RES ANTIQUITATIS

JOURNAL OF ANCIENT HISTORY

2019

2ND SERIES | VOLUME 1

CHAM
CENTRO DE
HUMANIDADES
NOVA FCSH—UAc

RES Antiquitatis - Journal of Ancient History
Series II, Volume 1 (2019)
ISSN: 1647-5852 | ISSN (electronic): 2795-434X

Periodicity
Annual

Indexation
RES is abstracted or indexed in the following international bibliographic databases:
CIRC | Humanities Source | Humanities Abstracts | Latindex (Catálogo v1) | MIAR | SHERPA/RoMEO

Editor
CHAM – Centro de Humanidades / CHAM – Centre for the Humanities
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da
Universidade NOVA de Lisboa | Universidade dos Açores
Av. de Berna, 26-C | 1069-061 Lisboa | Portugal
cham@fcsh.unl.pt | www.cham.fcsh.unl.pt

Design (Cover)
Carla Veloso (CHAM, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)
Designways

Funding
This work had the support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc), through the strategic projects sponsored by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P. — UID/HIS/04666/2013, UID/HIS/04666/2019).

Editorial

The present issue inaugurates a new phase of *Res Antiquitatis*, an editorial project of CHAM – Centre for the Humanities, that begun in 2010. When the first number was published, our aim was to create a Portuguese printed journal that could become a space for the debate about the different Antiquities *per se*, and about its reception in later contexts.

Almost a decade later, our goals are wider, given the renewed nature of CHAM – Centre for the Humanities. In 2013, several research units of NOVA FCSH and of Universidade dos Açores merged into this single inter-university Centre. This allowed a development of the multi and inter-disciplinary work within Humanities, by widening not only the geographical and chronological scope, but also the thematic one. From then on, researchers from the fields of History, Archaeology, History of Art, Philosophy, History of Ideas, Literature, Heritage, and History of Science, found a common and fruitful place to develop their state-of-the-art works, according to the national and international scientific standards.

In the light of such transformations, *Res Antiquitatis* also felt the need to change. Beneficiating from this renewed scientific milieu, our journal now aims to become a Portuguese reference within Reception Studies, while maintaining its mission of promoting the discussion and research about the different Antiquities. Considering the above, the first issue of this new series displays a thematic dossier, coordinated by Helena Trindade Lopes, Maria de Fátima Rosa and Susana Mota, which encompasses several analytical perspectives on historical contexts from the Mediterranean to ancient China. All the contributes derive from the scientific meeting *Sources to Study Antiquity: from texts to material culture*, held at NOVA FCSH, in May 2016, and organized by CHAM's research group "Antiquity and its Reception".

This new series also inaugurates a new format of the journal. Following the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia's (FCT) open access policies, from now on *Res Antiquitatis* will be published online, in a renewed site: http://www.cham.fcsh.unl.pt/ext/res. Two new editors were also welcomed into this new phase of the project: Isabel Gomes de Almeida and Maria de Fátima Rosa. New professional challenges prevented Marcel Paiva do Monte, Diogo Paiva and Filipe Soares to continue their editorial work with us. There are not enough words to express our gratitude for all the efforts and all the time they dedicated in bringing into life the first series of *Res Antiquitatis*. Without them, it would not have been possible to reach this new moment.

A last word should be address to the late António Augusto Tavares (†2016) and the late Francolino Gonçalves (†2017). As a pioneer in Ancient History within the Portuguese academia, António Augusto Tavares guided several generations of Portuguese scholars through the paths of Antiquity. Always finding time to collaborate with new projects, he was the first scholar to be interviewed for the first issue of *Res Antiquitatis*, back in 2010. As for Francolino Gonçalves, who integrated the advisory board of this journal from day one, his prodigious support was fundamental to the start of this editorial project. Their wisdom, experience, kindness and friendship will be forever missed.

Francisco Caramelo

Editor-in-chief

Introduction

The latest years have seen an increase of interest in the reception and survival of Antiquity. Researchers, as well as poets, writers, painters, sculptors, composers and filmmakers have been the main force responsible for this rapid growth in this field of research. In Portugal, too, a devoted number of scholars are studying subjects related to the reception of Egyptian, Mesopotamian and classical texts, thoughts, and material culture in a variety of historical and ideological contexts.

The aim of the conference "Sources to study Antiquity: Between texts and material culture" was to introduce researchers to the key tendencies in the history of the reception of antiquity, since Classical reception of earlier periods, until the present. The study into ancient and modern receptions of antiquity concentrates on how the texts, thoughts and representations of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Greek and/or Roman culture have been transferred, modified, revised and appropriated in a variety of ancient and modern cultures.

For one day we examine questions such as "How did collections influence the notions of antiquity?", "How did the attraction with antiquity produce new types of cultural production?" and "What is the role of antiquity in the modern and contemporary era?"

This compilation of papers investigates the uses of the past from an extensive variety of perspectives, employing variable combinations of texts, iconographic representations, oral traditions and visible remains, bringing together a group of stimulating scholars who otherwise may not had the opportunity to exchange ideas on this same subject.

Maria Helena Trindade Lopes

The Other's portrait and historical truth in classical authors and Portuguese 16th Century chroniclers

António Manuel de Andrade Moniz*

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 4-13

Abstract

A portrait of the Other can be seen throughout the literature of classical antiquity, from Homer to the Roman authors, in an implicit awareness that identity cannot exist without alterity. This is a core question in the *Iliad*, in the conflict that pitted Greeks against Trojans. It is also a recurring subject in the *Odyssey*, in the Other's (Ulysses') wanderings, from Troy to his return to Ithaca. The quest for the Golden Fleece also contemplates the confrontation between Argonauts and the arrival to Colchis. This issue is taken up in Greek historiography with Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, but now with a focus on historical truth, with the internal conflict between Athenians and Spartans (Thucydides) and the external conflict between Athenians and Persians (Herodotus, Xenophon).

In the same way that Virgil directs his attention to Carthage and Queen Dido in his epic poem the *Aeneid*, foreseeing a future conflict, the Punic Wars, Roman historiography, with Titus Livius, Sallust, and Julius Caesar's memoirs of the conquest of Gaul, dedicate particular attention to the portrait of the Other as a counterpoint to the awareness of identity.

Historical truth, in terms of heuristics (*documentum*) and exemplary Ciceronian pedagogy (*monumentum*), is, on the other hand, the main concern of Roman historiography, as a favored form of civic intervention to attain a national identity (*res romana*).

Having inherited this methodological approach from Classical Antiquity, 16th century Portuguese chroniclers like João de Barros, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Gaspar Correia and Diogo do Couto, and others, link historiography sources to the issue of national identity and alterity.

The objective of this paper is to examine how the 16th century Portuguese chroniclers assimilated Classical Antiquity, in an explicit and implicit way.

Keywords: alterity, identity, sources, historical truth, exemplary pedagogy.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 8/3/2018

* CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores. E-mail: am.moniz@fcsh.unl.pt.

The Other's portrait and historical truth in classical authors and Portuguese 16th Century chroniclers[1]

António Manuel de Andrade Moniz

Introduction

In this paper we will analyze the 16th century Portuguese chroniclers' treatment of two core questions in the writings of Classical authors: the portrait of the Other, and historical truth. These questions were important for both groups of authors, as they have been vital for historical and autobiographical narrative throughout the ages.

The portrait of the Other implies the awareness of individual identity, in a collective sense, while historical truth is the main concern of any historian and includes a heuristic research of the relevant sources.

In this way the Classical authors leave an invaluable humanist legacy that is espoused by the Portuguese chroniclers of the 16th century, conscious that it is the greatest of spiritual riches.

The portrait of the Other

The Europeans' re-discovery at the end of the second millennium of the importance of the representation of the Other in history and literature, generated by the complex phenomenon of intercontinental expansion, was a contribution to the creation and consolidation of Europe's political and cultural identity.

From the bibliography about exoticism in French literature, pioneer in the studies of literary theory, we can distinguish the books of Todorov (Todorov 1989) and Jean-Marc Moura (Moura 1992). The first author analyzes the dialectic in nationalism and liberalism, racism and exoticism, humanism and anti-humanism, tolerance and intolerance, freedom and despotism. As an alternative to this historical dialectic trend, he proposes a moderate humanism which combines the equality of human rights with a hierarchy of values; individual freedom and independence with solidarity; public morality with tolerance: "Un humanisme bien tempéré pourrait nous garantir contre les errements d'hier et d'aujourd'hui" (Todorov 1989, 436). The second author reserves the term exotic to the contact with cultures outside of Europe (Moura 1992, 14), as identified by Paul Valéry ("Pour que ce nom produise à l'esprit de quelqu'un son plein et entier effet, il faut sur toute chose n'avoir jamais été dans la contrée mal déterminée qu'il désigne » Bezombes 1953, cit.

[1] This paper had the support of CHAM (FCSH/NOVA-UAc), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UID/HIS/04666/2013).

in Moura 1992, III), literary exoticism as a reverie of something faraway: «D'une manière générale, on entendra donc par exotisme une rêverie qui s'attache à un espace lointain et se réalise dans une écriture» (Moura 1992, 4). In this perspective, literary exoticism is clearly favoured in the Age of the Discoveries, in contrast to the mythical space of Antiquity and the Middle Ages, on the one hand, and the interior space of the Romantic and post-Romantic period, on the other hand (Moura 1992, 16-17).

However, the portrait of the Other can be seen throughout the literature of Classical antiquity, from Homer to the Romans, in an implicit awareness that there is no identity without alterity.

It is a core question in the *Iliad*, in the conflict between Greeks and Trojans. In Book 6 the narrator describes a domestic scene of great tenderness and intimacy in which the Trojan hero Hector bids farewell to his son before going off to war. Seeing his father's fearsome aspect with "bronze and a horse hair plume" (VI, 469, Pereira 1995, 25), the child cries to his nurse, while the parents laugh at their son's reaction, and the father seizes the moment to pray to Zeus, after kissing his beloved son and rocking him in his arms: "Zeus (…), grant me that my son / be like me, and distinguished among the Trojans, / become strong and govern Ilion with his power" (VI, 476-478, Pereira 1995, 25). In contrast with this intimate scene, at the end of the story, in Book 24 Achilles' is characterized by his cruel vengeance when he carries out the ritual of dragging Hector's body "three times around the tomb / of the son of Menoetius" (XXIV, 16-17, Pereira 1995, 43), that is, his friend Patroclus, who had been defeated by the Trojan hero.

This is also a recurring question in the *Odyssey*, in the adventures of the Other, from Troy to Ulysses' return to Ithaca. Among the nations described by the narrator, he extols the Phaeacians in utopian terms. After imploring to Athena that he be welcomed with friendship and compassion (*Od.,* VI, 324-327), Ulysses encounters in the court of the "magnanimous" king Alcinous a palace with "bronze walls", "a blue enamel frieze", "gold gates", silver sides, "dogs in gold and silver" forged by Hephaestus "with his subtle art" (VI, 85-92, *in Ib.,* 68). The gardens, with their "tall lush trees", are the realization of the golden age, for "never do they stop bearing fruit / neither in winter or summer, they are unending" (VII, 114. 117-118, *in Ib.,* 69). As a welcomed guest, the "divine Ulysses, who has greatly suffered" (VI, 133, *in Ib.*), is received with "numerous feasts" (VII, 176, *in Ib.,* 70) in which the libations of the gods are not lacking (VII, 180, *in Ib.,* 71), nor the offerings of hospitality (VIII, 387-395*, in Ib.,* 73).

The quest for the Golden Fleece also contemplates the confrontation between the Argonauts, and the arrival in Colchis, a region south of the Caucasus and east of the Black Sea, the modern-day Republic of Georgia, and where in Greek mythology the Golden Fleece was located. The Golden Fleece was a gift of the gods that brought prosperity to its owner. Jason travelled aboard his ship Argo, from Argos, next to Corinth in the Peloponnesian, until he found the treasure, having received help from the sorceress Medea, daughter of king Aeetes, who had fallen in love with him. The image of the Other marked by conflict is thus averted with love. In the poem written by Apollonius of Rhodes (c. 295 to 230 B.C), Hera and Athena call upon Aphrodite to help the Greeks obtain their objective, not by force or cunning, but with love (*Argonautica* III, 36-100). Medea's dream pits daughter against

father in the conflict with the outsiders: "But both were inclined / towards proceeding according to her wish / And suddenly, without regard for the parents, she chose / the outsider" (*Ib.,* 628-631, *in Ib.,* 461).

Greek historiography, with Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, takes up this issue again, now with a focus on historical truth, with the internal conflict between Athenians and Spartans (Thucydides) and the external conflict between Athenians and Persians (Herodotus and Xenophon).

The Lydian king, Croesus, admirer of the Greek sage Solon, is forgiven by Cyrus, king of Persia, when he realizes that Croesus was saved by Apollo after a sudden rain put out the flames of the pyre where he had been condemned to burn to death for raising an army against the Persians. When questioned about his motifs for going to war, Croesus answers: "Oh King, I proceeded thus for your good fortune and my misfortune. The culprit of this was the god of the Greeks, who incited me to go to war. For no one is foolish enough to prefer war to peace" (Herodotus, *Book I, in Ib*., 221).

After the insolence of Cambyses and the magus, the Persians discuss the best form of government: monarchy, oligarchy or democracy. Incredulous, the Greeks hear Otanes prefer a democratic isonomy, like that of Athens, while Megabyzus expresses his preference for an oligarchy, and Darius favors a monarchy. After being outvoted, Otanes gives up his power on the condition that, neither himself nor his descendants, be subjected to the orders of the interlocutors (Id., *Book III,* 80-83, *in Ib.,* 500-502).

The Athenian author Thucydides praises the overthrow of the Greek tyrannies, with the exception of the Sicilian one, by the Lacedaemonians (Thucydides, *Book I,* X, 2, *in Ib.,* 293). The falling-out between the two groups, after the Thirty Years' Peace Treaty signed following the taking of Euboea, may have been caused by the Lacedaemonians' fear of Athenian empowerment (Id., in *Ib.,* XXIII, 4-6, *in Ib.,* 294).

Conscious of the importance of harmonious social interaction, Xenophon declares that "eulogy is the sweetest sound of all" (Xenophon, 1832, *Hiero*, ch. 3, 626). In his work *Anabasis* he shows his affiliation to the Ten Thousand, an army of mercenaries recruited by Cyrus to overthrow his brother Artaxerxes II. In this condition he is able to penetrate the web of intrigues to seize power and witness the various images of the Other.

Similarly, in his epic poem *Aeneas,* Virgil turns his attention to Carthage and Queen Dido, prophesying a conflict that would result in the Punic Wars. Ilioneus, the oldest Trojan among Aeneas' followers, recognizes in the foundress of Carthage a gift of Jupiter to "restrain proud nations through justice" (*Aen.,* I, 524, Virgil 2011, 32). By welcoming the strangers, the compassionate queen shows that she does not make a "distinction between Tyrians and Trojans" (*Ib.,* I, 574-575, *in Ib.*: 33), while she prepares a great reception for the hero with whom she will fall in love (*Ib,* 630-651).

Roman historiography, with Titus Livius, Sallust and Julius Caesar's autobiographic literature about Gaul, also focuses on the portrait of the Other as a counterpoint of identity.

Hannibal, Phillip V of Macedonia, and Perseus are enemies of Rome who merit considerable attention by the psychologist-painter Titus Livius. Perseus is characterized by

a series of moral flaws, of which avarice is particularly conspicuous "ipse pecuniae quam regni melior custos", a better guardian of riches that of the kingdom – T. Live, 1998, *L. XLIV, 26, 12;* Cf. *XLIV, 27, 12*), although in the view of his adversary Eumenes, he also has an undeniable aptitude for leadership (Id., *LIV, 25, 3*).

Despite being an ally of the Romans in the war of Numantia, Jugarta, grandnephew of the king of Numidia, appears in Sallust's work *Bellum Iugurthinum* as a cruel, corrupt and ambitious character. His qualities as a warrior are overridden by his discernible defects. In fact, following the death of the king, he proceeds to eliminate the legitimate heirs to the throne, Hiempsal and Adherbal, (the later having attempted to seek refuge in Rome). He is eventually betrayed by his ally Bocchus, king of Mauritania, who delivers him to the Romans. The *excursos* about the multi-party regime ("mos partium et factionum") explains the decadence of the *res publica* caused by internal dissent (Sallust, 2007, *Bellum Iurguthinum,* XLI-XLII).

In his *Commentarii Rerum Gestarum,* Julius Caesar recounts his military campaigns in Gaul between 58 and 52 B.C.E. in a form of memoir. His *excursos* on Gauls and Germans present a very different image of the Other from the Romans, but not lacking civilization and religion (J. Caesar, *2009. L. VI*, *passim*).

Having inherited this ethno-anthropological aspect from Classical Antiquity, the 16th century Portuguese chroniclers give a great deal of attention to the issue of national identity and alterity, and portraying the Other, whether African, Asian or Amerindian, assumes undisputed relevance.

In the first volume of his chronicle *Decadas da Asia*, João de Barros describes *Caramança* (Kwamin Ansah), the lord of São Jorge da Mina, center of a thriving gold trade, wearing gold bracelets and rings on his arms and legs, and a gold neckpiece. His court reinforces these symbols of power: his entourage "in war dress, with a great clamor of drums, horns, bells and other things, which hurt the ears more than it delighted them" (Barros 1778, I, I, III, I, 157). His deliberate gait is part of the solemn ritual of this portrait: "The continence of this person is to come in slow strides, one foot in front of the other, with no movement of the head" (Barros 1778, I, I, III, I, 158). The way he receives the visitors holds a hierarchical meaning: "after wetting the finger in their mouth and wiping it on their chest, they touched him, which is done from the least to the most important person, at the end of the greeting …; because they say that there could be poison on this finger if they don't clean it first in this manner" (Barros 1778, I, I, III, I, 159). Despite his prudent reluctance to having a Portuguese fortress built in his territories, and suspicious about being baptized, *Caramança* is finally persuaded by Diogo de Azambuja's argument (Barros 1778, I, I, III, I, 159-170).

Pêro Vaz de Caminha provides the king with the cultural novelty of the discovery of the Brazilian Indians, with a physical description of their skin, face and feathered head-dresses, the innocence of their nakedness and their weapons (bows and arrows) (Caminha 1974, 89-91).

Diogo de Couto's description of Zamorin reflects the Asian penchant for luxury and social ostentation as a proof of authority:

> "He carried on his body many riches, on his arms he wore many bracelets with precious stones that went from his elbows to his wrists and were so heavy that he required an attendant to hold each arm. From his neck hung a necklace of immeasurable value. In his ears he wore heavy earing with beautiful rubies and diamonds that extended to his shoulders, whereby he carried on himself immense richness" (Couto 1778, Déc. XII, L. IV, C. I, 352-353).

Likewise, the riches of the king of Brahma were a display of his political power after his victory over the kingdom of Pegu (Couto 1778, Déc. XII, L. IV, C. I, 465-466).

Heuristics and historical truth (documentum)

The word history (*istoria* in Greek) was coined by Herodotus; it entailed the exposition of information and included analyzing the causes of what were considered to be historical facts and recording great feats with a moralizing and edifying objective. Thus, historical truth underlies these motivations:

> "This is the exposition of information of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, with the objective that the feats of men not be erased over time, and that grandiose and admirable acts, be it of the Greeks or the Barbarians, don't lose their significance; and especially, the reason why they entered into conflict with each other." (Pereira 1995, 217)

Thucydides, referring to the conflict between Athenians and Spartans, searches for the origin and reasons that were at its root. As always, political and social issues take precedence in historical research, analyzed by the Athenian historian in the light of social psychology, going beyond a superficial vision of the parties involved and their official discourse:

> "(The war) began when the thirty-year treaty that had been signed after the capture of Euboea between Athenians and Peloponnesians, was broken. To explain this breach, I first wrote about the causes and reasons for the misunderstanding, so that the question of how this great war between Greeks originated would not arise one day. In fact, the truest cause is the least obvious. I think that the Athenians became powerful, and began to infuse fear among the Lacedaemonians, forcing them into war with each other. The motifs that were declared publicly by both parties to make them renounce the treaty are those I enumerate." (Thucydides, 1942, *Book I,* XXIII, 4-6.)

Historical truth, from the perspective of heuristics (*documentum*) and exemplary Ciceronian pedagogy (*monumentum*), is also a leading concern of Roman historiography as the preferred form of civic intervention for attaining a national identity (*res romana*).

In the preface of his monumental work, Titus Livius reports the facts (*alii…alii*) and the collected traditions (*fertur…fama est*), reflecting this heuristic concern. Facing the cultural legacy of the founding legends and myths, and not forgetting the Ciceronian distinction between historical truth and poetry (Cícero, 2008. *De Legibus,* I, 5), he doesn't fall into the temptation of adhering to the charm of these

> poetic fables which obscure the precision of historical facts ("Praefatio", 6), asserting his prudence and neutrality: "ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est" (*ib.*). In an impressive anticipation of the modern historical-cultural reassessment of mythology, whose pillars were Mircea Eliade and Georges Dumézil, there is substantiation of the importance of identity of the *mythos,* in terms of a contamination with the *logos,* associating religion and history in the cultural heritage of a people: "Datur haec uenia antiquitati ut miscendo humana diuinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat" – exonerating antiquity from the mixture between the most august human origins and the divine of the cities (*Ib.,* 7). In the case of the Roman people, for the historian of the Augustan era, this foundational legitimacy is clearly supported by the military greatness of the power in question, as if defying unbelievers and agnostics, for if they don't believe in divine intervention at least they should open their eyes to the proof of uncontested supremacy (*ib.*). Relativizing the question posed (*Ib.,* 8), he focuses his attention on the cultural element of his work: ethno-anthropological, socio-political and psycho-cultural. Once again, the convergence with current times, now with the self-designated New *History* trend (*Ib.,* 9).

This is also the mental framework of the *Decadas Da Asia* by João de Barros, João Baptista Lavanha, Diogo do Couto and António Bocarro. Comparing history to a field in which all the sciences have been sown, Barros, alluding to the pedagogical character of this interdisciplinary art, points out that with "all the divine, moral, rational and instrumental doctrine sown", "those who eat the fruit will acquire the understanding and memory for a just cause and perfect life, to please God and men" (Barros 1777, Dec. III, P. I, "Prologue").

However, a search for the truth does not prevent the narrator from getting personally involved in history, as exemplified by Titus Livius, who feels relieved when he reaches the end of the Punic Wars, as if he had actually been living the dangers and exhaustion of the military adventure (1998, L. XXXI, 1,1). At the beginning of the history of the republican era, he ponders two conflicting values: freedom and concordance. While one had the special flavor of a tough conquest (L. II, 1, 1), the other could easily be put in jeopardy in such a new nation (*Ib.,* 6).

Similarly, the Portuguese chroniclers, independently of the censorship issue, feel free to express their judgement about the facts, praising and criticizing their national heroes. Let us recall the constant use of satire by authors like Fernão Mendes Pinto and Diogo do Couto to condemn people's avarice, which is tragically punished by destiny in frequent shipwrecks. João de Barros felt freer as a historian than as a panegyrist:

> "Those who speak generally of kings are not subject to any laws, nor is anything more expected of them. They have all the freedom they want, taking and leaving what they feel like, without ever being punished; (…) but the panegyric is not like that; … he must give equal praise to people's merits; an author who fails to do this is at great fault, either because he considers the undertaking beneath him, or because he doesn't want to give him due credit; he who praises a good prince too little is as guilty as he who speaks badly of him." (Barros 1943, 160).

For Titus Livius this commitment to *veritas* does not affect the literary objective of the historian. Recognizing that contemporary readers' interest in Roman proto-history is not very strong ("Praefatio", 4), he nevertheless provides in his work the advantage of offering an alternative to the degrading spectacle of recent history ("a conspectu malorum quae nostra tot per anos uidit aetas" – *Ib.,* 5).

Diogo do Couto fully espouses this same commitment, which is not always easy for a historian as it most often brings hassles, incomprehension and persecution[2], a posture also adopted in the 17th century by António Bocarro, for whom history is the *soul of life*[3]. João de Barros, despite contesting the excessive prophetic denunciation of past and present evils with his aristocratic ideology[4], that he recognized in Titus Livius[5], and others, complains, like Couto, of being a victim of that incomprehension and ingratitude on the part of his fellow citizens in regard to his work.[6]

After completing the first five volumes of his work, Titus Livius assesses the difficulties encountered so far: excessive temporal distance, scarcity of written records, single loyal guardians of historical facts, destruction by fire of most of the pontifical records and other public and private documents (Lívio *Ib*.: L. VI, 1,2). After that (385 B.C.E.) he is reassured by what he calls the second founding of the City, the metaphor of the tree that is reborn, given the conditions of clearer certainty regarding the subject to be narrated (*Ib.,* 1, 3).

Comparable, and perhaps more lamentable difficulties are disclosed by Diogo do Couto about the negligence of the governors of Goa in regard to historical documents which should have figured in the archives of the *Torre do Tombo* of Portuguese India (Couto 1973, 84-85), a regret later confirmed after his death by the viceroy Francisco da Gama at the

[2] Regarding the king's decision to order Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's volume to be seized, "by request of several Noblemen" who were thought to have been present in the second siege of Diu, "because I spoke the truth", complains the chronicler, reaffirming his steadfast commitment to historical truth: "Writers are exposed to these and other risks when they write about the actions of men who are still living; that is why we right less fearfully of things in the past (as the King ordered us to do) than events in the present, which we have also written, and thus in all of them we will not stop speaking because of respect or fear; and since at some point some of our volumes will be ordered to be seized, there will be others that speak of the deeds" (Couto 1973: 330).

[3] "Nothing is more inherent to the duty of a chronicler than the obligation to proceed with his story with the true knowledge of all these things, and he should be so well-informed that not even the smallest intimate secret of the prince and his counsellors should be concealed from him; because history is the soul of life, so that those living today can learn from the past and order and structure the future" (Bocarro 1876, 5).

[4] "The first and most important part of History is truth; and although some things don't require so much, in the name of justice, which results in cruelty, especially things that slander someone, even if they are true (Barros 1973, *Prologue to Década* III).

[5] "As to concealing the cases, and the misfortunes that happened to the Prince, the people who should be praised for not deposing him, and twisting things and slandering his name, ... While Titus Livius' first report on how the French took Rome is eulogized, in the second he gained little by saying that they invaded Italy because of the wine, which was blasphemous. Recounting such prodigies, that Titus Livius, who wrote about them in his history, doesn't create them, a vice which Caesar also fell into for boasting about his feats, this is so strange in History that it suffers from hyperbole" (*ib.*).

[6] "To those who dislike our work, we can affirm: these works are for the common good, and despite the criticism, they remain alive, as does the memory of their author, despite whatever attacks they receive during their life […]. But the words of my co-citizens that exonorate me of mine, cannot force me with their law; for that same law does not want obligation where there is no acceptance. And because I am indebted to the foreigners who better accept my works; to meet their expectations of me, I apply my pen to those who like me, writing about the Geography of the discovered Orb, and the peoples therein" (*ib.*).

beginning of his second mandate (Baião 1947, vol. I, XLVII-IX), and by the archbishop of Goa (Baião 1947, vol. I, LIII).

The exemplary pedagogy of History (monumentum)

Anchored in the Ciceronian philosophy of History[7], Titus Livius finds in the degrading spectacle of the civil wars in which Marius and Sula, Pompeii and Caesar are protagonists, a good lesson for future generations regarding the political and moral resurgence of Rome. Like Sallust (2007, *Conj. Cat.,* 7-9; *Jug.,* 41, 2), he links the beginning of decadence in the period of Rome's conquests in the East to the rise of Hellenism (1998, L. XXXIX, 6, 7). Despite the Augustan re-moralization initiative, with laws regulating customs and marriage, in 28 and 18 B.C.E., and 9 A.D., he describes a negative social scenario of the discipline and customs of his period (Id., "Praefatio", 9). Hence, he draws his conclusion about the exemplary pedagogy of History: "omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri" (Id., *Ib.,* 10). The contrast between the past and present is marked by flagrant acuity, the criteria of evaluation of which is a sober and frugal collective existence, in the light of which luxury ("auaritia luxuriaque"), ostentation, cupidity ("cupiditatis"), and human ambition and avarice are condemned (Id., *Ib.,* 11-12).

Unlike João de Barros, who chronicled events in India based on contacts and documents that arrived in Lisbon, and whose view of events was somewhat euphoric and dream-like, Gaspar Correia and Diogo do Couto, like Camões, are influenced by *in loco* information, whereby they portray a decadent vision of the Portuguese expansion.

The *aurea aetas* Hesiodic myth[8] serves as a cultural pattern for both the author of the *Lendas da Índia* and the author of *O Soldado Prático* to express this vision of decadence. Such is the disenchantment that the writer carries in his soul that he is classified as a blasphemer (*praguejador)*[9]. Despite covering the events up to 1549, Gaspar Correia does not hesitate in expressing this increasing disenchantment as he records his work[10]. Exemplary pedagogy arises, therefore, as the only remedy capable of altering the erroneous course of human action[11].

The metaphor about gold is used by the Soldier, who denounces the decadence of India in the second version of the *Coutiano* dialogue: "Here I find relevant the warning words of a king of Cochin, who seeing that State deteriorating, said "as soon as it started slipping, three

[7] "Historia uero testis temporum, lux ueritatis, uita memoriae, magistral uitae, nuntia uetustatis, qua uoce alia nisi oratoris immortalitati commentatur" (Cícero, 1942 *De Oratore,* II, 9, 36).
[8] "I took on this work with pleasure, because the beginning of things in India were so golden that it looked like they didn't have the iron underneath that they were later discovered to have (Correia 1975, 1).
[9] "Misfortunes will come, riches will dwindle, so that the writer of these woes can rightfully be called a blasphemer; and not a good writer of such illustrious deeds (Correia 1975, 1-2).
[10] "It is true that when I started this occupation of writing about the things of India they were pleasant, because of their bounties, which gave great satisfaction to hear about; but the bounties became flawed and corrupted, like I will mention further on, and I will not refrain from writing so that each person will be rightfully acknowledged (*Ib.,* vol II, 5).
[11] "[…] because (the great and courageous Princes and Kings) ordering that the woes be recorded so that future ones are amended, and thus writing about the bounties to take as an example, wanting to award their forebears whom they praise (*Ib.* Vol. III, "Prologue", 5).

things stopped coming from Portugal: truth, big swords and Portuguese gold." (Couto 1980, 130-131)

The most important beneficiary of the lessons in History, according to all the 16th century Portuguese chroniclers, is the highest-ranking person of national politics, as explained by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda:

> [...] if a common man makes a mistake it is inconsequential because he only harms himself, and if a prince does this he harms all those who are under his governance [...]. It is therefore very important that the prince be more virtuous, more knowledgeable and more prudent than anyone else, and to learn these things there is no better means that history." (Castanheda 1979, 3)[12]

On the other hand, the national identity, shaped in the womb of History, in similarity to the laws of genetics[13], serves as an argument for Joao de Barros in the pedagogic interpellation, which, as a humanist conscious of his role of civic intervener, does of the King:

> "If the business and things that happen in the life of a King are not entirely similar to those of the past, they conform with those that took place cut, so that present things seem more like those of the past than those that are strange and remote to the motherland." (Barros 1973, Déc. III, P. I, "Prologue").

Conclusion

The object of this paper was to analyze explicitly and implicitly how Classical Antiquity were assimilated by the Portuguese chroniclers of the 16th century, through two vectors: a portrayal of the Other, and historical truth.

The portrait of the Other, visible throughout all of the literature of Classical Antiquity, from Homer to the Romans, reveals an implicit awareness that identity cannot exist without alterity.

Historical truth, from the perspective of heuristics (*documentum*) and exemplary Ciceronian pedagogy (*monumentum*), which are a fundamental concern in Roman historiography, is presented as the favored form of civic intervention to achieve a national identity (*res romana*).

Having inherited this methodological perspective from Classical Antiquity, the 16th century Portuguese chroniclers interlink historiographic sources with the question of national identity and alterity, showing that History is not separate from these matters.

[12] Osório 1981.

[13] "In the Kingdom business, and the order of government follows Nature's process of multiplication of families; if the son does not have similarity with his father, he is very similar to his grandfather, or some other close relative, because Nature can never degenerate to the point that the person can become a monster outside his species" (Barros, J. de, *Ib.,* Déc. III, P. I, "Prologue").

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Classical Tradition and the Painting of Giovanni da Udine

Jorge Tomás García[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 14-28

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present new literary evidence to understand the relationship between ancient Greek painting and some of the most important pictorial advances performed in the Roman Renaissance. In particular, I will focus on the classical tradition in the painting of Giovanni da Udine (1487-1564). For this purpose, I have used the testimony of George Turnbull (1698-1748). In one of his treatises, A Treatise on Ancient Painting (1740), he compares the painting of Pausias of Sicyon (IV century BC) and the Italian painter Giovanni da Udine. The observation and study of the Nero's Domus Aurea was a clear inspiration for Giovanni da Udine in his desire to create a painting all´antico. In addition, we discuss specifically the Loggia of Cardinal Bibbiena to see how the classically inspired Giovanni da Udine.

Keywords: Greek painting, Turnbull, Giovanni de Udine, Renaissance, Pausias.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 8/3/2018

[*] Instituto de História da Arte (FCSH/NOVA Lisboa). E-mail: jgarcia@fcsh.unl.pt.

Classical Tradition and the Painting of Giovanni da Udine

Jorge Tomás García[1]

Introduction

Recovery of classical painting as a part of the Renaissance painting is a subject already well known. One of the painters who interpreted the classical tradition to create his painting was Giovanni da Udine (on I will refer to him as G. Udine). He and Rafael Sanzio were in charge of decorating some of the Vatican rooms from the discovery of the Nero's *Domus Aurea*. In addition to this archaeological event as relevant, this paper tries to indicate new data that emphasizes the importance of classical tradition in the painting of G. Udine. We can find an important literary reference in the treatise of the Scottish theorist George Turnbull, *A Treatise on Ancient Painting* (1740). In this treatise, Turnbull compares the painting of G. Udine with the Greek painter Pausias of Sicyon (IV century BC). Just as we will see below, both authors had a similar pictorial style. The possibility to know the painting of G. Udine from references to Pausias offers to us new possibilities for analysis.

The other main objective of this paper is to compare the painting style of the Nero's *Domus Aurea* with the Loggia of Cardinal Bibbiena (1516-19) decorated by G. Udine (Averini 1957; Furlan 1980; Nesselrath 1989; Custoza 1996). The analysis we will start out with the figure of Famullus, painter of the *Domus* according to Pliny (*Nat*. 34.84; 35.120) (Dacos 1968b; Meyboom and Moormann 2012). The colors used by Famullus were in ancient times a symbol of modernity. As Famullus, G. Udine used a a similar color palette. Indeed, as noted Dacos (1966,1969), Raphael in itself did not seem particularly attracted at the beginning by the new ornamental system (Zaperini 2007). The relation of the painter's style with the discovery of the *Domus* and the subsequent execution of the grotesque as predominant artistic motifs are the main contributions to the subject made by Dacos (1966). For thousands of years, grotesques have captivated viewers for their elegantly orchestrated composition, combination of fantastical, man-made and natural elements, and juxtaposition of artistic restraint and unbridled exuberance. G. Udine was present with Raphael during the excavations of Nero's *Domus*, requested by Pope Leo X. One of its discovery well-know is the art of stucco, which G. Udine was the "new-founder" after the Antiquity. That occasion was given by discovery of the *Domus*, the ancient Nero's residence near Colosseum. At first year of sixteenth century Raphael and its students visited the *Mons Coelius*. Inspired by the Roman stucco, tirelessly experimenting and probably aided by the works of Vitruvius, they created the *stucco duro*. After visiting the

[1] This work is funded by national funds through FCT – *Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia* under the project SFRH/BPD/99633/2014, in the context of "Grupo de Investigación de Excelencia Estudios Visuales (Fundación Séneca, 19905/GERM/15)".

caves along the master of Nero's *Domus*, G. Udine was so attracted to copy several times, even becoming a specialist in the area. Thus, the classical tradition in the painting of G. Udine can be redefined through the Turnbull treatise on painting and analysis of the style of the *Domus* (Boëthius 1960; Warden 1981; Luciani-Sperduti 1993).

With the purpose of understand the role of painting, it is necessary to point out a general characteristic of Turnbull's philosophy. He believed that human beings were made to contemplate and to imitate nature, and their happiness was mainly achieved through these two activities. In the opinion of the Scottish philosopher, the intellectual human being is perfectly constituted for the study of nature. We acquire knowledge through the observation of nature, and the desire to imitate it leads us to perform experiments that will enhance our understanding of it. Turnbull philosophical ideals were those who carried out the painters of the school of Sicyon in the fourth century BC. From the written testimonies that we preserve of Aristotle we can deduce that the teaching of painting and drawing was totally legitimized (*Pol*. 1338a40). Aristotelian realism shows the new intention of painting by imitating reality possible and plausible. The artistic productions are valuable by themselves (*EN* 1105a26-28), since technically the image is neither true nor false (*De mem. et remim*. 450a29). One of the main reasons that support the Aristotelian discourse on painting is reasoned from the certainty that a work of art is the construction of a reality that exists in nature, whose aim is in the mind of the creative artist (Nightingale 2001, 133-175). Especially clear is this relationship because at Sicyon the painting was part of the liberal education of youth. Since the early years of teaching in Sicyon, young students learned drawing and painting along with other important subjects in liberal education: painting was part of liberal education (Plin. *Nat*. 35.77).

Turnbull's 'A Treatise on Ancient Painting' (1740)

The main argument about the influence of classical painting in G. Udine is the Turnbull's *A Treatise on Ancient Painting* (1740), particularly due to the analysis of Pausias'painting and Nero's *Domus*. In the past decades many researchers have noted the importance of the frescoes of Nero had in the painting of Cinquecento. But now, literary new evidence possible us to establish with greater precision and detail some features of this way of painting *all´antico*. *A Treatise on Ancient Painting* (1740) rescues some aspects of Pausias and G. Udine (Bevilacqua 1971). Both artists offer a broader view of the classical tradition in Renaissance painting.

Turnbull (1698-1748) was a Scottish philosopher, theologian, teacher, and writer focused on the concept of education within the cultural context of the Scottish Enlightenment. Apart from his published writings on moral philosophy, known for his influence on Thomas Reid, noted as the first member of the Scottish Enlightenment to publish a formal treaty of theory and practice of education (Korsbaek 2011, 1-37). Although this could be taken as an indication of concern for the scholarship of his time, Turnbull showed great liking for classical moralists of Antiquity.

In his treatise, Turnbull introduced dissertations on the schools and the greatest painters of Antiquity. In terms of style, the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder is his paradigm

(Borst, 1994; Bert, 2006, 1-51). In the early Renaissance Pliny's work was used constantly. The encyclopedic nature of Pliny offered from the early Renaissance to the time of Turnbull data that were essential in the reconstruction of classical painting. As Gómez wrote: "The whole of Turnbull's Treatise, as he comments at the beginning of chapter seven, is designed to show the usefulness of the imitative arts for philosophy and education in general. After a recollection of the thoughts of the ancient philosophers on these arts, Turnbull dedicates the last two chapters of the book to sketch the reasons for incorporating the arts in the Liberal education program. This is where paintings can serve as samples or experiments" (Gómez 2011).

