt. v. Chr., in: Hansen – Müller 2011, 211–240.

Burmeister 2017
S. Burmeister, Early Wagons in Eurasia. Disentangling an Enigmatic Innovation, in: Stockhammer – Maran 2017, 69–77.

Burmeister – Raulwing 2012
S. Burmeister – P. Raulwing, Festgefahren. Die Kontroverse um den Ursprung des Streitwagens. Einige Anmerkungen zu Forschung, Quellen und Methodik, in: Anreiter – Bánffy – Bartosiewics – Meid – Metzner-Nebelsick 2012, 94–113.

Calanaki – Tomas – Galanaki – Laffineur 2007
I. Calanaki – H. Tomas – Y. Galanaki – R. Laffineur (eds.), Between the Aegean and Baltic Seas. Prehistory across Borders. Proceedings of the International Conference Bronze and Early Iron Age Interconnections and Contemporary Developments between the Aegean and the Regions of the Balkan Penninsula, Central and Northern Europe University of Zagreb, 11–14 April 2005. Aegaeum 27 (Liège 2007).

Chochorovski 1985
J. Chochorovski, Die Vekerzug-Kultur. Charakteristik der Funde (Warsaw – Krakow 1985).

Crouwel 2004a
J. H. Crouwel, Der Alte Orient und seine Rolle in der Entwicklung von Fahrzeugen, in: Fansa – Burmeister 2004, 69–86.

Crouwel 2004b
J. H. Crouwel, Bronzezeitliche Wagen in Griechenland, in: Fansa – Burmeister 2004, 341–346.

Crouwel 2012
J. H. Crouwel, Chariots and Other Wheeled Vehicles in Italy before the Roman Empire (Oxford 2012).

David 1997
W. David, Altbronzezeitliche Beinobjekte des Karpatenbeckens mit Spiralwirbel- oder Wellenbandornament und ihre Parallelen auf der Peloponnes und in Anatolien in frühmykenischer Zeit, in Roman 1997, 247–305.

David 2001
W. David, Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Donau-Karpatenraum, osteuropäischen Steppengebieten und ägäisch-anatolischem Raum zur Zeit der mykenischen Schachtgräber unter Berücksichtigung neuerer Funde aus Südbayern, in: The Mediterranean and Central Europe in Contacts and Confrontations (from the Bronze Age until the End of Antiquity). Proceedings of the International Conference, Modra-Harmónia, 23.–25.11.2000. ΑΝΟΔΟΣ. Studies of the Ancient World 1 (Trnava 2001) 51–80.

David 2002
W. David, Studien zur Ornamentik und Datierung der bronzezeitlichen Depotfundgruppe Hajdúsámson-Apa-Ighiel-Zajta. Biblioteca Musei Apulensis 18 (Alba Iulia 2002).

David 2007
W. David, Gold and Bone Artefacts as Evidence of Mutual Contact between the Aegean, the Carpathian Basin and Southern Germany in the Second Millennium BC, in: Calanaki – Tomas – Galanaki – Laffineur 2007, 411–420.

David 2016
W. David, Brotlaibidole als Zeugen transalpiner Kommunikation zwischen Südbayern und Norditalien in der älteren Bronzezeit, Archäologie in Bayern 2016.4, 26–30.

van Endert 1987
D. van Endert, Die Wagenbestattungen der späten Hallstattzeit und der Latènezeit im Gebiet westlich des Rheins (Oxford 1987).

Epimachov – Korjakova 2004
A. V. Epimachov – I. V. Korjakova, Streitwagen der eurasischen Steppe in der Bronzezeit, in: Fansa – Burmeister 2004, 221–236.

Fansa – Burmeister 2004
M. Fansa – S. Burmeister (eds.), Rad und Wagen. Er Ursprung einer Innovation. Wagen im Vorderen Orient und Asien (Mainz 2004).

Galanakis – Wilkinson – Bennet 2014
Y. Galanakis – T. Wilkinson – J. Bennet (eds.), ΑΘΥΡΜΑΤΑ. Critical Essays on the Archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean in Honour of E. Susan Sherratt (Oxford 2014).

Goldhahn 2009
J. Goldhahn, Bredarör on Kivik. A Monumental Cairn and the History of its Interpretation. Antiquity 83, 2009, 359–371.

Hachmann 1957
R. Hachmann, Die frühe Bronzezeit im westlichen Ostseegebiet und ihre mittel- und südosteuropäischen Beziehungen (Hamburg 1957).

Hänsel 1982
B. Hänsel (ed.), Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr. Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa 1 (Berlin 1982).

Hampel 1886
J. Hampel, Trouvailles de l'Âge de Bronze en Hongrie (Budapest 1886).

Hansen – Müller 2011
S. Hansen – J. Müller (eds.), Sozialarchäologische Perspektiven: Gesellschaftlicher Wandel 5000–1500 v. Chr. zwischen Atlantik und Kaukasus. Archäologie in Eurasien 24 (Darmstadt 2011).

Harding 2007
A. Harding, Warriors and Weapons in Bronze Age Europe (Budapest 2007).

Hüttel 1981
H.-G. Hüttel, Bronzezeitliche Trensen in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Prähistorische Bronzefunde XVI 2 (München 1981).

Hüttel 1982
H.-G. Hüttel, Zur Abkunft des danubischen Pferd-Wagen-Komplexes der Altbronzezeit, in: Hänsel 1982, 39–63.

Il'chyshyn 2016
V. Il'chyshyn, Поховання коней епохи бронзи в кургані біля Гутятина Тернопілъскої Області (Pokhovannia konei epokhy bronzy v kurhani bilia Husiatyna Ternopilskoi oblasti). Visnyk riativnoi arkheolohii 2, 2016, 77–90.

Kacsó 2011
C. Kacsó, Repertoriul Arheologic al Judeţului Maramureş. Bibliotheca Marmatia Vol I & II (Baia Mare 2011).

Kaiser 2018
E. Kaiser, Räderfahrzeuge in der frühen Bronzezeit Osteuropas (2300–1800 v. Chr.), in: Nessel – Neumann – Bartelheim 2018, 139–165.

Kmet'ová 2017
P. Kmet'ová, Contacts among Late Hallstatt Groups of the Pannonian Basin, South-East Alpine Hallstatt Region and Ancient Veneti from the Perspective of Horse Burials, in: Trefný – Jennings 2017, 92–117.

Kmet'ová 2018
P. Kmet'ová, 'And Four Strong-Necked Horses he Threw Swiftly on the Pyre …'. On Human-Horse Relationship in the Early Iron Age Central Europe from the Perspective of Interregional Contacts, in: Pavúk – Klontza-Jaklová – Harding 2018, 267–289.

Koryakova 1998
L. Koryakova, The Sintashta-Arkaim Culture. The Centre for the Study of the Eurasian Nomads (Berkeley 1998).

Kristiansen – Larsson 2005
K. Kristiansen – T. B. Larsson, The Rise of Bronze Age Society. Travels, Transmissions and Transformations (Cambridge 2005).

Kulakoğlu 2011
F. Kulakoğlu, Kültepe-Kaneš: A Second Millennium B.C.E. Trading Center on the Central Plateau, in: McMahon – Steadman 2011, 1012–1030.

Larsson 2004
T. Larsson, Streitwagen, Karren und Wagen in der bronzezeitlichen Felskunst Skandinaviens zu Felsbildern von Streitwagen Skandinavien, in: Fansa – Burmeister 2004, 381–398.

Levine 1999
M. A. Levine, The Origin of Horse Husbandry on the Eurasian Steppe, in: Levine – Rassamakin – Kislenko – Tatarintseva 1999, 5–58.

Levine 2005
M. A. Levine, Domestication and Early History of the Horse, in: Mills – McDonell 2005, 5–22.

Levine – Rassamakin – Kislenko – Tatarintseva 1999
M. A. Levine – Y. Rassamakin – A. A. Kislenko – N. Tatarintseva (eds.), Late Prehistoric Exploitation of the Eurasian Steppe (Cambridge 1999).

Lindner 2021
S. Lindner, Die technische und symbolische Bedeutung eurasischer Streitwagen für Europa und die Nachbarräume im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Berliner Archäologische Forschungen 20 (Rahden/Westf. 2021).

Littauer – Crouwel 1979
M. Littauer – J. G. Crouwel, Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 7 Art and Archaeology, The Ancient Near East 2B, 1/2B/1 (Leiden – Cologne 1979).

Maran 2020
J. Maran, The Introduction of the Horse-Drawn Light Chariot – Divergent Responses to a Technological Invention in Societies between the Carpathian Basin and the East Mediterranean, in: Maran – Băjenaru – Ailincăi – Popescu – Hansen 2020, 505-528.

Maran – Băjenaru – Ailincăi – Popescu – Hansen 2020
J. Maran – R. Băjenaru – S.-C. Ailincăi – A.-D. Popescu – S. Hansen (eds.), Objects, Ideas and Travelers Contact between the Balkans, the Aegean and Western Anatolia during the Bronze and Iron Age. Volume to the Memory of Alexandru Vulpe Proceedings of the Conferecne in Tulcea, 10-13 November, 2017 (Bonn 2020).

Maran – van de Moortel 2014
J. Maran – A. van de Moortel, A Horse-Bridle Piece with Carpatho-Danubian Connections from Late Helladic I Mitrou and the Emergence of a Warlike Elite in Greece during the Shaft Grave Period, American Journal of Archaeology 118.4, 2014, 529–548.

McMahon – Steadman 2011
G. McMahon – S. R. Steadman (eds.), Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (Oxford 2011)

Meller 2013
H. Meller, Der Hortfund von Nebra im Spiegel frühbronzezeitlicher Deponierungssitten, in: Meller – Bertemes – Bork – Risch 2013, 493–526.

Meller – Bertemes 2010
H. Meller – F. Bertemes (eds.), Der Griff nach den Sternen. Wie Europas Eliten zu Macht und Reichtum kamen. Internationales Symposium in Halle (Saale) 16.–21. Februar 2005. Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle (Saale) 5 (Halle 2010).

Meller – Bertemes – Bork – Risch 2013
H. Meller – F. Bertemes – H.-R. Bork – R. Risch (eds.), 1600 – Kultureller Umbruch im Schatten des Thera-Ausbruchs? 1600 – Cultural Change in the Shadow of the Thera-Eruption? 4. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 14. bis 16. Oktober 2011 in Halle (Saale) (Halle 2013).

Meller – Kimmig-Völkner – Reichenberger 2019
H. Meller – S. Kimmig-Völkner – A. Reichenberger (eds.), Ringe der Macht. Rings of Power. Internationale Tagung vom 09. bis 10. November 2018 in Halle (Saale). Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle 21/2 (Halle 2019).

Meller – Schefzig 2020
H. Meller – M. Schefzig (eds.), Die Welt der Himmelsscheibe von Nebra. Neue Horizonte. Begleitband zur Sonderausstellung im Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle (Saale) 4. Juni 2021 bis 9. Januar 2022 (Halle 2020).

Metzner-Nebelsick 2003
C. Metzner-Nebelsick, Pferde, Reiter und Streitwagenfahrer in der Bronzezeit Nordeuropas, Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Ethnologie, Anthropologie und Urgeschichte 24, 2003, 69–90.