Turnbull's theory relies on the artist making exact "copies" of nature, and only then can they serve as proper samples. In the case of natural pictures, he allows two sorts of "copies": either exact representations of nature, or imaginary scenes, as long as they conform to the laws of nature. If they are not in these categories, then they shouldn't be taken as proper samples for the study of nature, and in Turnbull's case, not even as good works of art. Those works of art that do not imitate nature do not give us the pleasure derived from those that do. Turnbull published this ancient treatise on painting, in which he defended the utility of fine arts education, based on the idea that painting was a language focused on transmitting ideas and truths about life, philosophy and nature. The main objective was to enumerate and analyze works of painters of ancient Greece and Rome. In the cultural context of theoretical Scottish, classical painting could be an invaluable resource for Scottish eighteenth century for his portrayal of morality, virtue and human nature. The ancient painters found their own way to represent the virtues, so that the paintings were a powerful argument for the adoption of appropriate lifestyle (Townsend 1991, 349). A painting could convince of a moral truth, and could also be a piece of rhetoric, a persuasive argument in favor of virtue (Kivy 1992, 243-245; Llorens 2003, 343-368). Therefore, Turnbull's treatise must be interpreted in the general program of social improvement and ethics that characterized the early years of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Comparison between Pausias and G. Udine in the treatise of Turnbull

Turnbull's treatise offers many narrations on Greek and Roman painting. The narrative method used by the Scottish philosopher is characterized by comparison of artists from very distant historical eras, but who are able to share aesthetic ideals and artistic purposes in their style. For example, he compares the works of Pamphilus of Sicyon and Leonardo da Vinci, in the following terms (II.21): "The chief Excellence of Pamphilus, and Leonardo da Vinci, seems to have consisted in giving everything its proper Character; in the Truth of their Design, and the Grandeur of their Conceptions…". Especially important for us is the comparison between the Greek painter Pausias of Sicyon and the Italian painter G. Udine. What both artists had in common with so many centuries of difference? Why Turnbull chose these artists as the paradigm of some basic aspects of the artistic education of his time?

The style and thematic variety of Pausias'painting became the aim of study for Turnbull. Pliny is the clearest reference to describe the figure of Pausias (Plin. *Nat*. 35.125). On this occasion, the Scottish autor explains that Pausias was a disciple of Pamphilus, and he mastered the technique of encaustic (*A Treatise*...II. 33). Pausias was famous among his contemporaries because he introduced the custom of painting ceilings of houses. He was also excellent in painting fruit and flowers (Plin. *Nat*. 35.125). The first master of painting in Sicyon was Pamphilus, who secured the introduction of drawing into the elementary schools, and this education was gradually adopted in other Greek poleis. Pausias was responsible for keep the school's academic style in relation to the tradition of design, symmetry, dignity of the art of painting as a science. Using the technique of encaustic painting, Pausias painted *lacunariae* where the *putti* were one of the preferred iconographies by the artist. Numerous researchers have highlighted how Pausias'style can be found in many examples of ancient art (Witthoft 1978, 49-60; Brecoulaki 2000, 189-216; De Juliis 2002).

One of the clearest echoes of it can be found in the paintings of the *House of Vetii* in Pompeii. This House has preserved almost all of the wall frescos, which were completed following the earthquake of 62, in the manner art historians term "Pompeiian Fourth Style". The major fresco decorations enliven the peristyle and its living spaces (*oecus*) and the *triclinium* or dining hall. Whole clans of cupids and their female counterparts, psyches, occur as a decorative theme in the *oecus*. The infant Cupids and Psyches carry out a range of human activities: viniculture, metal-working and jewelry making, perfume production, cloth preparation, and chariot racing. The style of these paints will also be present in the interior of the *Domus* and therefore in subsequent works of G. Udine.

As stated earlier, Pausias had a very avant-garde artistic taste and dominated lot of genres of painting. For this reason, Turnbull emphasized its similarity to the work of G. Udine (*A Treatise*...II. 34): "This Painter (Pausias) seems to have had much the same Taste as Giovanni d´Udina, one of Raphael's Disciples, who by the agreeable Variety and Richness of his Fancy, and his peculiar Happiness in expressing all sorts of Animals, Fruits, Flowers, and the Still- Life, both in Basso-relievo and Colours,acquired the Reputation of being the best Master in the World for Decorations and Ornaments in Stucco and Grotesque". Therefore, Pausias'style is really similar to G. Udine. Both conceived of painting as a science subject. The main themes they addressed in their paintings were very similar: all types of animals, fruits, flowers and scenes of everyday life. Pausias was mastery of bas relief, the use of colors, but especially he was the best painter in the decorations and ornaments in stucco and grotesque (fig. 1). For the decoration of the Palazzi Pontifici (Vatican), Raphael devised the scheme and provided the compositions for the narratives. Giulio Romano took charge of the figurative scenes with Gianfrancesco Penni collaborating on the preparation of the cartoons and G. da Udine as overseer of the decorative areas. As part of the decorative scheme, there is a series of reliefs on the pilasters. The vignettes in three of the stuccoes depart from the prevalent use of ancient models to show actions not only taken from modern life but referring specifically to the work in progress at the site of the loggia.

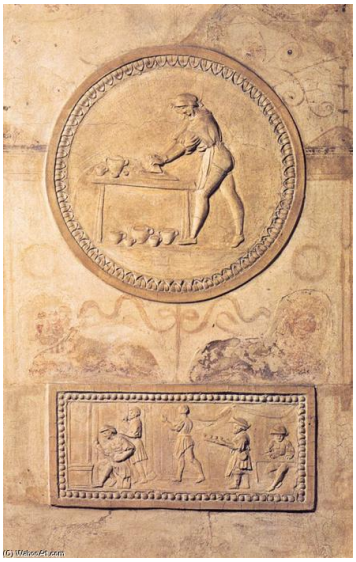

Fig.1.- G. Udine, *Stucco relief in a pilaster,* Loggia on the second floor, Palazzi Pontifici, Vatican (1518-19)

G. Udine and the painting all´antico

G. Udine's painting offers a large number of characteristics within their cultural context. He was born in Udine and he was apprenticed to Giovanni Martini (1535) and subsequently to Giorgione (1477-1510) in Venice. He later joined Raphael's workshop in Rome where he became particularly inspired by the Roman decorations discovered after the recent excavations. When Raphael died in 1520, he worked with Giulio Romano. By 1534 he was in Udine where he was involved in many decorations projects, mostly unrealized. One of the events that marked the formation of his painting was the study of ancient paintings of the Nero's *Domus*, which after 1480 had been studied by several generations of artists who had copied (Dacos 1968ª, 1-29; Varriano 2005, 8-14; Janick - Paris 2006). In his paintings, G. Udine was not limited to classical painting copy but he interpreted it to create an own original painting style. He is also renowned for his drawings of birds and fruit.

His favorite technique was the bas-relief, which for many earned him a reputation as the best decorator in stucco and grotesque of the Cinquecento. As we have been able to verify with the fragment of Turnbull, he was also dedicated in the representation of plant and floral scenes (Montini 1957, 37). The sumptuous festoons painted in the Villa Farnesina contain a treasure trove of important information on horticulture consisting of hundreds of images of fruits, vegetables and ornaments from more than 170 species. The variety of melons, watermelons, pumpkins and cucumbers that are represented in these frescoes have served as excellent model for botanical experts when classifying species and the types found in the sixteenth century (fig. 2).

Fig. 2.- Giovanni da Udine, *detail of border surrounding Raphael's Cupid and Psyche,* Villa Farnesina, Rome.

These are the common denominators of G. Udine'painting offers with Pausias, as both were considered the main artistic referents of his time. G. Udine was responsible for most of the decorative elements of Raphael projects in Rome. For example, he was in charge of stucco decoration in the "Loggia di Raffaello" (Vatican) and in the "Loggia di Psyche" (Villa Farnesina) (Freedberg 1988:70; Rodriguez Lopez 2002, 90). In his pictorial decoration at Villa Farnesina (1515) he represented corn for the first time as a pictorial motif. Two years later (1517) corn was included within the ornamental motifs to decorate the Loggia of Raphael in the Vatican, project directed by Pope Leo X. Just as interesting is the interpretation of these representations fruit and vegetables a metaphor for sexuality in the Roman Renaissance.

His pictorial testimony is one of the most important of the sixteenth century. This was the modern renovation of a way to make painting *all´antico*. He imitated the white stucco with a classical painting genre, namely the mixed stucco decoration and grotesque. Dacos (1969) dates the origin of the grotesque from Roman sarcophagi. A detailed analysis of the stuccos designed by G. Udine clearly demonstrates interest in the archaeological culture. The vision of colors and designs of the *Domus* impressed Rafael and G. Udine, who appropriated a spirit of freedom and invention from ancient paintings (Yuen 1979, 263-272). So much so was the impact of the *Domus* paintings, which in a very short space of time became the prototype of the grotesque decoration in Rome and in the rest of Italy (Oberhuber 1999). When Nero's *Domus* was inadvertently rediscovered in the late fifteenth century, buried in fifteen hundred years of fill, so that the rooms had the aspect of underground grottoes, the Roman Wall decorations in fresco and delicate stucco were a revelation.

The great innovation of G. Udine'painting was the codification of the grotesque motifs in a completely new action on the formulation of the late Quattrocento (Nesselrath 1989, 237).

Roman decoration of the "Second style" (100-20 BC) contained dishes of fruits, masks and architectural perspectives opening onto other buildings or landscapes. Hybrid creatures (mermaids, satyrs, centaurs, winged horses and griffins) were painted on the walls of palaces. The abundance of hybridizations already showed a taste for transformations (Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were composed in 8 AD).

The grotesque's decoration transformed into a form of language erudite with multiple fantastic forms and metamorphic rocks (fig.3). The monstrous animations were very successful in the decoration of chapels, lodges, villas, artificial caves and covers. In Nero's *Domus* artists as Raphael, Ghirlandaio or G. Signorelli took notes of his paintings and mosaics, and they were enormously inspired by these strange forms that had survived centuries in silence to wake up now stronger than ever under the name of *grottesche* (Picard 1981, 143-149). The sense of *grottesche* comes from the "caves" which were accessed by the still remaining rooms of the *Domus* intact when artists of the Renaissance penetrated into them to see his paintings. The term was known in Antiquity, and Vitruvius treated him at different points in his treatise on architecture. However, since Vitruvius was part of a current of opinion close to the classical arts, the concept was treated with some strangeness. Thus we read in *De Architectura* (VII, V: 3-4) that modern artists prefer figures that never existed and never will exist, a clear reference to the theme of the grotesque.

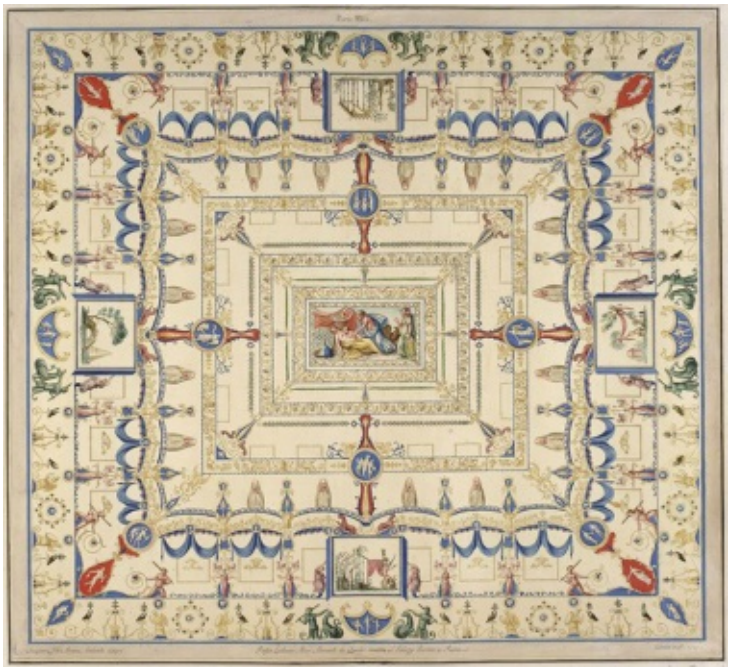

Fig. 3. *From Room 26 of the Domus Aurea*, Rome, first century.

The neronian influence in the Loggia of Cardinal Bibbiena

Nero's *Domus* is considered the most representative example of the official Roman painting in Antiquity (Zamperini 2007). The pictorial decoration of the *Domus* is traditionally included in the "Fourth Pompeian style". This style, also known as

"fantastic", was speciall developed 41 to 79. The ornament is dominant in the interior of the building. Inside we can find hybrids and mythological figures, animals and plants, naturally mingled with other motives imaginary. The *Domus* is a key element in the settlement of the grotesque as establishing motive of artistic language. In addition to this vision of the work from the History of Art in ancient times, it has often been cited as a starting point to certain features of Renaissance painting (Warden 1981, 271). The most detailed description of the ancient sources on the *Domus* found in Suetonius (*Life of Nero*, 31). It is important to remember that the construction of the palace is part of the aesthetic trends of first century, when Rome had become by Hellenistic heritage at the heart of power and luxury (Boëthius 1960, 96). Pliny stands out in his work critically the new luxuries that were given in the art world at that time in Rome (Plin. *Nat*. 33.57; 34.13; 35.6; 35.157; 36.4, 36.48).

Domus was built by Nero in the Esquiline Hill after the fire of Rome in 64, but had to be finished after 68 (year of the death of Nero). They were brought numerous works of Greek art for the interior decoration of the house (Dacos 1968b, 210-226). The only reference we find in the work is in Pliny (*Nat*. 35.120). Pliny describes the work within an *excursus* on Roman painting of the painter Famulus (Meyboom and Moormann 2012, 136). Although it seems evident that not all the decoration of the work was done by the painter, it does seem that he was responsible for decorate the interior of the *Domus* (Bandinelli 2005, 155). According to Ramage (2005, 93), several scholars have suggested that Famulus was at least partially responsible for inventing the "Fourth style" of roman painting. The decorative motifs used were candelabra, small pinakes, painted panels, festoons, reedlike columns…and many rooms had a lower panel with yellow-ground frescoes and red designs.

Pliny defines the roman painter Famulus as *gravis* and *severus*, adjectives that certainly make mention of his artistic personality (Plin. *Nat*. 35.120). The adjectives *floridis* and *umidus* characteriz his pictorial technique (Ferri-Harare 2000). Previously Pliny (*Nat*.35.30) had defined these colors, so the *floridis* gives chromatic richness compositions, as occurs in the Nero's *Domus* (Ferri 1962, 69-116). Vitruvius (*De Arch*. 7, 6-14) distinguished between the colors that are found in nature and the colors are prepared artificially, by artificial mixing procedures. We know from Pliny that *floridis* colors were *minium*, *armonium*, *cinnabaris*, *chrysocolla* (as "golden gum" or *malachite*), *indacum purpurissum* (indigo blue) and purplish-red, while all others are *umidus*. A common denominator is that *floridis* colors were extracted from rare or exotic materials (Plin. *Nat*. 35.30), and most of them can be found in the palace of Nero and later in the works of G. Udine.

The style of G. Udine were born with the direct observation in situ of *Domus*. We can even find his signature on the inside, specifically on the door n.92 cataloged as the "ZUAN DA UDENE FIRLANO" (Dacos 1995). The effect had these paintings in the Renaissance artists was so inspiring that they did not hesitate imitate their beauty in his paintings and stucco (Furlan 1980, 74; Custoza 1996, 45). This pictorial fashion was used in the chamfers of the rooms on a monochrome background. Stylistically, the pictorial decoration of Nero's palace is part of the Roman tradition of imaginative and original

interior decorations, as evidenced by the Fourth Pompeian style (Luciani-Sperduti 1993, 45).

Within the entire catalog of G. Udine'paintings is notable the influence of *Domus* in the "Loggia of Cardinal Bibbiena" (Vatican Palace, 1516-1519). In addition to this room, Cardinal Bibbiena also commissioned to decorate the Stufetta or *calidarium* (Dollmayer 1890, 272-280). In this room the iconographic program is based on Ovidian verses in which Venus emerges from the water with an eye on the land (*Met*. X, 525-532). After the decoration of the Loggia, Raphael's pupils later reaffirmed their interest in classical Antiquity and its interpretation in the decoration of the Loggetta, a small porch adjacent to the Stufetta, or bath room, of Cardenal Bibbiena (fig. 4).

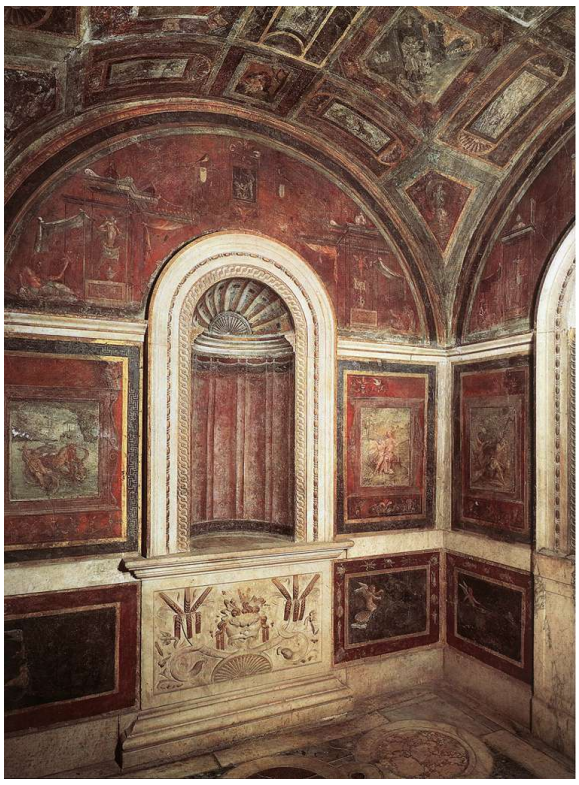

Fig. 4.- G. Udine, *Loggetta of Cardenal Bibbiena*, Vatican Apostolic Palace, 1519.

In Cardinal Bibbiena's Loggia, G. Udine added naturalistic elements (goats, fish, birds…) to the Neronian repertoire (fig. 5). Once established the great decorative lines, Rafael hoped to G. Udine the project details. In addition, many artists took part in the execution of the works, without forgetting the strict separation of competences of each of them. In the direction of the working group Rafael chose G. Udine, which not long ago had become the first specialist grotesque decoration.

Fig. 5. G. Udine, *Loggia of Cardinal Bibbiena*, Vatican Apostolic Palace, 1519.

Style, colors, schemes of decoration and use of the grotesque turn this work into the best artistic echo of the *Domus*. The Loggia was structured as a rectangular room of about 16 meters long (De Vecchi 2002, 294). The decorative schemes used in this work had no precedents in design and style. The spaces were prepared *all´antico* following the examples of the grotesque based on *Domus* (Freedberg 1961, 318; Dacos 1966, 43-49; La Malfa 2000, 259-270). The story of the rediscovery of the grotesque begins with Vasari and continues later with other artists such as Pinturicchio in Siena or Peruzzi. Raphael himself had used the grotesque in the years 1512-1513 in the Stanza della Segnatura. In the 1480s two generations of artists had already inspired the ancient Roman frescoes. According to La Malfa (2000, 259-270) can be used as a *terminus ante quem* of *Domu*'s discovery date of 1479, as this year included the works of St. Jerome's Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, whose influence is clearly demonstrated. According to Dacos (1966, 43-49), from the late fifteenth century the influence is huge in this grotesque Italian art, and the Chapel of Santa Maria is the first example that shows the vision of the grotesque polychrome based Nero's *Domus*. For the first time the use of the grotesque becomes dominant motive rather than a resource (Averini 1957, 33). The interior of the building is composed of architectural motifs and vegetables. With the interior decoration of this room Bibbiena, designed by Raphael and which also helped Giulio Romano, G. Udine recovered directly and completes the entire ancient atmosphere (Venturi 1889, 158).

In this work, G. Udine is focused on developing the natural sense of the matters taken from Antiquity, especially in relation to the iconography animal and vegetable, as Vasari transmitted to us (Bettarini-Barocchi 1966). The news about G. Udine is inserted in the *Vitta di Raffaello da Urbino. Pittore et Architetto*, 197, we can read: "*e per Giovanni da Udine suo discepolo, il quale per contrafare animali è unico, fece in ciò tutti quegli animali che papa Leone eveva: il cameleonte, i zibetti, le scimie, i papagalli, i lioni, I liofanti et altri animali più stranieri…*". G. Udine was the consummate specialist from the

time the ornamental decoration of the interiors, 201: "*Fecevi fare da Giovanni da Udine un ricinto alle storie d´ogni sorte fiori, foglie e frutte in festoni che non possono esser più belli*". This refined decorative complex was the logical completion of the Loggia and the last reflection of the classical tendencies of art at the court of Leo X.

The grotesque in the Loggia are considered the most prominent of the work for its modernity and classical inspiration. The characteristics of the grotesque are those who know from their use in ancient Rome: symmetry, lightness of composition, elements of fauna and flora, small floral motifs combined with human motives (Dacos 1977, 34). In the interior decoration are clearly represented sea creatures, winged cherubs with chariots drawn by snails, anthologies real wildlife (dolphins, cranes, cats) and imaginary (sphinxes, satyrs) crowded the walls next to vases, divinity and cupids (fig. 6). The sense that emerges from the work is that there is greater confidence of G. Udine and colleagues with the grotesque *all´antico*.

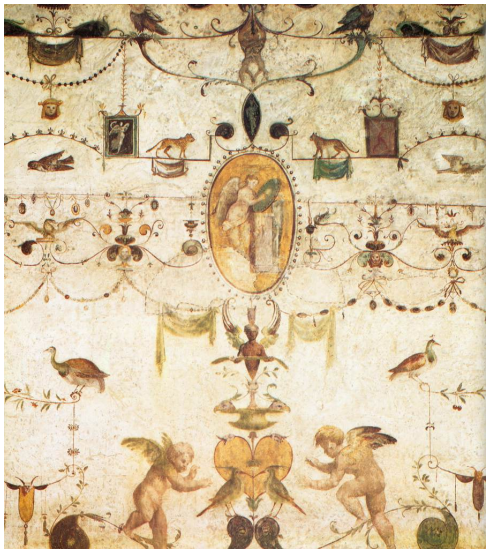

Fig. 6. G. Udine, *Detail of side corridor Loggia of Cardinal Bibbiena*, Vatican Apostolic Palace, 1519.

The importance of nature in this work is essential. The scrolls of acanthus and olive branches are intermingled continuously with small ornamental motifs. The sequence of medallions on the Loggia of Cardinal Bibbiena also appears to be directly inspired by the *Domus*, as the iconography of animal or vegetable decoration. Objects inserted into the grotesque decoration of G. Udine is a lot closer to the Nero's *Domus* painting style marked by naturalism through realistic imitation of the compositions and objects. The early prototypes were used as a basis in this grotesque decoration. This attraction to the classical fantasy is perfectly reflected in the anonymous *Antiquarie prospettiche romane*, a short poem written in the vernacular from 1499 to1503 and reflect perfectly the artistic and cultural atmosphere in which G. Udine was involved (Govi 1876, 125-31): "*Hor son spelonche ruinate grotte/di stuccho di rilievo altri colore /di man di cinabuba apelle*

giotte / Dogni stagion son piene dipintori / piu lastate par chel verno infresche /seconfo el nome date da lavori / Andian per terra con nostre ventresche /con pane con presutto poma e vino /per esser piu bizzarri alle grot-tesche /El nostro guidarel mastro pinzino /che ben ci fa aottare el viso elochio /parendo inver ciaschun spaza camino / Et facci traveder botte ranochi / civette e barbaianni e nottiline / rompendoci la schiena cho ginochi".

Conclusion

G. Turnbull published *A Treatise on Ancient Painting* (1740) to argue in favor of the educational usefulness of the finer arts, based on the idea that painting was a kind of language, conveying ideas and truths about life, philosophy and nature. This treatise has been very useful for us to establish different conclusions. The comparison between Pausias and G. Udine is successful from different perspectives. The literary work of Pliny was still the most important referent to discuss the theme of classical painting. I am suggesting that in the cultural context in which Turnbull wrote his treatise, examples of classical artists could act as rules of conduct for contemporary artists. In addition to this, when Turnbull compares Pausias and G. Udine is legitimizing his argument on the validity of classical art in contemporary society (*A Treatise*...II, 147): "Moral Pictures, as well as moral Poems, are indeed Mirrours in which we may view our inward Features and Complexions, our Tempers and Dispositions, and the various Workings of our Affections. 'Tis true, the Painter only represents outward Features, Gestures, Airs, and Attitudes; but do not these, by an universal Language, mark the different Affections and Dispositions of the Mind?"

Therefore, it is possible to establish various conclusions on the influence of classical painting in G. Udine. First of all, the style and thematic variety of both painters (Pausias and G. Udine) is extremely similar. Once analyzed all the data of both painters exposed, we can conclude that the pictorial innovations carried out in the artistic context of Greece in fourth century AC were disseminated in Rome in the sixteenth century thanks to the discovery of the old golden residence of Nero. Thanks to this stylistic link, both painters had a parallel artistic career in terms of themes and pictorial genres treated: representations of flowers, vegetables and animals. Given his artistic expertise and the avant-garde of his style, they were distinguished as the leading specialists in a particular technique: encaustic by Pausias, and stucco combined with white marble by G. Udine. As a final conclusion, it seems obvious and necessary to reaffirm the idea that it is possible to study classical Greek and Roman art from the posterior view given by the treaties of paintings by seventeenth and eighteenth century. This new perspective, combined with the material and written sources of Antiquity, provides a research methodology that can only enrich our knowledge of ancient material culture.

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The hierarchy of cereals by an ancient scientist in *De alimentorum Facultatibus* I: the properties of grain for bread making

Nelson Henrique da Silva Ferreira[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 29-44

Abstract

When approaching the nature of things, Galen of Pergamon tends to use an analytic process based on the relation between different elements interacting in a particular system. With respect to ancient eating habits and health, this way of collecting information and formulating hypotheses has a kind of potential for generating hierarchies and is attested to in *De alimentorum facultatibus* I, in which foodstuffs are evaluated considering the particular result expected on a subject's metabolism. This paper aims to describe the manner by which a hierarchical construction is made in respect to the qualities of grains. In order to understand how such a method serves Galen's science, it offers a systematization of his commentaries and notes on the different kinds of grains and their nutritional properties in the equation: human body condition + (cereal + type of processing) = body reaction.

Keywords: ancient science, Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, cereals, ancient medicine.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 28/5/2018

[*] Universitat de Barcelona / Universidade de Coimbra. E-mail: nelsonhenriquecechuc@gmail.com.

The hierarchy of cereals by an ancient scientist in *De alimentorum Facultatibus I*: the properties of grain for bread making[1]

Nelson Henrique da Silva Ferreira

2. ⌈Inana⌋, glossy mane, is a perfect beauty
3. Maiden, mane of the mountain goat [...] ⌈stag⌋, [...] stag
4. ⌈Inana⌋, mane of the mountain goat [...] [stag], [...] stag
5. The Maiden, multi-coloured as grain heap, is suitable for the Lord[2].
6. Inana, multi-coloured as grain heap, is suitable for Dumuzi
7. Maiden, you are a heap of hulled grain[?] (gu_2-nida), turned in luxurious,
8. Inana, you are a heap of hulled grain[?] (gu_2-nida), turned in luxurious.(...)[3]

De alimentarum facultatibus is far from being easy reading, whatever one's skill in ancient Greek. Depending on the objects under analysis in his text or the sources quoted by Galen, distinguishing Galen's own opinion on a subject from anecdotes[4] or from opinions of ancient physicians or philosophers known by Galen but not quoted in his speech can be puzzling[5]. Furthermore, there is great intertextuality between Galen's writings, for he tends not to fully restate information already given in previous works - information that would be helpful in clarifying the subject when looking at a single work. In the case of a later text, such as *de alim. fac.*, cross references are abundant, even in a text that resumes and updates previous dispersed considerations on the properties of cereals, both by Galen himself and other authors mentioned by him. For this reason, for those not engaged in philological debates or studies of the Second Sophistic and who would rather extract the maximum contextual and technical information from the text, it may be useful to have a kind of guide while reading it. This paper intends to summarize and offer insights into the technical information concerning the properties of bread, taking into account Galen's own teachings and following his own method of classification: the properties of the foodstuff as markers for defining value.

[1]The research for this paper was made supported by the fellowship SFRH/BD/93806/2013, granted by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia.
[2] cf. Sefati 1998, 243.
[3] (…) 2. [d][inana] kun-sig$_3$ mul-mul-la sig$_7$ sag$_9$-ga-am$_3$ / 3. [lu2]ki-sikil] kun-sig$_3$ daraḫ X [lu?]-lim X lu-lim-ma / 4. [d][inanna] kun-sig$_3$ daraḫ X [lu]-lim X lu-lim-e / 5. [lu2]ki-sikil še-zar-maš-gin$_7$ gun$_3$-[a] lugal-ra tum$_2$-ma / 6. ^{d}inanna še-zar-maš-gin$_7$ gun$_3$-a ^{d}dumu-zid-ra tum$_2$-ma / 7. lu$_2$ki-sikil še-zar gu$_2$-nida?-a ḫi-li šu gi$_4$-a-ĝen / 8. ^{d}inana še-zar gu$_2$-nida?-a ḫi-li šu gi$_4$-a-ĝen. Sefati 1998, 242-3.
[4] Vide Mattern 2008, 40-47.
[5] Vide also Singer 1997.

Grain would have been considered the staple food par excellence and thus it was the focus of ancient authors who studied culture, the technicalities of flora (or agriculture), or healthcare[6]. For example, Cato the Elder specifies the amount of wheat and bread appropriate for good domestic management and, by comparison, relegates all other foodstuffs to a secondary role (Cato. *Agr*. 56-58). Vegetius, writing on the supply of the army during a military campaign, says that grain, along with wine and salt, are the provisions whose scarcity should be avoided at all cost (vide Vegetius 3.3)[7]. This importance is underlined by the variety of uses for different kinds of cereals, and follows the correlation: production / quantity / consumption / food quality. Accordingly, the products derived from cereal grains were valued according to the type of grain they contained.

It is obvious that grain was crucial for the Mediterranean diet[8], but the degree to which ancient people knew the benefits or drawbacks of such food is not known. Nutritional science based on a food's metabolic and organic compositions and functions is relatively new and so assumptions cannot be made as to the habits of Romans from today's knowledge of the properties of foodstuffs. However, knowledge about the food ancient people ate (or would have liked to eat) can give us clues about the empirical knowledge of Roman consumers and producers as well as revealing their cultural habits, which in turn may give us some insights into society, economic activity and even the political establishment[9].

Galen constructs a hierarchy of different types of bread, or rather the qualities that are attributed to each kind of bread, basing it on the quality of the cereals, and the methods of processing and cooking them[10]. It is important to note that Galen's understanding, and that of the wider population of the time respect both the quality and properties of a particular type of cereal would not necessarily concur with the different realities of the various regions of the empire - such knowledge came from assumptions based on tradition and empiricism resulting from observation and experience in specific contexts. In this regard and most importantly, we should note that the considerations made here are based solely on Galen's treaty *de alimentorum facultatibus I* and not on the production process and qualification in antiquity per se, compared to archaeological data or to other ancient authors' notes on diet. I aim to systematize the data provided by *de alim. fac*. in order to understand cereal consumption in antiquity from the eyes of Galen but not so much to study the efficiency of production or the technical accuracy of Galen and the previous authors that inspired him, as without Galen's own reference to his

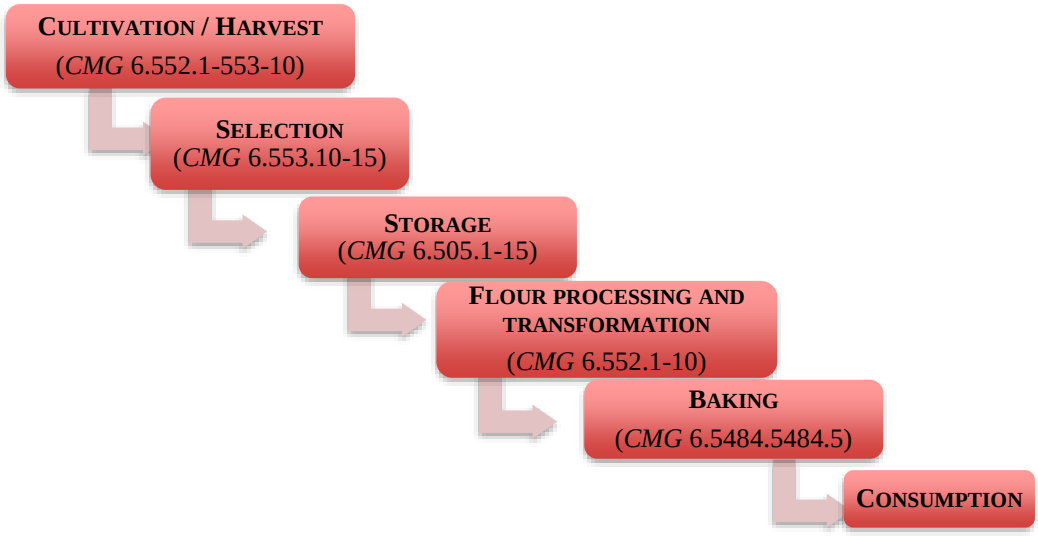
[6] Galen's first approach on grains regarding diet is in *De subtiliante diaeta* (Wilkins 2002, 47-55).
[7] Cool (2016, 10) presents data collected from an ancient site in Britannia, identifying the production of the most common cereals' in antiquity: emmer, spelt and wheat – to which millet should be added.
[8] Zafrai (1994, 63-68) gives a paradigmatic example of the importance of cereals in macro and micro economic organization in Roman Palestine. Erdkamp (2005, 258-330) notes how crucial grain was in the food supply of the population and in the maintenance of a social system.
[9] Vide Garnsey 1988, 198-217.
[10] About the milling process vide Thurmond 2006, 32-51.

predecessors regarding *de alim. Fac.* this would be a highly speculative exercise, and difficult to substantiate[11].

1. *The cereal in* alimentorum facultatibus I

1.1. *Selection and consumption*

Summarizing, the quality of bread depends on the characteristics of the grain and on the purpose motivating the baking of the final product, which depends on the result of five basic steps, according to Galen:



At this point it must be mentioned that the format of main source text for this paper is not schematic, so the data presented here is reconstructed from Galen's reports and not paraphrased, although the diagrams and tables presented here could suggest otherwise.

Galen recognized the great importance of wheat (πυρός, *Pyros*, *Triticum vulgare*) for most of the Mediterranean peoples, and for this reason many doctors who worked with food in their practice wrote about this particular cereal (cf. *CMG* 6.480.10-481.1). Although wheat had been understood as being a single species, Galen identified a variety of physical characteristics distinguishing various kinds of this grain which affect quality and nutritional value. A hierarchy was formulated based upon the effects on the human body rather than agricultural concerns such as the cost/profitability of production, special needs for cultivation (soil types, requirements of water and light, etc.)[12]; biological characteristics (such as resistance to pests), or the impact of meteorological conditions on crop growth, germination time, etc. All commentaries regarding such questions were

[11] There are exceptions as Theophrastus, Aristotle or Dioscorides, whose works are known today.
[12] In depth comment will not be made on the production of cereals since Galen himself makes little reference to production, presenting only generalized and analytical comments on the subject (cf. *CMG* 6. 552.1-553.5, 553.5-553.1).

peripheral to his treaty[13]. At this point, it is important to note that it is not always clear whether Galen refers to a specific type of cereal or to a variety of wheat[14]. In fact, Galen himself was unclear, as can be seen repeatedly in *De alimentorum Facultatibus*. Nevertheless, wheat is the point of reference for the classification of cereal in *de alim. fac.*

In his analysis of wheat seeds, Galen observed a crucial factor for the identification of the properties of wheat, which influenced the process of selection, preparation, and consumption. That is, the denser the seed is, the more nutritious it will be (*CMG* 6.481.1-5). In direct contrast, if it is less dense, it will be less nutritious (*CMG* 6.481.1-10).

Such analysis focuses on the interior of the kernel since, according to Galen, the exterior appearance could give misleading results, and only by testing can quality be proven (*CMG* 6.481.5-10). Therefore, a superficial analysis is recognized as useful but fallible, meaning it has little value for appraising the grain itself. The examination of the grain may have been more detailed and more objective when the seed was being prepared for sowing and generally, flour would be only superficially analysed. In this sense, Galen notes that sieving would not always result in the most appropriate seed selection to obtain the purest flour. Thus it can be assumed that the qualitative classification of the wheat crop would be a result of an examination of the seeds subsequent to their selection by appearance, that is, once the bulk of seeds had been chosen; some would be separated and opened in order to verify the consistency of its interior, thus serving as a sample for the remaining harvest. Obviously, this method did not guarantee a perfect, unambiguous filter; however, one must take into account that there would have been a prior 'genetic sieve', as the seeds sown to achieve the present harvest would have been pre-selected - although there is no information in what way and in to what scale such an enterprise would have occurred in cereal cultivation[15].

Perhaps the constant scourge of famine in antiquity, described in the *de. Alim. fac. I*, resulted from widespread negligence in the selection of the best grain (cf. *CMG* 6.517.15-518.5). Agricultural territories were the 'breadbasket' of the empire, and as cities did not produce enough cereal to provide for their citizens, there was an extreme dependence on wheat imports. This meant that the farmers themselves, whose production was sent away, sometimes did not have sufficient wheat for their own consumption (cf. *CMG* 6.517.1-15). In other words, scarcity reduced selectivity and the demand for quality products. In fact, Galen often refers to this throughout his text (cf. *CMG* 6.522.15-523.10)[16]. (see table 1.3)[17].

[13] An exception is made when Galen writes about his father's farming activities (*CMG* 6.552.1-553.10).
[14] Pliny is the greatest literary source of information on cereal varieties in Rome (Plin. *Nat.* 18.48–51). The small 'fava legumes' that could be dried for storage and later consumption are included in the category of grains together with cereal grains. On storing and uses of grains vide Cool 2006, 73-74.
[15] Vide Col. 2.9.
[16] For modern production of various types of cereal in the contemporary and ancient rural Mediterranean area, vide Halstead 2014. On the demand and intervention in the cereal market by imperial and Republican authorities vide Morley 2002, 55-82.
[17] Re selectivity on quality and quantity of food, Columella noted the obvious - that the poorest people had fewer options. (cf. Col. 10 *pr*. 2)

1.2. *The qualities of cereals and the secondary status of millet in* de alim. fac.

Barley is presented as being consumed in equal quantities as wheat, but having a relatively lower nutritional value except when both were bad quality. In such cases, barley is deemed to be slightly superior, probably as it is less harmful to both digestion and excretion (cf. *CMG* 6.501.1-503.5; *CMG* 6.506.5-506.15). Galen also looks at barley and supports his analysis of the quality of wheat itself, either for its nutritional value or for the quality of crops, in regards to the amount of impurities in comparison with other grains (cf. *CMG* 6.552.1-553.5). In fact, he follows the same methodologies for the analysis of all cereals considered in *de alim. I*. However, although Galen does examine other grains, they are all compared to wheat: wheat is the paradigm.