Metzner-Nebelsick 2010
C. Metzner-Nebelsick, Die Ringe der Macht. Überlegungen zur Kontinuität frühbronzezeitlicher Herrschaftssymbole in Europa, in: Meller – Bertemes 2010, 179–197.

Metzner-Nebelsick 2013
C. Metzner-Nebelsick, Gedanken zur Frage des kulturellen Wandels in der Zeit um 1600 v. Chr. in Nordwest-Rumänien und Nordost-Ungarn, in: Meller – Bertemes – Bork – Risch 2013, 327–353.

Metzner-Nebelsick 2018
C. Metzner-Nebelsick, Creativity versus Taboo in Late Bronze Age Central and Southeast Europe, in: Sofaer 2018, 39–54.

Metzner-Nebelsick 2019
C. Metzner-Nebelsick, „Die Ringe der Macht“ revisited. Goldener Ringschmuck der Bronze- und Eisenzeit Europas im Vergleich. Zur Agency exzeptioneller Artefakte, in: Meller – Kimmig-Völkner – Reichenberger 2019, 389–419.

Metzner-Nebelsick – Pernicka – Kutscher – Krause 2020
C. Metzner-Nebelsick – E. Pernicka – S. Kutscher – H. Krause, 82 kg gebündeltes Kupfer. Der frühbronzezeitliche Spangenbarrenhort von Oberding. Erster Nachweis des Dezimalsystems in Europa?, in: Meller – Schefzig 2020, 152–155.

Mills – McDonell 2005
D. Mills – S. McDonell (eds.), The Domestic Horse. The Origin, Development, and Management of its Behaviour (Cambridge 2005).

Mühl 2014
S. Mühl, ‘Metal makes the wheel go round’: the development and diffusion of studded-tread wheels in the Ancient near East and the Old World, in: Galanakis – Wilkinson – Bennet 2014, 159–176.

Nessel – Neumann – Bartelheim 2018
B. Nessel – D. Neumann – M. Bartelheim (eds.), Bronzezeitlicher Transport. Akteure, Mittel und Wege. Ressourcenkulturen 8 (Tübingen 2018).

Olexa 2003
L. Olexa, Nižná Myšl’a osada a pohrebisko z doby bronzovej (Košice 2003).

Olexa – Nováček 2013
L. Olexa – T. Nováček, Pohrebisko zo staršej doby bronzovej v Nižnej Myšli Katalóg I (hroby 1-310). Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae Catalogi 14 (Nitra 2013).

Olexa – Pitorák 2004
L. Olexa – M. Pitorák, Parohové bočnice zubadiel z Nižnej Mišle, in: Bátora – Furmánek – Veliačik 2004, 309–318.

Pankau – Krause 2017
C. Pankau – R. Krause, Chariots between Africa and China. Distribution and Development of Wagons with Two-Spoked-Wheels, in: Rupp – Beck – Franke – Wendt 2017, 355–371.

Pare 1987
C. F. E. Pare, Der Zeremonialwagen der Bronze- und Urnenfelderzeit. Seine Entstehung, Form und Verbreitung, in: Vierrädrige Wagen der Hallstattzeit. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Technik. Römisch-Germanisches-Zentralmuseum Mainz Monographien 12 (Mainz 1987) 25–67.

Pare 1992
C. E. F. Pare, Wagons and Wagon-Graves of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe. Oxford Monographs 35 (Oxford 1992).

Parzinger 2006
H. Parzinger, Die frühen Völker Eurasiens vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter (München 2006).

Pavúk – Klontza-Jaklová – Harding 2018
P. Pavúk – V. Klontza-Jaklová – A. Harding (eds.), ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ Studies in Honour of Jan Bouzek (Prague 2018).

Penner 1998
S. Penner, Schliemanns Schachtgräberrund und der europäische Nordosten. Studien zur Herkunft der frühmykenischen Streitwagenausstattung. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 60 (Bonn 1998).

Pernicka – Nessel – Mehofer – Safta 2016
E. Pernicka – B. Nessel – M. Mehofer – E. Safta, Lead Isotope Analyses of Metal Objects from the Apa Hoard and Other Early and Middle Bronze Age Items from Romania. Archaeologia Austriaca 100, 2016, 57–86.

Piggott 1983
S. Piggott, The Earliest Wheeled Transport from the Atlantic Coast to the Caspian Sea (New York 1983).

Przybyła 2020
M. M. Przybyła, New Finds of Antler Cheekpieces and Horse Burials from the Trzciniec Culture in the Territory of Western Little Poland. Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia 15, 2020, 103–138.

Randsborg 1993
K. Randsborg, Kivik Archaeology and Iconography. Acta Archaeologia København 64 (Kopenhagen 1993).

Raulwing 2000
P. Raulwing, Chariots and Indo-Europeans. Foundations and Methods of Chariotry Research from the Viewpoint of Indo-European Linguistics (Budapest 2000).

Raulwing 2004
P. Raulwing, Indogermanen, Indoarier und maryannu in der Streitwagenforschung. Eine rezeptions- und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Spurensuche, in: Fansa – Burmeister 2004, 515–531.

Roman 1997
P. Roman (ed.), The Thracian World at the Crossroads of Civilizations. Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Thracology, Constanta – Tulcea – Mangalia, May 20–26, 1996, vol. 1 (Bucureşti 1997).

Roska 1942
M. Roska, Erdély régészeti repertóriuma. Thesaurus Antiquitatum Transsilvanicarum I Praehistorica (Kolozsvár 1942).

Rupp – Beck – Franke – Wendt 2017
N. Rupp – Ch. Beck – G. Franke – K.-P. Wendt (eds.), Winds of Change. Archaeological Contributions in Honour of Peter Breuning. Frankfurter Archäologische Schriften 35 (Bonn 2017).

Sofaer 2018
J. Sofaer (ed.), Considering Creativity. Creativity, Knowledge and Practice in Bronze Age Europe (Oxford 2018).

Stockhammer – Maran 2017
P. W. Stockhammer – J. Maran (eds.), Appropriating Innovations Entangled Knowledge in Eurasia, 5000–1500 BCE (Oxford 2017).

Taylor – Bayarsaikhan – T. Tuvshinjargal 2015
W. T. T. Taylor – J. Bayarsaikhan – T. Tuvshinjargal, Equine Cranial Morphology and the Identification of Riding and Chariotry in Late Bronze Age Mongolia, Antiquity 89.346, 2015, 854–871.

Teleaga 2017
E. Teleaga, Studien zu den späthallstattzeitlichen Wagengräbern des Karpatenbeckens (Rahden/Westf. 2017).

Teufer 1999
M. Teufer, Ein Scheibenknebel aus Džarkutan (Süduzbekistan), Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan 31, 1999, 69–142.

Teufer 2012
M. Teufer, Der Streitwagen: eine „indo-iranische“ Erfindung? Zum Problem der Verbindung von Sprachwissenschaft und Archäologie, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan 44, 2012, 271–312.

Trefný – Jennings 2017
M. Trefný – B. Jennings (eds.), Inter-regional Contacts during the First Millennium B.C. in Europe. Proceedings from the Session Organized during the 19th Meeting of European Association of Archaeologists, Held in Pilsen (5th–9th September 2013) (Hradec Králové 2017).

Vandkilde 2014
H. Vandkilde, Breakthrough of the Nordic Bronze Age: Transcultural Warriorhood and a Carpathian Crossroad in the Sixteenth Century BC, European Journal of Archaeology 17, 2014, 602–633.

Varberg – Gratuze – Kaul 2015
J. Varberg – B. Gratuze – F. Kaul, Between Egypt, Mesopotamia and Scandinavia. Late Bronze Age Glass Beads Found in Denmark, Journal of Archaeological Science 54, 2015, 168–181.

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 133–143. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11955

The Early History of *Āpaddharma*: Defining the Attributes

Crisis, Legitimacy, Transgression

Tanni Moitra

Abstract: The conjoined yet opposed attributes of *dharma* and *adharma* are often recognized as centrally defining Indian religions. What, however, eludes scholarly attention is the well-defined "midway" between the two expressed through the notion of *āpaddharma*. *Āpaddharma* espouses a conceptual shift in the way *dharma* and *adharma* function as it permits the transgression of the principles of *dharma* in the context of crisis situations. It advances the notion that both *dharma* and *adharma* are conditional and are devoid of a definite finality which renders a required flexibility to ancient religious traditions. *Āpaddharma* is made of two components: *āpad* and *dharma* which are usually translated as "laws of crises". However, the message intended and expressed through the compound term encompasses the multiple attributes of the concept. The present paper intends to capture the meanings and nuances underlying the terminology by tracing the early semantic history of *āpad*. The aim is two-fold: firstly, to understand the rationale behind the selection of the term *āpad* to define the attributes of *āpaddharma*; secondly, to understand how the meaning of *āpad* evolved through an interaction between the Brahmanic and Buddhist traditions.

I

> Philology must not simply look at the web but at the spider also. The analysis of words thus can give significant and unique insights not just into human language but into human history.[1]

Linguistic studies have revealed that words, terms or phrases do not exist in *vacuum* but are "used by individuals and groups that have their own histories and interests and that change the meanings of words as they use them".[2] In this context, the changing connotations of the term *dharma* are one of the finest examples of semantic evolution. The word *dharma* began to be used in the *Rig Veda* with its original meaning derived from its etymological root *dhṛ* which meant "to hold" or "to support"[3] and subsequently over centuries assumed meanings such as law, justice, ethics, morality, religion, occupation, virtue, sacrifice and so on. The meanings thus acquired reflect the usage of *dharma* not only to define new philosophies and religious practices such as Buddhism and Jainism but also incorporate newer social realities. Working within a similar premise the present paper seeks to uncover the original meaning of the word *āpad* and traces the subsequent journey of the term towards its development into a new concept of called *āpaddharma*. The paper argues that the term *āpad* primarily encompasses the essential attributes which the authors of *āpaddharma* intended to express through the concept; the meanings attributed to the term *āpad* developed through an interaction between Brahmanism and Buddhism. The interactions between the

[1] Olivelle 2009, 85.

[2] *Ibid*., 85.

[3] Horsch 2009, 2.

two traditions altered the meaning of *āpad* overtime to articulate a new normative category and capture newer social realities.

II
Āpaddharma: Defining the Attributes

Āpaddharma may be defined as an autonomous category of norms specifically designed to be followed in a situation of crisis. The compound term *āpaddharma* is made up of two words viz. *Āpad* which is translated as "crisis" or "emergency" and *dharma* meaning "law" or "norm". In case of a crisis, the provisions of *āpaddharma* substitute for the laws of normal circumstances and its provisions also allow for the transgression of laws. In other words, *āpaddharma* espoused a conceptual shift in the way's *dharma* and *adharma* functioned by permitting transgression of the principles of *dharma* in the contexts of urgency. It advances the notion of *adharma* becoming *dharma* during extreme conditions. In modern legal nomenclature, *āpaddharma* may be simplistically explained as "legal exceptions" or "legal immunities".

Āpaddharma was a new term and a new concept invented in the Brahmanical normative texts. The compound was used for the first time in the *Manusmṛti* and its use proliferated in the *Mahābhārata* to the extent that a separate section called *Āpadddharmaparvan* got incorporated in the *Śāntiparvan* to articulate an acceptable definition and usage of the provision. The term became extremely important in the early historic literature essentially because a specific set of ideas were expressed through the term. The concept of *āpaddharma* has three primary attributes. Firstly, it indicates a condition of adversity or an unforeseen crisis; secondly, it is a transgression because it violates a prescribed norm and thirdly, it is a legal injunction because it is accepted by the ancient texts such as *Manusmṛti* and the *Mahābhārata* as a legitimate course of action. Transgression of a precept was as much a part of the definition of *āpaddharma* as the existence of a crisis. For instance, if an individual got into a crisis but did not transgress a norm to come out of the crisis, he may not be considered to have followed the provision of *āpaddharma.* Similarly, transgressing a norm in the absence of crisis would mean sin or *adharma* and not *āpaddharma*.

Adam Bowles[4] rightly points out that *dharma* in the compound term *āpaddharma* served the purpose of providing the required legitimacy to a code of conduct normally considered a deviation. *Dharma* is also rendered as an independent category of law. Arguably, the key term in the compound is the word *dharma* because it indicates legitimacy to the ideas that the concept implies and therefore joining of the two separate terms *āpad* and *dharma* helps in expressing the intended ideas of the provision. Bowles states that "while on the one hand *āpaddharma* denotes behavior that is in some way exceptional, on the other it also suggests that this behavior is in some way legitimate. This sense of legitimacy is carried by the word *dharma*."[5] He explains the widening of the meaning of *dharma* over centuries starting from the Vedic literature up to the *Mahābhārata* so as to trace its development into a fundamental concept in the Brahmanical tradition and states that the coining of *āpaddharma* was "an outcome of the rising significance of the word *dharma*".[6]

The formation of terms compounded with *dharma* has been considered an important development in the Early Historical period since the concept of *dharma* reflected the views of the law codes, the *dharmaśāstras,* and remained closely associated with the state. B. D. Chattopadhyaya observes that "all through

[4] Bowles 2007, 81.

[5] *Ibid.,* 81.
[6] *Ibid.,* 82.

the pre-Gupta early historical phase, the notion of *dharma*, in whatever form, remained embedded in the theory of the state".[7] The state recognized and maintained several autonomous segments in the society which were constituted as *grāmadharma, śreṇidharma, kuladharma, nigamadharma* etc.[8] Besides providing legitimacy to the autonomous segments, the term *dharma* also granted legitimacy to various newly constituted ideas during the early historic period. Bowles has also placed the coining of the compound term *āpaddharma* within a similar context where it received the recognition of the state as an autonomous category of norms.

While the joining of the two terms – *āpad* and *dharma* – explain *āpaddharma* as a set of injunctions bearing the legitimate force of law, it only partly explains the attributes of the concept. What role did the term *āpad* play in defining the concept? Why was *āpad* considered an appropriate term to describe the attributes of the injunction? How far did Buddhism contribute to the changing meanings of *āpad* and *āpaddharma*? In order to understand *āpaddharma* more adequately, it is essential to study the function of the term *āpad*, which plays an important role in explaining the attributes of the provisions of *āpaddharma*. The subsequent sections discuss the history of the term and analyses the justification for its selection.

III
Āpad: Origin and Transformation

The original meaning of *āpad* was radically different from the meaning it acquired in the early historical literature. *Āpad* is a derivation from *āpat* or *āpapatyat* which may be etymologically derived from the root *pat* which literally means "to fall"[9] but its range of application also corresponds to verbs such as "descending" or "moving downwards." The earliest references are found in the *Rig Veda* and are closely associated with the etymological meaning of "falling". The reference expresses the basic sense of an act of "descending from above" or "moving downward." In the *Rig Veda* in a hymn addressed to the *Maruts*, they are praised for their power to bring rain on earth for the wellbeing and prosperity of the worshippers. The term *āpapata* is used in the context of inviting the *Maruts* to "descend" or "fall" on earth as rains to cause for the production of abundant food.

> *ā vidyunmadbhir marutah svarkai rathebhir*
> *yāta ṛṣtimádbhir aśvaparnaiḥ*
> *ā varṣiṣṭhayā na iṣā vayo nāpaptata sumāyh!*
> [RV I. VI. LXXXVIII]
>
> Come, Maruts, with your brilliant, light moving, well-weaponed, steed-harnessed chariots. Doers of good deeds, descend, like birds, (and bring us) abundant food.[10]

The meaning of "falling" is further emphasized in examples from the *Atharva Veda*. Nevertheless, the nature of the text itself adds a nuance in the meaning which differentiates it from the Rig Vedic usage. The theme of the *Atharva Veda* largely comprises of "formulas and spells intended to counteract diseases and calamities"[11] and hence the term *āpat* also gets associated with imprecatory prayers to avert adverse situations. In the *ariṣtakśayaṇasūkta*, for instance, *āpapatyāt* is used to convey the "coming down" of the ominous birds like an owl or a dove/pigeon with good luck which would prevent misfortune for the warriors in a battlefield.

> *avaira hatyāyedam āpapatyāt suvīrtā*
> *yāidamāsa sadā* [AV VI. 29.3]
>
> Oft may it fly to us to save our heroes from slaughter, oft perch here to bring fair offspring.[12]

[7] Chattopadhyaya 2003, 142.
[8] *Ibid.*, 142.
[9] Whitney 1885, 94.
[10] Wilson 1866, 225.
[11] Monier Williams 1899, 17.
[12] Griffith 1895, 261.

In the *Śatruparājayasūkta*, it is prayed that may the hostile opponent "fall into" an unfavourable situation by becoming weak, fatigued and starve to death and may the weapons "fall from" the hands of the enemy so that they become incapable of fighting. Likewise, the *Vijayaprāptī Sūkta*, which is a charm to achieve victory against an enemy, uses the term to mean that with the help of a spell the enemy has been made to "fall into" the fire.

> *mṛtyoraṣmāpaddantām kśudham sedivadhambhayam! indra śravākśujālābhyām śarvasenāmamhatam* [AV VIII.8.18]
>
> Their portion be the fire of death, hunger, exhaustion, slaughter, fear. With your entangling snares and nets, Sarva and Indra! slay that host.[13]
>
> *āvāpaddantāmeṣāmāyudhānimāśakanpratidhāmiṣum* [AV VIII.8.20]
>
> Down fall their weapons on the ground: no strength be theirs to point a shaft. Then in their dreadful terror let their arrows wound their vital parts.[14]
>
> *vadhaistṛṇvāmahai vyātteparameṣṭinobrahmaṇāpīpādam tam* [AV X.5.42]
>
> Whom we hunt, him will we lay low with deadly weapons; by our spell (*brāhmaṇ*) have we made him fall into the opened mouth of the most exalted one.[15]

In the references found in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*, the meaning of *āpat* continues to remain closely connected with "falling". However, there is a significant alteration in the contexts in which the term is used. The *Aitareya, Kauṣītaki* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* use the term in a ritual context where the "fall" (*āpat*) is the result of a failure to follow a prescribed procedure for conducting a religious rite. Based on the context in which the term is used, it may be interpreted as a "ritual transgression" that has a consequence. For instance, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions that an officiating priest must begin the chanting of the *Aśvin Śāstra* by addressing the Vedic god Agni particularly as the *hotṛ*, or the lord of the household. If the priest does not follow this rule and address Agni with any other epithet, he may "fall" into the fire[16] (*agnimāpatsyatīti*) and be engulfed by it [AB IV. X. I]. The passage further states that he who addresses Agni in the prescribed way becomes free of danger and attain a long life. Similarly, the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* [KB X.3] warns that the sacrificer himself "falls into" the jaws of Agni and *Soma* as a victim if he does not give an offering for sacrifice.[17] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* Indra warns that even after the establishment of the fire altar one may "get into" or "fall into" a trouble or may falter.

> *āpato athhavā aiśwarāgnichitvā kinchiddorith avālito!* [ŚB 9.5.2.1]
>
> After building the fire altar, one is still apt to get into trouble or stumble[18]

The *Praśna Upaniṣad* offers an interesting shift in context; the "fall" may not be physical; it may also be mental when it is associated with "falling" into an erroneous belief. In the text, *prāṇa* ("breath") is praised as the supreme power that supports the human body and life [PU II.3]. While discussing the preeminence of *prāṇa* over other senses of the body, the passage states that possessing any alternative notion on the subject may be a "fall into delusion" (*māmohamāpaddata*).[19] It may be inferred that the term *āpat* primarily corresponded to its etymology in the Vedic accounts and literally meant an act of falling. While

[13] *Ibid*., 414–415.
[14] *Ibid*., 415.
[15] Whitney 1905, 584.
[16] Haug 1922, 186.
[17] Keith 1971, 405.
[18] Eggeling 1963, 275.
[19] Sarvanand 1922, 26–27.

conforming to its root meaning of falling the term appeared with two distinct connotations – the Atharva Vedic connotation and the Brahmanic connotation. The Atharva Vedic connotation related to falling into unfavourable or threatening conditions; the Brahmanic connotation correlated with some form of ritual transgression. Both the connotations are important to understand the subsequent development of the term.

IV
Āpatti in Buddhism: Exploring the Pāli Canon

The Buddhist Tipiṭaka is a valuable source to study the further expansion of the term *āpat*. Terms like *āpatti, apāpata* [*apa+ā+pata*], *āpanna, āpajjhati, āpajjeyyaare* etymologically derived from the root pat (*ā+pat*[20]) and are used frequently throughout the *Pāli* canon. Because of the etymological connection with *āpat*, it would be useful to explore the links between the terms so as to examine how the meaning of *āpat* was broadened in the post-Vedic literature.

Derived from the root *pat*, terms like *apāpata*, *āpanno, āpajjhati*, *āpajjeyya* closely follow its root meaning and are used in the sense of "falling" in the Buddhist accounts. The contexts in which the terms are used are invariably related to forbidden actions committed by a *bhikkhu* or a *bhikkhuni*. Therefore, while the literal meaning of the terms was "falling" or "to fall", the term's function was to express the idea of "falling" into a transgressive act. For instance, the *Āpattibhayavagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*Suttapiṭaka*) uses the words to mean falling into any category of transgression like *Pārājikā*, *Saṃghādisesa*, *Pācittiya* and *Pāṭidesanīya*.

> *anāpanno vā pārājikaṃ dhammaṃna āpajjissati āpanno vā pārājikaṃ dhammaṃ yathā dhammaṃ paṭikarissati*. [AN 4. 242]
>
> I will not fall to a grave offence, that I have not yet fallen and I will do the suitable remedy for the offence I have already fallen to, according to the teaching.[21]

A similar expression is repeated in case of all the other categories like the *Saṃghādisesa*, *Pācittiya* and *Pāṭidesanīya*. The above reference indicates that terms following *āpat* were used in the Buddhist accounts frequently in the sense of falling into a transgression.