There are some issues with his dealing of the three cereals, *tife*, *Olyra* and *zea,* the differentiation and classification of which are not clear in Galen's commentaries - perhaps because the author himself was not able to distinguish them accurately (see table 1.3)[18]. Moreover, this problem indicates the lack of a well-defined vocabulary for botanics at that time. Such predicaments can also be appreciated in the texts of other authors quoted by Galen, such as Menesitheos. In fact, Menesitheos may serve as a scapegoat for Galen's ignorance, although sometimes the latter states his disagreement with Menesitheos, stating his own position on the subject (cf. *CMG* 6.510.15-514.10). There are also differences with other authors, such as Theophrastus (cf. *CMG* 6.516.1-10), Herodotus (cf. *CMG* 6.516.10-15), Dioscorides (cf. *CMG* 6516.15-517.5) or Homer himself (cf. *CMG* 6.522.1-522.10), highlighting discrepancies for regional classifications and different uses for different grains. Taking the difficulty of having a precise definition and name for each of the three above-mentioned cereals as his starting point, Galen expands on his discussion, naming other cereals that could be related, such as *setanius*, 'naked barley' (γυμνὴ κριθή) or *zeopyros,* about which he gives no further information; he also reviews the regions where these grains would have been used and their suggested relationship with the group of *tyfê*, *olyra* and *zea,* which had similar features (cf. *CMG* 6.520.5-520.15). Galen sometimes considers all those cereals to be on an equal standing, but at other times he distinguishes them according to the habits among the peoples who consumed them. Such information may have been taken from Galen's own experience or from the cultural habits narrated by other unidentified authors.

The ambiguity concerning species of grain may have been due to a lack of definition of a standardized vocabulary for botanics, which the author recognizes as a problem. Furthermore, in general these seeds would result in a very similar end product, which would be easier to evaluate on a superficial and generic level. Galen's attention is also focused on the final product (cf. *CMG* 6.520.10-521.5).

The selection process of the seed for production and sieving are obviously key in defining the quality of flour. More important than obtaining a perfect flour was obtaining the 'right' flour. That is, a specific type of flour for baking. Galen gives some limited data about the harvesting process and quality control taken from his father's life experience

[18] Vide Wilkins 2005 on this matter.

(*CMG* 6.552.1-553.10). As well as identifying the importance of crop selection, Galen notes the frequent neglect of those who worked to obtain larger harvests, with no regard to quality; he believed and that this would have consequences for consumer health:

"He also found some such changes occurring with other seeds, which is why he instructed those using them, so that they might be healthy when used, to pick out everything harmful whenever the seeds are brought and not to ignore them as the public millers do.

Mark you, once, when it had been a bad year, a great deal of darnel had been generated in the wheat, which neither the farmers properly cleaned out with the appropriate sieves (for the total of wheat cultivated was small), nor did the bakers for the same reason, and at once many headaches occurred and, with the onset of summer, skin ulcers, or some other occurrence indicating an unhealthy humoral state, arose in those people eating it." (*CMG* 6.553.1-553.10, trans. Powell [2003])[19].

The author notes the negligence of the public services during the processing of cereals and supply of the population, in what should have been a redistribution role of the State [20]. Nevertheless, a description of bad practice does not imply a generalized ignorance of the best way to obtain good bread (cf. *CMG* 6.553.10-15). Rather, it reflects something quite common and can be seen today: mass production at the expense of quality, i.e. – profit as a driving force for production.

Millet is another common cereal produced in most regions of ancient Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean. The frequency this grain was sown was not so much a result of its properties as a high-quality supply, but a consequence of its resistance when compared to other cereals in areas where soils were less fertile and the weather drier. In fact, during the 1990s, it was the main cereal cultivated in the south of the Sahara, and it still enjoys a production on a large scale on the Russian steppes[21]. The difficulties of farming in ancient times should be borne in mind: both tilling techniques and care of the seeds, as well as the limitations imposed by the maintenance of soil fertility and by the irrigation techniques available. One would expect Galen to have paid greater attention to this cereal, at least considering the levels it would have been consumed at in antiquity. Nonetheless, Galen did not write at length about it. The lower quality of this grain may have led Galen to consider its analysis superfluous; he may have thought people should not consume it at all, so there would not be need for advice and instruction on it. However, this may contradict what went on in reality according to ancient sources (cf. Plin. *Nat* 18.100; Col. 2.9.17-19).

[19] *CMG* 6.553.1-553: εὗρε δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄλλα σπέρματα τοιαύτας τινὰς γιγνομένας μεταβολάς, ὅθεν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἐκλέγειν ἅπαν τὸ μοχθηρόν, ὅταν εἰς χρῆσιν ὑγιεινὴν ἄγηται τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς δήμοις ὑπηρετούμενοι σιτοποιοί. μοχθηρᾶς γέ τοί ποτε γενομένης ἀγωγῆς ἔτους αἶραι πάμπολλαι κατὰ τοὺς πυροὺς ἐγεννήθησαν, ἃς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς οὔτε τῶν γεωργῶν ἐκκαθαράντων τοῖς εἰς ταῦτ' ἐπιτηδείοις κοσκίνοις (ὀλίγος γὰρ ὁ σύμπας ἐγεωργεῖτο πυρός) οὔτε τῶν ἀρτοποιῶν διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, ἐν μὲν τῷ παραχρῆμα κεφαλαλγεῖς ἐγίγνοντο πολλοί, τοῦ θέρους δ' εἰσβάλλοντος ἕλκη κατὰ τὸ δέρμα τῶν φαγόντων οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἤ τι σύμπτωμα ἕτερον ἐγίγνετο κακοχυμίας ἐνδεικτικόν (cf. *CMG* 6.518.10).

[20] For data on Roman government interventions in the grain market and the purchase of grain to supply Roman requirements see Temin 2013, 29. Vide also Garnsey 1988, 69-86; 182-197; 218-243.

[21] Cf. Spurr 1983.

Roman agronomists debated on the most suitable type of soil for cultivation, however, they did say that there was no generalized awareness as to how to nurture this cereal. It was Columella who best seemed to identify the needs of this crop. This Latin agronomist said that millet did well in sunny, loose terrain, also in sand, if watered, or planted in a wet environment. It did not prosper on dry, extremely poor soil (Col. 2.9.17). In this context, Galen agrees with Cato, who recommends rich soils in humid areas (Cat. *Agr*. 5.6.1) for planting rape, turnips, millet and panic-grass. It should be noted that this statement refers to the Italian peninsula, which was also mentioned by Pliny (cf. Plin. *Nat*. 18.100-1). Later, the same author notes that this cereal does not do well in irrigated areas during the summer, unlike most crops, so should receive less water; this agrees with Theophrastus' teachings (*HP* 8.7.3). The variety and volume of comments denotes its widespread cultivation and the easy adaptation of millet to zones of higher ground or that are close to large water sources in the Mediterranean area. Galen did not directly compare millet with other cereals, at least in respect to its properties for baking, most likely because of its low quality. Still, humans did consume this cereal (cf. *CMG* 6.523.10-524.1), and consumption of poor quality grain is noted for other crops, such as *Zea*. Consumption may have been out of necessity (cf. *CMG* 6.5131-513.10)[22].

Millet does not seem to have been the most popular cereal for human consumption but it was, and still is, a source of food for livestock, serving as fodder for farm animals (Col. 6.3.3; Cat. *Agr*. 54.4). Columella gives instructions on how to prepare it (cf. Col. 6.24.5). Both Diocles of Athens and Celsus refer to it as a potential *pharmacon* (cf. Plin. *Nat*. 22.30; Col. 6.12.4), but there is not a great deal of information on the importance of this cereal for bread production (vide table 1.4), although it may have been widespread.

Conclusion

Galen's observations are important not only for the study of ancient medicine and culinary history, but also for understanding the productive and economic value of certain goods within social history. Galen would not be the only scholar considering these matters and relating those products with an empirical and generalized consumption, therefore, his assumptions probably reflected a historical reality. Galen's observations would reflect demand, production and cost of breads for the consumer: the variables defining the volume of consumption of each cereal by the general population.

This brief survey has aimed to systematize the information on grain provided by Galen in the first book of *de alimentorum facultatibus*, to make it more accessible to other researchers working in different fields of science, and hopefully bring some light to blind spots in the realm of archaeology. The first volume of *De. Alim*. is an important source for knowledge on the consumption of and the attitude toward cereal in antiquity, not so much for the encyclopaedic information it can provide, but for the explanation of what seems to be the generalized and traditional knowledge respect on different types of grain

[22] Columella mentions *zea* as a grain used among the Greeks to feed animals and also that it was known also as *carnicis* or *tripharis* (*De arboribus* 28.1).

in Galen's time. The following tables summarize the information provided by Galen in his treaty.

Listed cereals

Table I.1 The quality of wheat for baking, dense vs. porous: consistency, nutrition and appearance

Mass F (density)	**Nutrition**	**Appearance**	**Mixed bran (Πιτυρίας) – f. proportional**	**Flour Purity**	**Volume F (nutrition)**	**Digestive potential**	**Excretory potential**
Dense (*CMG* 6.481.1; 483.5-15)	Superior (*CMG* 6.481.1-5; 483.5-15)	Yellower (*CMG* 6.481.1-10; 522.1-10)	Inferior	Superior	Smaller (*CMG* 6.481.1-10)	Superior (= all cereals (*CMG* 6.520.15-521.5)	Inferior (= all cereals (*CMG* 6.520.15-521.5)
Porous (*CMG* 6.481.1-5; 483.5-15)	Inferior (*CMG* 6.481.1-5; 483.5-15)	Whitish (*CMG* 6.481.1-10; 522.10-15)	Superior	Inferior	Scattered	Inferior (= all cereals (*CMG* 6.520.15-521.5)	Superior (= all cereals (*CMG* 6.520.15-521.5)

Table I.2 The quality of barley for baking: consistency, nutrition and appearance [23]

Mass **F (density)**	**Nutrition**	**Appearance**	**Mixed bran – f. (Proportional)**	**Flour Purity**	**Volume F (Nutrition)**	**Digestive potential**	**Excretory potential**
Dense (*CMG* 6.504.10-15)	Superior (*CMG* 6.504.10-15; 6.522.5)	Whitish (*CMG* 6.522.5; 504.10-506.5)	F = wheat (*CMG* 6.501.1-503.5)	F = wheat	F = wheat	Superior (= all cereals *CMG* 6.520.15-521.5)	Inferior (= all cereals *CMG* 6.520.15-521.5)
Porous	Inferior (*CMG* 6.504.10-15)	Yellower (*CMG* 6.504.10-15)	F = wheat (*CMG* 6.506.5-15)	F = wheat	F = wheat	Inferior (= all cereals *CMG* 6.520.15-521.5)	Superior (= all cereals *CMG* 6.520.15-521.5)

[23] The author notes the superficial evaluation as an unreliable method of verification, when made on the basis of external appearance, weight and colour (cf. *CMG* 6.481-15).

Table I.3 The quality of *tyfe*, *olyra* and *zea* for baking: consistency, nutrition and appearance

	Massa F (density)	**Nutrition**	**Appearance**	**Mixed bran – f. (proportional)**	**Flour Purity**	**Volume F (nutrition)**	**Digestive potential**	**Excretory potential**
Tifê (F = wheat?) (wheatgrass? *CMG* 6.522.1-10) (*CMG* 6.522.10; 520.5-15; 517.15-519.10)	Dense (smaller c / wheat) (*CMG* 6.522.5)	Superior	yellower (**reddish** c/ wheat) (*CMG* 6.522.1)	Inferior	Superior	Smaller	Superior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)	Inferior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)
	Porous (smaller c / wheat) (*CMG* 6.522.5)	Inferior	Whitish	Superior	Inferior	Scattered	Inferior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)	Superior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)
Olyra (*CMG* 6.522.1)	(= *tifé*?)	(= *tifé*?)	White (*CMG* 6.522.1)	(= *tifé*?)	(= *tifé*?)	(= *tifé*?)	Superior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)	Inferior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)
	(= *tifé*?)	(= *tifé*?)		(= *tifé*?)	(= *tifé*?)	(= *tifé*?)	Inferior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)	Superior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)
Zeia (=*Olyra*? Hesiod *CMG* 6.516.10)	?	?	?	?	?	?	Superior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)	Inferior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)
	?	?	?	?	?	?	Inferior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)	Superior (= all cereals 520.15-521.5)

Table I.4 - Other cereals referred for baking

Millet	It is considered a neutral food for it has a smaller nutritional value and causes little effects on the body (*CMG* 6.523.15-524.5).
Oat	It has a low consumption rate and it is of hard excretion (*CMG* 6.522.15-523.5).

Table II. Types of flour for baking: general considerations

Cereal	**Nutrition: f. Quality (density)**	**Consumption volume**	**Terms of use**	**Regions where they are regularly consumed**	**Rude quality**
Wheat	High (> barley)	High (= barley) (*CMG* 6.504.5-15)	Staple food	All regions of the empire	Generates poor nutritious food of hard digestion
Δ Semolina of wheat (*CMG* 6.496.5-497.5)	High (< Wheat) (*CMG* 6.496.5-497.5)				
Barley	High (< Wheat)	High (= Wheat) (*CMG* 6.510.15-511.1)	Staple food	All regions of the empire	Generates poor nutritious food of hard digestion (> rude Wheat)
Zea [24]	??? < Wheat	< Barley < Wheat (*CMG* 6.510.15-511.1)	food shortage (*CMG* 6.515.15-516.1)	Cold regions (*CMG* 6.511.1-514.10) Egypt (Herodotus. *Historiae* 2.32) (*CMG* 6.516.10-15)	
Tyfê or *Briza** (Βρίζα) (*CMG* 6.514.1-10; 6.517.15-519.15)	< Barley < Wheat (*CMG* 6.510.15-511.1)	< Barley < Wheat (*CMG* 6.510.15-511.1)	food shortage instead of wheat sold to the cities (*CMG* 6.517.1-15)	Regions of Thrace; Macedonia; Asia Minor; Pergamum region (*CMG* 6.517.15-518.5); Misia (*CMG* 6.522.5-523.1); Nicaea (*CMG* 6.515.5-516.1)	

*[24] Menesitheos' commentaries (*CMG* 6.512.5-513.10) quoted by Galen where not considered for the analysis of these cereals.

Cereal	**Nutrition: f. Quality (density)**	**Consumption volume**	**Terms of use**	**Regions where they are regularly consumed**	**Rude quality**
Olyra *	< Barley < *Olya* < Wheat (*CMG* 6.517.1-519.10)	< Barley < Wheat (*CMG* 6.510.15-511.1)	Food shortage (*CMG* 6.517.15-518.5)		
Oat	Inferior (*CMG* 6.522.5-523.5) (for animals?)	< *Zeia, tyfê, Olyra* < Barley < Wheat (*CMG* 6.522.5-523.5)	Food shortage (*CMG* 6.522.5-523.5)	Asia Minor; Misia (*CMG* 6.522.5-523.5)	

Abbreviations

Cat. *Agr*. - Mazzarino, A. (ed.). 1982. *M. Porci Catonis De Agri Cultura, ad Fidem Florentini Codicis Deperditi*. Leipzig: Teubner.

CMG 6 - Helmreich, G. (ed.) 1923. *Galeni de alimentorum facultatibus libri iii. Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*. v.4.2V. Leipzig: Teubner.

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Ancestors' worship at home:
An example of texts and material sources working together

Susana Mota[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 45-62

Abstract

In ancient Egypt the deceased were an integral part of the world of the living. The dead kin were perceived as extended family members and a bilateral relationship was developed between the two worlds. The deceased expected to receive from the living all the due rituals and offerings in order to ensure their well-being. Fulfilled all the needs of the dead, the living might expect their assistance and protection in everyday life problems.

It's in the context of this relationship that we see emerge the ancestors' cult as an integral part, and with high relevance, of household religion, attested since the Middle Kingdom.

The possible knowledge about this domestic religious practice results from both textual and material sources. It is the combination of texts, objects, and structures that makes possible for us to understand the motivations underlying this practice and where and how it was accomplished.

Keywords: ancient Egypt, household religion, ancestors' worship, textual and material sources.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 8/3/2018

[*]CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. E-mail: susana-mota@hotmail.com.

Ancestors' worship at home: An example of texts and material sources working together

Susana Mota

Introduction

In ancient Egypt the dead were an integral part of the world of the living. The deceased kin were perceived as extended family members and a bilateral relationship was developed between them (Baines 1991, 147, 153; Baines and Lacovara 2002, 21; Meskell 2002, 206; Szpakowska 2008, 199; Teeter 2011, 148).

It is in the context of this relationship that ancestors' worship emerges as a central part of household religion, attested since the Middle Kingdom.

The aim of this paper is to present a general characterization of ancestors' worship at home in ancient Egypt, considering the motivations, the existing sources for the study of the theme, and the way the cult was performed. To do so we will rely both on the contribution of textual and material sources[1], highlighting the inputs of each kind of source.

The ancestors' worships in ancient Egypt: motivations

Before looking at ancestors' worship at home we should start by trying to understand the reasons behind the performing of this practice. We will look at this issue broadly considering that whether it was done in the tomb or at home the motivations were the same.

In ancient Egypt the dead were divided in two groups. The *Akhu*, the justified dead, the blessed spirits who had obtained the passage to eternity (Demarée 1983, 189-278; Posener 1981; Teeter 2011, 149; Friedman 2001, 47-8). And the *Mutu*, the unjustified or damned dead, those who died violently or untimely, who did not receive the due rituals and did not obtain the passage to eternity (Szpakowska 2008, 160-1; 2009, 801-3). In this context we will consider the first ones.

The *Akhu* were understood as a powerful force who had a special relationship with the gods, mainly with Re (Teeter 2011, 149; Harrington 2005, 83-5; 2013, 7; Griffin 2007,

[1] Between 2010 and 2015, I conducted a PhD research devoted to household religion in ancient Egypt which was mainly focused on the material sources. A key result from this research is a database gathering the vestiges, with a confirmed or potential religious nature, from 30 settlements, dated from the Early Dynastic Period to the Late Period, located in the Egyptian territory and in Nubia when under Egyptian domination (Mota 2015). The material sources considered for this paper arise from this database.

138-9; Friedman 1985, 85). They were entities with the ability to communicate with the living and intervene in their life (Harrington 2013, 8). Is this ability that grounds the relationship between the living and the dead.

As Demarée (1983, 214) explains: "Deceased (usually near)[2] relatives were considered to have wide powers (...)". Baines and Lacovara (2002, 22) said: "Thus, the dead could claim to act on behalf of the living in the next world. In a manner akin to the king, they mediate between the gods and the humanity." Teeter (2011, 150) adds: "'*Akhu'* were thought to be able to intercede with the gods on behalf of the living."

In this domain, textual sources are particularly enlightening and within them the letters to the dead are considered the best ones to understand this relationship (Donnat 2007, 6; Harrington 2013, 34). These letters were texts with an epistolary form written in different materials – like bowls, linen, vessels, stelae, etc. – and then placed in the tomb of the consignee (Donnat 2007).

The senders commonly used these letters to ask the deceased for their help in various matters of daily life and these texts reveal both sides of the relationship: what the living expected from the dead and what the dead expected from the living.

The following are passages of some letters that we consider as being illustrative of this relationship.

- Louvre Bowl E 6134 – A letter from a mother to her deceased son:

> "May you make obstruction against male and female enemies who are evilly disposed toward your household, toward your brother and toward your mother. It is a mother who addresses her able son Merer[i]: As you were one who was excellent upon earth, so you are one who is in good standing in the necropolis. For you invocation offerings shall be made; for you the haker-feast shall be celebrated; for you the wag-feast shall be celebrated; and to you shall be given bread and beer from the offering table of the Foremost of Westerners (Osiris)." (Wente 1990, 214)

- Hu Bowl (UC 16244) – A letter from a sister to her deceased brother:

> "It is a sister who addresses her brother, the sole companion Nefersefekhi: Much attention – it is profitable to give attention to one who cares for you – [...]. It is for the sake of interceding on behalf of a survivor that invocation offerings are made to a spirit. So punish the one who is doing what is distressing to me since I will triumph over whatever dead man or woman is doing this against my daughter." (Wente 1990, 215)

- Letter in a stelae (Cairo Museum) – A letter from a husband to his deceased wife:

> "Now since I am your beloved upon earth, fight on my behalf and intercede on behalf of my name. I did not garble [a spell] in your presence when I perpetuated your name upon earth. Remove the infirmity of my body! Please become a spirit

[2] Teeter (2011, 145-150) states that the dead with whom the living related to were close family members recently deceased. This is based on genealogical studies performed on stelae and ancestors' busts.

> for me [before] my eyes so that I may see you in a dream fighting on my behalf. I will then deposit offerings for you [as soon as] the sun has risen and outfit your offering slab for you." (Wente 1990, 215)

- Chicago vessel stand (The Chicago Museum – E13945) – A letter from a son to his deceased father:

> "Moreover, let a healthy son be born to me, for you are an able spirit." (Wente 1990, 213)

- Cairo Bowl (Cat. General 25375) – A letter from a man to a deceased family member:

> "Fight on her behalf anew this day that her household may be maintained and water be poured out for you. If there is naught from you, your house shall be destroyed. (…) Fight on [her] behalf: Watch over her! Rescue her from whoever, male or female, is acting against her. Then shall your house and your children be maintained. It is good if you take notice." (Wente 1990, 215-6)

These texts show us that the living appealed to the dead as protectors, helpers and enablers. From the deceased kin they expected support in daily life problems such as solving quarrels, having a child, and ensuring the favor and protection of the gods against all enemies, whether humans, demons or even gods (Teeter 2011, 148; Donnat 2007, 61-2).

However, the intervention of the dead depends on the action of the living[3], this is, it was expected that the living acted in the correct manner in order to ensure a good relationship with the dead (Teeter 2011, 150).

The deceased had needs. They were as reliant on nourishing – food and drinks – as when they were alive (Baines and Lacovara 2002, 21; Muller 2001, 32). Their ability to function depends, in part, on having material sustenance (Friedman 2001, 48), so, they depend on the living to guarantee that they receive what they need – all the funerary offerings and due rituals – to ensure their wellbeing. Other texts, besides the letters to the dead, convey this idea. Some examples:

- Appeal to the living from Pahery tomb in El-Kab

> "I have become an equipped [blessed spirit],
> I have furnished my place in the graveyard.
> I have what I need in all things,
> I shall not fail to respond.
> The dead is father to him who acts for him,
> He forgets not him who libates for him,
> It is good for you to listen!" (Lichtheim 1975, Vol. II, 20)

- Appeal to the living from the Herymeru tomb at Sakara

[3] Bommas (2011, 164) compares the relationship between the living and the dead with the principle of right action dictated by Maat, the principle clearly expressed in two passages of the Eloquent Peasant: "Act for him who would act for you" and "A good deed is remembered. This is the precept: do to the doer to make him do." (Lichtheim 1975, Vol. I, 182 and 174). For more details, see Mota (2015, 210-11).

> "However, with regard to any person who shall make invocation offerings or shall pour water, they shall be pure like the pureness of god, and I shall protect him in the necropolis." (Strudwick 2005, 220)

- Tomb inscription from Ankhmeryremeryptah tomb in Giza

> "(Then) you shall make invocation offerings of bread and beer
> As I have done for your fathers themselves.
> Since you wish that I intercede on your behalf in the necropolis,
> Then teach your children the words of making invocation offerings
> For me on the day of my passing there.
> I am an excellent *akh*." (Strudwick 2005, 268)

As these texts show, the dead expected that anyone would perform the actions that ensured their well-being. However, it should be within their family that this obligation would be more felt, as we will see in the following texts:

- Cairo calendar (day 16, month Mesori, season Shemu)

> "(...) to give water to those who are (in) the underworld [...] Ennead of the west. It is pleasant to your father and your mother who are in the necropolis." (Bakir 1966, 48)

- Teaching of Ani

> "(...) Libate for your father and mother,
> Who are resting in the valley;
> When the gods witness your action,
> They will say: "Accepted."
> Do not forget the one outside,
> Your son will ad for you likewise." (Lichtheim 1975, Vol. II, 137)

Fulfilled the needs of the dead, the living could expect them to hear their appeal and to get help and protection. This idea is especially evident in the letter from the Hu bowl: "It is for the sake of interceding on behalf of a survivor that invocation offerings are made to a spirit." (Wente 1990, 215). Nevertheless, if the dead were unsatisfied they could be perceived as a threat, they could cause every kind of chaos and turmoil (Demarée 1983, 277-8; Teeter 2011, 148), becoming comparable to Mutu (Harrington 2013, 22). We can see this idea in two different texts:

- Letter from the P. Leiden I 371 – A letter from a husband to his deceased wife:

> "To the able spirit Ankhiry: What have I done against you wrongfully for you to get into this evil disposition in which you are? What have I done against you? As for what you have done, it is your laying hands on me even though I committed no wrong against you. From the time that I was living with you as a husband until today, what have I done against you that I should have to conceal it? What [have done] against you? (...) Now look, you are disregarding how well I have treated you. I'm writing [you] to make you aware of the things you are doing (...)." (Wente 1990, 216-7)

- Teaching of Ani

> "Satisfait le génie, fais ce qu'il d´désire.
> Tiens-toi exempt de son tabou,
> Et tu seras préservé des nombreux dommages qu'il cause.
> Garde-toi de toute perte.
> La bête du troupeau qui est volée dans les champs,
> C'est lui qui agit ainsi.
> Quant au manque dans l'aire de dépiquage dans les champs,
> 'C'est le génie!' dit-on aussi.
> S'il met la perturbation dans sa maison,
> C'est avec la conséquence que les coeurs se désunissent.
> Aussi le supplient-ils tous." (Vernus 2001, 252-3; Posener 1981, 393-401)

Thus, we may say that ancestors' worship was a way to guarantee that the deceased kin were a friendly support and not a threat. And, if the dead feel dissatisfied, it was a way to solve the problem and re-establish order and wellbeing.

The ancestors worships at home: the sources

Now that we briefly outlined the motivations underlying the ancestors' worship in ancient Egypt, it's time to look at the sources that demonstrate that this kind of cult occurs not only in the tomb but also at home.

Considering textual sources, we have a passage from Cairo Calendar (day seven, month Mechir, season Peret) that clearly states that the dead should be worshiped at home:

"Make invocation offering to the spirits in your house. Make *'3bt*-offerings to the gods, and they will be accepted on this day." (Bakir 1966, 31)

Unfortunately, texts do not tell us much more than this. For this subject we should rely primarily on material sources. Material sources such as architectural structures, objects, and decorations, although not in a clear or truly explicit manner, attest that ancestors' worship at home goes back to the Middle Kingdom. Let us look at these sources.

At Askut, a Nubian fort, were identified two altars: the first from the Middle Kingdom (end of the XII Dynasty/beginning of the XIII Dynasty) and another with uncertain dating but probably between the end of the Second Intermediate Period and the beginning of the New Kingdom (Smith 1993, 498-500; 1995, 102).

The Middle Kingdom structure consists of a niche modelled with plaster and surmounted by an Egyptian type cornice. In front of it there was a pedestal. The niche would be used to place a stela and the pedestal would serve to place the items used in the cult. This set was located in a reception and family reunion room (Smith 2003, 128). In an adjacent room was found a stela that would be used to worship a family ancestor. Smith (1993, 66) believes that this stela was used in the altar thus he assigns to the all set a role related to ancestors' worship.

The latest altar, located in the house of Meryka in the Southwest sector of the settlement is outlined by Smith (1993, 497): "A small altar was built at this level in room 32a, and was connected to an earlier drainage pot set flush to the tile floor. When found it still contained a funerary stela dedicated by Meryka. [...] The layout of the building, is clearly domestic in character, similar to moderate to large sized mansions at Amarna. Nothing in the associated finds would suggest anything more than a household shrine, the earliest example of a type well known from later New Kingdom in houses at Deir el-Medineh and Amarna."

This altar comprises a niche for a stela – just as it was when it was discovered – and a frontal elevation for libations. At the base there was a vase for the liquids used during rituals (Fig. 1).

In addition to the stela dedicated to Meryka – of rough work, with hieroglyphics inscriptions where is noticeable the standard offering formulae in the upper level and the representation of two figurines (a seated man in the right side and a standing one in front of him) in the low level (Smith 1993, 497 and 499, Fig. 18) – were also found, by the altar, two incense burners, a lion head in faience, and a persea fruit in the drain (Smith 2003, 130).

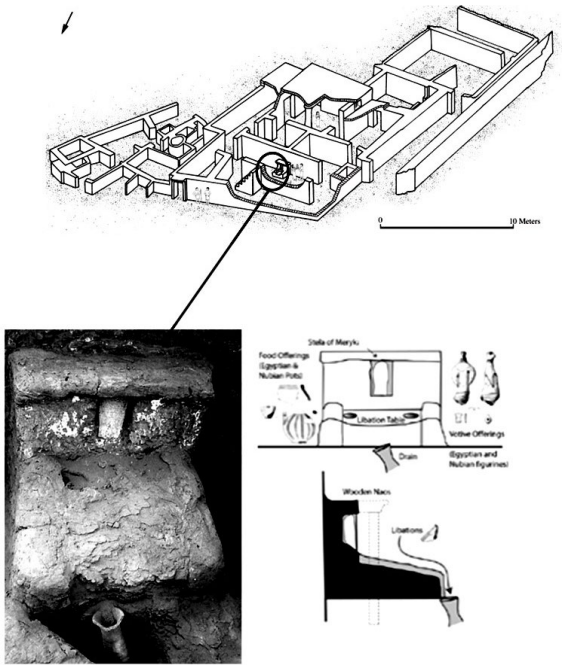

Fig.1: Reconstitution of the house of Meryka (Askut), image of the domestic altar and its reconstitution (Smith 2003, Figs. 5.3, 5.26 e 5.29).

Besides these two sets, in Askut were also found, in houses, objects usually associated with funerary rituals: a type of offering table called *soul-house*. Initially their presence at home was understood as a re-use, but factors like the characteristics of the settlement, the quantity, their presence in other settlements (like Buhen), and the other vestiges pointing

out to an ancestors' worship at home, lead to the current believe that *soul-houses* had at home the same use that they had in tombs (Smith 1995, 66; 2003, 128).

At Lisht, a settlement in the Fayum region, we know that there was an indefinite number of domestic altars (Mace 1921, 12), but we have detailed information about one of them (Arnold 1996, 15), which is exactly an example of an altar devoted for this practice.

This altar, located in the central room of the house A.13 (in the West border of the settlement), was a mudbrick pedestal on top of which was located a stela made by Ankhu and dedicated to his deceased father Mentuhotep (Arnold 1996, 17). Sadly, in this settlement we do not have other vestiges that help us to elaborate a more complete characterization of this set.

These examples show composite situations where the presence of a stela clearly related to ancestors' worship allow us to assign them a function related to this practice. Nevertheless, there are other vestiges that might also be related to ancestors' worship at home, but we could not claim with absolute certainty since they did not have associated materials that validate this idea. This is the case of the offering tables[4], stands, incense burners and basins found at Elephantine, South Abydos, Buhen, Lahun, Mirgissa, Semna, Shalfak and Uronarti. These objects are cult related but we do not know if they were used to worship ancestors or divinities (Mota 2015, 175-6).

At Lahun, another settlement in the Fayum region, we have a different kind of source: a decoration. Petrie (1891, 7, Pl.XVI-6), found the oldest known domestic decoration with a potential religious motivation (Quirke 2005, 85-6). And all points out to a representation of ancestor worship. It is a parietal polychromatic painting representing an offering scene. The composition is complex, with different elements. The emphasis lies on two human figures in the centre of the first level of the image. One figure is bigger and is sitting, the other one is smaller and is standing in front of the first one. The seated figure is receiving offerings placed on a table in front of him (Fig. 2).

Fig.2: Parietal decoration of a house of Lahun (Petrie 1891, Pl. XVI.6).

[4] The existence of offering tables at home goes back to the First Intermediate Period. At Abydos (Kom es-Sultan) was found one of these pieces, but the situation is the same, we do not know what its real use was. Probably, considering the scarcity of the presence of gods at home during this period and also during the Middle Kingdom, they would actually be used in ancestors' worship, but we do not really know (Mota 2015, 175 and 224-239).

We may assume that this painting not only illustrates a religious behavior, but it could also act as a framework to its accomplishment at home.

This collection of sources allows us to see that in the Middle Kingdom some houses could have structures, objects or decorations that attest the existence of ancestors' worship at home. However, the image of this reality is blurred. Fortunately, there is a case that takes our understanding one step further. At Kom el-Fakhry (Memphis), in 2011, the Mit Rahina Field School team identified a house (late 12th / early 13th dynasty) where existed a set that illustrate, clearly and with no room for misinterpretations, a domestic space aimed for ancestors' worship.

The Kom el-Fakhry altar, as I prefer to call it, comprises a stela and an offering table arranged together (Fig. 3). The stela had three levels of decoration: the first shows an offering table, the second a seated couple both holding a lotus, and the third has a female kneeling, with a lotus in her hand, in front of a little offering table. This level was probably a late addition. The offering table was rectangular with a small furrow to drain the liquids. It was decorated in high-relief with two tall jars, breads and the leg of an animal. Next to this set was also found a small statue of a man and a woman (Fig. 4), most likely Nyka and Sta-Hathor, the couple represented in the stela, and two fragments of a statue of a dwarf (similar to those found at Lahun) probably used as a stand or to burn incense (Tavares, Kamel 2011, 6; 2012:6).

Fig.3: Set of stela and an offerings table from a house at Kom el-Fakhry (Tavares, Kamel 2011, 6).

Fig.4: Elements of the 'altar' shown above and also a couple figurine that was found in association (Tavares, Kamel 2011, 13-14).

Although it is a singular case, this altar attests a reality which other remains, less eloquent, only allow us to have a glimpse of.

Going forward in time, let us look at the New Kingdom sources.

Dating from this period we have not only the well-known and already much studied anthropoid or ancestors bust and the *Akh iqer n Re* stelae, but also other vestiges, like offering tables, an offering stand and amulets.

The offering tables and the fragment of an offering stand originating from Deir el-Medina, contrary to those dating from the Middle Kingdom, are surely related to this practice since they have inscriptions with a direct link to it (Bruyére 1939, 246, 276-7, 329, Figs. 147 and 200; Weiss 2010, 200). For example:

- Iuy offering table

> "(...) for the *Ka* of the able spirit of Re, *Iuy*..." (Demarée 1989, 147)

- Aḥmose offering table

> "A boon which the King gives (to) Anubis... (That they may give breathing of) the sweet air of the North-wind for the *Ka* (of) the able spirit of Aḥmose." (Demarée 1989, 145)

The *Akh iqer* stelae are a well-studied source so we will not go much further with their presentation[5].

In domestic context were found only eight of these stelae: 7 in Deir el-Medina and one in Medinet Habu. However, Demarée (1983, 279), believes that much more of them come from Deir el-Medina houses: "To begin with, from the evidence available we have been able to conclude that the great majority of the *3ḫ iḳr n Rᶜ*-stelae do indeed originate from Deir el-Medina [...]. As far as can be ascertained most of these Deir el-Medina stelae appear to have been found in the Village itself, i.e., not in the adjacent necropolis."[6]

The *Akh iqer n Re* stelae, called like this due to mandatorily contain this formula[7] – the excellent[8] spirit of Re – were stelae whose decoration contained the dead – the dedicatee – sitting holding a lotus flower to his chest, with the other hand outstretched to an offering table, or grasping a cloth or an *ankh*-sign (Friedman 1985, 84-5; 1994, 112). The dedicators could also appear making offerings or worshiping the dead.

Besides the figurines, the stelae had an inscription which, in addition to the required formula, could be more or less elaborate. The inscriptions can range from the simple mandatory formula with name of the dead – "The able spirit of Re, [NN], justified" – to longer and more complex texts that could include various deities, the titles of the deceased or a complete list of offerings, for example:

[5] For a detailed study on the *Akh iqer n Re* stelae see Demarée (1983).
[6] See also Teeter (2011, 149).
[7] Griffin (2007, 130) states: "The common element which makes the stelae unique is the *3ḫ iḳr n Rᶜ* hieroglyph formula which is used to describe the dedicatee." Although these stelae arose in the New Kingdom, the *Akh iqer* concept exists since the Old Kingdom (Harrington 2005, 71).
[8] *Iker* also mean effective, perfect, skilled or meritorious (Griffin 2007, 138).

- Amenemone and Kha'emnūn stela

> "The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, *wᶜb*-priest of Djesert-Amun, Kha'(em)nūn, justified on every day forever. The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, *wᶜb*-priest of Djesert-Amun, Amenemone, justified. His son … *wᶜb*-priest of Djesert-Amun, Nebwen. Re, the great god." (Demarée 1983, 15-6)

- Pay stela

> "A boon which the king gives (to) Harakhty, Lord of Heaven, King of the gods, that he may give an invocation-offering (consisting) of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, cool water, and all pure sweet and pleasant things, for the *Ka* of the able spirit, Pay." (Demarée 1983, 34)

This kind of texts is very similar to those we saw in the offering tables and offering stand from Deir el-Medina.

According to Demarée (1983, 258), the *Akh iqer* stelae clearly illustrate the relationship between the living and the dead: "(…) the dedicatees are denoted as *ȝḫw* / *ȝḫw iḳrw*, 'able spirits'. […] They were those deceased who required and deserved to be taken care of through the medium of offerings from their relatives upon earth, but who, on the other hand, could also act in the favour of those relatives, in which role they sometimes functioned as 'mediator'. This two-way communication evidently required what we might describe as a 'place of contact', a function which in other similar instances was fulfilled by a stela. The stela was the point to which offerings could be brought and contact established between living and deceased relatives through prayers and supplications."

A B C

Fig.5 a) Ancestors bust (Amara West) in N. Spencer, A. Stevens, M. Binder. 2014. *Amara West. Living in Egyptian Nubia*. London: The British Museum; **b)** Ancestors bust (Deir el-Medina) © Musée du Louvre (E 16348); **c)** Ancestors bust (Kom Rabia) in L. Giddy. 1999. *Kom Rabi'a: The New Kingdom and post-New Kingdom objects. The survey of Memphis II*. London: Egypt Exploration Society: Pl. 14, 82.

Another kind of material sources that also appeared in the New Kingdom, and again with special emphasis in Deir el-Medina, is the anthropoid or ancestors busts[9]. In the houses

[9] Like the *Akh iqer* stelae the anthropoid or ancestors busts are a well-known and studied vestige. For more information see Keith-Bennett (2011) and Exell (2008).

were identified 15 busts: 11 at Deir el-Medina (Fig. 5b) and one at Amara West (Fig. %a), El-Ashmunein, Kom Rabia (Memphis) (Fig. 5c), and Sesebi. We should also mention a set of about thirteen busts probably coming from the settlement debris at Deir el-Medina (Keith-Bennett 2011, 11-2).

These are busts with human head, with or without a wig, and with the neck placed on human shoulders on top of a base. The busts have heights ranging between 10 and 25cm and could be of different materials, mainly limestone or sandstone. Many of them would be painted, prevailing the red and yellow colour. They could have several decorative elements such as necklaces and lotus flowers. Of the approximately 190 known busts only five have inscriptions and its content is a matter of debate since they are not very clear in their purpose (Friedman 1994, 114-5; Exell 2008; Keith-Bennet 2011; Harrington 2013, 51).