Interestingly, these references resonate with the interpretation of *āpat* found in the Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* and several important parallels may be drawn between the Brahmanic and Buddhist traditions. It may be said that the Brahmanic connotation of *āpat* as "ritual transgression" was probably borrowed by the early Buddhists but was transformed to mean falling into any of the categories of offences mentioned in the *Vinayapiṭaka*. Since, rituals played a subordinate role in early Buddhism, applying the term *āpat* to mean a ritual transgression, like that of the *Brāhmaṇas*, could not have been the intention of the early Buddhists. Instead, the terms were employed within a non-ritual context to designate the transgression of norms laid down by the Buddha in the form of his teachings and training for the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunis*.

In Buddhism, norms laid out in the *Vinayapiṭaka* played an authoritative role and practicing them according to their exact formulation prescribed by Buddha was of utmost importance for the adherents of the sect in order to realize their goals of ascetic life. The *Sikkhānisaṃsasuttaṃ* of the *Āpattibhayavagga* repeatedly emphasize this point and underlines that *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunis* must consistently conform to the rules laid down without break and defects.

[20] Davids–Stede 1921–1925, 63.

[21] Woodward 1933, 247.

> *tathātathā so tassāsikkhāyaakhthe utmsamādāyasikkhatisikkhāpadesu.* [AN 4. 243]
>
> One whose deeds are consistent, congruous, not shady, not spotted. By undertaking them he trains himself in the precepts of that training.[22]

Further stressing the importance of following the precepts, the *Āpattibhayasuttaṃ*, of the *Āpattibhayavagga* explains the consequences of not abiding by them. The *Āpattibhayasuttaṃ* cautions the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunis* about the punishments to be meted out to those who fail to abide by the prescribed norms. The *sutta* states that just as the king convicts an offender in his territory according to the severity of the offence committed by him, a member of the *Saṃgha* too is judged and punished according to this offence. Hence, those who witness the punishment being dispensed to an offender, are also terrified by it and as a result vow not to commit such an offence or in case they do, it must be confessed and expiated adequately before an action is taken against the offender. Thus, falling into any category of offence is certainly not without consequence.

The proximity of the terms with the *Brāhmaṇas* can be clearly determined. Just as the *Aitareya*, *Kauṣītaki* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* use the term *āpat* in the ritual context meaning that a ritual transgression may have a destructive consequence, similarly the Buddhists use the term to mean that a transgression of precepts may also have a consequence in the form of punishment. The comparison suggests that precepts were accorded the same status in Buddhism as rites and rituals were accorded in the Vedic tradition. Therefore, not following the prescribed procedure was considered transgression in some form and had a destructive consequence.

The practice of borrowing terms from the Brahmanic religious vocabulary was a common practice in Buddhism. Davids and Oldenberg remark about the period of the emergence of Buddhism that

> at that time a stream of scholastic and legal ideas which emanated from earlier Brahmanism was flowing in full force through the religious circles. A rich phraseology of sacred and ecclesiastical expressions, an armoury of technical terms in philosophy and theology (still preserved in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*), had been developed and made ready for use of the Buddhists, the Jainas and other reforming schools.[23]

Not only terms, even the prevalent Brahmanic ritual practices and customs were adopted by the newly emerging sects. For example, as Davids and Oldenberg point out that

> Vedic ceremonies of the *Darśapuraṇmāsa* sacrifice, and the feast or sacred day (*Upavasatha*) connected with it are known to have been very old, and the custom of celebrating these days would naturally be handed on from the *Brāhmaṇasto* the different *Samaṇas*, and be modified and simplified by them, in accordance with their creeds and their views of religious duty.[24]

Two interrelated aspects emerge in the meaning and usage of *āpat* from Buddhist literature. Firstly, the original meaning of *āpat* which means "falling" survives very prominently in the Buddhist scriptures. Secondly, the context of the term's usage in Buddhist literature is primarily in the context of a transgression of precept. The context is the transgression of precepts while the meaning still remaining the same, i.e. "to fall".

However, it is interesting to note that *āpat* simultaneously evolves into a new meaning

[22] *Ibid*., 247.
[23] Davids – Oldenberg 1881, vii.
[24] *Ibid*, vi.

when the term began to be used as *āpatti*. *Āpatti* means "an ecclesiastical offence" in Buddhist scriptures and is understood as the transgression of the '*sikkhāpadāni*' or norms laid down in the *Vinayapiṭaka*. In other words, any member of the *Saṃgha* acting against the precepts laid down by the Buddha is considered *āpatti.* In the *Cullavagga*, *āpatti* appears in various compounds to mean various types of offences. For instance, offences are classified into two groups: *Garukāpatti* (also known as *Adesanāgāminiāpatti* or *Duṭṭullāpatti*) which means major offence and the remaining are said to be grouped under *Lahukāpatti* (also known as *Desanāgāminiāpatti* or *aduṭṭulāpatti*) which are minor offences. Therefore, derived from the same root *pat*, *āpatti* distances itself from its original meaning of falling and stabilizes to mean an offence.

Scholars like Biswadeb Mukherjee,[25] however, draw our attention to the fact that *āpatti* has a fixed connotation in the early phase of Buddhism and may not mean all kinds of offences. He points out that *āpatti* means only minor ecclesiastical offences which could be atoned for by either an expiation or a confession. He draws our attention to the fact that the *lahukāpatti* and *āpatti* are used interchangeably, suggesting that *āpatti* is that class of offence which is different from the seven major offences enlisted in the *Vinayapiṭaka*.

However, it must be pointed out that by the time of the final codification of the Theravada Vinaya, all the categories of offences began to be identified as *āpatti*. This is evident from the passages in the *Pārivāra*[26] section of the *Vinayapiṭaka* which uses the term *āpatti* compounded with all the major as well as minor offences. The generic use of the term is evident in the *Pārivāra* section of the *Vinayapiṭaka*.

The following passage may illustrate the point:

> *kati<u>āpattiyo</u>, kati<u>āpattikhandhā</u>, kativinītavatthūni, katiagāravā, katigārava, kativinītavatthūni, kativipattiyo, kati<u>āpattisamuṭṭānā</u>, katianuvādamulāni, katisāraṇiyādhammā, katibhedakaravattuni, katiadhikaraṇani, katisamathā*
>
> *paňca<u>āpattiyo</u>, paňca<u>āpattikhandhā</u>, paňcavinītavatthūni, satta<u>āpattiyo</u>, satta<u>āpattikhandhahā</u>, cha agāravā, cha gārava, cha vinītavatthūni, catassovipattiyo, cha āpattisamuṭṭānā, cha anuvādamulāni, cha sāraṇiyādhammā, aṭṭārasabhedakaravattuni, cattariadhikaraṇani, sattasamathā*
>
> *tattha katamā paňca <u>āpattiyo</u>. <u>pārājikāpatti saṃghādisesāpatti pāciyyiyāpatti, pāṭidesaniyāpatti, dukkaṭāpatti, imā paňca āpattiyo</u>.* [Parivāra IV. 1.1−2]
>
> <u>How many offences, how many classes of offence</u>, how many matters is one trained in, how many disrespects, how many respects, how many matters is one trained in, how many fallings-away, <u>how many origins of offences</u>, how many roots of disputes, how many roots of censure, how many things to be remembered, how many matters making for schism, how many legal questions, how many deciding.
>
> <u>Five offences, five classes of offence</u>, five matters that are trained in, seven offences, seven classes of offence, seven matters that are trained in, six disrespects, six respects, six matters that are trained in, four fallings-away, six origins of offences, six roots of disputes, six roots of censure, six things to be remembered, eighteen matters making for schism, four legal questions, seven deciding.

[25] Mukherjee 1976–1977, 81–98.

[26] The *Parivāra* is dated even later than the Fourth Council held at Sri Lanka during which the Pāli Canon was written down from an oral tradition. The composition of the *Parivāra*is usually ascribed to a Sri Lankan *Therā* in the form of a manual for didactic purposes.

> Herein what are the five offences? An offence involving Defeat, an offence requiring a Formal Meeting of the Order, an offence of Expiation, an offence to be confessed, an offence of wrong-doing-these are the five offences. Herein, what are the five classes of offence.[27]

Āpatti was central in monastic Buddhism. The *Suttavibhaṅga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, which is a commentary on the *Pātimokkha*, revolves around the subject of *āpatti*; it elaborates what is an offence (*āpatti*) and what is not an offence (*anāpatti*). In other words, determining the nature of a transgression and awarding a suitable punishment for it is the concern of the *Suttavibhaṅga*. The *Suttavibhaṅga* deals in detail with each offence which helps us to understand the attributes of *āpatti*, thereby highlighting the Buddhist method of dispensing justice to the monastic community.

The *Suttavibhaṅga* portrays an image that an offence (*āpatti*) maybe committed under compulsion of circumstances, mental states or may be done either unknowingly or unintentionally. Hence, an action against the offender must be taken according to the conditions under which the offence was committed. In other words, the condition under which an offence is committed is almost always the deciding factor in determining the nature of punishment to be given to a guilty *bhikkhu*. Therefore, the punishment for a *Pārājika* offence, which is a normally a complete dissociation of a guilty *bhikkhu* from the *Saṃgha* (*pārājikohotiasaṃvāso'ti*), may also be decided by a confession (*dukkaṭa*), an expiation (*pācittiya*) or a complete exemption from the punishment (*anāpatti*). The *Suttavibhaṅga* describes a range of conditions under which a *bhikkhu* shall not be considered guilty of the offence committed by him. For example, a *bhikkhu* is not held guilty if he is unaware that he is committing an offence (*anāpatti bhikkhu ajānatassāti*); if a *bhikkhu* does not consent to a transgressive act (*anāpatti bhikkhu asādiyantassāti*) and the transgressive act is forced by others on a *bhikkhu* without his consent.

An important aspect of Buddhist jurisprudence was the tradition of assuming that there may be situations when offences may be committed accidentally, unknowingly or without intention. Therefore, situations are regarded as important before pronouncing a judgment. It is a common expression found in the *Vinayapiṭaka* which shows the Buddha asking the guilty *bhikkhu* under what conditions did he commit the offence.

Another remarkable dimension of the Buddhist legal code was that each rule ends with an exception to the rule which is called *anāpatti*. *Anāpatti* may be understood as a no offence clause which means that an offence committed by a *bhikkhu* shall not be considered an offence and no action against the offender shall be taken under certain conditions. They are: if a *bhikkhu* breaks a *Pātimokkha* rule committed when he is unaware, has not agreed to, is mad, is in severe pain or he is a novice.

> *anāpatti, ajānantassa, asādiyantassa, ummattakassa, khittacittassa,vedanāṭṭassa, ādikammikassāti.*
>
> If one is ignorant, if one has not agreed, if one is mad, unhinged, afflicted with pain, or a beginner, there is no offence.[28]

With the rapid growth of Buddhism and the development of the *Saṃgha* as an organized body, monastic norms became crucial in its functioning. As a result, the *Vinayapiṭaka* attained an authoritative position[29] which could be directly applied to the administration of the *Saṃgha* because not only did the text lay down the normative precepts to be followed by the community but also contained norms to resolve

[27] Horner 2004, 132.
[28] Horner 1949, 51.
[29] Bhikkhunī 2010, 147–157.

disputes and disagreements within the community. It is within this context that terms like *āpatti* and *anāpatti* began to attain significance in the monastic life of the Buddhist community. Several accounts in the *Vinayapiṭaka* mention that *āpatti* may be a potential cause of schism within the *Saṃgha* if the nature of an offence remains undetermined. The *Cullavagga* IV mentions that a legal dispute relating to *āpatti* may arise if *anāpatti* is considered an *anāpatti* or a *Garukāpatti* (major offence) is considered a *Lahukāpatti* (a minor offence).

The above discussion suggests that as one enters the Buddhist tradition, one encounters a profound change in the meaning of *āpat*. As discussed earlier, the Buddhists borrowed the Brahmanic interpretation of the term *āpat* as "falling into a ritual transgression" and used it in the monastic context to mean "falling into a transgression of precepts" of the *Vinayapiṭaka.* Eventually, with the prominent use of the term *āpatti* within Buddhist monastic life, the term stabilizes to mean an offence or a transgression. An important dimension is thereby added to the understanding of the term *āpat*: it now also means a transgressive act. Moreover, for the first time, the term separates itself from its original root meaning of "fall".

Besides the meaning stabilizing as an offence, certain attributes are also added to the term by the Buddhists which shaped the definition of *āpatti.* Among the defining attributes of *āpatti*, two of its attributes are particularly significant. First, *āpatti* carries the understanding that an offence is context-based and hence the penalty or punishment is decided according to the condition in which the offence is incurred. Second, *āpatti* also provides for a total exemption from punishment under certain situations. It is this definition and understanding of *āpatti* which has a significant contribution in the gradual development of the meaning of *āpat* and the eventual formulation of *āpaddharma* which has its first occurrence in the *Manusmṛti* and final crystallization in the *Mahābhārata*.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Davids – Oldenberg 1881
T.W.R. Davids – H. Oldenberg (tr.), The Vinaya Texts. Part I, Sacred Book of the East. Vol. XIII (Delhi 1881).

Davids – Oldenberg 1882
T.W.R. Davids – H. Oldenberg (tr.), The Vinaya Texts. Part II, Sacred Book of the East. Vol. XVII (Delhi 1882).

Davids – Oldenberg 1885
T.W.R. Davids – H. Oldenberg (tr.), The Vinaya Texts. Part III, Sacred Book of the East. Vol. XX (Delhi 1885).

Eggeling 1963
J. Eggeling (tr.), The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa according to the text of the Mādhyandhin school. Part IV Sacred Books of the East, Vols. XLIII (Delhi 1963 [1897]).

Griffith 1899
T.H. Griffith (tr.), The Texts of the White Yajur Veda (Benaras 1895).

Haug 1922
M.Haug (tr.), Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda (Allahabad 1922)

Horner 1949
I. B. Horner, The Book of the Discipline. Vol. I (London 1949).

Horner 2004
I. B. Horner, The Book of the Discipline. Vol. VI (Oxford 2004 [1966]).

Keith 1971
A. B. Keith (tr.), Rigveda Brāhmaṇas. The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda (Delhi 1971 [1920]).

Monier Williams 1899
M. Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Oxford 1899).

Sarvanand 1922
S. Sarvanand (tr.), Praśna Upaniṣad (Madras 1922).

Whitney 1885
W. D. Whitney, The Roots, the Verb-Forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language (Leipzig 1885).

Whitney 1971
W. D. Whitney (tr.), Atharva-veda-samhitā. Harvard Oriental Society 7–8 (Delhi 1971 [1905]).

Wilson 1866
H. H. Wilson (tr.), The Ṛig Veda Sanhitā (London 1866).

Woodward 2001
F. L. Woodward (tr.), The Book of the Gradual Sayings. Anguttara Nikaya (Oxford 1933).

Secondary Sources

Bhikkhunī 2010
D. Bhikkhunī, Institutional Authority: A Buddhist Perspective, Buddhist-Christian Studies 30, 2010, 147–157.

Bowles 2007
A.Bowles, Dharma, Disorder, and the Political in Ancient India: The Āpaddharmaparvan of the Mahābhārata (Leiden – Boston 2007).

Chattopadhyaya 2003
B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Studying Early India: Archaeology, Texts and Historical Issues (New Delhi 2003).

Davids – Stede 1921–1925
T. W. R. Davids − W. Stede, The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary (London 1921–1925).

Horsch 2009
P. Horsch, From Creation Myth to World Law: The Early History of Dharma, in: P. Olivelle (ed.), Dharma: Studies in its Semantic, Cultural and Religious History (Delhi 2009) 1–26.

Mukherjee 1976–1977
B. Mukherjee, Schismatic Matters and the Early Buddhist Literature. Journal of Research Visva-Bharati 1, 1976–1977, 81–98.

Olivelle 2009
P. Olivelle, Dharma: Studies in its Semantic, Cultural and Religious History (Delhi 2009).

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 145–153. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11956

Madawada

Portrait of a "Businesswoman"?

Sarah P. Schlüter

Abstract: This article aims to bring together the information available so far about a non-Assyrian woman named Madawada who lived in Kaneš in the 19th century BCE. Madawada left behind a small archive with ten tablets written in the Old Assyrian dialect. This archive, its contents and chronology will be discussed. In particular, the question of her status as the wife of a merchant or businesswoman will be investigated.

The Old Assyrian period (1972–1718 BCE) is characterised by long-distance trade between Kaneš (mod. Kültepe), located in contemporary Anatolia (Turkey), and Aššur (mod. Qalʾat-Šerqat), located in present-day Iraq.[1] Due to 23,500 cuneiform tablets (cf. Erol 2018, 35), written in the Old Assyrian dialect, discovered in Kaneš, we are well informed about many aspects of life during this period. The detailed correspondence of Assyrian merchants with their trading partners, employees, and family members, as well as numerous (legal) documents, offers insights into the different aspects of daily and business life of that time. Most of the texts originate from the Assyrian sphere, i.e. were written by Assyrians, while only a few texts can be attributed to the native or rather non-Assyrian population.[2]

The lives of women as represented in the Old Assyrian sources attracted much attention over the last years (see e.g. Michel 2006; Thomason 2013; and most recently Michel 2020). There are many possibilities to trace their lives in ancient Kaneš as well as Aššur. They sent letters and were active in business-related undertakings, not only on their husband's behalf but also on their own. Especially Assyrian women played an important role, professionally speaking, according to their family's archives. In Kaneš, Assyrian and non-Assyrian families lived next to one another but much less is known about the non-Assyrian women. The biographies of only some of them have been studied in detail, mainly because they were first wives of Assyrian merchants and figured prominently in their husband's archives, e.g. Kunnaniya, wife of Aššur-mūtappil or Ḫatala, wife of Lā-qēpum. In some cases, even the lives

[1] Abbreviations follow the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (Berlin etc., 1928–2018).

[2] The classification Assyrian vs. non-Assyrian is based on a distinction between Akkadian (Assyrian) names on one side and on the other side all other names that appear in Old Assyrian documents, namely Hattic, Hittite (or better Hittitoid; see Kloekhorst 2019), Hurrian, and Luwian names, which make up a large group of the Old Assyrian onomastics. There is still a large group of personal names that we cannot assign to any language family. For a discussion of these categories see Schlüter 2020, 83–85 and 89–93. When classifying people's names, it must always be kept in mind that a person with an Assyrian name does not necessarily have to be an Assyrian, because in the course of time the onomasticon of the Old Assyrian sources also became mixed. The classification postulated here must be viewed with extreme caution and can only be used as a rough tool of investigation. Note that the reading of the Hittitoid names follows Kloekhorst 2019.

of second wives have attracted attention, e.g. Šašaḫšušar, wife of Aššur-nādā or Annanna, wife of Ennam-Aššur.[3]

Aside from the information provided in the archives of the prominent merchants, little is known about non-Assyrian women and their businesses. One exception seems to be Madawada, a woman who acted as a creditor and is often referred to as a "businesswoman". Her archive also contains a slave purchase deed, which is why I came upon her story while working on my dissertation. She is the protagonist of the following article, which provides a short biography of Madawada and her life in ancient Kaneš.

1. Madawada and her archive

Madawada[4] left behind a small archive, which to date contains ten texts of which seven were published and discussed by I. Albayrak (1998).[5] They all shed light on her activities as a "businesswoman": in eight texts she lends various sums of silver and/or barley, in one she buys a female slave. The last document is a legal record which refers to one of her debt notes (see Appendix).[6] The composition of her archive is typical of those of non-Assyrians, as they usually contain no letters but only legal documents, like sale contracts and debt notes (Michel 2011, 102–105).

According to Hertel (2014, 50 Appendix 1), Madawada was the owner of house no. 108 in Kaneš but there exists no location or information regarding the house itself. The eight tablets with the kt o/k excavation numbers (see appendix) were not found in her house:[7] Veenhof (2008–2009, 190) notes that the circumstances of finding are somewhat uncertain. He supposes that the tablets of Madawada's archive may come from house no. 19 which may have belonged to a man called Agûa, son of Šu-Anum.[8] Why these documents were discovered in this specific house remains unclear and cannot be answered due to the lack of published archaeological data.[9] The remaining two texts (CCT 1, 9b; JCS 14, 5) in which Madawada is mentioned derive from illicit diggings and therefore have no archaeological context.

As the dates on three of the debt notes indicate, Madawada's archive can be dated to level II of Kaneš (1972–1835 BCE), but the exact dating

[3] For more information on these women see the excellent portraits and text editions in Michel 2020, 444–481.

[4] The name once is written *ma-da-ma-da* (see fn. 33) in all other cases *ma-da-wa-da*. The fact that the same person is meant is evident from the directly related CCT 1, 9b and JCS 14, 5: both of which have a debtor of the same name who owes the same amount of debt; only the debtor's name was written differently (cf. Zehnder 210, 219–220).
The origin of the name remains unclear (Kloekhorst 2019, 74); Zehnder (2010, 219–220) provides an overview of previous attempts of interpretation.

[5] Most of the non-Assyrian archives from Kaneš remain unpublished (see Michel 2011, 99–102 and Günbattı 2016, 7 for an overview). As an exception now AKT 10 (= Günbattı 2016) can be mentioned; that volume contains editions of the archives of Šarapunua and Pirua.

[6] As the Appendix shows, eight texts have kt o/k excavation numbers and were thus discovered during excavations in 1963.

[7] Several of the kt o/k-texts were published in AKT 4 (= Albayrak 2006), others in journal articles by the same author (e.g. Albayrak 1998; Albayrak 2005).

[8] Hertel (2014, 45) is not certain about the owner of that house. House no. 19 had a size of 80 m^2 and was separated into four rooms. According to Veenhof's (2008–2009, 190) analysis of the excavation data, the archive of Madawada must have been found in room 2. For a map of the houses of the Lower Town see Hertel 2014, 29 fig. 3 and fig. 4 (with a plan of house no. 19).