The uncertainty regarding the inscriptions goes hand in hand with the uncertainty as to the nature of these busts. Harrington (2005, 74), states: "(…) *the busts remain enigmatic*." And Donnat (Keith-Bennet 2011, 94), says: "La fonction de ces objectes n'est pas clairement établie." However, the most common perspective is that they were objects of worship in the domestic context (as they were in funerary context) and that these figures would most likely be representations of deceased ancestors (Harrington 2005, 71; 2013, 59; Friedman 1985, 94 and 97; Keith-Bennett 2011, 94).

As to who these busts represent, current research indicates the possibility – based on the scant inscriptions and iconography – that they were mainly women: "(…) l'immense majorité des bustes à perruque tripartite devaient représenter des êtres féminins, peut-être des ancêtres féminins spécifiquement attachés à la protection de la famille et de la procréation." (Keith-Bennett 2011, 96) So, the busts are essentially female figurines as opposed to *Akh iqer* stelae that were mainly devoted to men (Keith-Bennett 2011, 96; Harrington 2005, 74 and 78).

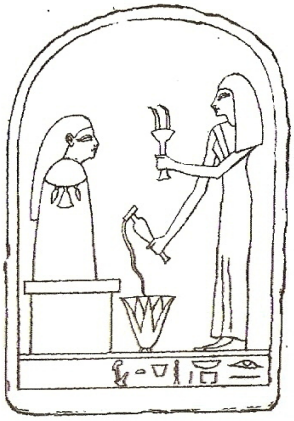

Fig.6: Representation of stela with a female figure worshiping an ancestor bust (Abydos - necropolis) In A. Mariette. 1880. *Abydos: description des fouilles (band 2): Temple de Séti. Temple de Ramsès. Temple d'Osiris. Petit temple de l'Ouest. Nécropole.* Paris: Pl. 60.

Regarding the way these busts were used, we know, thanks to the fact that one of them was found next to a niche in a Deir el-Medina home (Friedman 1985, 83; Exell 2008, 1), and two stelae – one found by Mariette in funerary context at Abydos (Fig. 6) and another of unknown provenance (Fig. 7) currently in the British Museum (BM 170 - Mota 2015, 219, Figs. 244 and 319), – that they would be placed in the niches identified in homes or on altars in the form of pedestals.

Fig.7: Stela associated with the ancestors' worship. The upper level represents, in relief, two busts, and the lower level shows a woman making offerings to a bust. © Trustees of the British Museum (BM 170).

The stela of Abydos shows a woman making libations and burning incense to a bust placed upon an altar. The British Museum stela shows, at the upper level, the representation of two busts and at the lower level a woman making offerings to a bust placed in a similar way to those from the Abydos stela. Thus, the busts could be placed in niches or altars and then a relative, probably the woman of the house, would provide him/her the due rites to ensure the well-being of both.

The idea of protection associated with *Akhu* and the anthropoid or ancestors' busts is also noticeable in twenty-one amulets, in the form of anthropoid bust, found at Tell el-Amarna. Stevens (Keith-Bennett 2011, 253), states: "The form of the remains implies the specialized function of the wear and their presence among settlement suggests they could be worn during life. (...) If intended as representations of the (recently) deceased, the amulets could have been intended to protect the wearer, a role that would seem to group them again with Bes and Toeris images."

Finally[10], in this enumeration of domestic sources for the study of ancestor worship, we must refer a type of vestige which interpretation of its presence at home has not yet been conclusive: the false doors.

[10] Note that only have been mentioned the sources which the binding with ancestor' worship has been, somehow, established and is accepted. We left out, for example, the female figurines since the uses that are usually assigned to them are more related to fertility than to the dead. However, we cannot fail to mention the work of Backhouse (2012), where the author points out the possibility of a connection between these figures and the cult of the dead.

False doors were an architectural structure which presence in homes occurs exclusively in Deir el-Medina[11]. False doors were, as the name implies, structures similar to doors, stylized, which were built into the walls of the houses. They were typically known from the funerary context in which they were understood as a contact point between the living and the dead (Meskell 2004, 69).

As to their functionality at home let us consider the words of Weiss (2010, 197): "We do know that there was a vivid ancestor cult in Deir el-Medina and hence the common interpretation for the false doors at Deir el-Medina serving as a point of transition between this world and the next, i.e., enabling the communication between the living and their ancestors seems to make good sense". This association of false doors to a cult of ancestors is also advocated by Meskell (2004, 69): "In the household context false doors provided a portal between the world of the living and the dead and were an ever-present reminder of their eternal presence. For all their ingenuity and presence, the dead required a material conduit, whether the false door or the ancestral image."

However, in the same paper, Weiss (2010, 203) also suggests a broader interpretation of these structures proposing the idea that the false doors could be a generic cult place, potential two-dimensional altars, which ritual approach does not lie only in ancestor worship but in something more wide-ranging.

Thus, false doors, whose religious nature is clear, could be intended for the ancestor worship or have a broader function similar to an altar.

To sum up, the sources for the study of ancestors' worship at home – mainly material sources – show us, explicitly or not, that this kind of cult in domestic context existed since, at least, the Middle Kingdom, and it could be identified in several ways like structures, objects and decorations.

These sources – with the help of the textual sources – also allow us to try to understand the behaviors that formed this kind of cult.

The ancestors' worships at home: the cult

The considered sources, textual and material, domestic or not, show us that ancestors' worship consists in making offerings, libations and burning incense, being that these procedures when performed at home mimicked those that occur in the tombs.

The offerings were mentioned in several textual sources already analised: the letters to the dead from the Hu bowl, Louvre Bowl E 6134, and Letter from a husband to his wife, the appeal to the living, the Cairo Calendar and Pay *Akh iqer* stela.

And they are also mentioned in the offering tables and basins from Deir el-Medina:

- Irynūfe offerings table

[11] Due to their similarity, these sources are sometimes compared with vertical niches of Tell el-Amarna. Unfortunately, they also present difficulties of interpretation (Mota 2015, 76).

> "A boon which the King gives (to) Osiris, Pre-eminent in the West, the good God, that they may give all good and pure things for the *Ka* of Irynūfe."
>
> "A boon which the King gives (to) Anubis, Pre-eminent in the Divine booth, that they may give all good and pure, pure things for the able spirit of Re, Irynūfe." (Demarée 1989, 148-9)

- Irynūfe offerings basin

> "A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty that he may give all that comes forth on his altar for the *Ka* of the able spirit Irynūfe.
>
> A boon which the king gives (to) Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, Heliopolitan, that he may give receiving the offering-bread in the front of Re for the *Ka* of Irynūfe." (Demarée 1989, 148-9)

As we have seen, the relationship between the living and the dead was grounded on an exchange of favours: the living fulfilled the dead's needs and the dead ensured their support, help and protection. The needs of the deceased were in death the same as in life and therefore they relied on the living to, eternally (Teeter 2011, 128), receive the necessary assets to ensure their survival.

Pay Akh iqer stela is very clear about what the dead expected: "(...) that he may give an invocation-offering (consisting) of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, cool water, and all pure sweet and pleasant things, for the *Ka* of the able spirit, Pay." (Demarée 1983, 34)

In short, the dead should receive[12] food products that included various types of cakes, breads, meats, beverages such as beer and wine, fruits and vegetables. This is, offerings consisted of goods aimed to feed the deceased, which was an essential element for the guarantee of obtaining and maintaining the state of *Akh* and his availability to be cooperative towards their living relatives (Teeter 2011, 128; Friedman 2001, 48; Englund, 2001, 565).

Libations and incense burning, which we consider together because they were practices that usually occurred in parallel, were also ways to worship the dead (Blackman 1912, 69). These practices are mentioned in the Letter to the dead of the Cairo bowl, in the Cairo Calendar, in the Ani Teaching, in spells, appeals to the living and Pay *Akh iqer* stela. Regarding the material sources attesting these practices we have incense burners, libation basins and the images in the referred stelae from Abydos and the British Museum and in *Akh iqer* stelae like those from Djeserka and Dhutmose (Demarée 1989, 129-134, Pls. XII and XII – A.49 /A.50).

Borghouts (1980, 1014), says about libations: "The ritual of pouring out of a liquid is a widespread practice in ancient Egypt religion throughout all periods." And Assmann (2005, 355), states: "Libation was the central rite in mortuary cult (...)".

Libation consisted in pouring water, a logic that could be construed as an offering. To make a libation was to make an offering of water (Borghouts 1980, 1014; Poo 2010, 4). Burning incense could also be understood as making an offering. This approach derives

[12] For more details about how the offerings were made, see Mota (2015, 221-2), and Teeter (2011, 130-1).

from the meaning attributed to both substances, this is, what was offered was what water[13] and incense meant and could provide.

Pouring water and burning incense were understood as ritual actions that meant purification, they both purify the space and the receptacle of the rite (Assmann 2005, 356; Borghouts 1980, 101; Goyon 1984, 84; Poo 2001, 4). However, these actions could have additionally a deeper meaning.

Blackman (1912, 72)[14], analised these practices based on Amon Ritual and considers that both substances had divine origin: "Like the libations, the grains of incense are the exudations of a divinity." Thus, these offerings mean giving to the dead (and the gods) elements with a rejuvenating and vivifying capacity. Blackman (1912, 75), explains: "(…) it becomes quite obvious why the burning of incense and the pouring of libations are so closely associated in the funerary and temple ritual. Both rites are performed for the same purpose – to revivify the body of the god or man by restoring to it its lost moisture. Under the form of libations it was believed that either the actual fluids that run from it, or these of Osiris himself, were communicated to the corpse. In the case of fumigation with incense it is the latter of these two ideas that seems to have prevailed, namely that the body was revivified not by the restoration of its exudations but receiving those of Osiris."

To conclude, libations and incense burning could correspond to purification moments and also to offerings of products that potentially could have a divine nature, corresponding to substances emanated from the body of Osiris with vivifying properties.

Texts and material sources demonstrate that ancestors' worship at home consisted of the same actions as the ancestors' worship in the tomb: offerings, libations and burning incense. These practices ensured to the dead all the things they needed to maintain their status, well-being and willingness to help.

Conclusion

As already mentioned, the ancestors' worship sought, in its various expressions, to ensure the well-being of the dead providing them with all their needs and offering them the possibility of a more promising existence in death. In return, the dead would act, for their family, as an enabling assistant, as an intermediary and not as a dangerous and threatening entity.

The texts and material sources found in houses help us to understand how this relationship between the dead and the living worked and how the cult was done.

The textual sources are very useful to understand the underlying motivations for this cult – in the tomb and at home – and also to understand how the cult was performed. The material sources, which attest that the ancestors' worship was made at home since at least the Middle Kingdom, show us the physical presence of the rituals associated with this practice and, together with the textual sources, demonstrate how it was accomplished.

[13] Note, however, that water is also regarded as essential to the dead as well as foods (Assmann 2005, 356-7).
[14] See also Assmann 2005, 355-6.

Thus, the input of these two typologies of sources is the ideal way for us to know and understand this facet of household religion in ancient Egypt.

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Chinese Historical Records and Sino-Roman Relations: A Critical Approach to Understand Problems on the Chinese Reception of the Roman Empire

Krisztina Hoppál*

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 63-81

Abstract

It has long been known that Chinese records provide a considerable amount of information on Daqin 大秦 i. e. Great Qin [synonym of Roman Empire in Chinese records]. Nevertheless, interpretation of these accounts requires a more coherent nexus. Apart from problems of authenticity of written works, characteristics of Chinese historiography and other genres should also be considered. In light of such complexities, grouping Chinese sources on Daqin by relevance, type (e. g. historiographies or geographical treaties etc.) and date (referring to events before or after the 5th/6th century) might lead towards a better understanding of multifaceted perceptions defined by their description.

In this manner, through a comparison of Daqin-picture(s) given by these accounts with a review of Roman and Roman-related archaeological finds discovered in China, the paper aims to give a more sophisticated interpretation of the reception of Rome in the Middle Empire and also intends to highlight problems on understanding Sino-Roman relations.

Keywords: Chinese records; Authenticity; Sino-Roman relations; Roman artefacts; Reception of Antiquity.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 13/3/2018

* MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group. E-mail: hoppalkriszti85@gmail.com.

Chinese Historical Records and Sino-Roman Relations
A Critical Approach to Understand Problems on the Chinese Reception of the Roman Empire[1]

Krisztina Hoppál

Introduction[2]

It has long been known that Chinese records provide a considerable amount of information on Daqin 大秦 i. e. Great Qin [synonym of Roman Empire in Chinese accounts].[3] However, it is important to take into account that despite the large variety and relative abundance of information, the relevance and reliability of these Chinese sources largely depends – among many others – on diverse natures of different works. Furthermore, the great distance and indirect contacts between Rome and China with the second- and third-hand information and vague knowledge on the West also has a great impact on the authenticity of these accounts. For the above reasons, although it is a matter of course to use such heavy materials to draw the Chinese picture of Rome, any approach to these sources requires a complex and careful analysis wherein interdisciplinarity – most significantly results of archaeology – should also play an important role.

Therefore, disregarding peculiar parameters of Chinese works and neglecting archaeological data might lead towards a rather unilateral image of Rome in the Far East.[4] By the same token, besides Chinese written materials, using Antique descriptions on the easternmost edge of the Oikumene altogether with Chinese- and Roman-interpreted archaeological finds are also essential to get a better understanding on Sino-Roman relations.[5]

Regarding the many difficulties from various problems of different disciplines, there have been only a few attempts on the integrative study of Chinese records along with archaeological finds.

In this manner, grouping Chinese sources on Daqin by relevance, type (e. g. historiographies or geographical treaties etc.) and date (referring to events before or after the 5th/6th century) in order to get distinct perceptions defined by their description, might serve as a significant standpoint towards a more complex research.

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[1] The original manuscript is a chapter of the author's PhD dissertation submitted in 2015.
[2] I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Ruth Shaffrey for her valuable comments.
[3] For etymological approach see e.g.: Lieu 2016, 123-125, 133-138; Speidel 203-204.
[4] Although analyses of texts and artefacts should play an equally important role in approaching Chinese views of the Roman Empire, due to diverse research problems of these different kinds of materials, written sources and archaeological data need to be studied separately but not exclusively.
[5] For this see: Hoppál 2015 and 2017/2018.

Grouping written materials on Daqin

Since the term Daqin was used for a remarkably long time, it is essential to differentiate descriptions presumably indicating the Roman Empire from typically later texts of the 6th–8th centuries wherein Daqin was partly or fully referring to the Βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Furthermore, the length of use which resulted in the confusion of the exact meaning of the Daqin expression within contemporary Chinese society, means it is exceptionally difficult to define the degree of Roman- and Byzantine-related data in these later works.

Nevertheless, in order to get a better knowledge of the Chinese image of Daqin and to understand what factors might took part in its formation, it is important to distinguish these two great source groups. It can be generally assumed that in texts referring to events before the 5th century Daqin mainly connected to the Roman Empire[6], while in sources referring to events after the 6th century – as intercultural connections started to flourish and the flow of information has increased – Daqin descriptions bear many new details partly or fully related to the Βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων. For this reason, an artificial demarcation separating sources referring to events before the 5th century and from the 6th century onwards has been established. At the same time, regarding complexity of these texts and problems on separating factual, fictional, moral and philosophical aspects of Daqin-related information, such demarcation can merely be considered as an artificial line on the time axis which has great importance for both the Roman and the Byzantine Empires. In this manner, a nominal act within the 5th century, the year 480 AD was chosen, when emperor Zeno declared the unity of the two halves of the Roman Empire (namely the Eastern and Western parts).

Through grouping these sources by relevance, type and the time they refer to, it is possible to form temporal and spatial patterns of perceptions. (Fig 1)

A possible structure of Daqin accounts referring to the period before the 5th century

Among sources referring to events before the 5th century several types can be determined. The most important categories of works related to Daqin are the following: historiographical works, geographical descriptions, exotica, encyclopedic collections, supernatural stories and legends, augurual books, poetry, Buddhist sutras and Taoist scriptures.[7] These various genres contain different qualities and quantities of information and are of different levels of importance. As a result, two more subgroups concerning factual details can be formed within texts related to this early date, namely historiographical works and 'Other texts'.

[6] In case of historical records, even if they were edited hundreds of years after the actual events, rewriting was minimal. Although one might assume the contrary, many argue that the below detailed nature of these late-compiled historiographies does not allow to mingle recent information with the description of period they referring to. See e.g. Pulleyblank 1981, 181; Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 20.

[7] Naming the above genres providing information on Daqin is partly based on Yu Taishan 2013, while grouping these materials by date and relevance is merely an attempt by the author. In this manner, the above categorization in many aspects differs from classifications given by the Siku Quanshu 四庫全書 etc. For this see e.g. Wilkinson 2000, 270. By the same token, it might not meet with general distinctions between truth telling and fabrication. See, e.g. Plaks 2014, 316-320.

Fig. 1

Historiographical works and the 'Others'

Historiographies are considered to be verbal accounts of the past in a narrated form, often with certain formal characteristics (Yu 1988, 2). As a result of factual and verifiable features of history, these works must contain elements of reality, or at least 'an intellectual direction towards an objective reality' (Li 2000/2001, 183). Such parameters clearly differentiate the two disciplines (Yu 1988, 3).[8] Or as Li (2000/2001, 187) has pointed out, 'truth as an epistemological concept in literary works is unnecessary'. However, it is important to keep in mind that – as Plaks (2014, 313) has stated – the significance of the term truth in the Chinese context is always something subjective and relative, directly limited to a specific human perspective.

In contrast, in the subgroup of 'Other works' (such as geographical treatise, sutras etc.) discussing reality is optional, and the role of fabrication and subjectivity might be greater in them. Therefore – in many aspects – these works are closer to literary than historical.

Many of the historiographies and the 'Other works' – with Kao's (1985, 1) words – can be characterized by a distinct kind of intertextuality which can be described as a reference to some often canonical texts with a spirit of modelling and emulation. Forms, quality and rate of such assimilation of earlier models (or pre-texts) might depend on genre-connected, intellectual, aesthetic etc. nature of the new text.

[8] Furthermore, kongyan 空言 i.e. 'empty words' or 'theoretical judgments' also play an important role in historiographical works. For meaning of kongyan see: Watson 1958, 87-89.

Some thoughts on Chinese historiography in general

Most detailed accounts of Daqin from before the 5th century can be found in the following historiographical works: the Hou Han ji 後漢紀 and four (plus one) of the standard histories.

Despite the relatively great number of private historical writings (Wilkinson 2000, 492), the vast majority of historiographical works were written by officials for officials (Balázs 1976, 189), who can be regarded as users rather than the researchers of culture and historical processes (Lü 呂 and Tong 童 1963, 101). Therefore, historiographies could only be analyzed and interpreted through a careful approach.

These works chiefly concentrate on affairs of state and analysis of political liaisons strongly connected to bureaucratic and Confucian ethics. A significant goal of historiographies called zhengtong 正统 was the effort to legitimize new dynasties, which defined the possibility and order of documents being incorporated into these compilations. Furthermore, officials were submitted to the baobian 褒貶 or praise and blame method, as they were using Confucian moral principles as a yardstick during the compilation process (Balázs 1976, 186; Wilkinson 2000, 490-491). While the bixiao 筆削, to keep the useful and to cut off the useless method resulted in a theoretical framework utilized by compilers to organize fitting data and to screen-out irrelevant or conflicting with the idea (Honey 1990, 168).

In consequence, as Li (2000/2001, 188) has pointed out, 'ideological preconditions and related intellectual techniques predetermine the nature and function of traditional Chinese historiographic writings by systematically mixing factual, fictive and axiological elements together.'

Although the above listed details are well known characteristics of Chinese historiography, their impact on authenticity has not been fully considered in many cases when approaching Daqin-records.

Standard Histories and their reliability

One of the most important and most cited materials of Sino-Roman relations is the subcategory of so called standard histories. [9] These specific types of Chinese historiographies carry a considerable amount of information on Daqin, although due to their specific features, it is important to take into account the various problems of interpretation and authenticity.[10]

Regarding texts on Daqin provided by standard histories referring to events before the 5th century, the following works can be considered as main sources of Daqin-perceptions:

[9] In many aspects, the twenty-five official histories only give special focus to the spatial centre of Chinese civilisation. See: Chang 1981, 158.
[10] A more recent analysis: Kolb and Speidel 2015, 133-140. Kolb and Speidel 2017, 40-50.

Hou Han shu 後漢書,[11] the Jin shu 晉書,[12] the Wei shu 魏書,[13] and the Song shu 宋書 [14] and in many aspects the Wei lüe 魏略.[15] Special details of standard histories affecting Daqin perceptions have been analyzed in many great publications,[16] thus only a short review of some main characteristics will be presented below.

Unlike many other historiographies, these works were all compiled by a nominal chief editor and other officials of the Bureau of Archives. (Puett 2014, 43) Compilers greatly relied on materials collected during the previous dynasties and the different groups of chapters were formed to satisfy various purposes to show a different point of view (Loewe 2008, 3–4). Since, in many cases, alternative sources were lacking, the officials used archaic data from the archives of former dynasties or based them on earlier sources by means of the cut-and-paste method (Wilkinson 2000, 501-507). Moreover, elements of prejudice, stylisation, exaggeration and dramatisation can also be detected (Mansvelt Beck 1990, 3) as well as historical mistakes and misunderstandings.

Information on Barbarians and other foreign nations usually took place in the liezhuan 列傳, the section of biographies, and in the monographs called zhi 志. As Honey (1990, 163) has pointed out, concerning characteristics of nomads appeared in liezhuans, these biographies generally contain a large set of 'topoi (stereotypical situations) standardized for each strand of the Confucian social fabric.' Similarly to accounts of nomads in liezhuans, Daqin-descriptions might also be expected to confirm a predetermined role and to contain a set of patterned formulas.

Perceptions of Daqin in Historiographical works[17]

In historiographies and typically in standard histories the Roman Empire is pictured in various clichés and stereotypical topoi.[18] Although these works provide a considerably detailed description of the geography, administration, trade and economy, including agriculture, domesticated animals and products etc. of Daqin, all these passages are

[11] Hou Han shu: Juan liushiliu Nan man Nan yi Liezhuan di qishiliu 後漢書:卷八十六南蠻西南夷列傳第七十六 and Hou Han shu: Juan bashiba Xiyuzhuan di qishiba, 後漢書:卷八十八西域傳第七十八. For originals see e.g.: Hirth 1885, 101-102.

[12] Jin shu: Juan jiushiqi Liezhuan di liushiqi Si yu zhuan 晉書:卷九十七 列傳第六十七 四夷傳. For originals see e.g.: Hirth 1885, 97-101.

[13] Wei shu: Juan yibaier [yi] Liezhuan di Jiushi Xi yu 魏書: 卷一百二〔一〕列傳第九十西域. For originals see e.g.: Hirth 1885, 103-104.

[14] Song shu: Juan Jiushiqi Liezhuan di wushiqi yi man 宋書: 卷九十七 列傳第五十七 夷蠻. For originals see e.g.: Hirth 1885, 102. For detailed descriptions: Hoppál 2011, 206-269.

[15] San guo zhi: Wei shu sanshi Wu wan Xianbei Dong yi Zhuan di sanshi 三國志: 魏書三十 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳第三十. For toriginal text see e.g.: Hirth 1885, 110–114. Unlike the works above, the Wei lüe is not generally treated as part of the official histories, although in aspects of its structure, quantity and quality of information, this unique source of Daqin can be considered as part of the historical canon. See: Table 30 in Wilkinson 2000, 503-505; Hirth 1885, 13-14; Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 65; etc.

[16] See e.g.: Balázs 1976; Chang 1981; Mansvelt Beck 1990; Wilkinson 2000; Puett 2014 etc.

[17] A detailed analysis of Daqin in standard histories has been published in Hoppál 2011. Therefore, only a short summary will be given here. For some recent works on this topic e.g.: Gong 龔 2003; Kordoses 2008; Hill 2009; Hill Forthcoming; Kolb and Speidel 2015 and 2017; Sevillano-López 2015; Janik 2016 etc. All with further bibliography. On identifications: Michelazzi 2013; Liu 2017; Lieu 2016.

[18] For example, the topoi of *major ex longinquo reverentia* can not only be detected in Daqin records but also in Seres accounts of Roman texts. See in: Bertuccioli 1997.

affected by a combination of factual and fictional elements. Although these works only had second and third-hand data influenced by the great distance and their particular interpretation of the world, it is more significant that they had the claim to make a reasonably complex description about Daqin. In these passages the Roman Empire is a distant, utopian country surrounded by mythical places. The locals are civilized and virtuous, making rare and mysterious products.

'Other Works

One of the most interesting categories providing information on Daqin within 'Other texts' is the group of geographic descriptions. These early geographies were typically written about remote areas or foreign countries some of which were personally visited by compilers of these works. Unfortunately, the originals were lost long ago and only some fragments were cited in much later works. Therefore – as Leslie and Gardiner (1996, 82) have pointed out – since these quotations are not uniform it is difficult to be sure about the exact name and compiler of the work they referred to.

The above mentioned problems typically apply to the Waiguo zhuan 外國傳 of the 3rd century composed by Kang Tai 康泰.[19] Stray portions of quotations can only be found in collections dated to the 6th–7th centuries such as the Shuijing zhu 水经注, the Beitang shuchao 北堂書鈔 etc. These citations of Kang Tai's Waiguo zhuan partly repeat or alter information given by standard histories, the Hou Han shu in particular. At the same time, new details mostly on plants and daily life can also be traced.

Similarly to Kang Tai's Waiguo zhuan, original of the Sanqinji 三秦記, probably dated to the early 3rd or 4th century,[20] has also been lost, but the work was quoted by the Taiping yulan 太平御覽 of the 10th century. The cited lines give an alternative version of the Han official, Gan Ying's 甘英 failed trip to Daqin known from the Hou Han shu and the Wei lüe.

The titles of two works on geography of Guangzhou written by Pei Yuan 裴淵 and Guo Wei 顧微 from the Jin period (265–420) are identical, both was called as Guangzhouji 廣州記. Two passages were cited in the Zhenglei bencao 證類本草, a medical encyclopedia from the 11th–12th centuries, although it is problematic to distinguish which of the two Guangzhoujis was used. Regarding the nature of the Zhenglei bencao these short lines only mention a few products unknown from previous Daqin descriptions.[21]

The Nanyuezhi 南越志 cited in the Taiping yulan was compiled by Shen Huaiyuan 沈懷遠 from the Liu-Song dynasty (420–479) and also add further items to the product list of Daqin.

[19] Other waiguo zhuans on remote areas also exist, such as the description of foreign countries of the Wu period 吳时外國傳.
[20] The author of the Sanqinji is widely accepted to be Xin Shi 辛氏 of the Han dynasty, although some scholars, such as D. D. Leslie and K. H. J. Gardiner suggest the work is referring to the 4th century. Yu 2013, 166; Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 98.
[21] See: Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 98.

Besides geographical descriptions, collections of exotics and strange customs also provide information on Daqin.[22] Similarly to geographical works, originals of these exotica or Yiwuzhis have been lost and were cited by compilations from the Tang dynasty (618–907).

Three important exotica dated to the 3rd–4th centuries mention Daqin,[23] the Nanzhou yiwuzhi 南州異物志 on oddities from the Southern region, the Liangzhou yiwuzhi 涼州異物志 and the Funan yiwuzhi 扶南異物志 on Southern Asia. These works mainly vary passages from standard histories and Kang Tai's Waiguo zhuan. However, they also add new details such as curiosities of Daqin.

Some encyclopaedic collections such as the Guangzhi 廣志 and the Nanfang caomuzhuang 南方草木狀 also give information on Daqin, although authenticity of these texts is even more questionable. The original of the Guangzhi might have been compiled during the 5th–6th centuries but the work only remained as quotations in 6th–7th century and even later works. These citations mainly refer to different herbs and other products, glass, pearls etc. some already known from other texts. The Nanfang caomuzhuang as one of the earliest collections on flora of Lingnan 嶺南 area was probably compiled at the turn of the 4th century, but more likely it was merely a forgery in the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279).[24] The work partly repeats earlier data but some new information can also be detected, such as descriptions of some herbs and perfumes. [25] Furthermore, there is an interesting allusion of a special kind of paper with honey fragrance, called mixiangzhi 蜜香紙. According to the passage, in the fifth year of Taikang 泰康五年, in 284, Daqin presented 30,000 rolls. As Yu (2013, 173) has pointed out, the Jin shu also provides information on an envoy sent by Daqin in 284/285, although the passage does not mention any products offered by them.[26]

Although supernatural stories and legends, such as Shenyijing 神異經, Dongminji 洞冥記, Bowuzhi 博物志, Waiguotu 外國圖 and Xuanzhongji 玄中記 provide some considerably new details on Daqin, fiction and reality is broadly mixed in these works, so their reliability is quite dubious again. In this manner, the Shenyijing dated probably to the Western Han dynasty (202/206 BC–9 AD) or according to other opinions to the turn of the 2nd–3rd centuries AD (Li 李 1984, 151-158) combines geographical descriptions with legends. Although it does not mention Daqin and names the country of cranes beyond the Western Sea, according to some other texts the latter might be related to Daqin.[27]

The Dongminji possibly written by Guo Xian 郭憲 from the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 AD) describes a tribute of flower-hoofed bull sent by Daqin people in the third year of Yuanfeng 元封三年, in 108 BC [28] According to many scholars such an early date is

[22] More details on yiwuzhis in general: Yu 2013, 157-158.
[23] D. D. Lelsie and K. H. J. Gardiner list more: Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 84-85.
[24] To this problem: Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 88-89.
[25] Nanfang caomuzhuang juan shang 南方草木狀卷上.
[26] Jin shu juan jiushiqi liezhuan di liushiqisi yi zhuan 晉書:卷九十七列傳第六十七四夷傳 and Jin shu juan san diji di san wudi 晉書:卷三帝紀第三武帝.
[27] In Yu Taishan's opinion it refers to the Caspian or the Mediterranean Sea. 神異經十九 Shenyijing shijiu. Yu 2013, 183-184.
[28] Dongminji juan er 洞冥記卷二.

unacceptable since Daqin was unknown in the Middle Empire before the 1st century AD.[29] Moreover, besides the Dongminji there is no evidence of such early envoy in other sources, nor in archaeological data.[30]

Similarly to the Dongminji, the Bowuzhi dated to the 3rd century also gives dubtful details on Daqin and combines Zhang Qian's 張騫 early mission in the 2nd century BC with later data provided by the standard histories (Yu 2013, 185).

Original of the Waiguotu, the description of foreign countries probably from the Jin dynasty (265–420) has been lost and only quotations exist in collections of the Tang period. These citations mainly describe Daqin people as being considerably tall with ape-like arms and long ribs.

The problem is similar in case of the Xuanzhongji dated between the 3rd–5th centuries. The original written by the Taoist philosopher Guo Pu 郭璞 was lost long ago and only collected versions can be found in Tang encyclopedias. Some details on Daqin plants are similar to the description given by the Nanzhou yiwuzhi, while new information on five colour glasses or glass-like materials of Daqin can also be found.

Augurual books or Hetus 河圖 have a contextual apparatus typically associated with the Chinese cosmology containing Confucian and Taoist philosophical thoughts and divinations. Only two of the nine Hetus dated to the Han dynasty (206/202 BC–220 AD) mention Daqin as a country located east of the Kunlun mountain where natives are irrationally tall (e.g. in the Hetu Yuban 河圖玉版 10 zhangs 丈 i.e. 231 meters[31]).

In poems, such as the Qibu fu 奇布賦 allusions of Daqin also appear. The work is generally accepted to be written by Yin Ju 殷巨 a minister of the Wu state (229–280) who later became an important official of the Jins (265–420). Unfortunately, only Tang sources, namely the Yiwen Leiju 藝文類聚 contains the whole poem which mentions another envoy by Daqin offering exotic items, such as fire proof cloth.[32] According to the text, delegates from Daqin arrived in the second year of Taikang 泰康二年 in 281. At the same time, other records did not mention any tribute of Daqin people in 281. As Yu (2013, 170) has pointed out, the description of envoys from five states of eastern barbarians in the same year given by the Jin shu does not include Daqin.[33]

Besides the above mentioned works, several Buddhist sutras dated between the 2nd century BC and the 10th century AD use the term Daqin. However, it is more likely that Daqin refers to a Hellenistic region of Bactria in these sources rather than the Roman Empire itself (Yu 2013, 203).

[29] E.g. Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 96; Yu 2013, 185. Although C. E. Ferguson's hypothesis on dating the first Sino-Roman contacts to the second half of 2nd century BC might be based on the Dongminji. Ferguson 1978, 592

[30] See Hoppál 2015, 49.

[31] Based on Twitchett – Fairbank 2008, xxxviii.

[32] The fire proof cloth supposed to be asbestos also appears among products of Daqin in standard histories. See among many Hoppál 2011, 295-296.

[33] See: Jin shu juan wuqi liezhuan di erqi luo xian teng xiu ma long hu fen tao huang wu yan zhang guang zhao yo 晉書卷五七 列傳第二七羅憲滕脩馬隆胡奮陶璜吾彥張光趙誘. Kodoses 2008; Yu 2013, 170. Nevertheless, D. D. Leslie and K. H. J. Gardiner suppose the date has to be corrected into 285, a year of a Daqin envoy mentioned by other works. Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 96.

Among texts providing Daqin accounts the Taoist scripture Taiqing jinye shendanjing 太清金液神丹經, The Grand Clarity Scripture of Golden Liquids and Divine Elixir can be considered as one of the most controversial pieces. Even its date is doubtful, since it could have been written during the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220) as well as the Eastern Jin (317–420) or Liang dynasties (502–557). Furthermore, according to its translator, H. Maspero, the Taiqing jinye shendanjing used information from the 4th century but was compiled during the 7th century (Maspero 1950, 101).

In this work a new aspect of Daqin image can be found, an even more utopian one with several fictional elements. Some details can be compared with descriptions of standard histories, although the Taiqing jinye shendanjing mostly overdraws them. Such exaggeration for instance is the depiction of a righteous ruler who cultivates his fields himself, while his wife gathers mulberry leaves and weaves the material herself. Moreover, the country has no slaves and people live in harmony as a result of following the Dao since Daqin was converted by Laozi himself.[34]

Perceptions of Daqin in 'Other texts'

To sum up problems in approaching 'Other works', the authenticity of Daqin accounts presented above is not only questionable because of subjective characteristics of these texts, but also because the originals were lost, and they are barely cited as stray and heterogenic fragments in various later works.

Nevertheless, they provide new aspects towards a multileveled Daqin picture, such as adding new items of curiosities to the products of Daqin, as did the Waiguo zhuan, the Yiwuzhis etc. Therefore, this remote country has been interpreted as a symbol of the provenance of exotics and hardly attainable rarities.[35] Furthermore, Daqin – especially in cases of Taoist scriptures and Buddhist sutras – appears as a nearly indefinable area with specific (Hellenistic) cultural characteristics/civilization(?) designating the region of Bactria in particular.

Several times reports provided by standard histories are repeated such as descriptions of the honest Daqin people in the Sanqinji or the impressive building decoration techniques given by the Waiguo zhuan and the Guangzhi. In the meantime, exaggeration also plays an important factor in these accounts. In the Shenyijing natives of Daqin live a hundred years and the Taiqing jinye shendanjing describes Daqin as a variation of 'heaven'.

Moreover, new data mostly related to Fulin 拂林 in later Tang sources can also be traced in some of these works. The Funan yiwuzhi – for instance – writes about a lamb which grows spontaneously in the earth similarly to Fulin accounts, such as in the Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書. At the same time, some of the new information on roads and envoys sent by Daqin might be regarded to be mere forgery, as we can suppose in case of the Dongminji.

[34] Originals and translations of the above cited works: Yu 2013, 129-140, 153-179, 183-214. For detailed analysis: Hoppál 2015, 35-55.
[35] From the 6th–7th centuries Persia bear the same function, as J. Wolters has pointed out. Wolters 1967, 43.

To sum up, Daqin is represented as a complex, multifaceted concept based on more subjective and fictional elements than the Roman image of the standard histories. Although, these abstract and hyperbolically idealistic factors can mostly be regarded as results of imagination, misunderstandings and intertextuality, they greatly reflect on writing conventions which partly or fully differ from the historical canon.[36]

Some examples of texts with Daqin accounts referring to the 6th century onwards - the so called 'Later works'

Texts referring to events after the 6th century typically provide information partly or fully related to the Βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Although after the 6th century the term Fulin naming this rising power on the West became more popular, some works still used the expression Daqin. Therefore, it is more than problematic to distinguish details connected to the Roman Empire from information on the Byzantine Empire in these records.

Accordingly, Daqin accounts in works before the Tang dynasty (618–907), namely the Liang shu 梁書, history of the Liang dynasty (502–557) but particularly the Luoyang qielanji 洛陽伽藍記, The monasteries of Luoyang provide a larger amount of new information which might be considered as result of the increasing degree of cross-cultural communication from the 5th–6th centuries.

The Liang shu, another piece of the standard histories, is dated to the 7th century and refers to the period between 502 and 557 which is closer to the Βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων than the Roman Empire. Although the work partly summarizes earlier sources, unlike other historiographies it does not give a separate Daqin chapter but integrates these passages into the section of Tianzhu 天竺 i.e. India. Besides, the Liang shu also adds previously unknown details to its Daqin descriptions. Thus, it contains meticulous reports of some Daqin products, such as the process of making fragrant balm from suhe 蘇合.[37] Moreover, among information repeated in Tang period works, an allusion of an unknown communication with Daqin is recorded. According to the text in the fifth year of the Huangwu reign-period of Sun Quan 孫權黃武五年 in 226, a merchant from Daqin called Qin Lun 秦論 arrived to the court. He gave a detailed report on his country and later he was released with copious gifts.[38] Although there is no mention of Qin Lun or Daqin in other texts – except collections using data from the Liang shu – some details of circumstances on his arrival can be found in historical sources. At the same time, they give a different date for the envoy.[39]

The Luoyang qielanji is accepted to be written by Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 in the 6th century and incorporates many seemingly more relevant information on Daqin along with some alteration of earlier sources. It says for instance that from the Congling 葱嶺 or Pamir

[36] For more details: Hoppál 2015, 58-60.
[37] Hoppál 2015, 32-33.
[38] Liang shu juan wuhsisi liezhuan di sishiba zhuyi hainanzhuguo zhuan 梁書卷五十四列傳第四十八諸夷海南諸國傳. For English translation see e.g.: Yu 2013, 118-121.
[39] On this problem e.g.: Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 159. More details with further bibliography: Hoppál 2015, 31-34.

Mountains westwards to Daqin foreign traders and merchants came hurrying in through the passes every day to visit the city.[40]

Works during and after the Tang dynasty – although still using the term Daqin – provide some more relevant information, more likely to be related to the Βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων combining them with reviews of earlier data (Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 107, 113). Therefore, the Daqin image provided by these works can only be indirectly connected to the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, through reinterpreting the earlier Daqin picture they give new aspects towards temporal and spatial perceptions of Daqin.[41]

For example, the Tongdian 通典 compiled by Du You 杜佑 in the 8th century can be regarded as one of the most detailed collection of knowledge on Daqin using all available data, historiographies and other texts as well. On the grounds that the Tongdian not only gathers information but also puts all data into a relatively systematic order. It also contains information that were unknown for previous texts, such as details on nations surrounding Daqin.[42]

The bilingual, Chinese-Syriac limestone block called Nestorian Stele or Nestorian Monument was erected in 781. As the heading on the stone informs the Stele of the Transmission of the Brilliant Teaching 大秦景教流行中國碑 was originated in Daqin, and also adds a detailed but archaized description of this remote country. These passages not only serve as an outstanding document of early Chinese Christianity and Tang cosmopolitanism but also give further aspects towards the multileveled Daqin perceptions. Moreover the monument also reflects on changes of image of the Roman Empire in the Tang dynasty and gives a remarkable reflection on integration of foreign.[43]

As a result, the incorporation of Nestorian Christianity into the complex, utopian and multileveled Daqin-tradition helps to understand local answers to the Non-Local.[44]

Some thoughts on perceptions of Daqin in 'Later works'

Daqin in texts from the 6th century onwards – compared with earlier sources – is typically pictured as a combination of stereotypical topoi and some more relevant allusions. In some aspects, these records understand the Roman Empire as an abstract and archaic concept but also add new information reflecting to actualities rather connected to the Βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

Furthermore, in the Nestorian Stele new features are given to these complex Daqin perceptions, namely beyond the sphere of profane a religious element also appears.[45]

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[40] Luoyang qielanji juan si 洛陽伽藍記 卷. For Chinese and English versions see: Yu 2013, 214-217. Analysis: Hoppál 2015, 60-61.
[41] For more details see Hoppál 2015, 60-68.
[42] Tongdian juan yijiusan bianfang dian xirong wu 通典卷一九三“邊防典·西戎五”.For Chinese and English texts see e.g. Yu 2013, 140-152. Analysis with further bibliography: Hoppál 2015, 61-63.
[43] Daqin jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo bei. Jing jiao liuxing zhongguo bei song bing xu. Daqin si seng jing jing shu 大秦景教流行中國碑.景教流行中國碑頌並序.大秦寺僧景淨述. Lieu 2009.
[44] A detailed analysis has been published with further bibliography in Hoppál 2014/2015.
[45] For more details see Hoppál 2015, 68-70.

Temporal and spatial patterns of perceptions

Although different aspects of Daqin appear in different types of works, the common point is that the Roman Empire is pictured by various clichés, classical allusions and stereotypical topoi[46]

One of the most frequent clichés in historiographies, 'Other works' and 'Later sources' is the topos of location. These sources locate Daqin on the outer extremities, to a remote and unapproachable area which can be considered as the easternmost part of the known world. Routes on land and sea are also added in relatively detailed form, although identifications of place names given by these passages are still considered to be matters of debate.[47]

Topos of moral superiority of rulers is also typical. In these accounts the king of Daqin appears as a righteous man who is chosen for his merits as e.g. the Hou Han shu states. Moreover, it also adds that when an unexpected calamity occurs in the country, such as the ordinary storms of wind and rain, the king is replaced by another, without feeling angry about this. This statement is varied in other texts such as the Wei lüe. Other alternatives of the virtuous ruler can also be discovered. For instance, in the Taiqing jinye shendanjing the king of Daqin cultivates his fields himself, while his wife waves a material from mulberry trees.

Moreover, moral superiority is also attributed to natives of Daqin as they being straightforward and living a peaceful life. In standard histories residents of Daqin are tall and virtuous, resemble the Chinese. In the Taiqing jinye shendanjing the locals are harmonious, there is no punishment, torture or evil people.

Mystical/magical attributes of Daqin can be considered as topos of transcendence. In the Wei lüe locals can use magic and according to the Shenyijing they live three hundred years, and they walk as though they were flying, going 1000 li in a day.[48]

Topos of peculiarity is also a common feature of different works. In these accounts Daqin people are famous for their commercial activity and high-quality articles (e. g. multicoloured glass) as among many others the Wei lüe or the Xuanzhongji describe. Several kinds of various curiosities appear in 'Other texts' such as the Guangzhouji or in 'Later works' such as the Liang shu. Daqin is also pictured as symbol of exotics just like Bosi 波斯 i.e. Persia was similarly used in the 5th–7th centuries (Wolters 1967, 43).

These utopian features largely define the Chinese image of the Roman Empire.

By the same token, hints of sinocentrism also appear. In historiographical works it is stated that Daqin was the one who always wanted to make connections with the Middle Empire. Comparing the locals with Chinese is also typical. According to the Wei lüe or the Jin shu for example, the people of this state are tall and openhearted just like the Chinese, although they wear hu i.e. foreign clothes.

[46] Such as the nomads. Honey 1990, 168.
[47] See e.g.: Hoppál 2011, 271-275; Hoppál 2015, 186-190. For further bibliography: Kolb and Speidel 2015, 136-137.
[48] Translation from Yu 2013, 183.

On the other hand, relevant details can also be found in Chinese records. Traces of factuality can be detected when comparing the different Daqin products with the list of the various goods exported to India in the Periplus.[49] Furthermore, the relays and postal stations in e. g. the Hou Han shu could also be compared to the Roman mutationes and mansiones. Chinese tings 亭 were originally built only for official use but occasionally private travellers could also rent them for a certain amount of money. A similar system was in use in the Roman Empire where an evectio or a diploma was necessary to lease the stations, while the official use was free.[50]

Despite the above similarities of Daqin picture, spatial patterns given by different work categories can also be traced.

Although Daqin perceptions given by historiographies are similar to accounts in 'Other works', subjectivity and forgery play a more significant role in the latter group. While historiographical works aim to turn towards an objective reality, 'Other works' show more flexibility in their descriptions. Partly because of these characteristics, new elements – factual or fictional also appear. However, new details on Daqin products might be a result that Daqin was considered as general symbol of exotics in these works.

Intertextuality plays a significant role in Daqin accounts, although these repeated and varied passages in many aspects are more exaggerated and mystified. Moreover, Daqin in these non-official works is often understood in a much broader sense than meaning the Roman Empire itself. It also refers to a Hellenistic cultural characteristics/civilization(?) designating the region of Bactria in particular.

In 'Later works' the picture of Daqin is greatly archaised based on revised and reinterpreted or merely copied versions of earlier accounts. In these texts a collection of factual and fictional knowledge on the Roman Empire is combined with some more actual allusions partly or fully connected to the Βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Furthermore, in Christian documents beyond the sphere of profane a religious element is also added to the complex Daqin concept.

Roman-related archaeological finds in China
A short overview

Since detailed analyses of Roman and Roman influenced objects have been published recently by the author,[51] only a short review of the most important characteristics will be presented below.

Among the archaeological finds, transparent glass vessels are considered to be the most remarkable group. Besides the significant number of glass discoveries, in some cases chemical analyses are also available, which might help to identify the origin of these

[49] Periplus 49. Also see: Hoppál 2011, 297-298.
[50] For further bibliography: Hoppál 2011, 282. As A. Kolb has pointed out ' distances of 10 li (4.2 km) between postal stages and thirty li (12.5 km) between the larger postal stations are not confirmed by Roman sources'. See: Kolb 2000, 212-213 or Kolb and Speidel 2015, 140. At the same time, it is important to take into account that 'in certain contexts the term li is used rhetorically rather than as a precise indication of distance.' See e.g.: Twitchett – Fairbank 2008, xxxviii.
[51] Hoppál 2015, 70-184; 2016.

objects. However, in several cases, the contexts of these items are poorly documented or corrupted in some ways.

At the same time, it is also significant that western-imported glass objects were discovered in a remarkable number in the eastern coastal part of the People's Republic of China. They were unearthed in burials of the most prestigious and well-defined stratum of Chinese aristocracy and were also highly treasured because of their transparency, rarity and mysterious characteristics. Considering the role of Roman-related objects in Chinese society, despite their concrete price and rarity, they might have been described from ritual and symbolic aspects as well, which resulted in value beyond the material sphere.[52]

Roman and Roman-influenced finds (glass objects, textiles etc.) discovered in the Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region regarding the cultural–ethnical diversity of the area have to be considered as a separate group. Presumably none of these items associated with such complex/varied traditions were directly connected to the Roman Empire (except transparent glass vessels that underwent chemical composition analyses). However, typical characteristics of Hellenistic/Roman art can be clearly detected. In this manner, these Roman-related objects play an indirect role in affecting perceptions of the Roman Empire. These items might also help us gain a deeper understanding of the various and complex artistic/cultural models of the Silk Road.

Concerning Roman-like metalwares, a similar pattern – taking problems of their insignificant number into consideration (only two items for the whole research period) – can be outlined.[53]

Ways and temporal patterns of communications

Through a careful approach of existing materials provided by written records and archaeological data it is possible to draw some conclusions on probable ways[54] and temporal patterns of information flow.

Standard histories typically differentiate a land route used by Gan Ying's mission in 97 AD from the waterway travelled by Andun's 安敦 delegacy sent by Daqin in 166 AD.[55] The Hou Han shu also adds that the western coast of Tianzhu (i. e. India) communicated with Daqin and the precious things from Daqin can be found there.[56] The 1st century Greek travel book, the Periplus Maris Erythraei, seemingly confirms the above statement. It not only describes the trade between the Roman Empire and India but also adds information on foreign relations with India.[57]

[52] See in: Hoppál 2016.
[53] For a detailed analysis and further bibliography see: Hoppál 2015, 73-184.
[54] Since several great publications on different routes have been published, only a short summary will be given here. See e.g.: Liu 2010; McLaughlin 2010; Hansen 2012; Seland 2015.
[55] On these envoys and other embassies recorded in standard histories: Hoppál 2011, 299-302. See also: Kolb and Speidel 2015, 134.
[56] See Hoppál 2011, 302.
[57] Periplus 64. Translation see: Casson 1989, 22. Although it is problematic to give an exact interpretation, but it is widely accepted that the name Thinae in this text refers to the Middle Empire. See e.g. McLaughlin

The earliest certainly Roman finds, namely glass vessels from Shuangshan 双山 and Laohudun 老虎墩 in the Ganquan 甘泉 region of Nanjing province, dated to the 1st century[58] also suggest maritime route(s).[59] Furthermore, the date of tombs where these objects were discovered fits together with the first dated information on Daqin given by standard histories.

From the 3rd century many new but somewhat mystified details appeared about Daqin, especially in non-official texts. An increase of information can also be recognized in the concentration of Roman objects in the Nanjing region during the 4th and early 5th centuries.[60] In this period a synchronous use of land and maritime ways could be suggested, and a combination of routes might also be common.[61] At the same time, the location of Roman-related objects dated to the late 5th century suggests a preference for the land route.[62]

Then in the 6th–7th centuries (both in written records and archaeological data) a change of quality and quantity of information can be traced as a result of increasing information between China and the West. However, these new, more factual details actually refer to the emerging Βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων.[63]

Reception of the Roman Empire in China between the 1st – 5th centuries

Many great works have been published on the Chinese image of the Roman Empire, but few take into account the different characteristics of texts along with the significance of archaeological finds. Although none of these circumstances would change the general picture of the Romans, through a series of temporal and spatial patterns of perceptions, they add more details towards the reception of the Imperium.

To sum up the perceptions in Daqin accounts provided by different text categories, the image of the Roman Empire in Chinese records referring to the period before the 5th century, is represented by stereotypical filters of second-hand information and irrelevant

2010, 59. With further bibliography: Hoppál 2015, 207-213 etc. For a comprehensive approach of Chinese records on sea routes see: Chan 陳 2003.

[58] According to the chemical composition analyses, these finds are considered to be unquestionably Roman objects. See in detail: Hoppál 2016, 100-101. X. Zhaoming cites two other glasses as being 'Roman', but according to the excavation report, in case of tomb no. 5 discovered in Jiuzhiling 九只岭 no chemical composition analysis has been made. Moreover, in the excavation report only a short description of glass, chrystal and amber beads can be found. See: Guangxi zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui 广西壮族自治区文物工作队 and Hepu xian bowuguan 合浦县博物馆 2003, 74; In Liaowei 寮尾 – site also cited by X. Zhaoming – five out of eleven glass objects were interpreted as soda-lime glasses, but their chemical compositions provided by the excavation report somewhat differ from compositions of typical Roman originated glasses. Therefore, identifying provenance of these vessels still requires further research. Guangxi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 广西文物考古研究所 and Hepuxian bowuguan 合浦县博物馆 and Guangxi shifan daxue wenlü xueyuan 广西师范大学文旅学院 2012, 538-539; Zhaoming 2014, 1234.

[59] However, it is not clear how far into the Indian Ocean maritime links of the Han dynasty went. See: Sen 2016, 538.

[60] Roman glass vessels were discovered in tombs of Eastern Jin emperors and their officials. See: Hoppál 2016, 102-105.

[61] This period shows more engagement between the coastal areas of China and the maritime world. See: Sen 2016, 542. See also: Zhaoming 2014.

[62] See: Hoppál 2015, 189.

[63] With further bibliography: Hoppál 2015, 269-273.

data along with moral, ideological and intellectual standards of the age. At the same time, despite such irrelevant and mystified elements, Daqin appears as an actual state with existing cultural, political and economical power which had commercial potential as well – although it was less significant and indirect in relation to the Middle Empire.

In spite of problems of sporadicity and poor documentation of archaeological data, the above visualisations are still confirmed by Roman and Roman related glass vessels, Roman-influenced textiles and metalwares discovered in different sites from the Eastern coastal part of China to the Xinjiang region. Nevertheless, these finds also reflect various levels of adoption and adaptation of what we call Roman.

According to the documentary and material sources, the Roman Empire was understood as a distant and therefore mystical country, thus *major ex longinquo reverentia*.[64] Its products were moved by a series of middlemen as a long-term (in some cases hundreds of years) action, which resulted in an increase in material value of these exotic objects. The country was also attributed with mystical features as it was interpreted as the manufacturer of goods often connected to ritual practice in Chinese society, which raised the immaterial value of its products.

Moreover, this complex picture was complemented with a special aspect outlined by descriptions of Buddhist sutras and textiles from the desert region of Xinjiang, metalwork, figurative and visual artworks: in these cases, it was understood as a nearly indefinable area with specific (Hellenistic) cultural characteristics/civilization(?) designating the region of Bactria in particular.

In consequence, in the 1st to 5th centuries the Roman Empire was received as an unknown and utopian but real country, which changed into a more factual interpretation gradually related to the emerging Βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων during the turbulent period of the 5th- 6th centuries.

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[64] For more details on topoi of *major ex longinquo reverentia* see: Bertuccioli 1997.

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An overview on oriental commerce in the Tagus estuary region: 5th and 6th century AD late Phocaean (lrc) and Cypriot (lrd) Tableware

José Carlos Quaresma[*]

Rodrigo Banha da Silva[**]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 82-103

Abstract

Maritime commerce connected distant geographies during Late Antiquity, through networks that surpassed different political entities. The Atlantic shores of Iberian Peninsula played a relevant role on the process, and archaeological data provided by ancient harbour capacity regions is crucial for the reading of rhythms over time.

The Tagus Estuary was a long term key-point in navigation, linking this part of Western Hispania to Mediterranean and North Atlantic trade routes, therefore facilitating supply of imported goods, and the export of local and regional commodities. Between the 5th and 6th centuries AD oriental tablewares produced in Phocaea and Cyprus were a relevant cultural habit, strongly widespreaded in coastal Western Europe and Maghreb, becoming one of the most distinguishing elements of the material culture present in the archaeological record of such chronologies.

The authors present an overview on the presence of this specific oriental commodity in the Tagus Estuary region, and discuss the historical significance of time scale rhythms observed, namely the known floruit registed in Britannic and Lusitanian contexts c. 475-525 AD.

Keywords: Late Antiquity, Oriental commerce; Late Phocaean Tableware; Late Cypriot Tableware, Tagus Estuary.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 19/3/2018

[*] IEM- FCSH/UNL. E-mail: josecarlosquaresma@gmail.com.
[**] CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. E-mail: rodrigobanhadasilva@gmail.com.

An overview on oriental commerce in the Tagus estuary region: 5th and 6th century AD late Phocaean (lrc) and Cypriot (lrd) tableware

José Carlos Quaresma
Rodrigo Banha da Silva

Olisipo/Olysipona*: texts and archaeology…*

Late Antique Lisbon is known through written sources, epigraphy and archaeological data. They are however insufficient to understand key issues such as the urban pattern, the precise localization of public buildings, or the characterization of the social framework of most of the population.

Christianity must have reached the town soon, considering its intense commercial maritime activities that afforded a profile someway cosmopolite. Written sources mention several early bishops: there are some mentions to 1st and 3d centuries AD prelates, but no contemporary source confirms them, and certainly most are, in fact, Early Modern Age inventions; the earliest well-founded reference dates from the 340´s AD only, referring to Olisipo´s bishop Potamius, who involved himself in the Arian-Orthodox controversies, having exchanged letters with St. Cyprian of Carthage (Maciel 2000).

Later on, Idathyus, bishop of Aquae Flauiae (Chaves), reported us briefly about the events of 468 AD, when a Suebic raid imposed sovereignty on the town by an agreement with its Roman praeses/defensor, Lusidius. According to the same chronicle, a Visigoth army went from Emerita in pursuit of the Suebic forces shortly later on, in the same year, having seized the town: it was that same Lusidius who made a diplomatic attempt of peace on behalf of the Suebic kingdom, without success, having the Goths "destroyed" the town's wall (Tranoy 1974).

Written sources are even scarcer from that time on, mostly limited to references concerning the attendance of Olisipo/Olysipona's Bishops to Concilia. Common from late 5th century AD onwards, their presence confirms the religious and political regional predominance of the town, head of a vast Episcopal territory confining with the one of Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha) to the north, Elbora (Évora) to the south, and Egitania (Idanha-a-Velha) to the east.

Epigraphy, on the other hand, albeit scarce and predominantly 6th century AD in date, provides some significant indicators, recording personal names of Latin origin, such as

Felix, Marturius or Vicentius (the last one still unpublished, from Praça da Figueira), Greek origin ones, such as Tesso, or Germanic, as Otfrid(us ?) (Barroca 2000; Dias and Gaspar 2006, 235-248).

Though literacy was for sure limited, there are some finds of hand-written graffiti on pottery, contextually dated from 5th to mid-6th century AD. They compose a more complete bi-linguistic panorama for Lisbon. Latin texts were mainly carved on stone, cursive Greek being apparently often used on ceramic objects, both by potters on production centres, like the roof tiles used on a garum officina at Rua dos Correeiros 77 (Diogo 2000), or inscribed on trade and consumption goods, namely tableware and amphorae, as in the case of Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel context (Silva and De Man forthcoming).

The few remains of constructions archaeologically excavated so far in Lisbon have been used to estimate its urban vitality bias during the 5th and 6th centuries. Some data referring to the privatization of former Roman public areas, as the street revealed in the Cathedral cloister (Amaro 1995), parts of the former Roman Theatre (Diogo 1993) or the former Roman big bath building named Thermae Cassiorum (Silva 2012), were interpreted by some authors as evidences of urban decadence at that time (Amaro 1995). On the contrary, more recent approaches use that same data to sustain the existence of an urban pressure phenomenon that occurred during the 5th and part of the 6th centuries AD: affecting some areas of the town, this pressure led to domestic occupation of public domains available, and might be interpreted as a clear symptom of urban vigour at that time and supported through other sort of indicators, such as pottery numbers on commerce rhythms (Fabião 2009; Silva and De Man forthcoming). Other data, as stone architectonical elements (decorative and epigraphy) scattered around the old town, and unfortunately in all cases out of its original place (Fernandes and Fernandes 2014), suggests also noticeable programmes for religious building in the period, reinforcing this same perspective.

Finally, numismatic data must be also highlighted: Olysipona was chosen by late 6th century AD Visigoth kings Leovigildus and Recareddus as mint for golden trientes (Gomes 2006), the earliest one perhaps in 580 AD (Reis 1959: 140). In spite of being extremely rare coins, town's minting enclose significant political and economic implications (Martín Viso 2008), above of all considering the overall paucity of coinage in south and western former Lusitania, limited to Elb/vora (Évora) and E/Iminio (Coimbra) (Gomes 2006).

In spite of our lack of knowledge on urban administration forms, they must have been mainly autarchic as suggested by the aforementioned mention to Lusidius role in 468 AD. In this matter, archaeological data may play a key role, especially the one concerning basic aspects of day-to-day life, as sewer and garbage managements.

Lisbon's Roman sewer system is poorly known, and data on how it was working in the 5th to 7th centuries AD exists, but is apparently contradictory.

On one hand, we have the case of the 1st century AD cloaca excavated in 1991 in the Cathedral's cloister, where two successive thick Late Roman layers were formed inside,

revealing the inexistence of systematic cleaning actions performed during 4th century AD and/or after, and therefore indicative of inefficient urban policy towards sewer management during the period (Amaro 2002). On the other hand, one has to take into account that the same sewer was kept on working until the Christian conquest of 1147 AD, therefore implying that some kind of cleaning care happened in between (Silva 2011). In addition to this case, the Late Middle Age date for the filling deposits found inside the cloaca of Thermae Cassiorum (the big Roman Bath building, yet unpublished), proves that at least this drain was carefully cleaned during Late Antiquity (personal data provided by of one of the authors- RBS). In spite of the obvious relevance of these data, it is clearly insufficient to produce a bias on Olysipona sewer system management in Late Antiquity, and therefore to understand if maintenance was often performed and who was doing it, local users or local administration.

Other sort of evidence is related to solid rubbish and waste discards identified.

In the eastern part of the former Roman town, Pátio da Senhora de Murça 2004 excavation directed by Manuela and Vasco Leitão revealed an important context apparently dating from late 5th century AD. Publicly disclosed, although not yet formally published, its formation process resulted from the deposition of rubbish of several nearby domestic origins alongside the external facade of the defensive town. Very close to the main south-eastern gate of the town, the one leading to one of the main inner roads and main regional itineraries, the choice for this spot as a dumpster area is common in Antiquity, and the same kind of phenomena is well documented in other antique towns with acknowledged strong and efficient administration systems, such as Hispanic provincial towns during Early Principate (Dupré y Raventos and Remollà 2000; Remollà and Acero 2011).

Close to the aforementioned spot, and confining to a semicircular tower of the defensive Late Roman wall, north-to-south street pavement was found completely clean. This implies that deposition did not occur here, or care on its removal did take place during Late Antiquity.

On the opposite side of the town laid the former Roman western suburbia. Close to the harbour, the zone was used to artisanal activities and manufactures at least from 1st to 5th centuries AD. A different panorama concerning garbage was revealed in this area. Ancient garum officinae excavated so far have shown a progressive abandonment followed by roof collapses, occurring mostly in the 5th century AD (Fabião 2009), vats been then used as ready-to-use areas for waste dumps: some discards are likely garum manufacture abandoned artefacts, as demonstrated by Carolina Grilo for some sets from Núcleo Arqueológico da Rua dos Correeiros production units (Grilo 2017), but other vats were used for urban domestic garbage, as in Rua dos Douradores (Sepúlveda, Gomes and Silva 2003) and Rua dos Fanqueiros 77 (Diogo 2000). In this last case, a thick, clean and clayish deposit covered 5th century AD layers, almost filling completely the remaining parts of the vat: in this strata unit the only artefacts collected were a brick fragment and a coarse ware pot (Diogo 2000) certainly dated from 6th century AD; therefore, it implies a Late Antique slow depositional process, almost without human intervention.

It is possible that some garum units (or even vats) were kept in use in late 5th century AD and after, although direct evidence is still lacking. However, the scale of Lisbon´s garum production must have decreased in such a dramatic way that recognised occupations in the area from that period are not only rare but also of other nature, namely discards pits (Grilo, Fabião and Bugalhão 2013) or burial grounds (Sepúlveda, Gomes and Silva 2003; Silva and Casimiro 2013). This denotes that a completely new landscape was formed in Lisbon´s downtown area during mid-5th to 6th century AD, and after. The entire suburbia become under populated, with the probable exception of still to locate Christian shrines and close to the two main road itineraries of the area, the ones heading north and west, connecting the town with former Scallabis (Santarém) and to the western parts of the hinterland, respectively.

Recently studied Rua de São Crispim contexts (Quaresma forthcoming a), along with data available for very nearby Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel 1992-1993 excavation (Silva and De Man forthcoming), suggests corresponding both to the same realities. Here, very peculiar topographical characteristics favoured the use of a large depression located at the back of the great bath building of the Roman town (Thermae Cassiorum) as a vast dumpster area, used continuously from mid-1st century AD onwards for urban domestic discards (Silva 2012; Quaresma forthcoming). Unlike Pátio da Senhora de Murça context aforementioned, Rua de São Crispim-Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel revealed more continuous use in time and much less faunal evidence, perhaps due to more intense recycling practices observed (metal and glass finds are infrequent, including in 1st-4th centuries AD layers). Here, discard seems therefore to have followed previous patterns at place since Principate, and recycling is suggestive of some sort of management control.

Other evidence crucial to a bias is the one referring to the town's defensive wall. Most probably built somewhere between very late 3d to 4th centuries AD (Silva [1997], 2011, 2012; De Man 2008; Silva and De Man forthcoming), apparently suffered some kind of care during 5th to 6th centuries AD: the find in Casa Sommer of an African Red Slip Ware D1 form Hayes 67 included in its mortar (Gomes and Gaspar 2007, 694) might be interpreted in this way, hence documenting a reform or reparation of part of the defensive enceinte in 360 –470 AD (Hayes 1972), or slightly after. Vast work produced recently at the same spot by the firm Neoépica certainly will provide new and thorough data on this issue in the coming years.

Finally, archaeological data available corresponds, also, to imported pottery finds. Finds of Oriental and African imports dating from the 5th and 6th centuries AD are frequent in Lisbon, and oriental amphorae and tableware presence is long ago referred (Delgado 1992; Amaro 1995; Diogo and Trindade 1999). Other data of this kind has been also studied more recently, although the vast majority dispersed through diachronic characterization of different excavations (Silva and Casimiro 2013; Silva 2014; Pimenta, Mota and Silva 2014). A specific focus was made only on Casa Sommer 2004 excavations data (Pimenta and Fabião forthcoming), Núcleo Arqueológico da Rua dos Correeiros (Grilo, Fabião and Bugalhão 2013), Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel (Silva and De Man forthcoming) and Escadinhas de São Crispim (Quaresma forthcoming a), where Late Antiquity problematics related to the significance on oriental amphorae and tableware

presence in Lisbon were addressed explicitly (Fabião 2009). The aim of this paper is, therefore, to enlarge empiric samples published from Lisbon, providing a reassessment on the town's pattern of consumption, its chronologies and rhythms.

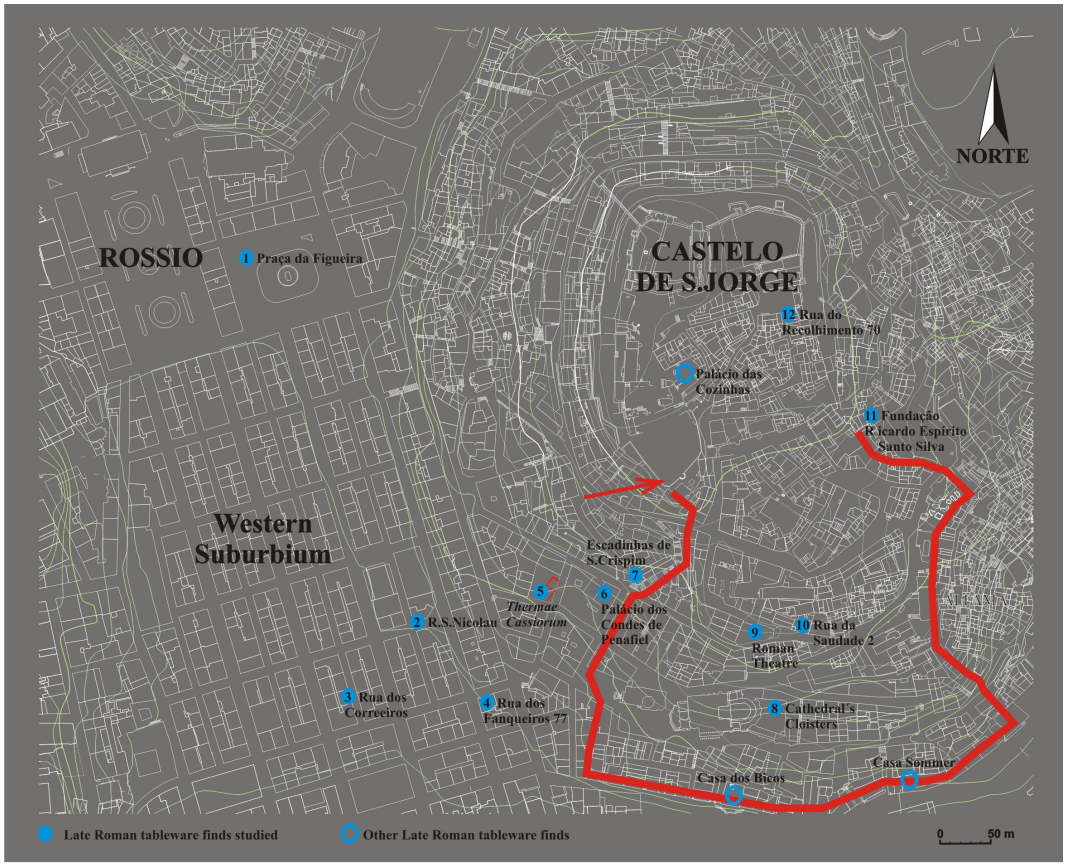

Fig. 1: Lisbon map with finds of Late Oriental tableware.

Oriental Phocaean and Cypriot tableware in Lisbon: former and new data added

Sets of Late Phocaean and Cypriot sigillata from Lisbon were addressed from the 1990´s on: 3 sherds from the Cathedral Cloisters (Amaro 1995), 1 from 1989-1993 excavations on the Roman Theatre (Diogo 1993, 214), 7 other from 1966-1967 campaign (Diogo and Trindade 1999), 1 from a garum vat at Rua dos Fanqueiros 77 (Diogo 2000), 7 from Núcleo Arqueológico da Rua dos Correeiros (Grilo, Fabião and Bugalhão 2013), 2 from a Late Antiquity grave on Rua de São Nicolau (Silva and Casimiro 2013), 2 from Rua do Recolhimento 70 (Mota, Pimenta and Silva 2014), 4 from Largo das Portas do Sol (Silva 2014), 3 from Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel (Silva and De Man forthcoming) and 22 classifiable rim sherds collected at Escadinhas de São Crispim (Quaresma forthcoming a), the numbers on Casa Sommer 2004 excavations being yet unknown (Pimenta and Fabião forthcoming).

In a simple overall appreciation, the number over 55 (MNV) is nevertheless lower than one would expect in an important maritime harbour as the one of Olysipona, but numbers in former Scallabis (Santarém), upper in the Tagus Valley, are also low, for excavations in the town provided only 7 (MNV) Hayes 3 and 1 (MNV) Hayes 8 (Viegas 2003, 202-204). This number must be compared with the already known importance of the diffusion of Late Antique Oriental tablewares in the rural territories depending from Lisbon's commercial network, for it was most probably the nodal point for regional redistribution.

One should notice that rural settlements, most of them villae, such as Freiria (Cascais; 5 MNV- Cardoso 2015), Alto da Cidreira (Cascais; 3 MNV- Nolen 1988), Povos (Vila Franca de Xira; 1 MNV Late Roman Cypriot- Dias 1997), Santo André de Almoçageme (Sintra; 18 MNV- Sousa 2001), Quinta da Bolacha (Amadora; 5 MNV), Almoínhas (Loures; 14 MNV) or Frielas (Loures; 11 MNV- Quaresma ongoing research), provided an overall number of 57 vessels, in spite of being necessarily much smaller "markets" than the town. The number is presumably much higher, for the presence of Late Phocaean tableware was noticed in 9 other similar sites in the countryside: Odrinhas, Armês, Miroiços, Casal do Clérigo, Cabanas, São Marcos, Casal de Colaride (Sintra), Serra de Carnaxide (Amadora-Sousa 2001; Fabião 2009) and near Monte dos Castelinhos (Vila Franca de Xira - João Pimenta personal information, much obliged).

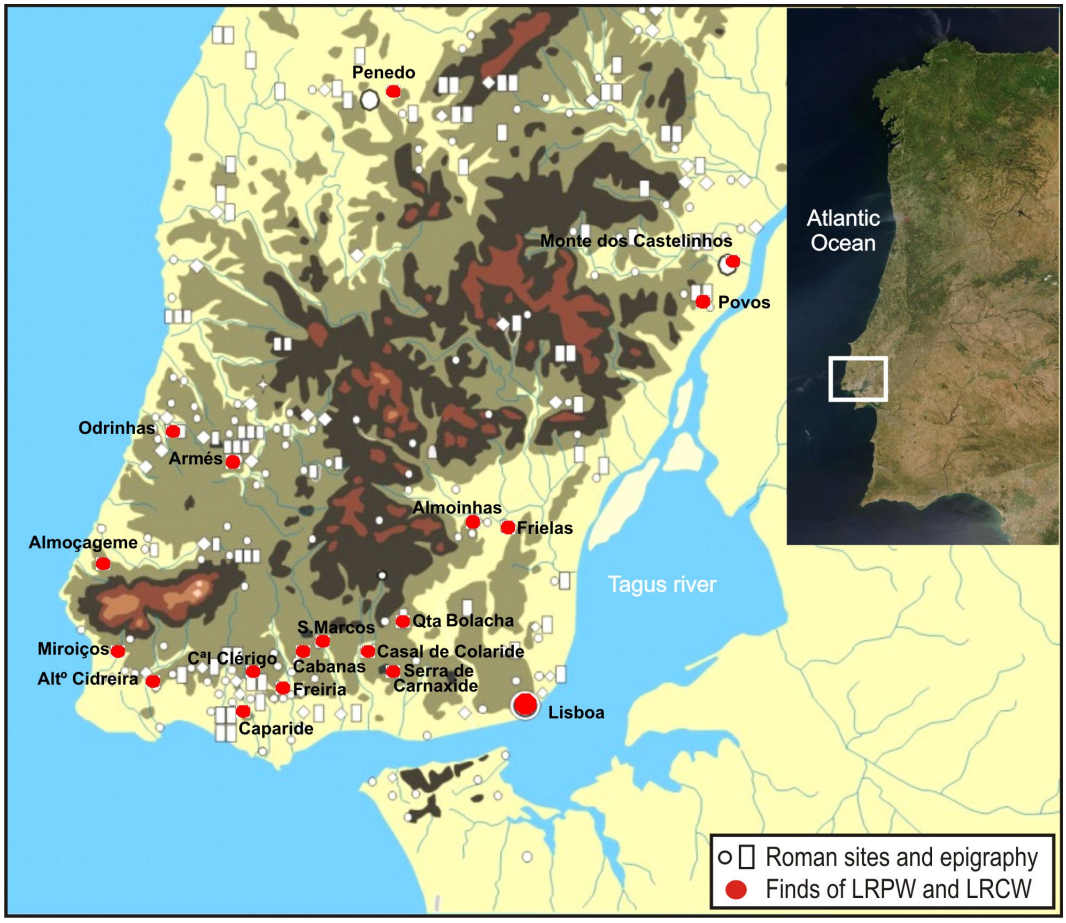

Fig. 2: Regional distribution of 5th and 6th centuries AD Late Oriental tableware.

This consumption relevance of Late Oriental tableware in rural settlements around Olysipona shows the importance of the maritime trade at work in the town's harbour during 5th to 6th centuries AD, and its role as the regional connecter between the hinterland and the Mediterranean-Atlantic sea routes. Also, the numbers of rural settlements consumption are a strong argument to defend the vitality of regional trade networks (both by water and terrestrial), as well as the need to consider the relevance of those rural areas as markets for Late Antique Oriental tableware.

From the town itself, recent and old archaeological works revealed unpublished new examples of Oriental Late sigillata, being noteworthy the finds in course of study from Casa dos Bicos, Cathedral Cloisters and Casa Sommer more recent excavations.

Considering that one of the aims of this paper (previously stated) is the one of enlarging knowledge on Lisbon's imports of Oriental Tableware, 80 unpublished elements were now studied from Olysipona, found in Thermae Cassiorum, Praça da Figueira, Rua da Saudade 2, along with the still unpublished ones from Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel. On the other hand, already published ones were addressed, and its classification refined and updated according to more recent trends on the subject (Reynolds 2010; Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011; Fernández Fernández 2014), intending to foresee the import and consumption dynamics of Late Roman Phocaean and Cypriot tablewares in the 5th and 6th centuries AD on the main port of the Tagus river.

Typology	Origin	Type	Rim	Wall	Bottom	Frag.	MNI	MNI Prod.	% MNI Prod.	Style
Terra sigillata	Late Phocean terra sigillata	Hayes 3B	1			1	1	80	97,5	
		Hayes 3C	32			32	32			
		Hayes 3C/D	1			1	1			
		Hayes 3D	1			1	1			
		Hayes 3E	8			8	8			
		Hayes 3E?/H?	1			1	1			
		Hayes 3F	28			28	28			
		Hayes 3F/G	5			5	5			
		Hayes 3		3	15	18				II and III
		Hayes 5	1			1	1			
		Hayes 8	2			2	2			
		Unc.		10	25	35				II or III
	Late Cypriot terra sigillata	Hayes 2	2			2	2	2	2,5	
Total			82	13	40	135	82	82	100	

Fig. 3: Quantification of Late Phocaean and Cypriot sigillata at Olysipona (Praça da Figueira 1999-2001, Largo das Portas do Sol 1993, Rua das Pedras Negras 1991-1998, Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel 1992-1993, Rua da Saudade 2, Teatro Romano 1966-1967).