[9] Normally, one takes into consideration that people who did not own a house, or rather, did not have the possibility to keep tablets (e.g. caravan personnel, travel agents), gave them to other people to keep their documents for them. Veenhof (2003, 115–119) calls these tablets "strange records" because they had no personal relation to the archive owner (see also Veenhof 2013, 32). Why Madawada's tablets were not found in her house remains uncertain, they might have been brought to house no. 19 after her death, but this is only speculation.

remains uncertain.[10] Hecker (aATU) dates CCT 1, 9b to REL[11] 93 (= 1880 BCE) and kt o/k 40 and 72 to REL 107 (= 1866 BCE). In this case, the texts would have been written in the heyday of Kaneš, which can be dated roughly between REL 80–110 (1893–1863 BCE).[12] But for CCT 1, 9b not only *līmum*[13] Iddi(n)-abum, son of Narbītum (REL 93 = 1880 BCE) is possible (as suggested by Hecker), but also *līmum* Iddi(n)-abum (REL 122 = 1851 BCE). The most probable candidates for the *līmum* of kt o/k 40 and 72 are Enna(m)-Suen, son of Šu-Aššur (REL 107 = 1866 BCE) and Enna(m)-Suen, son of Šu-Ištar (REL 115 = 1858 BCE).[14] Therefore, both texts can also be dated to the time after the heyday of Kaneš level II – a prosopographical analysis does not provide helpful information.

It is nearly impossible to reconstruct Madawada's social network in Kaneš because only impersonal texts are preserved. The individuals mentioned as debtors in the documents all bear very common names and do not provide enough material for a prosopographical investigation. This is a common problem philologists face when dealing with texts from non-Assyrian archives in Kaneš.[15] Therefore, we can only read between the lines – which will be attempted in the second part of this paper.

2. Madawada – Wife or Businesswoman?

Assyrian and non-Assyrian women could act not only as creditors but also as agents or business partners of their husbands (Michel 2020, 302). While their names appear in different types of documents it is often unclear if they acted on their own or on their husband's behalf. Family correspondences indicate that husbands while on a caravan trip or while for business in Aššur often gave instructions to their wives – irrespective of their *aššatum* or *amtum*-status[16] – how to handle the household or which business affairs they had to look after.[17]

Aside from Madawada, a man named Iddi(n)-Aššur is mentioned in two documents, whereas he may have been her husband, as already suggested by Albayrak (1998, 11) and therefore the legitimate question arises whether she conducted business on behalf of her husband. But what evidence do we have for this theory? Comparisons with other women might provide new insights.

An indicator that Madawada was the wife of an Assyrian merchant could be that three of the eight debt notes used *ḫamuštum*-eponyms (see Appendix). Dercksen (2011, 236–237) points out that this form of dating texts was alien to non-Assyrians and only occurred when one of the individuals involved was "an Assyrian or appears to be involved in the Assyrian community, or if the creditor wants to be explicit about the start of the debt".

Three documents from Madawada's archive name *ḫamuštum*-eponyms but an Assyrian party can be found only once (CCT 1, 9b). The two other texts (kt o/k 40 and 72) contain only

[10] For the Old Assyrian chronology see Barjamovic – Hertel – Larsen 2012, 1–40.
[11] For the Revised Eponym List (REL) see Barjamovic – Hertel – Larsen 2012, 92–97.
[12] See Barjamovic – Hertel – Larsen 2012, 55.
[13] *Līmum* designates a whole year associated with a certain person, *ḫamuštum* a "week" (see Kryszat 2004, 57–65 for *līmum* and 159–197 for *ḫamuštum*). It is still not clear how many days an Old Assyrian "week" contained; the mainstream pleads for a seven-day unit (Dercksen 2011, 235).
[14] There are two more *līmū* of men called Enna(m)-Suen, son of Iddin-abum (REL 136 = 1837 BCE) or Enna(m)-Suen (REL 138 = 1835 BCE), but these can be excluded because the dates in the debt notes contained *ḫamuštum*-eponyms which were not in use after REL 125 anymore (see Kouwenberg 2019, 183).
[15] See e.g. Ašiat, son of Arurupa (Donbaz 1986 and 1988; Schlüter 2020, 222–226).
[16] In the Old Assyrian sources, the first wife was called *aššatum*, the second wife *amtum*, which can also be translated as "female slave".
[17] See e.g. the correspondence between Šašaḫšušar and Aššur-nādā (OAA 1, 50–58); Annanna and Ennam-Aššur (e. g. AKT 6b, 225; 238; 239; 299–304; 307–314) or Ištar-baštī and Imdī-ilum (CCT 4, 28a; TC 3, 56).

non-Assyrian names of parties and witnesses. The use of *ḫamuštum*-eponyms might thus reflect the influence of an Assyrian husband. Nevertheless, the only case where Iddi(n)-Aššur and Madawada appear together as debtors contains no *ḫamuštum*-eponym (see also Dercksen 2011, 236–237 with n. 13).

A look at other non-Assyrian female creditors (Tab. 1) reveals that a date with *ḫamuštum*-eponyms (as well as *līmum*) only appears in debt notes if at least one of the debtors was Assyrian. This corroborates Dercksen's suggestion. Debt notes of Assyrian female creditors nearly always mention a *ḫamuštum*-eponym, e.g., those of Aḫātum (BIN 4, 153; TC 3, 228) or Šāt-Anna (CCT 5, 20c; TC 3, 235; TC 3, 220).[18] Therefore, one can assume that Madawada was a woman who worked for her Assyrian husband, namely Iddi(n)-Aššur. The other possibility is that Iddi(n)-Aššur may have been her business partner. In any case, the sometimes very large sums that Madawada lent (up to 180 shekels of silver!) indicate that she might have been representing a larger family firm – whether the silver belonged to her cannot be answered with certainty.

Text	**Creditor**[19]	**Debtor**	**Debt**	***ḫamuštum***
ICK 1, 16 a/b	Annanna (luw.?)	Ḫuluš; Azue	47 ¼ s. silver	-
ICK 1, 24 a/b	Annanna (luw.?)	Šataḫšušar	11 <¼> s. silver	-
kt m/k 147: 46–53a[20]	Azzukanni(n)[21] (hurr.)	Ilī-bēlī, son of Šu-Kūbim	122 s. refined silver	*ḫamuštum* of Itūr-ilī
kt m/k 147: 53b–60	Azzukanni(n) (hurr.)	Puzur-šaduē	30 m. copper *šikkum*[22]	*ḫamuštum* of Aššur-imittī
AKT 6d, 833[23]	Ḫutita (hatt.)[24]	Šamaš-ṭāb	[x] s. refined silver	*ḫamuštum* of Pūšu-kēn *u* Puzur-Annā
kt n/k 860[25]	Kulšan (hitt.?)	Abāya, Lamassatum, Kuzīya	25 ½ s. refined silver	*ḫamuštum* of Aššur-iddi(n) *u* Šu-Ištar
AKT 1, 45	Kuripa (hurr.)[26]	Ḫatitim	9 s. silver	-

[18] Further examples are Ennum-Ištar in kt 86/k 160 (see Veenhof 2017, 673); Šalimma, wife of Irʾam-Aššur in kt 91/k 518 a/b (= AKT 8, 209; see Veenhof 2017, 674). More instances are provided by Michel (2020, nos. 182–184). There are also some exceptions to be found: kt a/k 335 (see Albayrak 2005, 30–31) where Ištar-baštī lends silver to Atali or AKT 8, 209 where Šalimma lends silver to Išḫašara and Aliaḫšušar. These texts mention no *ḫamuštum*-eponym.

[19] The origin of the name is listed in brackets behind the name of the creditor. Abbreviations: hatt. = Hattian; hitt. = Hittite (Hittitoid); hurr. = Hurrian; luw. = Luwian.

[20] For kt m/k 147 see Hecker, aATU folder kt m/k pp. 113–116.

[21] Cf. Richter 2016, 82–83.

[22] This means copper of poor quality (cf. Kouwenberg 2019, 172).

[23] The last line of this debt-note is ambiguous: KÙ.BABBAR *ša* DAM.GÀR-*ri*-<*im*> "silver of the merchant" (Transliteration is following Larsen 2018, 98). This may indicate that the silver which Ḫutita lent to Šamaš-ṭāb was not her own silver, probably also not her husband's.

[24] See Zehnder 2010, 167.

[25] See Michel 2020, 291–292 no. 188.

[26] Cf. Richter 2016, 25 n. 76 *Kurimpa "orphan".

Text	Creditor[19]	Debtor	Debt	*ḫamuštum*
AKT 1, 46	Mus/za (hurr.?)[27]	Ašqūdum, son of Aššur-rēṣī	3 2/3 s. and 15 grains *līti*-silver[28]	*ḫamuštim* of Uṣur-ša-Ištar
Prague I 584	Nimaḫšušar (hitt.)	Šašia; Šašnina	6 s. *līti*-silver	-
kt 91/k 170[29]	Šupianika (hitt.)	Ḫašui; Šarnikan; Ḫatala	[x]+2 s. silver	-
AKT 1, 60	Zizizi (hurr.?)[30]	Nakiliet, Manamana	34 ½ s. silver	-
AKT 1, 72	Zizizi (hurr.?)	Šurama(?)[31]	93 ½ s. silver	-

Tab. 1: Non-Assyrian female creditors; (m. = mina; s. = shekel).

A look at other archives, however, reveals the active involvement of wives in trade. One woman for whom similar activities are attested is Lamassutum, the wife of Elamma. Lamassutum also lived in Kaneš with her husband. She was participating in business affairs before but mainly after Elamma's death: she bought slaves (AKT 8, 154 and 157) and granted loans (AKT 8, 158; 159; 161; 162). As with Madawada, she is never referred to as a wife in these cases. Even though Lamassutum's husband, Elamma, was still alive during the time she conducted some of her transactions, she was also very active as a widow and accumulated extensive wealth, as a listing of her estate shows (cf. AKT 8, 164). A similar assumption can be made in Madawada's case, as she may have been particularly active in managing business affairs after her husband's death.

Nonetheless, drawing up contracts such as the above discussed debt notes was an unusual task for a non-Assyrian wife of an Assyrian merchant, as a comparison with such wives shows: The *amtum*-wives Šašaḫšušar and Annanna left no debt notes behind that would confirm them as creditors – on the contrary, there is a letter which proves that Annanna was indebted (s. AKT 6a, 12). Šašaḫšušar received instructions from her husband to collect his debts (s. OAA 1, 51: 19–22; OAA 1, 53: 8–17). The same applies in Kunnaniya's case, as she is not recorded as a creditor in the sources either. Only Ḫatala is mentioned as a creditor in a letter (Prague I 669: 11–15) where her husband instructs her to collect the silver of her tablet (KÙ.BABBAR : *ša* DUB-*ki* "the silver of your tablet") – but as can be seen, such exceptions are rare.

It is interesting to note that women – both Assyrian and non-Assyrian – mentioned as creditors in debt notes are usually not further designated as "wife of PN" or "daughter of PN". For this reason, even the Assyrian female creditors cannot be prosopographically linked to an archive or family, as this is only possible due to the archaeological context of archives.

As this brief overview has shown, the information available at hand is not sufficient to

[2727] The origin of the name is doubtful. Zehnder (2010, 227) supposes a Hurrian origin as most convincing. Michel (2020, 287) suggests that the name Musa belonged to an Assyrian woman since she designated her as "Assyrian Woman" in the caption. That Musa is a female individual is indicated by the verbal form *tīšu* "she has" referring to her as creditor.

[28] For this special kind of silver see Veenhof 2014, 396.

[29] See Veenhof 2017, 672.

[30] See Zehnder 2010, 275. The element -ziz is frequently found in Hurrian names (s. Richter 2016, 515). But the name could also be a nickname, which was used for Ištar-baštī II., the daughter of Imdī-ilum and Ištar-baštī I. (cf. Kryszat 2007, 216; for an overview of her correspondence: Kienast 2015, 219–224).

[31] This name is often rendered as Šu-Rama (cf. Michel 2020, 291). A name of the type Šu-DN makes one expect a theophoric element, but a deity called Rama is unknown to the author.

contextualise Madawada and her activities. It seems likely that she was the wife of an Assyrian merchant and that she mainly acted as an independent businesswoman after his death, but this is only one possible interpretation.

3. Conclusion

The investigation of Madawada's archive and her activities demonstrates how difficult it is to trace the life of a non-Assyrian individual, even if parts of the archive of this person are preserved. There are two main reasons for this circumstance:

1.) No letters are available that could help to reconstruct the social network or gain insight into family relations.

2.) The seldom identification of individuals by naming their father, husband, etc. Often the same personal names occur without further information that would allow a more precise identification.

Nevertheless, the modern researcher can attempt to shed some light on individuals like Madawada, especially with regard to our current knowledge about life in Kaneš during the Old Assyrian period. Recent research by Michel (2020) has clearly shown how much information we have about women from Kaneš and Aššur. Perhaps in other cases, it will be possible to reconstruct the biographies of non-Assyrian women, but so far this has proven itself to be a challenging task without the archives of their husbands. Madawada thus remains unique for the time being: her small archive cannot be placed in the larger one of a possible husband, as is the case for many other women (cf. Lamassutum), and the circumstances of the discovery also remain questionable, since the texts do not seem to have been found in her own house.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Zsombor Földi for corrections, comments and discussions. The author is of course responsible for any remaining mistakes.

[Note: Immediately before this paper was published, an article by J. G. Dercksen that discusses aspects of Madawada's business appeared. See J. G. Dercksen, Money in the Old Assyrian Period. In: L. Rahmstorf – G. Barjamovic – N. Ialongo (eds.), Merchants, Measures and Money. Understanding Technologies of Early Trade in a Comparative Perspective, Weight & Value 2 (Kiel – Hamburg 2021) 331–359, especially 341–347.]

4. Appendix: Madawada's archive

Text	Genre	Madawada's role	Debtor	Debt	*ḫamuštum* and date
CCT 1, 9b = Albayrak 2[32] = EL 82	debt note	creditor	Imlikāya	106 s. refined silver	***ḫamuštum* of Šu-Kūbim**; IX. of *līmum* Iddi(n)-abum
JCS 14, 5: 20b–28a	juridical statement[33]	creditor (with Iddi(n)-Aššur)	Imlikāya	106 s. silver	-
kt o/k 39 = Albayrak 1	sale document	buyer	-	-	-
kt o/k 40 = Albayrak 3	debt note	creditor	Tamuria, Talia, Iatalka	60 s. silver; 3600 litres grain, half wheat, half barley; 60 breads	***ḫamuštum* of *kaššim ša qātē* Ikūn-pīya**; II. of *līmum ša qāte* Enna(m)-Suen
kt o/k 44 = Albayrak 4	debt note	creditor	Lulu, Kammalia	22 ½ s. silver	-
kt o/k 46 = Albayrak 5	debt note	creditor	Abbāya	[x] s. silver; [x] + 30 litres barley	-
kt o/k 64 = Albayrak 6	debt note	creditor	Kupidaḫšu, Azulka	180 s. silver	-
kt o/k 72[34]	debt note	creditor	Ḫarša, Kaka[x]; Ḫapuala; [x]; Liḫš[uman]	[x] s. *līti*-silver	***ḫamuštum* of Šu-Kūbim**; *līmum* Enna(m)-Suen
kt o/k 81 = Albayrak 7	debt note	creditor (with Iddi(n)-Aššur)	Pirua	810 litres grain: half wheat, half barley	-
kt o/k 106 = Albayrak 8	debt note	creditor	Šarnikan, Ḫašušra	10 ½ s. silver; 2 sacks gifts (?)	-

Abbreviations Appendix: s. = shekel

[32] Text number in the publication of Albayrak (1998).

[33] Only a part of this statement relates to the debt note CCT 1, 9b: (20b) 1 2/3 *ma-na* = 6 GÍN = KÙ.BABBAR (21) KÙ.BABBAR *ša im-li-kà-a* (22) *a-na ma-da-ma-da ḫa-bu-lu* (23) *i-dí-a-šur ú-bu-bu-šu im-li=kà-a* (24) 1 2/3 *ma-na* 6 GÍN (25) KÙ.BABBAR *ša-bu im-li-kà-a* (26) *a-na i-dí-a-šur a-na a-wa-tim* (27) *a-ni-a-tim a-mì-ma šu-um-šu* (28a) *ú-lá i-tù-a-ar* "(Concerning) 106 s. silver, silver which Imlikāya owes to Madamada and (from which) Iddi(n)-Aššur cleared him: Imlikāya is satisfied with 106 s. silver. Imlikāya will not raise a claim against Iddi(n)-Aššur concerning this case regarding anything."

[34] See Albayrak 2005, 30–31.

Bibliography

Albayrak 1998
I. Albayrak, Koloni çağında yerli bir bayan "Madawada", in: S. Alp – A. Süel (eds.), III. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri (= Acts of the III[rd] International Congress of Hittitology), Çorum 16-22 Eylül 1996 (Ankara 1998) 1–14.

Albayrak 2005
I. Albayrak, 1963 Yili kazilarinda ele geçen yerli halkla ilgili bir grup Kültepe tableti, in: A. Süel (ed.), V. Uluslarası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri (= Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology), Çorum 02-08 Eylül 2002 (Ankara 2005) 21–32.

Albayrak 2006
I. Albayrak, Kültepe Tabletleri IV (Kt. o/k). AKT 4 = TTKY VI/33b (Ankara 2006).

Barjamovic – Hertel – Larsen 2012
G. Barjamovic – Th. K. Hertel – M. T. Larsen, Ups and Downs at Kanesh. Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period. OAAS 5 = PIHANS 120 (Leiden 2012).

Dercksen 2011
J. G. Dercksen, Weeks, Months and Years in Old Assyrian Chronology, BiOr. 68, 2011, 233–244.

Donbaz 1986
V. Donbaz, Publication of the Kültepe Tablets Housed in Ankara, in: K. Hecker – W. Sommerfeld (eds.), Keilschriftliche Literaturen. Ausgewählte Vorträge der XXXII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Münster, 8.–12.7. 1985, BBVO 6 (Berlin 1986) 149–153.

Donbaz 1988
V. Donbaz, The Business of Ašēt, an Anatolian Merchant, AfO 35, 1988, 48–63.

Erol 2018
H. Erol, The Parties and the Accessing Regions of the Old Assyrian Trade. News from the Lands of the Hittites, Scientific Journal for Anatolian Research 2018/2, 35–43.

Günbattı 2016
C. Günbattı, Anadolulu tüccarlar Šarabunuwa ve Peruwa'nin arşivleri. AKT 10 (Ankara 2016).

Hecker aATU
K. Hecker, Altassyrische Texte in Umschrift (= aATU; https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/altass/Liste.php; Zugriff am 30.12.2020).

Hertel 2014
Th. K. Hertel, The Lower Town of Kültepe: Urban Layout and Population, in: L. Atici et al. (eds.), Current Research at Kültepe-Kanesh. An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity, JCS/Suppl. 4 (Atlanta 2014) 25–54.

Kienast 2015
B. Kienast, Das altassyrische Eherecht: Eine Urkundenlehre. SANTAG 10 (Wiesbaden 2015).

Kloekhorst 2019
A. Kloekhorst, Kanišite Hittite. The Earliest Attested Record of Indo-European, HdO 132 (Leiden – Boston 2019).

Kouwenberg 2019
N. J. C. Kouwenberg, Introduction to Old Assyrian (Münster 2019).

Kryszat 2004
G. Kryszat, Zur Chronologie der Kaufmannsarchive aus der Schicht 2 des Kārum Kaneš. Studien und Materialien, OAAS 2 = PIHANS 99 (Leiden 2004).

Kryszat 2007
G. Kryszat, Eine Frau mit Namen Zizizi, AoF 34, 2007, 210–218.

Larsen 2018
M. T. Larsen, The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family. Volume 4: Texts concerning non-family members, AKT 6d (Ankara 2018).

Michel 2006
C. Michel, Femmes et production à Assur au début du IIe millénaire av. J.-C, in: A. Averbouh – P. Brun – C. Karlin – S. Mery (eds.), Spécialisation des tâches et société. Techniques & Cultures, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme 46 (Paris 2006) 285–301.

Michel 2011
C. Michel, The Private Archives from Kaneš Belonging to Anatolians, AoF 38, 2011, 94–115.

Michel 2020
C. Michel, Women of Assur and Kanesh. Texts from the Archives of Assyrian Merchants, SBL WAW 42 (Atlanta 2020).

Richter 2016
Th. Richter, Vorarbeiten zu einem hurritischen Namenbuch. Erster Teil: Personennamen altbabylonischer Überlieferung vom Mittleren Euphrat und aus dem nördlichen Mesopotamien (Wiesbaden 2016).

Schlüter 2020
S. P. Schlüter, Sklaverei und sklavereiähnliche Lebensformen im altassyrischen Kaneš. Unp. Dissertation (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität München 2020).

Thomason 2013
A. K. Thomason, Her Share of the Profits: Women, Agency, and Textile Production at Kültepe/Kanesh in the Early Second Millennium BC, in: M.-L. Nosch – H. Koefoed – E. Andersson Strand (eds.), Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East. Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography, Ancient Textiles Series 12 (Oxford – Oakville 2013) 93–112.

Veenhof 2008–2009
K. R. Veenhof, A New Volume of Old Assyrian Texts from Kārum Kanesh, JEOL 41, 2008–2009, 179–202.

Veenhof 2013
K. R. Veenhof, The Archives of Old Assyrian Traders: their Nature, Functions and Use, in: M. Faraguna (ed.), Archives and archival documents in ancient societies: Trieste 30 September – 1 October 2011. Legal documents in ancient societies IV (Trieste 2013) 27–61.

Veenhof 2014
K. R. Veenhof, Silver in Old Assyrian Trade. Shapes, Qualities and Purification, in: Z. Csabai (ed.), Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas. Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Studies 2 (Budapest – Pécs 2014) 393–422.

Veenhof 2017
K. R. Veenhof., Seven Debt-Notes of Anatolians from Ancient Kanesh, in: Y. Heffron – A. Stone – M. Worthington (eds.), At the Dawn of History. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of J. N. Postgate (Winona Lake 2017) 665–684.

Zehnder 2010
Th. Zehnder, Die hethitischen Frauennamen. Katalog und Interpretation, DBH 29 (Wiesbaden 2010).