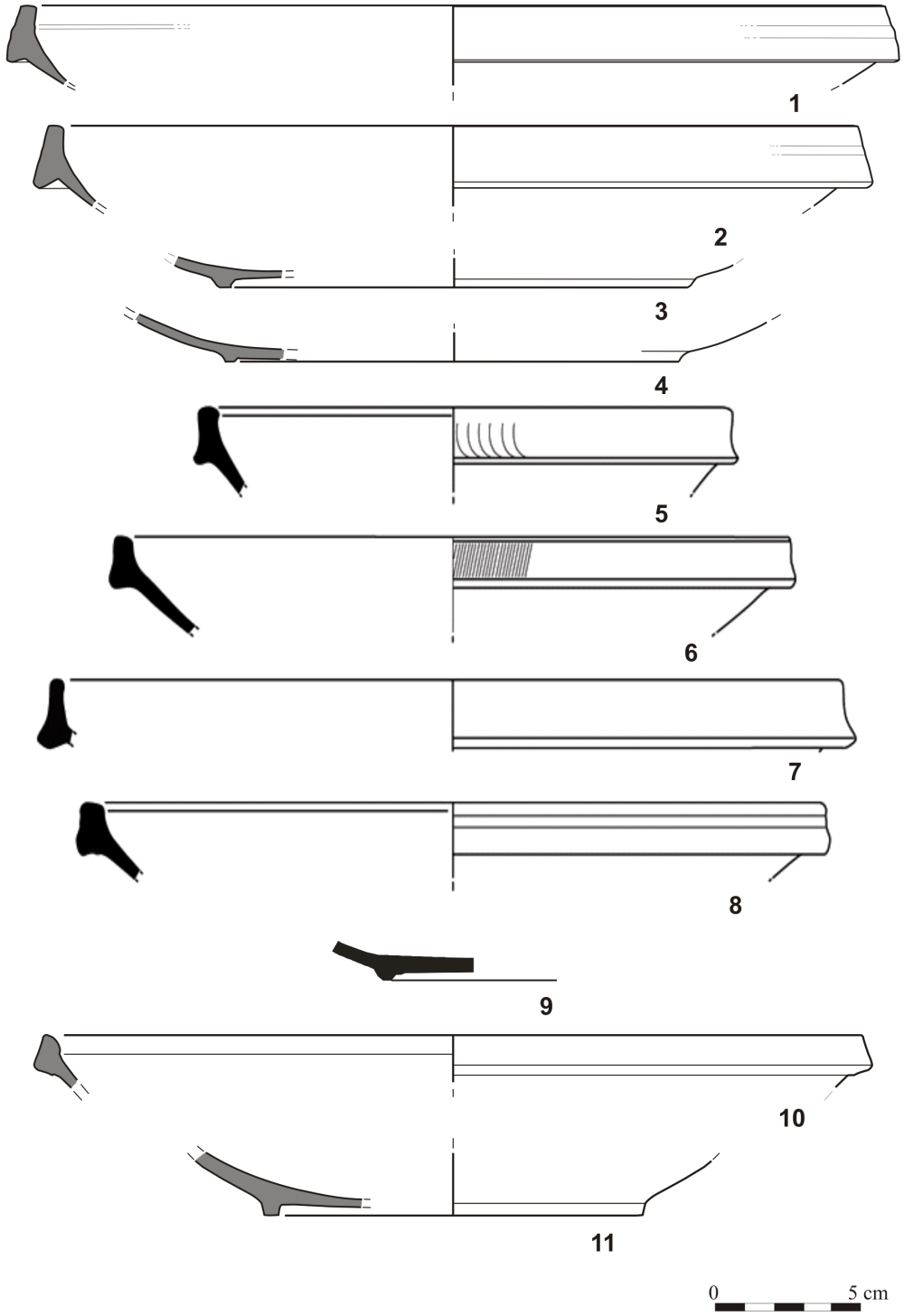

Fig. 4: Late Phocaean tableware from Lisbon.

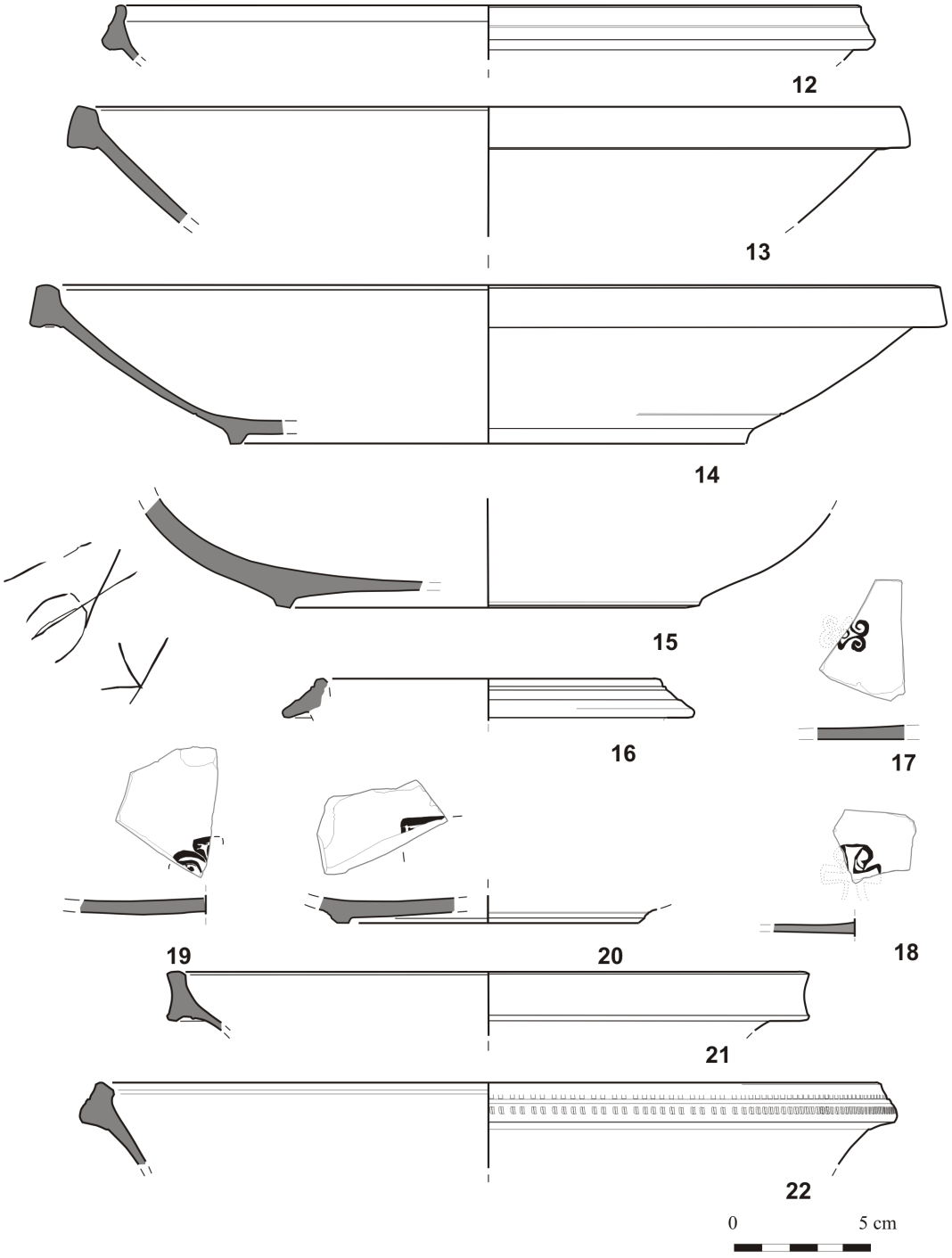

Fig. 5: Late Phocaean tableware from Lisbon.

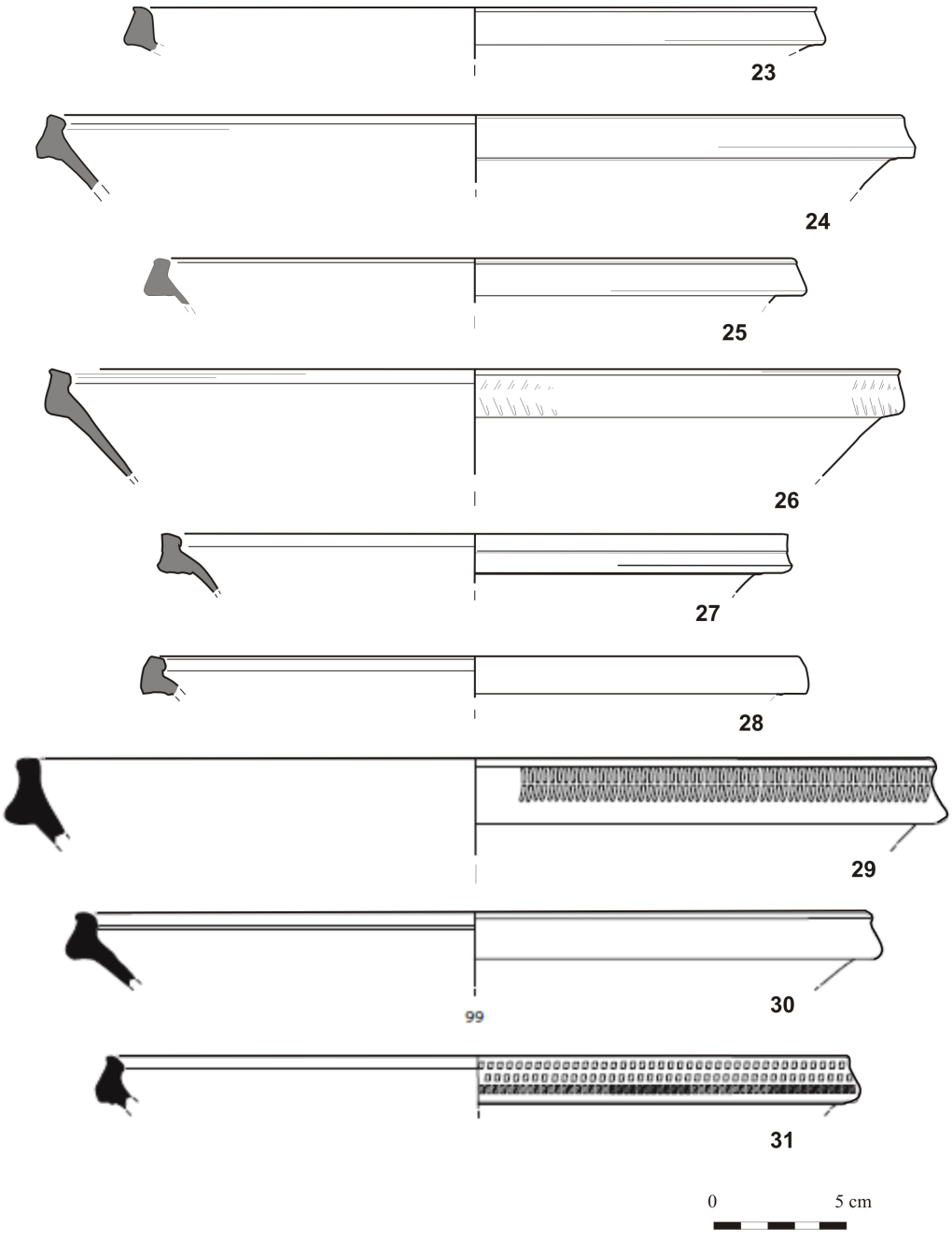

Fig. 6: Late Phocaean tableware from Lisbon.

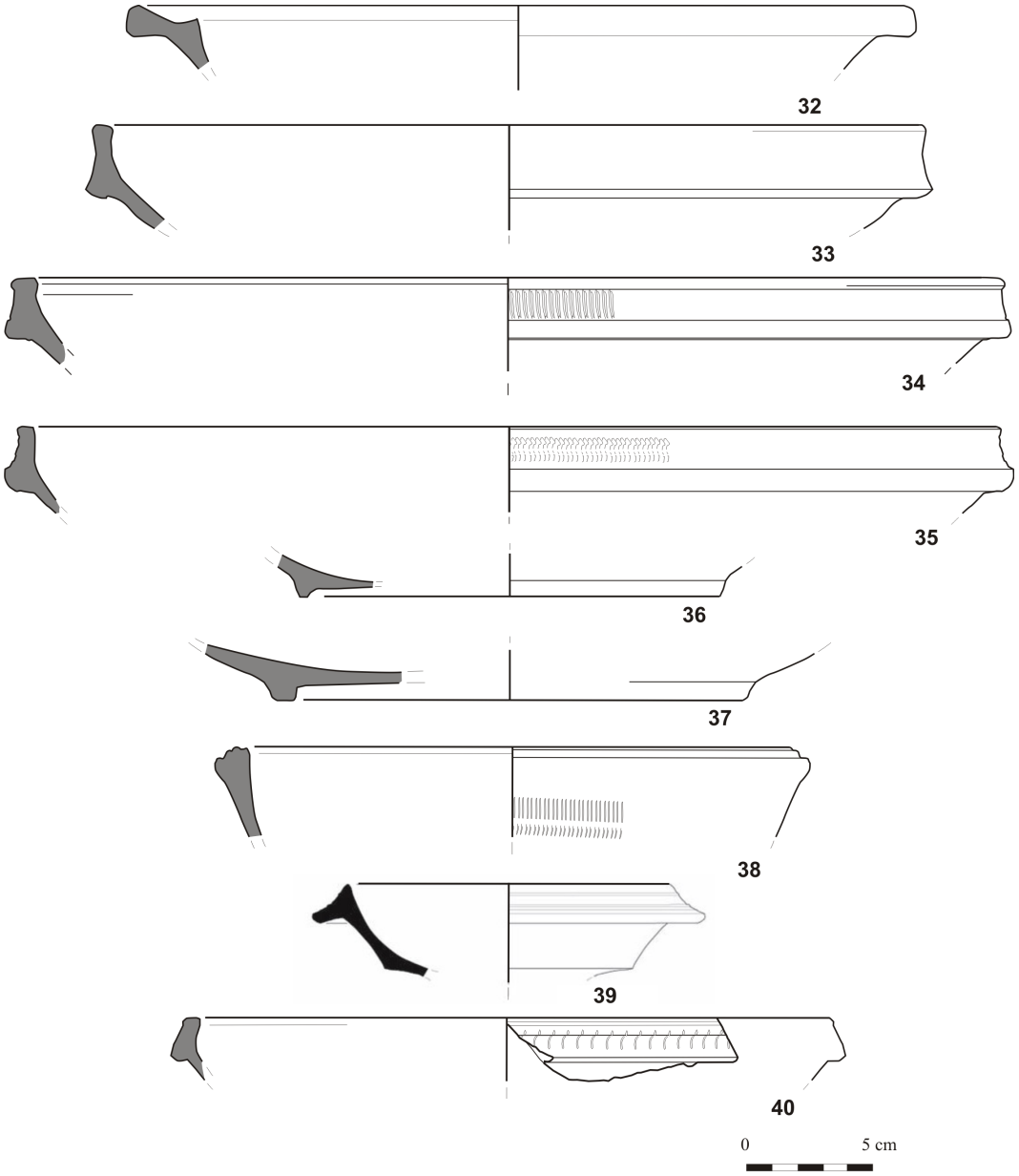

Fig. 7: Late Phocaean and Cypriot tableware from Lisbon.

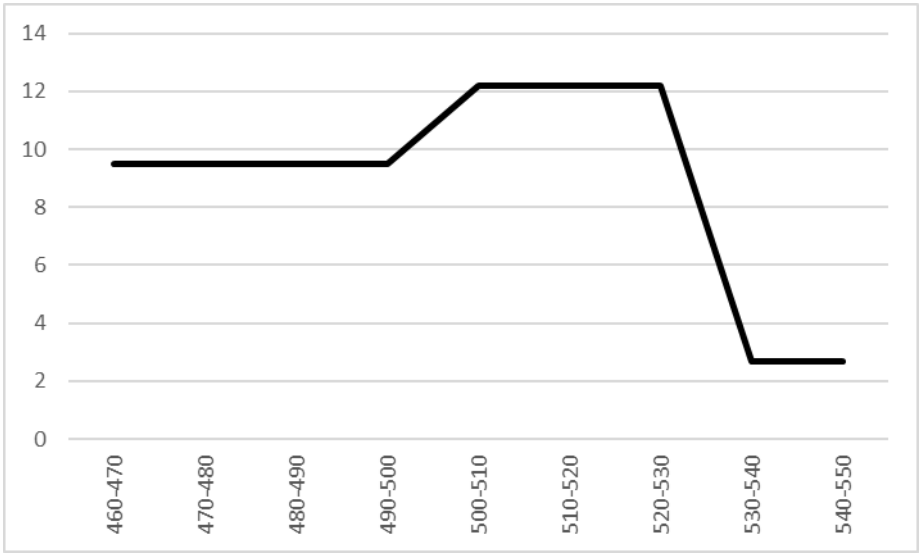

Fig. 8: Chronological evolution of Late Phocaean and Cypriot sigillata imports at Olysipona (MNV- Praça da Figueira 1999-2001, Largo das Portas do Sol 1993, Rua das Pedras Negras 1991-1998, Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel 1992-1993, Rua da Saudade 2, Teatro Romano 1966-1967).

An effort towards a regional synthesis on Late Phocaean and Cypriot tableware trade and consumption: typology, contextual data and historical reading

In Mediterranean chronology terms (Reynolds 1995, 28; Fentress and Perkins 1987), after the stagnation of the Early Vandal period a new economic growth recovery affected Western Mediterranean during the last quarter of the 5th century AD and the first one of the 6th century AD.

With regard to fine wares trade, this recovery allowed the growth of the African sigillata exports, as well as the floruit of the Late Phocaean sigillata, whose previous exports into the Atlantic façade had been scarce. Late Phocaean sigillata remained always in a secondary position, but it seems that in the last moments of the 5th century AD it achieved very good competitive skills. This is not the case of the Late Cypriot sigillata, whose trade reached the Atlantic only during the early years of the 6th century AD, always in very low quantities.

Late Phocaean sigillata trade in South and Western Lusitania has produced a morphological repertoire based mainly on types Hayes 3B, C, D, E, F and H. Here, only one vessel of type Hayes 1A has been found at Torres Vedras (Sepúlveda, Sousa and Sousa 2003, 303), type Hayes 2 being present only at Olysipona (Diogo and Trindade, 1999) and Monte da Cegonha (Vidigueira- Delgado 1988). Type Hayes 3-small variant (dated from the early years of the last quarter of the 5th century AD: Hayes 1987) is attested at Myrtilis (Mértola- Delgado 1992, nr. 10) and Lacobriga (Lagos- Ramos, Almeida and Laço 2006), hence scarcely imported in Lusitania.

Another exception to this framework is the more consolidated trade of types Hayes 5 and 8, present at Cerro da Vila (Loulé- Delgado 1988), Myrtilis (Mértola-Delgado 1992;

Fernandes 2012), Olysipona (Diogo and Trindade 1999; Pimenta, Mota and Silva 2014), Scallabis (Santarém- Viegas 2003, 202) and Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha- Delgado, Mayet and Alarcão 1975, 285). In this last site, the classical work *Les Fouilles de Conimbriga* published 95 vessels, distributed by forms Hayes 3B and 3C (50%), 3H (30%), and some Hayes 3F and 3D.

The distribution of the trade points of Oriental tableware dated from 460 to 500 AD, reveals a very good number of consumption sites (although frequently in very small amounts), located not only on the Atlantic shore but also in hinterland, and some main sites near the coastline, as Myrtilis (Mértola), Olysipona and Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha).

The typological assemblage of circa 500-525 AD (Hayes 3E, 3F and 3H: Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011, 6) has been traded for a few amount of sites, whose position is essentially coastal, apart from Augusta Emerita (Mérida). This typological framework reflects that the import floruit has occurred in the last quarter of the 5th century AD, and the breakdown of the Late Phocaean trade occurred from 500 AD onwards.

Between 500 and 525 AD Late Phocaean sigillata reaches only some markets on the southern coastline and on the lower Guadiana, western coast at the Sado and the Tagus rivers, Conimbriga (near the Mondego river), and Crestuma (Gaia), on the Douro estuary (Silva et Al. 2015), being the northernmost site of the former Lusitania (on its border with Gallaecia). Late Phocaean diffusion is similar (but much stronger) to the Late Cypriot's one, whose type Hayes 2 (dated typologically to the first half of the 6th century AD) is the only one attested in Lisbon's region.

At villa of Quinta da Bolacha (Amadora), near Olysipona, a stratigraphic phase is dated of the 5th century or beginning of the 6th century AD. The pottery assemblage (68 MNV) includes 13,1% of non-residual African sigillata, well above Late Phocaean numbers (4,4%), attested through types Hayes 3C, Hayes 3D or 3E (Quaresma, forthcoming b). A stratigraphic phase similar to Quinta da Bolacha was recorded at Vigo. In this case, African sigillata represents 47,4%, while Late Phocaean remains on just 26,3% (Hayes 3B, C, D- Fernández Fernández 2014).

Olysipona has some other non-quantified stratigraphic phases from this period. In Lisbon's Cathedral (former Late Antique residential area) some layers are related to the abandonment of the area and display Late Phocaean sigillata through types Hayes 3F and 3E(?) (Amaro 1995, fig. 6, nr. 1-3). Here, one Hayes 3F shows a monogram (motif 71 - group III), dated from 500 AD (Hayes 1972, 365).

At Rua dos Correeiros, in the artisanal area of Olysipona, basin nr. 4 preserved some stratigraphic units from the period immediately after the end of the garum officina activities, the authors detecting types Hayes 3C and 3F in these layers (Grilo, Fabião and Bugalhão 2013).

With regard to the first quarter of the 6th century AD, the lower Tagus region has two contextual cases at Quinta da Bolacha (Amadora) and Olysipona.

At villa of Quinta da Bolacha, the 500-525 AD phase includes African sigillata D1, whose non-residual types achieve 3,88% of the total ceramic assemblage, along with 0,99% of African sigillata D2. Hayes 3E is the only Late Phocaean type present, achieving 2,97%, while Late Cypriot sigillata displays also a single type (Hayes 2), but its numbers reach only 0,99% of the ceramic assemblage. Considering the scarce amount of vessels, statistical conclusions are fragile, but it seems that the dominance of the African trade during the end of the 5th century AD in this site is substituted by more balanced values between Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean during the first quarter of the 6th century AD (Quaresma, forthcoming b).

In Olysipona (sector of Escadinhas de São Crispim, near the Late Antique wall), the 500-525 AD trade indicators on Late Phocaean sigillata achieve 8,4% (with regard to the entire ceramic assemblage – 56 MNV), and includes types Hayes 3B and 3C, whose production ends then (Hayes 1972; Quaresma forthcoming a). The African values are clearly lower, 4,2%, but if types Hayes 3B and 3C of the Late Phocaean sigillata are to be disclaimed, for they are earlier, and one takes into account only types types 3E, 3F and 3H (Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011, 6), the situation seems then balanced and analogous to the one observed at Quinta da Bolacha (Amadora) (Quaresma forthcoming b).

The second quarter of the 6th century AD is a period of general breakdown on imports to Lusitania and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. The conquer of Carthage by Eastern Roman Empire in 533 AD has apparently worked as a turning point in the History of the trade networks of Western Mediterranean, and certainly this is valid also to the former Lusitania (Reynolds 1995, 2010). On one hand, the Renovatio Imperii has stimulated trade in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, in spite of the 25 shipwrecks from this period recorded in the Central Mediterranean (Vizcaíno Sánchez 2009, 294; Reynolds 1995, 2010). On the other hand, Western Mediterranean, and particularly the Atlantic area, suffered a profound breakdown on imports, as observed at Bracara Augusta (Braga- Morais 2005), Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha- Delgado, Mayet and Alarcão 1975), Augusta Emerita (Mérida- Bustamante Álvarez, 2013), Tróia (Grândola- Étiènne, Makaroun and Mayet 1994), Balsa (Tavira), Ossonoba (Faro-Viegas 2011) and Myrtilis (Mértola- Fernandes 2012), with regard to the Portuguese territory (see discussion in Quaresma 2012, chapter 4).

The diffusion chart of eastern sigillata tableware reflects a strong commercial contraction. With regard to Late Phocaean sigillata, the only types certainly dated from this period are Hayes 3F/G and 3G (Hayes 1972). Hayes 3F/G has been attested at Balsa (Tavira- Viegas 2011, nr. 780), Olysipona (Roman Theatre, Rua das Pedras Negras - published here; Escadinhas de São Crispim - Quaresma, forthcoming a) and Freiria (Cascais - Sepúlveda forthcoming: nr. 21). Type Hayes 3G has been recorded in only 2 cases: the lower Guadiana, at Myrtilis (Mértola), and at villa de Casal do Clérigo (Cascais), on the lower Tagus (Sepúlveda forthcoming: nr.14).

The available stratigraphy in the former Lusitania is limited and reflects naturally the scarce empirical basis available for this period.

In Olysipona, at sector Escadinhas de São Crispim (Quaresma, forthcoming a), the non-residual assemblage of African sigillata reaches 7,1% of the total ceramic assemblage. Late Phocaean sigillata includes Hayes 3C (residual) and type Hayes 3F/G, which achieves 3,4% (without type Hayes 3C). Accordingly, Late Phocaean is represented through 3 individuals, two of them Hayes 3F (13-14), in the nearby Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel published context, dated through epigraphic criteria of 540-560 AD (Silva and De Man forthcoming).

At the former Lusitanian capital, Augusta Emerita (Mérida - sector suburbio norte), SU 1063 disclosed the residual type Hayes 3B, but SU 1003 displayed type Hayes 3F, whose chronology may reach the second quarter of the 6th century AD (Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011, 6).

At Vigo (Fernández Fernández 2014), 500-550 AD phase is dominated by African sigillata, which reaches 52,7%. Cypriot sigillata is still present here with 1,2%, and Late Phocaean sigillata keeps a good level, with 35,3%. Nevertheless, Hayes 3F and 3E are dominant, but residual types Hayes 3B, 3C and 3D are also present.

At Hispalis (Seville), the stratigraphic phase from 525-550 AD or 540-550 (non quantified) is dominated by African sigillata, Late Phocaean sigillata including types Hayes 3C (residual) and 3E (Vásquez Paz and Garcia Vargas 2011).

The main Atlantic patterns show different evolutions on Oriental commerce of tableware: Myrtilis (Fernandes 2012) and Bracara (Braga) floruits are situated circa 460-500 AD, but numbers drop in 500-525 AD, Oriental tableware imports disappearing after this last date (Fernández Fernández, Delgado, Quaresma and Morais 2014), as occurs also with Conimbriga published material (Delgado, Mayet and Alarcão 1975). On the opposite, Vigo has a longer floruit between 460-525 AD, and in spite numbers decay after that period, they remain stable during the second half of the 6th century (Fernández Fernández 2014).

Olysipona available evidence differs from the aforementioned cases in two different ways. On one hand there is a floruit in 460-525, in contrast with the patterns shared by Myrtilis (Mértola), Bracara (Braga) and Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha), where floruits are more centred in the last quarter of the 5th century AD. Lisbon´s pattern is, therefore, closer to the one of Vigo in the same period. On the other hand, Phocaean tableware trade lasts longer on the Galician site, until the second half of the 6th century AD, while Olysipon's imports apparently ended by the mid-century decades.

How to historically interpret those trade dynamics patterns, given that there are no major events in the former Lusitania that explains them? Did Byzantine's conquer of southern Iberian Peninsula, and the formation of the new imperial province of Spania, created a counter effect on Eastern trade to Atlantic façade of Hispania, with the exception of Vigo? Or, in the coming years must consider to extend some artefact chronologies, in order to match them with the Justininan's plague from the 540's, or the campaigns of king Leovigildus against byzantine province of Spania, in the 570's?

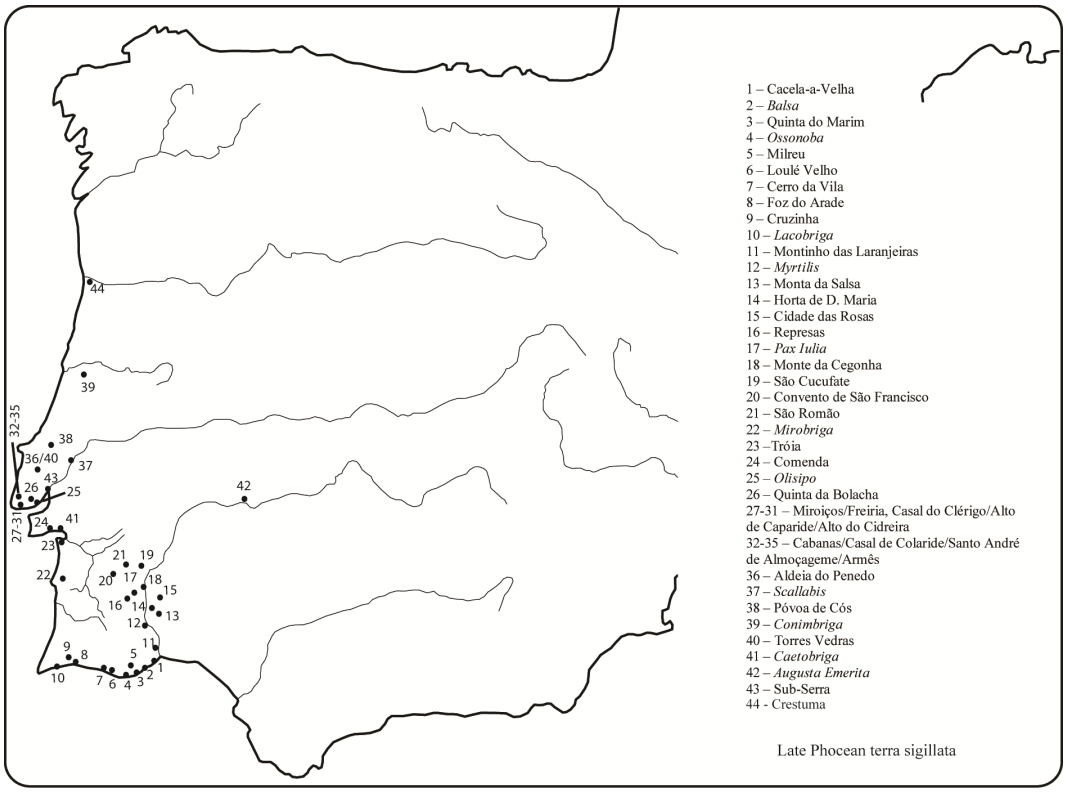

Fig. 9: Distribution of Late Phocaean terra sigillata in the former southern Lusitania with some strategic points in the northern Portuguese territory (all types – Hayes 1, 2, 3, 5, 8) (from Batalha *et Al.* 2009; Fernández Fernández and Soto Arias 2007; Fernández Fernández 2014; Fabião 2009; Sousa 2001; Sepúlveda forthcoming; Silva and Coelho-Soares 2014 ; Bustamante 2013; Sepúlveda, Sousa and Sousa 2003; Silva *et Al.* 2015; Viegas 2011).

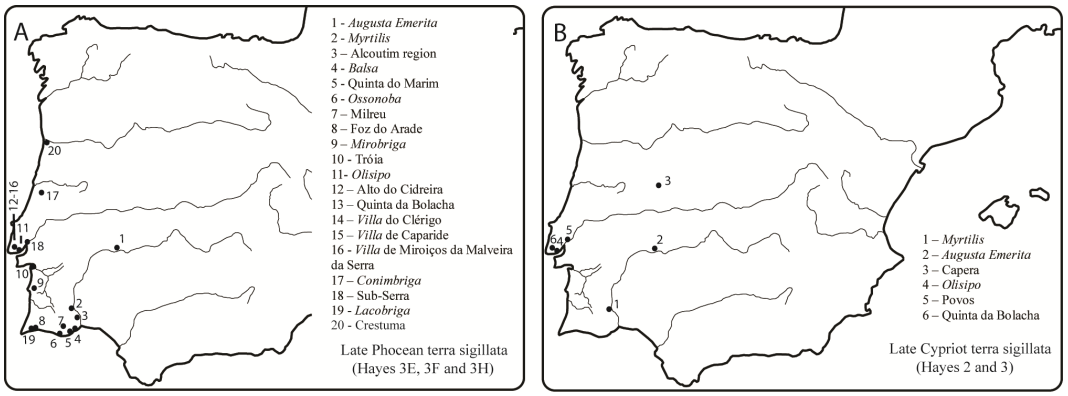

Fig. 10: Distribution of Late Phocaean terra sigillata (types Hayes 3E, 3F, 3H) and Late Cypriot terra sigillata (Hayes 2 and 3). **Figure A**: Delgado 1992; Fernandes 2012; Teichner 2008; Ramos, Almeida and Laço 2006: fig. 15; Delgado, Mayet and Alarcão 1975; Maia 1977; Silva and Coelho-Soares 1987; Quaresma 2012; Maia 1973; Nolen 1988; Diogo 2001; Diogo and Trindade 1999; Quaresma forthcoming; forthcoming b; Bustamante 2013; Viegas 2011; Étienne, Makaroun and Mayet 1994: fig. 29, nr. 120; Batalha *et Al.* 2009; Silva *et Al.* 2015. **Figure B**: Delgado 1992; Dias 1995-1997; Quaresma forthcoming; Osland 2011; Diogo and Trindade, 1999.

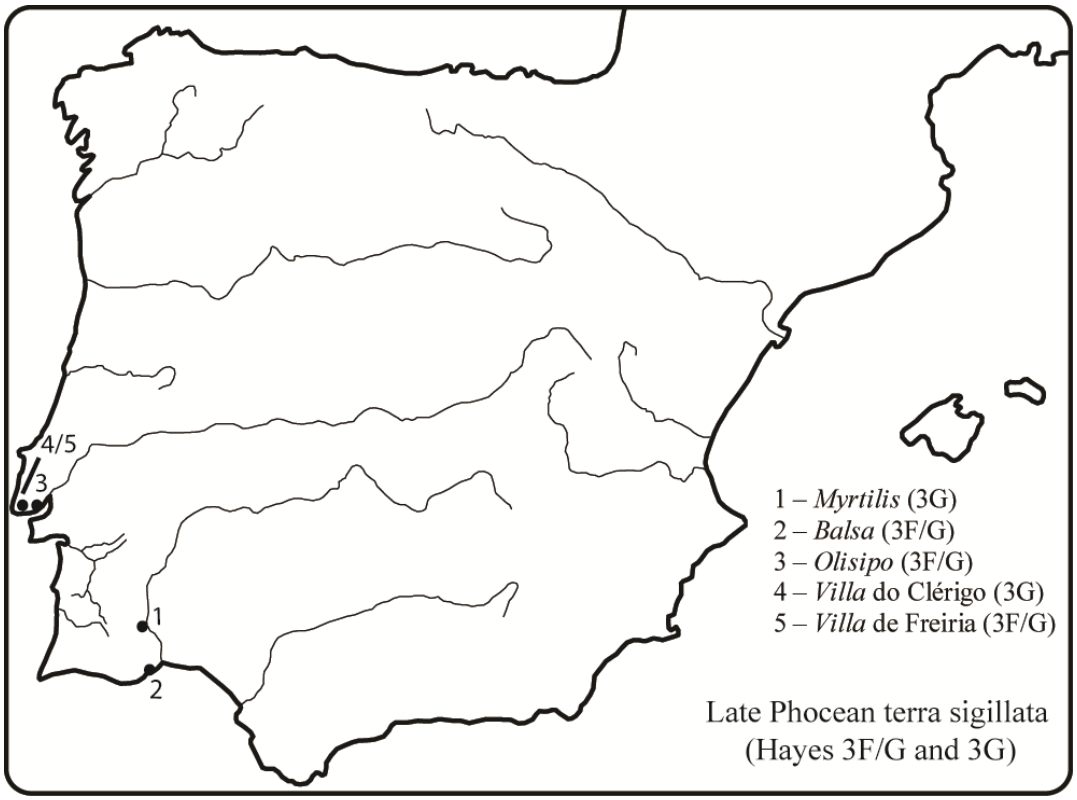

Fig. 11: Distribution of Late Phocaean terra sigillata (types Hayes 3F/G and 3G) (Fernandes 2012; Viegas 2011; Quaresma forthcoming; Sepúlveda forthcoming).

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On the significance of pottery vessels in private burial contexts of Early Dynastic Egypt.

Selected case studies from the necropolis area Operation 4, Helwan

Friederike Junge[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 104-127

Abstract

From 1998 up to 2012, an unexplored area affiliated to the Early Dynastic cemetery of Helwan located about twenty kilometres south of Cairo was excavated (Fig. 1–2). This area was called *Operation 4*. It mainly housed private burials from the lower and middle classes of the nearby city of Memphis and dates from 2950 to 2600 B.C. 218 tombs were excavated and are currently being analysed regarding archaeological, architectural, physical anthropological, zoological, and botanical aspects. The ceramic vessels discovered in these tombs form the basis of the present paper. It attempts to exceed the material aspects of pottery vessels to learn more about ideational and practical circumstances leading to the selection, utilization, and deposition of certain objects focussing on *Operation 4* as a case study. For this purpose, particular phenomena were chosen and exemplarily illustrated, partly considering selected similar pieces deriving from contemporary Egyptian cemeteries.

Keywords: Pottery vessels, Funerary practice, Early Dynastic Egypt, Memphis.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 19/3/2018

[*] PhD student at the University of Vienna, Department of Egyptology. Team member of the FWF project "Helwan – a necropolis of ancient Memphis" under the supervision of Prof. Dr. E. Christiana Köhler. E-mail: friederike.junge@univie.ac.at.

On the significance of pottery vessels in private burial contexts of Early Dynastic Egypt. Selected case studies from the necropolis area *Operation 4,* Helwan

Friederike Junge

Introduction

The Early Dynastic Period of ancient Egypt covers a time span approximately between 3100 and 2700 B.C. and correlates to the First and Second Dynasties respectively the phases Naqada IIIC–D[1]. That was the time when the Egyptian state with its kingship, elaborated administration, and large-scaled trade developed (Hendrickx 2006, 92, Köhler 2013, 166).

For a long time, the investigation of burial sites of this formative era focused mainly on royal cemeteries at Saqqara in Lower Egypt and Abydos in Upper Egypt. Private burials were usually in a worse state of preservation and appeared inferior compared to their royal counterparts.

Moreover, most private burial sites were excavated in the first half of the 20th century. For various reasons, their publications are often incomplete and leave many questions unanswered. More recent excavations of Early Dynastic cemeteries are rare due to looting and the expansion of modern settlements. Therefore, a reinvestigation or even re-excavation of already known sites appeared appropriate. This situation also applied to the cemetery of Helwan (Köhler 2005, 2014). The modern-standard excavations at *Operation 4* generated a considerable amount of data, which allows for more precise insights into the funeral-related practices and beliefs of a certain community about five millennia ago.

As the post-excavation analysis is still in progress, the present paper should be considered as an interim report highlighting several phenomena at *Operation 4*. Many of them have parallels with contemporary burial sites all over Egypt, such as Abu Rawash, Turah and Zawiyet el-Aryan in the great region of Memphis, Tell el-Farkha, Kafr Hassan Dawood and Minshat Abu-Omar in the Delta, and Adaïma in Upper Egypt.

1. The necropolis of Helwan and Operation 4

The necropolis of Helwan is situated about twenty kilometres south of Cairo along the eastern Nile bank. Originally it covered an area of approximately 100 hectares, but due to the expansion of modern housing, only a small section thereof can be accessed today. After

[1] This is a very simplified delineation for it still remains to clarify the chronological transition from Pre- and Protodynastic to Early Dynastic and the subsequent Old Kingdom.

the first minor excavations at the beginning of the 20th century, Zaki Saad conducted large-scale research and uncovered more than 10.000 tombs between 1942 and 1954. Unfortunately, most tombs were left unpublished and missing information is irretrievably lost (Saad 1947-1969).

From 1997 to 2012 an Australian mission under the direction of E. Christiana Köhler reinvestigated some known structures at the cemetery of Helwan and conducted new excavations in a hitherto unexplored area which was named *Operation 4*. This sector encompasses 150 by 100 meters and includes 218 tombs dated from the late First to the early Fourth Dynasty which correlates roughly 2950 to 2600 B.C. (Köhler 2005). So far, 150 tombs are completely analysed. The remaining work shall be finished by the end of 2018.

The (re-)investigation of Helwan represents a *major* scientific gain for several reasons:

1. Helwan was apparently the main cemetery for the lower and middle classes of the nearby city and administrative centre Memphis. However, the exact location of this settlement can no longer be ascertained. Probably it was affected by the continuous movement of the Nile river from West to East in the course of time. Therefore, the necropolis of Helwan should be considered as an indispensable source to study the Early Dynastic Memphite society.

2. *Operation 4* and probably also the main part of Helwan comprised a large number of pit tombs whose simple architecture and poor accoutrement point to lower classes. Thus, the cemetery represents a non-elite site and forms a counterpart to the well-attested synchronous Memphite elite burials at Saqqara on the west bank of the Nile.

3. As mentioned above many Early Dynastic burial sites have suffered from uncontrolled excavation, documentation, and publication for different reasons such as a lack of interest and time or different research emphasis and standards. In contrast, *Operation 4* was treated with a broad focus and yet with a very detailed approach. The archaeological documentation involved all available architectural features, grave goods, human remains, animal bones, and plants.

The summarizing outcome of the analysis of the structures and human remains at *Operation 4* reads as follows: the designs range from simple shallow ovoid or rectangular pit tombs to elaborated (deep) subterranean chamber tombs with sloping passages (staircase, ramp, shaft) and separated chambers. The simple type appears about twice as often as the latter. In some cases, remains of mud brick superstructures were also preserved (Köhler 2008, 116, 122). The majority of the graves date to the Second Dynasty (ca. 2900 to 2700 B.C.).[2] Usually, every man, woman, and child received an own tomb. Rarely, also animal burials were documented. The human corpse was usually arranged in a contracted position and mostly situated inside a coffin, but sometimes only wrapped in a sheet or reed mat. Due to a relatively wide range of chronological phases and social classes or groups, the tomb assemblages turn up quite heterogeneous. However, except for some very small burial pits, almost every tomb contained ceramic vessels. Additionally, their original position

[2] Final results on the chronology are pending additional information of post-excavation analysis.

could be reconstructed in many cases. Hence *Operation 4* offers exceptional data to demonstrate the potential of ceramic analyses following a socio-cultural approach.

2. Pottery vessels in burial contexts

Burials can give unique insights into certain actions and beliefs of a society as they are discrete archaeological features which are locally and chronologically restricted. Nevertheless, one should keep in mind that they were conducted for a specific purpose and do not necessarily depict and reflect the everyday world.

Regarding the funerary equipment in Early Dynastic Egypt, pottery vessels are particularly valuable scientific sources for several reasons: 1. they usually appear in great numbers, 2. the material is relatively stable, 3. they display production processes, and 4. they usually do not meet the ambitions of plunderers and remain in their original position more often (Orton, Tyers, and Vince 1993, 228).

By analysing and contextualizing pottery vessels, we can learn more about the object itself but also about the relationship between items and human beings, since objects are involved in activities performed by a society, a group or a sole individual. Therefore, the manufacturing, usage, adaptation, reuse, deposition or discarding of objects point to certain aspects of social, economic, political, ideological, and religious identities (Hahn 2005, 40-45, Stevenson 2009, 159-164).

Burials do not only reveal information about the deceased but also and foremost about the living, who planned and performed the funeral. Regarding pottery vessels, in particular, features like fabric, shape, traces of production, surface treatment, residues, and contents can provide information about manufacturing processes and techniques, functional levels, commercial relationships, trading routes, as well as spatial and chronological transformations. This information, in turn, helps to understand the ideational and practical circumstances which led to the selection, utilization, and deposition of particular objects. As every object fulfilled diverse functions and held various potential meanings depending on the constellation of social actors and situations, it can tell a lot about the concepts of a society or an individual, about their routines and characteristics (Bourdieu 1987, 101, Parker Pearson 2003, 5-10, Stevenson 2009, 160-161).

In the first place, the reconstruction of the interrelations between objects and humans requires the clarification of the depositional processes. This, in fact, poses a challenge because the objects could have ended up in the tomb intentionally, coincidentally or accidentally at any time. Intended depositions include grave goods which were either in a new condition, explicitly produced for funerary purposes, or reused objects of daily life. Concurrent objects are considered as items which were not directly associated with the burial and might have been forgotten as transport devices, tools or illuminants. The archaeological record also comprises accidental depositions which were caused by plundering, secondary burials or natural processes (Budka 2011, 187–90).

Accordingly, the examination of the functionality and significance of pottery vessels in burial contexts is based on intended and concurrent objects.

Grave goods were not solely located inside the burial chamber near the corpse, but also in preceding chambers or corridors, within the descent fill, at the surface level, and inside the superstructure. Therefore, they can easily be confused with concurrent left-overs, which were not intended to be in the tomb. Such an ambiguity, for instance, is shown by the following case. Beneath the coffin in the pit tomb Op4/152, there was a plate fragment with rounded edges. The wear pattern points to the fact that the sherd had been used for digging. Since the tomb was well-preserved and the sherd was most likely in a primary position, it had been rather used by the tomb builders and was not connected to robbers' activities. Nevertheless, it remains open whether the plate fragment had been forgotten and deposited by chance or whether it had been intentionally located beneath the coffin.

Other funeral-related vessels are connected with singular or repeated actions of the bereaved in the tombs' surroundings. These may in particular include feasting and offering activities. The identification of such objects is usually challenging since they were deposited at above-ground levels and strongly affected by various natural and artificial transformation processes (Guksch 1995, 13-18, O'Shea 1984, 24-25).

One such example was found within the superstructure of the large subterranean chamber tomb Op4/88. It contained amongst others several fragments of large plates and a quite tall pot stand. Kytnarová (2015, 3) proposed that in Old Kingdom tombs pot stands were occasionally combined with large, flat plates to create an elevated tray and present something, most likely offerings, in a more prominent position. Therefore, the deposit in tomb Op4/88 possibly points to recurrent activities outside the tomb in means of creating a permanent location for offering and commemoration. Such a need is also indicated by several funerary relief slabs which were found in the cemetery of Helwan and depicted early designs of offering scenes (Köhler and Jones 2009, 51–56).

To distinguish funeral-related objects on the surface from random and displaced finds, it is necessary to establish certain assumptions. In this regard, Seiler (2005, 50-51) listed a series of criteria for pottery which was related to above-ground activities. She states that the vessels in question accumulate at a close range of the tomb and are approximately synchronous to the burial. In addition, it should be possible to almost completely reconstruct broken vessels, and the number of sherds should not point to stray findings.

After the depositional processes have been clarified, the findings need to be contextualized by further criteria. Aspects of identity may be extrapolated from the following characterictics: the topography and chronology of the particular necropolis; the internal structure of a cemetery; the spatial distribution of tombs and their accoutrement; the structure of the tomb implying architectural features and measurements; the burial itself, i.e. the orientation and position of the body, sex and age; the furnishing of the tomb; the decoration of walls; the container for the corpse and so on; and finally the assemblage of grave goods in general, which includes the category, the number, and the distribution of finds. For instance, vessels made of stone or copper could have replaced pottery containers and the other way around. Thus, the mere absence or presence of a certain material does not reveal anything.

The interaction and entanglement of the mentioned criteria will be discussed in detail below. Six phenomena from *Operation 4* were chosen and subdivided into two main categories at three instances. The first category deals primarily with questions of spatial distribution and the likely thoughtful arrangement of pottery vessels, whereas the second rather focusses on functional issues.

2.1 Spatial distribution

Regarding the equipment of a tomb, not only the selection, the quantity, and the types of artefacts should be noted but also how they were combined and positioned. Just as the corpse, also the grave goods were apparently subject to special rules or preferences of orientation and can point to the identity of the deceased as well as of the bereaved (Stevenson 2009, 130).

The funeral was a social event with a certain significance for every participant – no matter if dead or alive. On the one hand, the living performed the burial for the deceased himself to ensure his rebirth and afterlife existence. The defunct received a manifest and permanent "accommodation" provided with food, drink, dishes, clothes, tools, bodily ornaments and all other necessary means which were believed to last eternally. On the other hand, the funeral also fulfilled functions for the affiliated survivors. The bereaved received a medium to cope with their grief, to reaffirm religious concepts and to show certain social status and a position of power within the group or community. Thus, the utilization of space and the presentation of artefacts could reflect religious necessities as well as social conventions (Stevenson 2009, 161–64).

At *Operation 4* many phenomena indicate that pottery vessels were not placed by chance but were deliberately chosen and arranged. Below there are three specifically illustrating instances which will be discussed in detail.

2.1.1 Accumulation and separation

The pottery assemblages at *Operation 4* reveal a broad spectrum of jars, bowls, plates, and special shapes which can largely be assigned in chronological order. Very common forms are tall, slender wine jars, various rough plates and bowls, polished red tableware, bread moulds, and different kinds of beer jars with restricted shoulder and mouth or collared rims (beer jar types 2 to 4). Most of them were made of the standard Early Dynastic Nile silt fabric. It appears that almost every tomb was equipped at least with one of such a vessel.

By analysing the assemblages of well-preserved and partially disturbed tombs, one can recognize recurring arrangements. For instance, accumulations of jars were put on the floor or at the ledge of burial pits and chambers in an upright position in-line along one of the walls. Plates and bowls were often located separately. Such arrangements are already sufficiently known from many other cemeteries, including Early Dynastic sites like Minshat Abu Omar (Kroeper and Wildung 2000), Tell el-Farkha (Chłodnicki, Ciałowicz, and Mączyńska 2012), Turah (Junker 1912), and Abu Rawash (Klasens 1957).

At *Operation 4* distinct examples of vessel separation can be observed in the area of a decayed coffin on the floor of three simple pit tombs which comprised only a small number of vessels. These are the tombs Op4/12, Op4/14, and Op4/23.

The probably intact pit tomb Op4/23 (Köhler 2014, 251–252) dated in the late Naqada III period, contained the corpse of an adult of indeterminate sex and two pottery vessels within the remains of a wooden coffin. The deceased was placed along the eastern longitudinal side of the coffin with its head in the south facing west. Along the western side of the coffin, one bowl was positioned in front of the deceased's head and one jar next to his feet (Fig. 3). The bowl (P01-26) was made of medium fine marl clay with none or only a few inclusions. It was red-slipped and streaky polished on the interior and upper exterior surface. Conversely, the jar (P01-25) was made of medium coarse Nile silt, wet smoothed and without any coating. Thus, both vessels varied considerably in the way of making, though there are striking similarities regarding their dimensions. The jar's height is 17 cm which correlates with the bowl's rim diameter. The bowl's height is 9.5 cm which again correlates with the jar's maximum diameter of 9 cm.

Another arrangement of two vessels at the floor of a burial pit occurred in the well-preserved pit tomb Op4/12 dated in the Naqada III period (Köhler 2014, 207–208). A child aged between five and seven years placed in south-north-direction received a pottery bowl close to its feet and a stone bowl in front of its face at the western side of an organic wooden container. Both bowls had similar shapes with flat bases, convex bodies and dimensions of 4.8–5.3 cm height and 12.5–14 cm rim diameter. The ceramic bowl (P01-69) was made of medium coarse wet smoothed and red-slipped Nile silt and formed a visual color contrast to the whitish limestone bowl (S01-7).

The intact pit tomb Op4/14 (Köhler 2014, 211–214) dating back to early Naqada IIID contained the burial of an infant with its head in the south, just as the human in tomb Op4/12. Although in tomb Op4/14 three stone vessels were located within the outlines of a decayed coffin, only two of them were visible from above. Just as in tomb Op4/23 and Op4/12, one dish was placed near the head and one next to the feet of the deceased. Furthermore, a small jar lay hidden underneath the infant's skull. The visible dishes had similar rim diameters of 14.5 cm and 15 cm but differed distinctly in material and shape. The dish near the head (S01-10) was made of dark siltstone, and its walls were about 1 cm thick. The other vessel (S01-11) consisted of pale calcite and had a thickness of the wall up to 3 cm. The latter was turned upside down. This contrast in arrangement and color created a distinct spatial separation.

In summary, all instances occurred in simple pit tombs dated late in the Naqada III period, which housed the burials of children as well as adults and were equipped with two visible, distinctly separated vessels inside the former coffin. The properties of the mentioned vessels seem rather variable as their material and shape differ noticeably – albeit the placement of a certain shape, viz. a bowl or dish, in front of the face appears to be related. However, the main focus might have been on adequately using space and presenting the few but essential grave goods in an appropriate manner.

2.1.2 Bread mould fragments

Bread moulds were common grave goods at *Operation 4* and were recorded from the superstructures up to the interior of a coffin, though their placement was restricted by the considerable size of such a whole vessel. For example, some completely preserved and reconstructed bread moulds at *Operation 4* exhibit rim diameters up to 40 cm and heights up to 30 cm (Köhler 2014, 166, 199). Accordingly, an equipping with a whole bread mould takes up a large part of a tomb.

However, in some instances at *Operation 4* shallow and narrow pit tombs were provided with bread moulds by breaking the complete vessel and depositing only fragments of it. A clear primary and intentional deposition of bread mould fragments could be observed in three simple pit tombs, namely Op4/142 (Fig. 4), Op4/151, and Op4/200. In these cases, very small sized rim sherds, which could be easily held in a human's fist, lay within or under the deceased's right hand, which in turn was placed in front of the face pointing to the mouth. The tombs Op4/151 and Op4/200 were small shallow pits with hardly any further grave goods. The rectangular pit tomb Op4/142 was somewhat deeper, but also short of equipment.

The occupant in tomb Op4/200 was a subadult of unknown sex. The others were male adults aged between twenty to forty years old at death. In accordance, the occurrence of the bread mould fragments in question is not a matter of age, but rather of wealth and social status[3] which is probably also reflected in the burial size, the architecture, and the accoutrement. Hence, it is likely that the tombs derived from relatively low-income families.

By equipping the deceased with bread mould fragments, the relatives ensured an unlimited and always recurring food supply, which represents an essential feature of the Egyptian idea of the afterlife (Grajetzki 2003, 6), while causing as little costs as possible. One could transport and deposit a fragment easier and closer to the corpse than a whole vessel. At the same time, the function of a bread mould remains preserved in the fragment, and the notion of feeding is emphasized by imitating the gesture of grasping food and raising a hand to the mouth. In this regard, the fragment poses as a *pars pro toto* for a whole functional bread mould, which in turn is recognized as a container to bake and store bread – one of the main basic foodstuffs in ancient Egypt. Based on this one could conclude that such vessels which were connected to the consumption of food in principal did not have to hold food or drink literally but could have been even understood as a symbol of supply.

2.1.3 Reversed bowls

Most bowls at *Operation 4* deriving from a primary context were arranged in a more or less upright position. However, on occasion, some bowls appear to have been deliberately deposited upside down. Regarding the reversal of vessels, a distinction between two different contexts emerges. Firstly, they can occur on top of jars applied as a kind of a lid.

[3] The phenomenon could also be deduced from the deceased's sex as in two out of three cases the deceased was male and in the remaining case the sex was indeterminate. Though the selection of data sets is too little to make a general statement.

These bowls presumably served for a different purpose than originally intended. This kind of reversal is proven at some Early Dynastic burial sites apart from *Operation 4*. Vivid examples can be found amongst others in the tombs 126 and 156 at Minshat Abu Omar (Kroeper and Wildung 2000, 75-75, 119).

Secondly, reversed bowls were placed solely on the floor – either at aboveground level or inside the pit or burial chamber, often in close vicinity to the deceased's body. Such an arrangement is only rarely attested at Early Dynastic burial sites, but when so, the reversed bowls show several similar physical characteristics.

At *Operation 4* two out of 218 tombs display a reversed bowl most likely in its original position, namely Op4/168 and Op4/28.

The pit tomb Op4/168 dated in Naqada IIID2 housed a mature male aged older than forty-six years with his head north facing west. Behind his back ran a raised ledge along the eastern pit wall. On this ledge, there were four beer jars in a row leaning against the wall. They were followed by a reversed bowl (P08-61) in the south-eastern corner of the pit, close to the deceased's feet.

Op4/28 is a large rectangular pit tomb with interior ledges along the eastern and western restriction walls dated to the phase Naqada IIID. This tomb had been disturbed and plundered several times and was intruded by a secondary burial in the upper fill. The primary burial of a probable male adult at the age of forty to forty-four years old was found in a semi-articulated state of preservation due to plundering. The human remains were located in the south-eastern corner of the pit inside a wooden coffin which was surrounded by a large wooden compartment. Alongside this compartment's western restriction, there were several intact vessels and large cattle bones found, which had obviously not been affected by the looting activities (Köhler 2014, 261-64, Fig. 98:5). At the centre of this accumulation and probably at the same height as the deceased's feet stood a reversed bowl (P01-64, Fig. 5–6).

Another such case was detected in the Early Dynastic pit tomb Z90 at Zawiyet el-Aryan (Dunham 1978, 6); a Memphite necropolis six kilometres south of Giza. Similar to tomb Op4/168 the reversed bowl was found in the south-eastern corner of the burial pit, which in this case is the assumed head's direction. However, it cannot be said with certainty if the bowl was still in a primary position since the tomb had been apparently disturbed and the documentation does not provide detailed information in this regard.

An earlier and slightly different arrangement of a reversed bowl was uncovered at the site of Adaïma in Upper Egypt. The intact tomb 68 (Crubézy, Janin, and Midant-Reynes 2002, 161-164) dated to the sub-phase Naqada IIIA1 accommodated an adult female aged between twenty-five to forty-five with her head south facing to the west. In this case, the bowl was placed in front of the woman's chest and covered her bent forearms.

While those three[4] sites differ considerably in date and location, the reversed vessels themselves show distinct similarities. The bowls are characterized by oblique to convex

[4] Another reversed bowl was located in tomb no. 4 on top of Kom E at Tell el Farkha, but it is not published yet. Therefore it seems that the observation of reversed bowls at the floor of tombs is consistent all over Egypt from the Delta to Upper Egypt covering a time span of more than 300 years.

bodies, flattened bases and nearly the same dimensions (Table 1). Their proportional index of the maximum diameter to height ranges between 1.71 and 2.25. This index forms a mathematical system to describe and classify shape types in a neutral way. It is useful to compare vessels in their wide diversity of spatial and chronological distribution (Karstens 1994, 272). Though for now, it needs to be clarified if the proportions of the reversed bowls actually form a pattern in comparison to other bowl types in a broader local and chronological context.

Regarding the intention of placing bowls upside down, there could have been multiple reasons. They may have covered and thus secured something beneath. For example, such a function could be ascribed to vessels in two tombs at Minshat Abu Omar. Tomb 404 contained a large ceramic bowl of 7 cm height and 35.2 cm rim diameter which was turned upside down and covered a small stone bowl of 2.4 cm height and 6.2 cm rim diameter (Kroeper and Wildung 2000, 110). In tomb 886 five vessels were piled over the deceased's head. At the bottom, there was a ceramic bowl of 19.1 cm rim diameter, followed by a large ceramic bowl of 32.5 cm rim diameter, a small calcite jar and two calcite bowls of 18.4 cm and 19.1 cm rim diameter (Kroeper and Wildung 2000, 124). Though the drawings and the description provide no clear information on whether all vessels were reversed or not. Only the reversal of the uppermost bowl is definite.

By a different approach, reversed vessels, especially if they were not stacked on top of one another, could constitute an intended counterpart to properly disposed vessels as a metaphor of emptiness after pouring or redistributing their content in the course of the burial. Also, the reversal could have been intended to reinforce the opposite to the normality of everyday life and to illustrate the separation of the realm of the dead from the world of the living (Parker Person 2003, 26).

Site	Dating	Bowl shape	Clay	Height in cm	Rim Diameter in cm	Varia
Adaïma, No. 68	Naqada IIIA1	flat base, oblique to convex body, slightly inverted rim	Calcareous paste	9.6	21.6	No slip
Zawiyet el-Aryan, Z90	Naqada IIIC-D	retracted base, concave to oblique body, angular rim	Alluvial silt	10	19	Red slip
Helwan Op4/28	Naqada IIID1-2	lentoid to flattened base,	Alluvial silt	12.3	21	Red slip, mostly tempered

		oblique to convex body, direct rim				with limestone
Helwan, Op4/168	Naqada IIID2	flattened base, oblique to convex body, direct rim	Alluvial silt	9.6	20.7	Red slip

Table 1. Features of reversed bowls sorted chronologically

2.2 Function and meaning

As mentioned above objects can be regarded as communicative indicators for human activities and identities, though their spectrum of meanings depends on situative perspectives and personal knowledge which must remain partially incomprehensible to an outsider.

Nevertheless, objects are constitutive components of a burial concerning religious beliefs, funerary practices, and social contexts. They were involved in funerary activities for various reasons and served different purposes.

When examining the function of a vessel one should take into account that it's flexible and variable throughout its whole use-life. The appearance of pottery containers may point to a certain intended function[5], but it not necessarily reflects the actual usage. Therefore, additional features, such as traces of use, remains of content, archaeological contexts, and the association with other artefacts, should be considered.

Below follow three different examples of functional analysis: firstly, grain silos whose intended and actual function was deduced by shape analogies and contents; secondly, bowls which exhibit distinct soot stains as traces of use, and lastly, beer jars, whose detailed location, arrangement and contents point to feasting activities.

2.2.1 Grain silos

The tomb Op4/28 comprised two almost identical containers which were interpreted as miniature grain silos after comparison with archaeological and pictorial evidence of corresponding Egyptian storage structures (Köhler 2014, 262, Fig. 96:6–9).

Though the pit tomb Op4/28 had been plundered and affected via several tunnels and pits, certain parts appear to be preserved in an original condition. These include the northern ledge where the grain silos were found. They were located at the centre of the ledge and

[5] Features like shape, size, fabric, and the surface treatment can affect the physical properties and technical capacities which in turn confine a certain usage. Particular vessel functions in Early Dynastic burial contexts can also be deduced from comparison with later pictorial and textual evidence.

were accompanied by beer jars, plates, and animal bones. One silo (P01-49) was still in an upright position and sealed with a lid (Fig. 7). The second silo (P01-48) was broken but could be reconstructed completely. Both containers were made of medium coarse Nile silt. While the vessels' bodies were roughly wet smoothed, their exterior bases exhibit the impressions of coiled ropes. The containers had a cylindrical body of 36 cm height and 8.5 cm rim diameter, and a properly manufactured lid of 9.5 cm and 10 cm maximum diameter, respectively. The sealed grain silo (P01-49) contained a mixture of chaff and dirt.

Similar containers have been discovered all over Egypt from the Early Dynastic period onwards. They occur in different sizes and are made of varying materials such as unfired clay, ceramic and stone. For instance, recent excavations at the Eastern Kom at Tell el-Farkha, which is located in the eastern Nile Delta, unearthed Early Dynastic granaries from funerary contexts as well as from the settlement. Tomb 50 at Tell el-Farkha contained five granary models made of unfired clay and measuring between 9.7 cm and 10.7 cm in height. They have a cylindrical body with a more or less rectangular hole in the lower part, an aperture on top and no lids (Kołodziejczyk 2009).

On the top of the Eastern Kom, circular and rectangular structures were located which probably date to the Second Dynasty and which were apparently related to farming and storage purposes. There was an intact ceramic silo of almost 1 m height in addition to other large storage jars and a huge number of bread mould fragments. The silo resembles the clay models from tomb 50 but is about ten times taller (Chłodnicki, Ciałowicz, and Mączyńska 2012, 30).

Comparing the granaries at Helwan and Tell el-Farkha, there is not only a difference in size but also in the number of apertures. The silos at Tell el-Farkha explicitly imitate the design of their counterparts in real life with an aperture at the top and one on the side in order to fill in or remove the grain. Yet, in finding there were no lids or seals attached. The silos in tomb 50 were very small and made of unfired clay which makes a storage function unlikely. They were rather mere models of the building. The silos in *Operation 4* on the other hand, could actually have stored grain as they were sealed and still held an organic content distinctly related to cereals, i.e. chaff.

Summing up, in funerary contexts the downsized ceramic and clay silos could have contained grain or inedible plant parts, as it seems to apply to the intact container in Op4/28 at Helwan, or they occurred as empty models like those from tomb 50 at Tell el-Farkha. In either case, they presumably were considered just as functional as their real correspondents. The deceased did not only receive prepared food and drink but the ingredients for the production of basic Egyptian foods, namely beer and bread, making him wealthier and more independent in the afterlife.

2.2.2 Bowls with distinct soot marks

Several tombs in *Operation 4* contained small and medium sized bowls which exhibit distinct soot marks at the rim plus on the interior base and lower surface. Their size and the distribution of soot stains point to a fire source inside the vessels which is why they are

usually interpreted as lamps or incense burners (Rzeuska 2006, 474, Seiler 2005, 48). In contrast, cooking ware generally has a larger capacity and predominantly shows soot stains on the exterior body and base (Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, 222–223).

The bowls considered here differ distinctly in typological and technological aspects. The proportional index of rim diameter to height ranges between 1.74 and 4.2, which is reflected in a deep and restricted or a shallow and everted shape (Fig. 8). Besides this, the surface treatment and coating are not consistent. The only thing all bowls have in common is that they were made of the standard Nile silt fabric. Even the distribution and intensity of the soot stains differ. They are probably to be ascribed to different vessel shapes and the quantity and efficacy of the used fuels.

However, considering the archaeological record, certain similarities can be detected. Till now six bowls with interior soot marks were found in a primary position. In each case, one bowl was located on the floor of a simple pit tomb or inside a subterranean chamber tomb (Table 2). In three cases the bowl was directly associated with the burial. These are the two pit tombs Op4/105 and Op4/11 (Köhler 2014, 197–205), and the small shaft tomb Op4/96. Two bowls were placed in the southern part of the burial chamber close to the deceased's feet. The bowl in tomb Op4/68 was found in the burial chamber's lower fill, but its exact deposition cannot be determined anymore due to partial plundering. In the remaining two cases, tomb Op4/173 and Op4/94, the soot-stained bowls stood in an antechamber and a passage leading to the burial chamber, respectively.

One crucial question relates to when exactly those bowls were used. They could have functioned as lamps and incense burners[6] earlier in a household as well as during the funerary process. Considering that the six bowls in *Operation 4* had been placed inside or in front of the burial chamber, they might be linked to the inhumation of the deceased's body and the blocking of the subterranean structure.

In case of the simple and shallow structures of those pit tombs in question, probably no lamps were required to illuminate the underground darkness. They may have been part of a presentation of grave goods spreading odour rather than light. Stevenson (2009, 143) remarked that burial pits and chambers might have been left open for a certain time span, during which the community of the bereaved performed actions in the burial surroundings, and that it was possible to view the deceased and the arranged grave goods for some time. Regarding the deeper and more complex chamber tombs Op4/173 and Op4/94, a practical need of lamps is far more convincing. They could have been used while furnishing and blocking the subterranean structure and may have been left behind afterwards. Albeit if we assume that funerals have also been taking place during the twilight hours or even at night, the need of illuminants would not depend on the tomb's architecture.[7]

Following another approach, bowls with soot stains could be considered as remnants of ritual activities associated with different stations of the funeral ceremony. Findings in Old Kingdom tombs at Dahshur suggest that pottery containers were used to burn offerings while underground passages, as well as above-ground areas, were being locked. Especially

[6] Though the bowls in *Operation 4* were not associated with the remains of incense.
[7] Thanks go to E. Christiana Köhler for bringing this possibility to my attention.

at the transition to the burial chamber deposits were found which point to censing, pouring, libation and ritual washing (Alexanian 1998, 11–12). This would especially match the tombs Op4/94 and Op4/173 in *Operation 4*.

Tomb	Pot-Number	Location	Tomb Date
Op4/96 Small shaft tomb	P05-27	Floor of the burial chamber, the northern part	Naqada IIID
Op4/105 Pit tomb	P05-47	Burial chamber, near deceased's feet at the southern part of the chamber	Naqada IIIC-D
Op4/11 Pit tomb with interior ledges	P00-60	Undisturbed pit fill above coffin, leaning against the southern tomb wall (direction of feet)	Naqada IIID
Op4/68 Subterranean chamber tomb with staircase	P03-23	Lower fill of burial chamber	Naqada IIID2–3
Op4/173 Subterranean chamber tomb	n/a	In front of the door blocking leading to the burial chamber	Naqada IIID2
Op4/94 Subterranean chamber tomb with staircase	P05-17	Antechamber deposit	Probably Naqada IIID3

Table 2: Bowls with soot mark sorted by location

2.2.3 Beer jars and feasting

As mentioned before, the excavation and documentation of *Operation 4* also considered upper layers and even endeavoured to identify funerary objects apart from grave goods inside the burial chamber. Such identification is mostly problematic because the upper fill generally contains large amounts of broken pottery vessels usually deriving from displaced material in consequence of robbery and plundering. Hence, for the most part, it is not traceable whether objects were placed deliberately or by chance.

Nevertheless, regarding *Operation 4,* it was possible to recognize and reconstruct the primary position of some pottery vessels which were connected to the original burial, but were not placed in the lower parts of the tomb like the burial chamber or antechamber, but in the upper fill, the descent, at the top of the staircase, and within the superstructure, which indicates a placement at the end of the funeral.

Several tombs in *Operation 4* revealed jars and bowls in the upper layers containing ashes, plant material and bones – an observation also attested at other burial sites (Rzeuska 2006,

455–468). These findings could be interpreted as evidence for feasting. In a few cases, the jars also contained ceramic sherds which were partially burnt.

The descent of tomb Op4/148 comprised at least 13 complete beer jars holding what could be the remains of a feasting meal and potsherds (Fig. 9). The latter were mostly small burnt body fragments, which were not classifiable anymore. Larger fragments with intact surfaces derived mainly from beer jars, polished red bowls, and bread moulds. Therefore, the sherds represent fine, medium and coarse wares and cover the main functional groups of vessels, i.e. storage, processing (preparation) and transfer (serving, consumption) of food (Rice 2005, 208–211).

Some of the sherds were theoretically large enough to partially cover the aperture of the corresponding beer jar and serve as a kind of lid. Other findings from *Operation 4* show that one or more fragments actually could have been used as support for a final mud sealing. Therefore, it is possible that some large-sized fragments ended up inside the jars by chance. Contrarily, the small, burnt pieces must have been intentional pot contents.

A similar composition of pot contents could be observed in several burial shafts of Old Kingdom tombs at West Saqqara. A considerable amount of intact, sealed beer jars had been filled with ashes, burnt remains of partially edible plants, charcoal, very fragmented and burnt bones, as well as sherds mainly deriving of red-slipped bowls (Rzeuska 2006, 469). It is worth noting that the jars themselves both in *Operation 4* and West Saqqara exhibited no secondary burning marks or any other traces of fire.

In both cases, a conceivable scenario might have been as follows: the community of bereaved brought vessels with food and drink to the funerary site, which they then consumed at any time during the burial. When they had finished their meal, they destroyed the vessels, partly burnt them and put them into the intact beer jars which again were deposited in the descent. Rzeuska (2009, 474) supposed that food offerings and ceramic vessels were burnt on a pyre during the funeral and "[…] the remaining ashes, remains of unburnt plants and pieces of pots were carefully collected and put into jars, after which the jars were tightly sealed." The jars in *Operation 4* also contained sherds without any traces of fire. They may have been broken deliberately or accidentally and picked up afterwards. Interestingly none of the larger unburnt fragments collected from the contents of the 13 beer jars in tomb Op4/148 could be refitted to reconstruct whole vessels. Thus, one may ask where the missing pieces ended up. They may have been handed to the feasting community or were just left somewhere on the ground.

Conclusion

The cases outlined here illustrate the large scope of vessel functions and meanings as well as the entanglement of pottery vessels, humans, and burial practices. It is obvious that funerary ceramic containers were not exclusively aligned with the deceased's needs and preferences but also formed an active constituent for the living community of the bereaved.

In *Operation 4* vessel functions seem to have been primarily connected with nutritional aspects including the production, preparation, storage, and serving of beer, wine, meat,

legumes, fruits, bread, grain, etc. Beyond that several pottery vessels served purposes other than mere sustenance.

As mentioned above they could have served as lamps and incense burners or were reused for coverage. Pot stands combined with large, flat plates could have served as offering tables. Additionally, broken vessels sometimes also functioned as digging tools which are evident by wear patterns. Whereas such utilization is mostly observed in disturbed, i.e. plundered, contexts and connected to robbers' activity, it occasionally also seems to apply to the tomb builders.

The spatial distribution of pottery vessels can be ascribed to sequences of activity and usage as well as social concepts. It has been suggested that the closer an object is placed to the body, the stronger it is connected to the deceased and therefore rather should be recognized as a possession of the buried person than as a gift of the mourners (Crubézy, Janin, and Midant-Reynes 2002, 473). In contrast, the spatial distribution of grave goods could be caused by societal conventions or individual preferences. For instance, if we call to mind the vessel separation mentioned before (see the heading 2.1.1), a superordinate convention regarding the arrangement seems likely, whereas the vessels' design could have been chosen for individual reasons.

In any case, several grave goods were selected and placed with great attention to detail. It is therefore quite convincing to assume that lower tomb parts were left open and accessible to the bereaved for a while.

Regarding the traces of usage of funerary ceramic vessels new and used pieces equally ended up in a tomb. Thereby the particular time of usage cannot be determined precisely in most cases. The mentioned bowls with soot marks could have been used at any time before the burial, but at the latest during the inhumation as they were situated in the lower parts of a tomb. As those bowls potentially spent light or odoriferous substances they would have been in any case valuable in a dark earthy tomb pit. Additionally, they could have served to define different burial stages from equipping the tomb with the corpse and grave goods via locking diverse passages to finally backfilling and closing the whole structure.

The beer jars deriving from the descent fill of tomb Op4/148 were certainly buried after the inhumation and most likely also after performing a funerary meal and other feasting activities. The funeral congregation might have consumed food and drink, while the tomb was not completely backfilled. After finishing their meal, feasting remains were burnt, swept up and filled into intact jars which were again discarded in the upper levels of the tomb.

By acting like that the bereaved on the one hand could have intended to leave behind everything which was connected to the burial, including their grief but also a certain fear or aversion related to the death. It has been suggested that goods which had been used within the funeral ceremony might have been considered as polluted and therefore had to be removed from everyday life by placing them with the deceased (Parker Pearson 2003, 24). The mere burning of objects as offerings additionally could have enabled the deceased to take part in the feasting as well.

Altogether it became obvious that the significance of pottery vessels should not be underestimated regarding the investigation of past life-realities and living conditions. Solely by highlighting a few occurrences at *Operation 4* it was possible to catch a glimpse of identities, religious beliefs and funerary customs of an urban population in the Memphite area some 5000 years ago. Further progress towards the examination of findings in *Operation* 4 offers the opportunity of increasingly better and more comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the Early Dynastic society in the near future.

Acknowledgments

The author is grateful to all who donated their time, work, support and funds to the Helwan Project. Thanks go to the Ministry of State of Antiquities (MSA) and the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) for their permission and support.

Excavations and post-excavation analyses were funded by the Macquarie University, the Australian Research Council, the Institute for Bioarchaeology, the Brennan Foundation, the University of Vienna, the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, project-no. P27123-G21), and private donations.

Special thanks go to all members of the Helwan team for their longstanding work and the project supervisor E. Christiana Köhler for allowing me to use the Helwan material as well as for her help and advice.

Photographs and drawings are courtesy of the Helwan Project.