Published in: B. Baragli, A. Dietz, Zs. J. Földi, P. Heindl, P. Lohmann and S. P. Schlüter (eds.), Distant Worlds and Beyond. Special Issue Dedicated to the Graduate School Distant Worlds (2012–2021), Distant Worlds Journal Special Issue 3, Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2021, 155–157. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.886.c11957

Epilog

Distant Worlds – Chancen und Desiderate

Martin Hose

Mit diesem Band endet die Arbeit der Graduate School *Distant Worlds*. Dass Graduiertenschulen zeitlich begrenzte Förderungen erhalten, gehört zu den Rahmenbedingungen des deutschen Wissenschaftsbetriebs. Dies hat einen guten Sinn, ist doch das Potential der Fragestellung, die einer Graduiertenschule zugrunde zu liegen pflegt, in der Regel ausgeschöpft, wenn bis zu drei ‚Kohorten' von Graduates ihre auf diese Fragestellung ausgerichteten Arbeiten abgeschlossen haben.

Gilt dies auch für *Distant Worlds*? Können wir in einem Rückblick mit mehr oder minder Zuversicht die Einlösung des Versprechens, das die Einrichtung der School bedeutete, stolz konstatieren?

Die Antwort müsste negativ ausfallen … Doch ist dies nicht ein Versagen von Strukturen und Akteuren: Graduates wie BetreuerInnen, sondern schlicht dem Umstand geschuldet, dass das Ziel von *Distant Worlds* nicht in der Abarbeitung eines mit einem Qualifikationsprogramms verknüpften Forschungsprogramm lag, sondern auf etwas anderes gerichtet war, das heute dringlicher als vor zehn Jahren bei der Planung und Einrichtung der School scheinen mag.

*

Ein Althistoriker sei jemand, der viel über wenig wisse. Dieses pointierte Dictum von Alfred Heuss gilt nicht minder für sämtliche in *Distant Worlds* vertretenen Disziplinen. In Verbindung mit dem Umstand, dass die Gegenstände dieser Disziplinen dem Horizont der Gegenwart fern sind und ihr Verständnis hermeneutisch komplexer Operationen bedarf (dies ist bekanntlich der Zusammenhang, den der Name der School prägnant benennt), stehen diese Disziplinen traditionell explizit oder implizit unter einem hohen Rechtfertigungsdruck. Man kann diesen Druck in verschiedene Komponenten teilen, d.h. in die Notwendigkeiten, Apologien zu bieten (oder vorrätig zu halten) für: den nicht offen ersichtlichen gesellschaftlichen Nutzen, die relativ geringen Studierendenzahlen, die nicht vermittelbare Relevanz der jeweiligen Gegenstände – kurz zusammengefasst werden all diese Komponenten in der plakativen Bezeichnung ‚Orchideenfächer'. In den letzten Jahren hat sich zudem – in stetig wachsender Intensität in der US-amerikanischen akademischen Welt – eine weitere Infragestellung zumindest beträchtlicher Teile der Altertumswissenschaften herausgebildet, die ihre Wurzeln in den *Post-Colonial Studies* hat und auf diejenigen Disziplinen fokussiert, die praktisch oder ideologisch an den kolonialen (und bisweilen auch patriarchalischen) Machtstrukturen beteiligt sind. In dieser Infragestellung ist ‚Western Civilization' oder ‚Western Tradition' zu einer Chiffre für Unterdrückung geworden, und die weitere Erforschung der Grundlagen der so gefassten westlichen Zivilisation (ich verzichte hier auf eine Problematisierung dieses Begriffs)

hat ein Stigma erhalten. Diese Infragestellung scheint mir gravierender als die ihr vorausgehenden, da sie mit einer emanzipatorischen Polemik verbunden ist, die kaum mehr zuzulassen scheint, die Altertumswissenschaften mit deren gern gepflegten Rhetorik einer Unzeitgemäßheit einen Platz in einem wissenschaftsorganisatorisch geschützten Austragsstübchen beziehen zu lassen, sondern sie als ideologischen Hauptfeind identifiziert, der je unauffälliger, desto verdächtiger, ja gefährlicher zu sein scheint. Die mir bisher bekannten Versuche, hierauf zu replizieren, sind eher hilflos und naiv.

Welche längerfristigen Konsequenzen daraus für zunächst die amerikanischen, sodann die britischen und schließlich die kontinentaleuropäischen Altertumswissenschaften erwachsen werden, lässt sich gegenwärtig kaum erahnen …

**

Äußerlich betrachtet, scheinen die beiden ersten Dezennien des 21. Jh. für wichtige Teile der Altertumswissenschaften im deutschen Sprachraum weniger besorgniserregend verlaufen zu sein als für andere Felder der Geisteswissenschaften. An den Universitäten hat sich die personelle Erosion, die sich aus Streichung von Professuren und etatmäßigen Mittelbaustellen ergab, durch Erfolge in der Einwerbung von Drittmittelstellen scheinbar kompensieren lassen, die Umstellung der disziplinären Magister- auf die neue BA/MA-Studiengänge ist äußerlich gelungen (ob damit der befürchtete fachliche Substanzverlust einhergeht, lässt sich noch nicht ermessen). Zudem profitieren die Altertumswissenschaften von drei Großtrends der vergangenen beiden Jahrzehnte: von der Internationalisierung, die zu verstärktem Austausch und Kooperation über Landes- und Sprachgrenzen hinweg geführt hat, von der Digitalisierung sowie in den Archäologien von sich stetig intensivierenden Kooperationen mit den Naturwissenschaften. Die Aufnahme dieser Trends machte die Altertumswissenschaften durchaus erfolgreich, sowohl international (etwa in Gestalt der Einwerbung von ERC-Mitteln) wie national (innerhalb der Exzellenz-Initiative, aber auch bei Einwerbung von Graduiertenkollegs etc. bei der DFG). Diese Erfolge (die sich gewiss weiter fortsetzen lassen) haben jedoch wenig bis nichts an neuen Antworten auf die alten, geschweige denn die neuen Infragestellungen hervorgebracht. Ja, es erscheint sogar das Risiko am Horizont, dass infolge der neuen digitalen Arbeitsmittel und der neuen Erkenntnisse, die die Kooperationen mit den Naturwissenschaften hervorbringen, in den Altertumswissenschaften eine unreflektierte Wiederkehr des Positivismus aus dem 19. Jh. ins Haus steht. Ist es doch nun möglich, die ‚Archive der Vergangenheit' in immer neue Datenbanken mit immer mehr Daten mit immer mehr Ordnungsformen ‚einzupflegen'. Oder mit Alfred Heuss formuliert: wir werden statt ‚viel',noch mehr' über wenig wissen…

***

Das Projekt ‚Distant Worlds' zielte *nicht primär* auf die altertumswissenschaftliche Wissensmehrung (also das ‚noch mehr'), sondern darauf, unter Nutzung der inneren Strukturen der beteiligten Disziplinen in einer Art von Laborsituation einen innovativen Austausch zwischen Theorieangeboten zu organisieren, auf dessen Grundlage disziplinär angelegte Forschungen entstehen sollten.

Ausgangspunkt war das *factum brutum*, dass die beteiligten Disziplinen eine natürliche Doppelnatur besitzen: die Alte Geschichte etwa ist sowohl Altertums- wie Geschichtswissenschaft mit entsprechenden Theoriekomponenten aus den Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften, die Klassische Philologie Teil einer allgemeinen Literaturwissenschaft einschließlich der Literaturtheorie(n), die Archäologien haben Teil an Kunst-, Bild- und Geschichtswissenschaften, aber auch an einer allgemeinen Materialwissenschaft sowie an verschiedenen Spielarten der Sozialanthropologie(n) mit den entsprechenden Theorie-Angeboten. Interdisziplinäre

Zusammenarbeit in den Altertumswissenschaften bedeutet daher nicht nur Verständigung über gemeinsame Gegenstände, die mit je verschiedenen disziplinären Methoden erforscht werden, sondern auch (was wenig genutzt, weil wenig beachtet wird) wechselseitige Kompatibilisierung von unterschiedlichen Theorieständen.

Hierbei kommt ins Spiel, dass die altertumswissenschaftlichen Disziplinen in der Regel[1] Theorie-Importeure sind, d.h. sie benutzen Theorien, die in anderen Feldern ihrer jeweiligen Großdisziplinen an ganz anderem Material mit zumeist altertumsfremden Prämissen entwickelt worden sind. Die Nutzung dieser Theorie bedeutet dabei bereits einen ersten Anpassungsschritt an die Materialien der Altertumswissenschaft und eine Anpassung der jeweiligen Theorie-spezifischen Terminologien.

Distant Worlds hatte die Aufgabe, dies systematisch weiterzuführen und auszuweiten: In interdisziplinär zusammengesetzten Arbeitsgruppen, ‚Focus Areas', (deren Mitglieder jedoch disziplinär ausgerichtete Forschungsprojekte verfolgen) wurde die Möglichkeit geschaffen, die verschiedenen Theorieangebote zu prüfen, zu evaluieren, für eigene Arbeit zu adaptieren oder/und für die Altertumswissenschaften weiterzuentwickeln.

Distant Worlds sollte damit einen ‚Ermöglichungsraum' schaffen, in einem strikt altertumswissenschaftlichen Kontext geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Theorieangebote kritisch zu evaluieren und adaptieren; diese Arbeit an den Theorien sollte zudem die neuen Forschungsperspektiven, die die Naturwissenschaften insbesondere für die Archäologien bereitstellen, systematisch einbeziehen und deren ‚Theoretisierung' mitbefördern.

Diese Zielsetzung, die, wie skizziert, archetypische Möglichkeiten der Altertumswissenschaften systematisch zu nutzen versucht, ist geeignet, unseren Fächern eine Funktion im Wissenschafts- und Kulturbetrieb zuzuweisen, die, jedenfalls soweit ich sehe, nur diese Fächer erfüllen können: die geradezu systematische Arbeit mit und an Theorien aus den Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften, und dies an einer Schnittstelle zwischen Geistes- und Naturwissenschaften.

Damit können unsere Disziplinen eine Funktion erfüllen, die für den Wissenschaftsbetrieb (und die Verwaltung und Beherrschung von Wissen überhaupt) wesentlich ist. Dass dies nichts Kleines ist (und den Namen ‚Orchidee' nur wegen des Wertes verdient), scheint klar. Zugleich geht damit, mit Hegel formuliert, eine ‚List der Vernunft' einher. Denn diese Funktion ist – jedenfalls in der Konzeption von *Distant Worlds* – verschränkt mit der Weiterarbeit an und der Weitererforschung der Gegenstände der Altertumswissenschaft. Freilich: es ist eine Gradwanderung zwischen Abstraktem und Konkretem. Wie sie gelungen ist, zeigen die in *Distant Worlds* entstandenen Arbeiten, zeigen die Beiträge dieses Bandes.

****

Beendet ist das Projekt ‚Distant Worlds' als Format der drittmittelfinanzierten Wissenschaftsförderung. Abgeschlossen kann, ja darf es nicht sein, solange sich die Altertumswissenschaften ihrer eigenen Bedeutung und Leistungsfähigkeit bewusst sind.

[1] Dass es natürlich Ausnahmen gibt (s. e.g. die Arbeiten von Jan und Aleida Assmann zur Erinnerung oder von Hans Joachim Gehrke zur Intentionalen Geschichte), sei nicht bestritten, doch sind unsere Fächer in der Regel ‚zu klein', um die erforderlichen Spezialisierungen zu leisten, die systematische Theoriebildung erfordert.