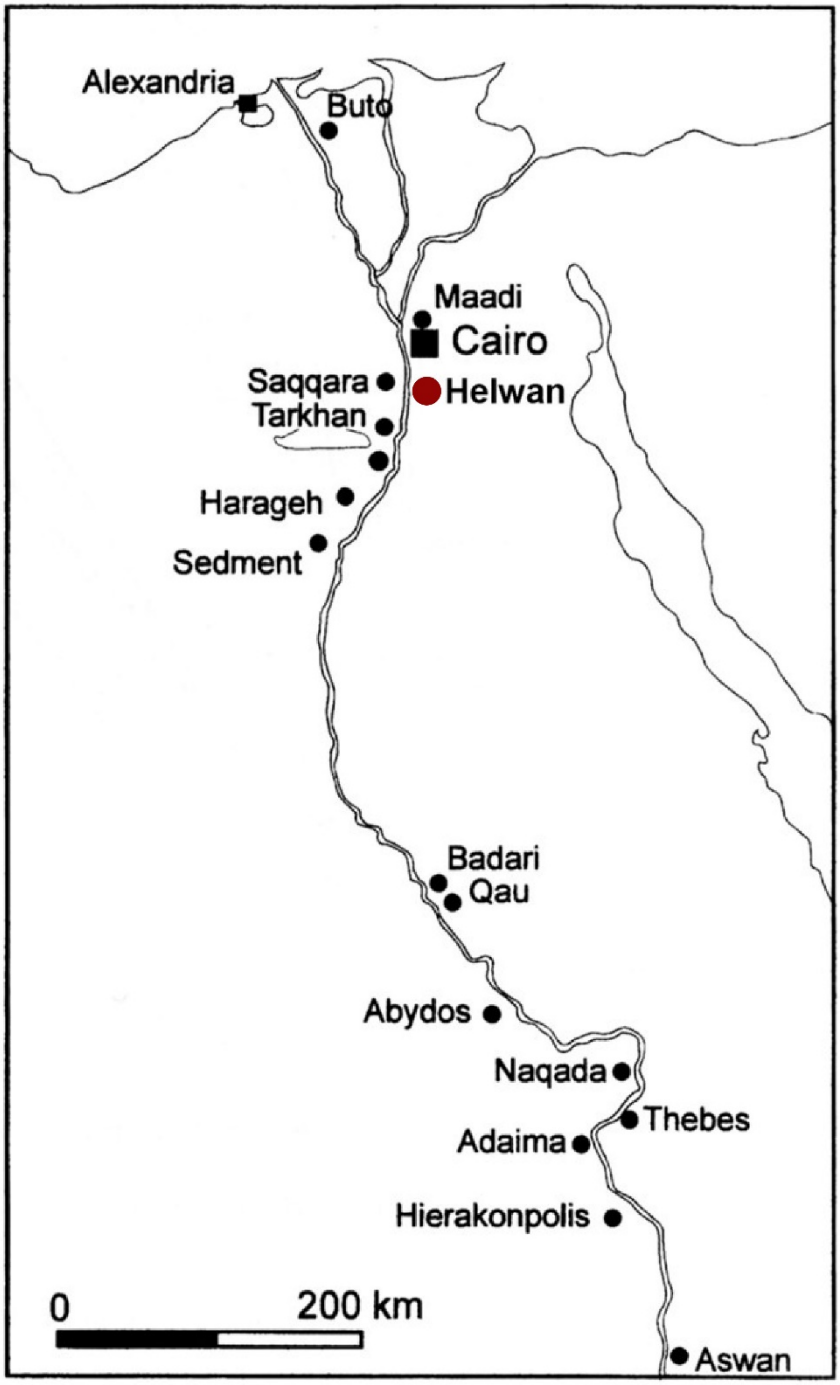

Fig.1: Map of Egypt

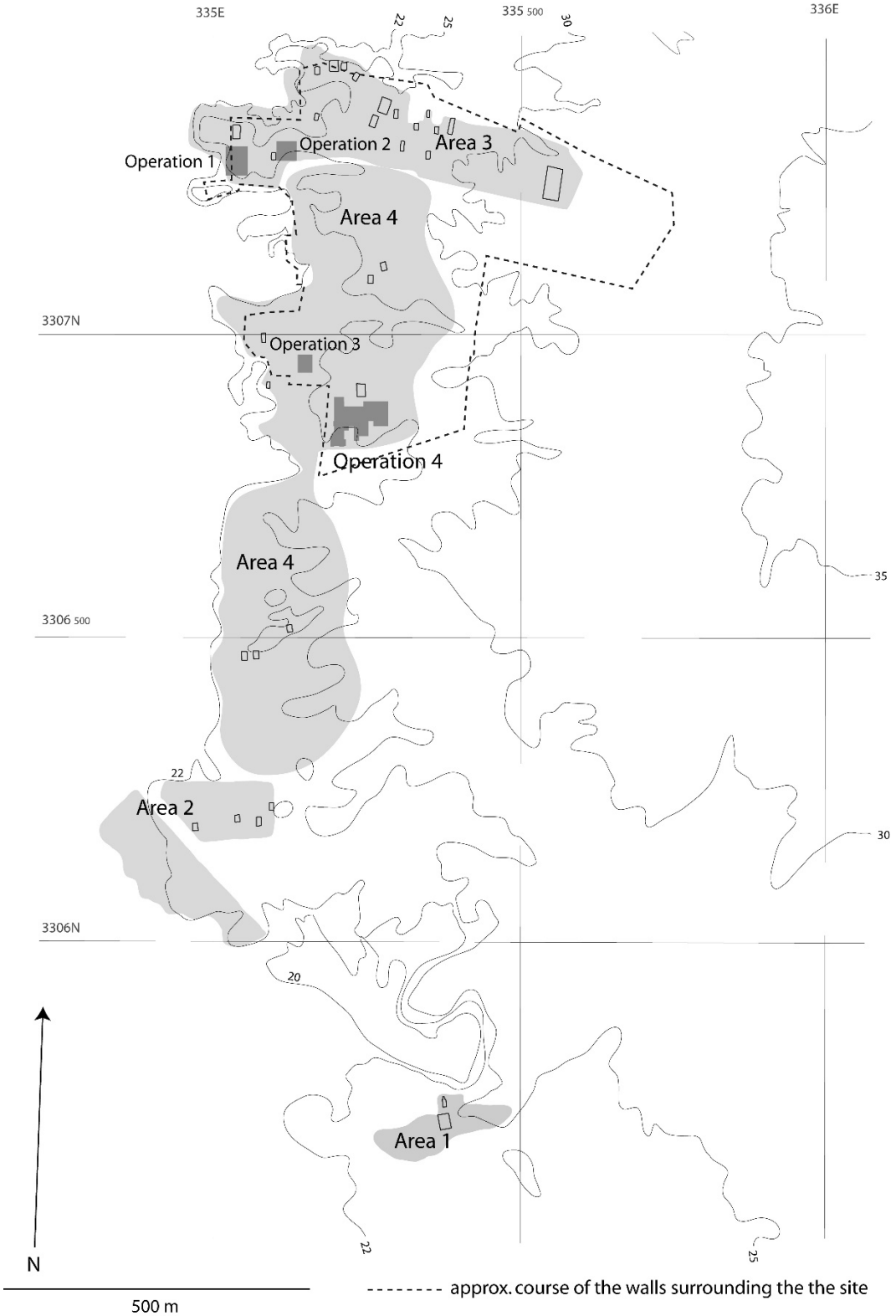

Fig.2: Map of the cemetery at Helwan

Fig.3: Burial in tomb Op4/23

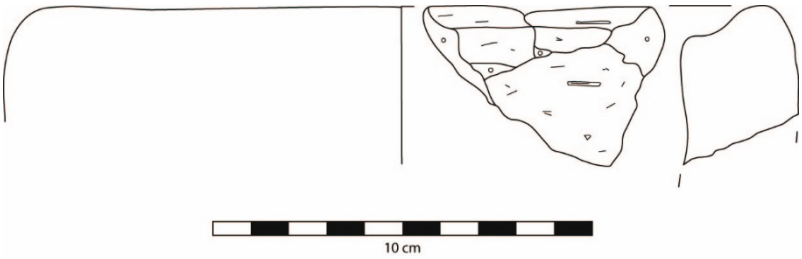

Fig.4: Bread mould fragment found in tomb Op4/142

Fig.5: Burial inside a wooden compartment in tomb Op4/28

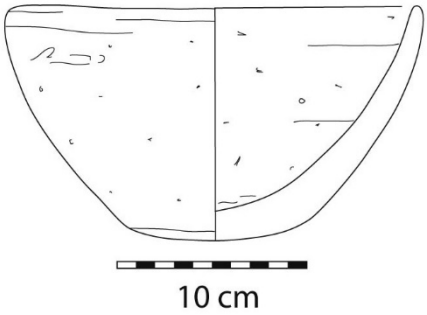

Fig.6: Bowl P01-64 from tomb Op4/28

Fig.7: Storage container P01-49 *in situ*, tomb Op4/28

Fig.8: Bowl with soot stains P00-60 from tomb Op4/11

Fig.9: Intact beer jars in the upper fill of tomb Op4/148

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The Pathos of the divine existence in Mesopotamia: Reconstruction of a cycle through text and image

Isabel Gomes de Almeida[*]

Maria de Fátima Rosa[**]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 128-142

Abstract

According to the *Epic of Gilgameš*, the Anunnakki reserved eternal life for themselves, bestowing mortality to Humankind, at the moment of its creation. This distinguished unequivocally the superiority of the first over the latter.

However, Mesopotamian deities showed feelings, sensibilities and behaviors similar to those experienced by their worshippers. Numerous narratives present evidences for this *humanity*, allowing the possibility to analyze the questions deities had to deal with on different stages of their existence. The mirrored effect between the divine and human actors can even be identified in the possibility of divine death, which obviously, was never definite.

Based on the analysis of mythopoetic and iconographic sources, we aim to reconstruct a narrative which displays the Mesopotamian divine *pathos*, exploring the several levels of deities' existential cycle.

Keywords: Mesopotamian Deities; Existential Cycle; literary and iconographic sources.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 7/3/2018

[*] CHAM & Departamento de História, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. E-mail: isalmeida@fcsh.unl.pt.
[**] CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. E-mail: frosa@fcsh.unl.pt.

The *Pathos* of the divine existence in Mesopotamia: Reconstruction of a cycle through text and image[1]

Isabel Gomes de Almeida
Maria de Fátima Rosa

For the Mesopotamians, the understanding of the world/cosmos was achieved by creating mythical narratives, where deities played a central role on the phenomenological cause-effect process. The divine figures were responsible for establishing and legitimating a cosmic order, controlling natural phenomena and, therefore, fate[2]. This explanatory exercise resulted on a system of knowledge, which Jean Bottéro characterized as a «philosophy in images» (Bottéro 2004, 54). The *topoi* we identify in the divine actions were displayed both in literary and in iconographic compositions and replicated, to some extent, the events of the human world[3]. Hence, the mythological narratives served to appease the anxieties felt by Mesopotamians, about the present and the future of their lives.

In simple terms, Mesopotamian deities were understood as an enhanced version of humankind: they were immortal, exhibited a youthful strength, and a profound knowledge of everything. Their **melammu**[4] granted them a mighty vital force and charisma, which confirmed their transcendental nature. Nevertheless, these extraordinary qualities were not enough to protect the divine beings from problems, and even from deep pain. Like humans, they too had to face conflicts, and cope with loss.

[1] This paper had the support of CHAM (FCSH/NOVA-UAc), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UID/HIS/04666/2013).

[2] We should remember that, for the Mesopotamians, the natural world was impregnated by the presence of divine figures, which led to the construction of a rather theocentric religious system (Bottéro 2004, 55). Since this paper addresses a theme within the field of History of Religions, we should also stress two other main aspects, which have significantly contributed to the nature and identity of the Mesopotamian religious system: it was cumulative and, therefore, deeply connected with the historical processes.
By being cumulative, Mesopotamian religious thought «consists of a recurring pattern of embracing common traditions and introducing new innovations while alleging their antiquity. The sense of tradition brings legitimacy.» (Odisho 2004, 3). At the same time, the events, and possible changes, within the day-to-day life, would contribute to the way the divine world was perceived. Alan Lenzi (2007, 126), for instance, finds a connection between the economic activities of ancestral Eridu and the character and functions of Enki/Ea, its patron god.
So, one can say that a cumulative nature, which integrates the transformation due to the historical processes, produces a quite dynamic religious system with a common identity, which encompasses permanence and change. These characteristics allow for a transversal analysis, which is the case with this paper.

[3] For instance, the *topos* of the perfect ruler, which runs through the royal hymnic tradition, is also displayed in mythical narratives, such as *Enūma eliš* or the *Epic of Gilgameš*, where a deity (Marduk) or a semi-divine figure (Gilgameš) present themselves as role-models for earthly rulers.

[4] According to Emelianov (2007, 1109-1110), **melammu** finds its roots in a Sumerian composite name, **me-lam**, where **me** stands for vital force, and **lam** for fire or flame. Therefore, its etymological meaning points to a notion of a "vital flame", which would be used as a kind of ornament by the divine beings.

With this paper, we wish to address the *pathos* of the divine existence, in which the *humanity* of the deities was highlighted. By reconstructing their cycle of life, we intend to give some insights regarding the mirrored relation between deities and human beings, thus shedding some light on the Mesopotamian mental framework[5].

The divine family

Sumerian and Akkadian literary traditions give us clues about the birth of the older deities, who were begot by the deified primordial ocean. In Sumerian accounts, Namma[6] is defined as «the primeval mother who gave birth to the senior gods» (*ETCSL 1.1.2*, 12-23). As for the Babylonian epic of creation, *Enūma eliš*, it is stated: «When skies above were not yet named, nor earth below pronounced by name, Apsû, the first one, their begetter, and maker Tiāmat, who bore them all, had mixed their waters together (…) then gods were born within them» (Dalley 2000, 233). Though there are some differences between the narratives[7], the fact is that the senior deities had primeval parents. When they reached adulthood, it was expected for them to procreate as well. The birth of new deities' generations set in motion an endless process of rejuvenation in the pantheon.

In this first level of divine existence, where procreation and parenthood stood out, we identify a profound mirrored effect between the divine and the human spheres: just like their deities, Mesopotamians longed for progeny, which would allow for a constant renewal and continuity of their household and identity[8].

On another level, the divine universe seemed to be organized in nuclear families [Fig. 1][9], which were interconnected, through the shared bonds that went back to their primeval parents. Accordingly, the pantheon was envisioned as a large clan, where deities had close genealogical ties with each other. Again, we identify a resemblance with the Mesopotamian society, which tried to encompass an urban world, organized mainly in nuclear families, with a semi-nomadic one, structured in macro-families (Sanmartín 1999, 26-31). The

[5] Our reconstruction will be based both on textual and on iconographical data, since there is an imperative need to use different typologies of sources, in a combined analysis, in order to accomplish an enriched interpretation of the past. Given the wide time span of Mesopotamian History, we were forced to select only a few documents. We decided to choose those which relate to the III and early II millennia BC, a long period in which the identity of this civilization was consolidated, through syncretic processes between the Sumerian and the Semitic backgrounds.

[6] This deity's early presence in the Mesopotamian religious system is clearly attested by its mention in the Fara deities' lists (c. 2600 BC). Though becoming less important over time, Namma still appears in references dated to the reign of Nabonidus (Krebernik 1986, 176).

[7] While in the Akkadian composition, the primeval divine ocean is perceived as a pair of deities, reflecting the figures of "father" and "mother", within the Sumerian tradition Namma stood for «a goddess without a spouse, the self-procreating womb, the primal matter, the inherently female and fertilizing waters of the abzu» (Leick 1994, 16).

[8] Mesopotamians were deeply concerned about progeny, since children meant not only a reinforcement of the labor force within the family, but also the possibility of continuity of the household and the family name. On another level, descendants would perform the cultic activities for their dead ancestors, which would appease their residual existence in the Netherworld (Bottéro 1987, 513-514). For more information about Mesopotamian funerary cults, namely in what concerns the III millennium BC, *vide* Cohen 2005.

[9] In this impression of a cylinder seal dated to the Early Dynastic Period, we identify two adult anthropomorphic figures, a male and a female, who flank what seems to be a child. Because the figures are depicted enthroned and wearing the horned crown – a symbol for divinity – we can identify them as deities. Plus, they seem to be receiving offerings from a human, in a clear allusion to a cultic moment. This scene might, therefore, be understood as a depiction of a nuclear divine family.

dimorphic characteristic of the Mesopotamian society seemed, thus, to be echoed on the world above.

Fig. 1. Impression of a cylinder seal dated to the Early Dynastic period. Probable depiction of a divine family (image extracted from Amiet 1980, 463 – Sammlung Hahn nr. 53).

Moreover, the Mesopotamian deities' lists seem to be organized by family ties and functions, which leads us to think of family trades within the divine world[10]. And again, we find a link with the human society, where it is possible to identify a hereditary logic in the functions or offices occupied by the same family, throughout generations[11].

In sum, when we observe the inner organization of the divine sphere we recognize an intense reflection of the logic which structured the world embraced by the Tigris and the Euphrates. And this configuration based on family bonds set the tone for both divine and human actions throughout life.

The teen years[12]

Though divine infancy was not a common topic[13], the teen years were highly depicted. The adolescent turmoil seemed to impel the young deities to act out, displaying a need for self-discover, and, of course, for testing the limits imposed by the older generations. The

[10] «Ever since the gods acquired their anthropomorphic character, the theologians have engaged in grouping them into generations and families, whereby the rank and function of a given god was determined by his genetic relationship to another god in the pantheon» (Klein 2001, 279).
On another occasion, we analyzed the relationship between Nanna/Sîn and their children, Utu/Šamaš, and Inanna/Ištar, where we identified each deity's cosmic function deeply connected, just like a family trade. (Almeida and Rosa 2016)

[11] «Usually a son learned his father's trade or profession by observing and helping at an early age. He was able to take over his father's position in due time, as a scribe, an artisan, and so on. (…) Some scribal families can be traced through several generations» (Nemet-Nejat 1998, 150).

[12] Harris (2000, 23) argues that Mesopotamians probably did not acknowledge the adolescent phase as a period in between infancy and adulthood. However, the author agrees there was a distinction between early and mature adulthood. Accordingly, we use "teenager" and "adolescent" as operative terms to refer to the early stage of adulthood.

[13] The possible exception was the god Damu, a deity connected with healing powers, just like his mother, the goddess Ninisina (also known as Gula). In the composition *Ningišzida's journey to the Netherworld* (*ETCSL 1.7.3*, 4-10) Damu is referred as a young boy, being the direct translation of his name, «the good child» (Alster 1972, 12).

teenagers' rebellions were but a step into molding the character of the soon-to-be grown up deities, whether in terms of their place within their household or within the divine society.

The young deities expressed their energy and their continuous activity through noise and fuss, thus conflicting with their begetters. The noise/silence binomial was an important subject in Mesopotamian mythology, being recurrently associated with another crucial theme: the tension between chaos and order[14]. As far as the relation between older and younger divine beings is concerned, this binomial was used to show the conflict amid the age-specific behaviors of each group. As Harris (1992, 630) stated «the old want to rest by day and sleep by night; the young want to dance and play».

Enūma eliš shows a clear depiction about this topic. After Apsû and Tiāmat had created their progeny, «the gods of that generation would meet together, and disturb Tiāmat, and their clamor reverberated» (Dalley 2000, 233). The uproar of the young ones, though distressing to the elders, could not be controlled[15].

An interesting episode follows this event, which allows us to peek into the dynamics between the primordial couple. Apsû, tired of all this noise, discussed with his consort what they could do to get some peace and rest. His solution was rather drastic – he proposed to destroy their progeny. Furiously, Tiāmat denied such possibility: «How could we allow what we ourselves created to perish? Even though their ways are so grievous, we should bear it patiently» (Dalley 2000, 234). The well-known Mesopotamian personification of the chaotic forces, displays here a protective and even permissive[16] behavior towards their children, echoing the maternal role of married women within human households[17].

Likewise, it is possible to identify a tension between father and mother, which is interesting since by law the *pater familias* had full authority over his wife and children (Sanmartín 1999, 27-28). However, Tiāmat's disagreement forced Apsû to find other ways to make sure his will would be carried out. The discussion between the primeval parents might allude to the marital problems couples had to face throughout their marriage.

Nevertheless, the uproar of the younger deities in *Enūma eliš* was the trigger to an intense episode of parricide[18], and further ahead, the same frenzy acts precipitated the cosmic battle, between the old and the new generations[19], which resulted in the victory of the latter. Both episodes allude to a generation clash, where the frenetic youngsters acted out,

[14] When Utnapištim narrates the diluvial event to the mythical king of Uruk in the *Epic of Gilgameš* it is underlined the uproar of the tempest which was followed by silence, when the waters held back (Dalley 2000, 113). As it is well known, the diluvium was understood as the return to the primeval chaotic stage and the times that followed it as a new orderly period.

[15] «Apsû could not quell their noise, and Tiāmat became mute before them» (Dalley 2000, 233).

[16] «However grievous their behavior to her, however bad their ways, she would indulge them» (Dalley 2000, 233).

[17] The main purpose for the Mesopotamian women was to get married and to bear children. Consequently, they acted in a protective way towards themselves, while pregnant, and towards the children after they were born. Nemet-Nejat (1999, 88, 92-93) speaks about different types of prenatal cares and also the period of nursing, which took 2 to 3 years. However, both parents were deeply connected with their children. Harris (2000, 11-15) evokes several examples of affection between parents and children, such as the singing of lullabies to calm down the crying babies or the play time with their parents or even grandparents.

[18] We must remember that to protect himself and his siblings from their father's rage, Ea kills Apsû. About this topic, *vide* Jacobsen 1976, 186 and ff.

[19] When Marduk plays with the four winds Anu gave him, he «made the flood-wave and stirred up Tiāmat. Tiāmat was stirred up, and heaved restlessly day and night» (Dalley 2000, 236).

provoking the elders by means of their juvenile energy and enthusiasm, which in time turned into a more intense confrontation. On their part, the senior deities «have shifted from a mode of "active mastery" to one of "passive mastery", from "aggressive, competitive behavior" to "apathy and immobility"» (Harris 1993, 112). Similarly, we can identify the same transitional process, on the other way around, that is, the teen deities becoming more relevant, or active amongst their society, signalised the final moments of their coming of age process.

Yet extremely difficult and dramatic, this divine generation clash evoked the natural replacement of leadership within human family/society, where the new adults, eventually, ought to take the place of the elder, in what concerned the leading tasks.

On another level, the *topos* of love can also contribute to the depiction of the frenetic enthusiasm associated with the juvenile deities. Inanna and Dumuzi's love cycle appears as one of the most fertile *corpus* to analyze this topic, since it displays vivid images of the two young lovers' behaviors[20].

Inanna and Dumuzi were deeply enamored with each other[21], showing the natural excitement of the first love. However, there were rules to be obeyed, which were surveilled by Inanna's family members. Utu, the brother, seemed to perform the role of the *pater familias*, making sure the courtship protocol was being followed[22]. Ningal, the mother of the goddess, took up the role of chaperon, supervising the visits paid by Dumuzi to his lover[23].

Within human society, marriages were arranged between the male members of each family, normally the fathers or, in their absence, the older sons. The agreement stipulated the dowry of the bride and the offerings the groom should present to his soon-to-be-wife (Nemet-Nejat 1998, 133-135). The meetings between the betrothed couple were highly controlled by their families, just like in the case of Inanna and Dumuzi.

Still, the two divine lovers tried to bend these rules, and successfully met alone on several occasions. It was a time for them to experience and discover their bodies, engaging in the sexual act [Fig. 2][24]. They would give in to their desire for one another, taking time in their

[20] Lapinkivi (2004, 29) identifies more than fifty poems/songs which belong to this cycle. Given the limited space, we chose to analyze only 5 compositions.
[21] «My dearest, my dearest, my dearest, my darling, my darling, my honey of her own mother, my sappy vine, my honey-sweet, my honey-mouthed of her mother!» (*ETCSL 4.08.02*, 1-3)
[22] In one of the poems, the action revolves around a dialogue between Utu and Inanna, who is extremely excited with the proximity of her wedding, and poses several questions regarding the subject. To each and every one, Utu kindly reinsures the maiden that everything is prepared for her to meet and marry her lover (*ETCSL 4.08.01*).
[23] One of Inanna and Dumuzi's love songs depicts Ningal opening the door of her house in order for the groom to meet his fiancée, in what we can consider a legitimate meeting of the pair (*ETCSL 4.08.29*, segment B 11-23). On another occasion, Dumuzi presents himself at Ningal's gate, and Inanna, in a rush of excitement and, eager to meet him, desperately asks for someone to warn her mother so that she can finally embrace him (*ETCSL 4.08.08*, segment B 1-13)
[24] It is not common to find depictions of naked deities in Mesopotamian iconography. Asher-Greeve and Sweeney (2006, 126, 129) allude to the hypothesis that it could be considered disrespectful to depict deities without their garments. These were not only adornments but also symbols of power, and therefore, a deity could be considered vulnerable while naked. Still, the authors identify an exception in Old Babylonian terracotta reliefs, just like the one evoked here. Even if there is no certainty if the pair corresponds to a divine or a human couple, the scene evokes the love-making between Inanna and Dumuzi.

love-making[25]. However, the pair was also depicted quarrelling, and even showing jealous and possessive feelings towards one another, something typical of a juvenile love[26].

Interestingly, though displaying a rather reckless behavior when running out to these meetings, Inanna seemed preoccupied at some point with the possible repercussions of her absence. She was anxious and addressed Dumuzi with this problem, who replied:

«"Let me teach you, let me teach you! Inana, let me teach you the lies of women: "My girlfriend was dancing with me in the square. She ran around playfully with me, banging the drum. She sang her sweet songs for me. I passed the day there with her in pleasure and delight." Offer this as a lie to your own mother. As for us, let me make love with you by moonlight! » *ETCSL* (*4.08.08,* segment A 13-22)

Fig. 2. Terracotta plaque dated to the Isin/Larsa or Old Babylonian period. It depicts a couple performing a sexual act, probably connected with the Inanna and Dumuzi's love cycle (image extracted from Black and Green 1992, 157).

[25] «When my sweet precious, my heart, had lain down too, each of them in turn kissing with the tongue, each in turn, then my brother of the beautiful eyes did it fifty times to her, exhaustedly waiting for her, as she trembled underneath him, dumbly silent for him. My dear precious passed the time with my brother laying his hands on her hips» (*ETCSL 4.08.04*, 12-18).

[26] « "Young woman, don't provoke a quarrel! Inana, let us talk it over!"» (*ETCSL 4.08.09*, 7-24); « You shall take an oath for me that you will not touch another» (*ETCSL 4.08.02*, 13-16)

Caramelo identified here the complicity of lovers, who orchestrated not only plans to meet but also lies to present to those who guarded the reputation of the damsel (Caramelo 2008, 127). Together, the two lovers defied the rules of pre-matrimonial encounters, reinforcing their bonds, and their love.

Although human behaviors towards love and sexuality admit a certain level of standardized aspects, the fact is that the union between these two deities presented itself as exceptional, since they never had to deal with the actual responsibilities of a human marriage. At one point of their courtship, Dumuzi stated that he would never bind Inanna to domestic tasks, such as weaving[27]. On the other hand, the goddess never got pregnant, maintaining her freedom from maternal tasks. So, in a certain way, this love affair was an idealization of the sexual initiation (Cooper 1997, 95). But does it diminish the *humanity* showed by these deities, who expressed their love, so enthusiastically? We do not think so. Inanna and Dumuzi's love cycle expressed the defiant attitude of teens when facing rules that only seemed to exist in order to constrict their freedom and their will. And maybe this was one of the reasons why this cycle was so famous.

According to what we observed in both situations, the teen years reflected a period where deities enthusiastically provoked, experimented, and acted out. By testing the established rules, they underwent the coming of age process.

Adulthood

When deities became adults, however, the youthful lyric fervor seemed to fade away and gave place to concerns, related to more substantial matters. Though the limits continued to be tested, the consequences were heavier, since the clashes and confrontations had to do with thicker questions: hierarchy and power, both within society and family.

Just like in the human world, hierarchy among the divine universe was visible in the division of labor. According to the *Epic of Atra-Hasîs*: «the Anunnaki of the sky made the Igigi bear the workload. The gods had to dig out canals, had to clear channels» (Dalley 2000, 9). The hardness of being a working adult is underlined by the use of expressions such as «bear the workload»[28]. So, it seems that the Igigi had to do all the work [Fig. 3][29], while the Anunnakki enjoyed the products of this labor.

[27] «"I have not carried you off to be my slave girl! (…) "My bride, you should not weave cloth for me! You should not spin yarn for me! You should not comb out goat's wool for me! You should not warp threads for me!"» (*ETCSL 4.08.29*, segment C 9-13)

[28] In fact, the same idea was presented on the initial verses of the composition, where it is emphasized that «work was too hard / trouble too much». This repetition underlines the burden the Igigi had in their daily duties.

[29] In this image, we can identify, on the left side, a deity pushing a plow, which is then pulled by a lion. Certainly this scene represents the actions necessary to turn the ground into a fertile field, which would allow it to become an inhabitable space. Note how the field is filled with symbols depicting agricultural and pastoralist features, for instance, animals, their fences, and the watery element.

Fig. 3. Impression of a cylinder seal dated to the Akkadian period. The image depicts the deities performing their daily duties (image extracted from Collon 1987, 146 – Erlenmeyer Collection 599).

The stress and depression caused by the accumulation of toil, every day and night, caused an insurrection among the divine workers. The Igigi gathered in front of Enlil's gate, the traditional head of the pantheon, and went on strike, in what may be considered as one of the first depictions of collective claims[30]. The rebellious and defiant disposition of teens was evoked once more, but now to act against a social hierarchy and order, which was considered unbearable.

The Anunnakki were forced to react, since the possibility of a civil war was imminent, which would only bring chaos into the cosmos. Moreover, it was imperative that the labor was carried out. Enki, the wisest deity, offered a solution: humankind should be created, so that «man bear the load of the gods» (Dalley 2000, 13-14).

Although the gods were freed from their heavy duties, the fact is hierarchy was still maintained, since the greater deities had their personal divine helpers, who acted as their ministers or viziers. At the bottom of the cosmic social pyramid, humans had the mission to serve all deities, within the earthly sphere. Still, deities were perceived in close association with their "new" workers, since they were involved and oversaw every aspect of the natural world [Fig. 4][31]. Far from abandoning the activities of the world into the hands of human actors, deities were always the force that drove and dominated the cosmos.

Hence, the pains of the Igigi, though resembling the work related difficulties humans had in their lives, had and appeasing effect in humans in what concerned the outcome of their insurrection. On the one hand, it was emphasized the imperative need for hierarchy (divine and human) to maintain order; on the other hand, it defined the subordinated place of Mesopotamians within the larger cosmic picture. Consequently, work and hierarchy were justified as unavoidable features of existence, since without them it would be impossible for the cosmos to maintain its natural course.

[30] «(The gods) set fire to their tools, put aside their spades for fire. (…) When they reached the gate of warrior Ellil's dwelling, it was night » (Dalley 2000, 10).
[31] In this impression, we identify a divine figure, on the left side, holding a sort of measuring object, which allowed for humans to work with clay. Simultaneously, the deity is supervising these tasks, which represent the deep involvement of deities in the human daily actions.

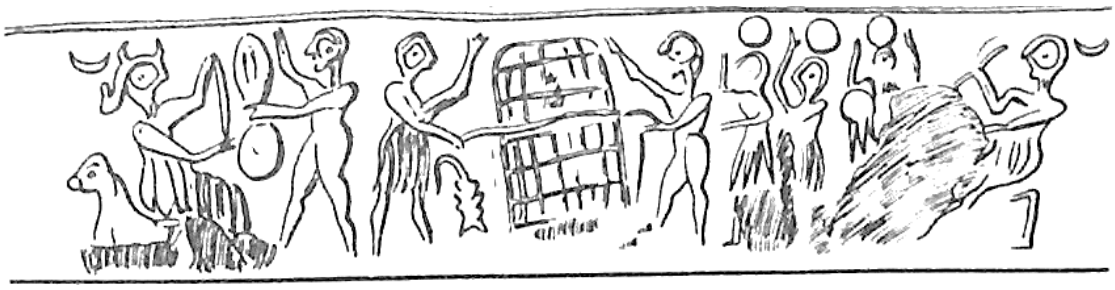

Fig. 4. Impression of a cylinder seal dated to the Early Dynastic period. A deity supervises human labor. (image extracted from Amiet 1980, 477 – Asmar 32.437).

A final aspect about this rebellion and its outcome should be stressed: the sacrificial death of a deity in order to create Humankind[32]. This act established the *alliance* between deities and humans, where the latter felt obliged to gratify the first, since they shared a close bond[33]. The divine death in this episode, a rather extraordinary event, must be comprehended as a means to preserve the cosmic harmony. Without it, the strike would have no end and the suspension of labor could be permanent. Thus, preservation of the cosmos demanded a divine sacrifice, which, at the same time, offered awareness about the possible vulnerability of deities.

On another level, the battle between deities was also depicted in several cylinder seals [Figs. 5 and 6[34]]. The systematic presence of this topic, both in literature and iconography, might refer to the unstable and fragile cohesion forged in the divine realm, which echoed the well-known persistent military problems experienced in the land between the rivers.

As far as family problems are concerned, we should focus on the rivalry between siblings, namely the one exposed in the text *Descent of Inanna to the Netherworld* (*ETCSL 1.4.1*). This composition narrates the adventurous journey of the goddess to Ereškigal's domain, the kingdom of the dead. Inanna, being already Queen of Heaven and Earth, aspired for more power within the cosmos, showing an unreasonable ambition[35]. This led to a confrontation between sisters, since Inanna planned to usurp Ereškigal's throne [Fig. 7][36].

[32] «Ilawela, a god who had intelligence, they slaughtered in their assembly. Nintu mixed clay with his flesh and blood» (Dalley 2000, 15) In *Enūma eliš*, the sacrificed god was Qingu, the leader of Tiāmat's army (Dalley 2000, 161)

[33] «l'Homme devait *avoir en lui* quelque chose de divin (*ilu*) et quelque chose tenant du *ṭêmu*, grâce à la presence originelle, en sa substance même, de la "chair" d'une divinité». «le *têmu* (…) est aussi indispensable aux hommes, pour accomplir au mieux leur tâche native de producteurs et transformateurs des biens utiles, qu'il l'était à leurs prédécesseurs divins en cette même entreprise » (Bottéro 1982, 28)

[34] Figure 6 is a probable depiction of Utu/Šamaš, on the left. He is holding another deity by his waist, who seems weakened, with a lifeless body. The meaning of this image is multiple: it might be a duel between two divine enemies, but it might also be a depiction of the confrontation between the various aspects of the solar god (Collon 1987, 178). If that is the case, we can be facing the end of the solar journey manifested by the sunset, which is defeated by the rising sun at dawn.

[35] An extreme ambition is one of Inanna's traits, which she displays in several narratives. For example, in *Inanna and Enki* (*ETCSL 131*), the goddess went to visit the patron god of wisdom, guardian of the cosmic divine principles – the **me** – and decided to get hold of them.

[36] In this seal impression we find a rather interesting scene, which probably confirms the event depicted in the mythic composition mentioned above (Amiet 1980, 176). In the textual narrative, we are told that Inanna's entrance in the Netherworld is only allowed if she despoils herself of all her garments, which meant power, as we could see. While passing through the seven gates of this domain, Inanna strips herself, reaching the throne's

Fig. 5. Cylinder seal impression dated to the Early Dynastic period. Depiction of a battle between deities. (image extracted from Amiet 1980,469 – Collection Moore, nr. 37).

Fig. 6. Impression of a cylinder seal dated to the Akkadian period. Probable depiction of the god Šamaš, on the left side. (image extracted from Collon 1987, 179 – Ur(PG/514; v.9026)).

Fig. 7. Impression of a cylinder seal, dated to the Early Dynastic period. Probable depiction of the confrontation between Inanna and Ereškigal (image extracted from Amiet 1980, 469).

As Katz (2003, 403) stated: «Inanna's attempt to steal the **me** of the netherworld, which were assigned to Ereškigal by the great gods (…) is not merely an offense against Ereškigal,

room deprived of her natural power (*ETCSL 1.4.1*, 144-164). The impression seems to allude to this meeting, since the deity facing the enthroned goddess has no symbols or garments of power, such as the headdress, the jewels, or the rod and ring, symbol for sovereignty *par excellence*.

but also a violation of the world order, and, therefore, an offense against the great gods who determine the world order». For those reasons, Inanna was punished by the Anunnakki and sentenced to dead (*ETCSL 1.4.1*, 164-172)[37].

This episode, which is related to the main topic of leadership and its legitimate holder, was echoed in the human world. On a first level, and since the protagonists were two divine monarchs, the problem of royal usurpation is addressed. As we know, the Mesopotamian king was chosen by deities to rule in their name, thus making the act of usurpation a severe violation of the divine decree[38]. To some extent, the failed attempt of Inanna to usurp her sister's throne, and her consequent death, reflected the consequences of such an act in the human world. On another level, it addresses the problem of succession within families (royal or not). Since primogeniture was not a strict rule in Mesopotamia, it could lead to problems between siblings while disputing their inheritance (whether a crown or the family estate)[39].

Adulthood was also a time to deal with disenchantment regarding the matters of the heart. The once joyful love experienced by Inanna and Dumuzi was replaced by darker and dramatic feelings. Because Dumuzi was not showing any signs of grief for her recent death, Inanna, extremely disappointed and enraged by her lover's indifference, handed him over to the **galla** *daemones*, who took him to the Netherworld (*ETCSL 1.4.1*, 354-358)[40]. Though deeply hyperbolized, in her violent reaction, Inanna evokes the natural resentment of a woman when faced with her partner's negligent behavior.

However, in another composition, which originally might have been independent from *Descent of Inanna to the Netherworld*[41], Dumuzi's death seemed to be his fate, without any intervention of the goddess (*ETCSL 1.4.3*). After learning through a divinatory dream that he was about to be seized by the **galla** *daemones*, Dumuzi was driven to tears, terrified with

[37] Curiously, Inanna was not the only high-ranked deity to be subjected to a trial. On the later composition traditionally known as *Marduk's ordeal*, the Babylon patron god is depicted as captive and subjected to a difficult trial. The poem alludes to his arrest at the «house on the edge of the *hursan*» because of his «sin» (Frymer-Kensky 1984, 136). Though the interpretation of this composition is far from being consensual, the allusion to Marduk's sin combined with Inanna's behavior in the Netherworld showed that deities were not free from fault or misfortune and were capable of committing offenses like humans.
About the possibility of *hursan* being the place where Marduk was held captive and its relation with the Netherworld, *vide* Frymer-Kensky 1984, 138-139.
[38] When a ruler ascended to the throne through a "dubious" process, he would make great efforts to justify it. Take the case of Sargon of Akkad, for instance: «according to written sources, these gods [An, Enlil, and Ištar] had decided on the dethronement of the [previous] king. "Not Sargon but the gods are the agents of change" was the ideological message. Sargon did not plan the rebellion; he just benefited from it and at the same time fulfilled the will of the gods» (Heinz 2007, 70)
[39] Within Mesopotamian families, the eldest son was traditionally favored in the division of the patrimony (Nemet-Nejat 1998, 147-148). However, the estate could also be divided in equal shares by all the sons (Harris 2000, 69). As for royal succession, there are several cases of rivalry amongst the royal princes, throughout Mesopotamian political history. The case of Sennacherib, who seems to have been a victim of a plot planned by his offspring illustrates our point.
[40] After Inanna's death sentence by the Anunnakki, Enki engendered a plan to rescue the goddess. However, she could only be released if she found someone who would take her place in the Netherworld. Accompanied by the vigilant **galla** *daemones*, Inanna searched for candidates, but everyone she met (Ninšubur, Šara, and Lulal) was deeply grieving her disappearance. According to the funerary rites, they were using filthy clothes and were sat on dust, action which appeased her heart. Dumuzi, however, was found dressed in fine garments and sat on a throne, as if nothing happened. (*ETCSL 1.4.1*, 306-353).
[41] (Sladek 1974, 51)

the prospect of his own death (*ETCSL 1.4.3,* 1-14). The once audacious and juvenile Dumuzi grew up to epitomize the dread of adults when facing their mortality.

Family ties played a special part in the course of action. Geštinanna, his loyal sister, advised Dumuzi to run and hide from the **galla**, and, when the *daemones* asked her for the god's whereabouts, she stayed mute (*ETCSL 1.4.3*, 110-150). On the contrary, one unidentified friend of Dumuzi, who knew his hiding spot, had no problems in betraying the run-away deity, telling the *daemones* where he was. In another composition, this episode is resumed with an emphasis in Geštinanna's action: tortured by the **galla**, the loyal sister said nothing, bearing in silence all the pain the *daemones* inflected upon her (*ETCSL 1.4.1.1*, 57-64). The two siblings' suffering implied a shared notion of their fate[42]. Moreover, through the reliabre actions of Geštinanna, the family ties were praised as the true loyal ones, when compared to the actions and character displayed by Dumuzi's friend.

Terrified and on the run, Dumuzi started praying for his brother-in-law. In three different occasions, Utu intervened and helped him escaped from the *daemones* (*ETCSL 1.4.3*, 165-180, 192-205, 227-244). Again, the stress lied in family ties, with a member of the macro-family showing the solidarity between households.

Despite all those efforts, the unfortunate Dumuzi was eventually arrested by the *daemones*, and his dreadful dream was consummated [Fig. 8]. Again, his family members, namely the feminine ones, were evoked to grieve and to pay the necessary funerary rites. Inanna, the long-time fiancée, Geštinanna, his devoted sister, and Dutur, his loving mother, together, mourned their beloved Dumuzi. (*ETCSL 1.4.4*, 137-173).

Fig. 8 Impression of a cylinder seal dated to the Early Dynastic period, depicting the god Dumuzi in chains. (image extracted from Collon 1987, 179 – BM 123279).

The family once challenged was now the source of aid, protection and care. Again, the resemblances with the human world are striking. Both deities and humans were set to look for themselves within the family, for this was the construct which allowed for identity in Mesopotamia.

[42] We should also stress that in the Akkadian version of the journey of Inanna/Ištar to the Netherworld, Geštinanna (referred to as Belet-ṣeri) offered herself to substitute Dumuzi, in that domain (Dalley, 2000, 160).

Final remarks

The divine existence[43] we reconstructed above depicts an emotive path, which would kindle empathy of the human audience. The similarities of feelings expressed by deities and humans, who faced the same kind of questions throughout their lives, blurred the profound abyss between the transcendent immortal beings, and their worshippers. By highlighting the idea of *humanity* as inherent to divine nature, the divine *pathos* would be recognizable and appropriated by humans, who would consequently appease their anxieties.

Divine life was, therefore, human life elevated to the conscience of a numinous existence. And the mirrored effect between the two worlds deepened the already intimate relation between deities and humans.

Abbreviations

ETCSL – The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature

JAOS – Journal of the American Oriental Society

ZA- Zeitschrift für Assyriologi

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[43] The deities' cycle of life was also visible in the cult of divine statues. In Mesopotamia, the statue of a divine being was born, that is, it was fabricated and subjected to the mouth-opening ritual, and sometimes could die or even be resurrected (by the process of repair). About this subject, *vide* Hurowitz 2003.

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Before Time, after Time: existential time markers in Ancient Egypt - beginning, end and restart. A preliminary approach (with a special focus on the Heliopolitan conception)

Guilherme Borges Pires[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 143-157

Abstract

In ancient Egypt, Time was part of the whole "being" that was brought into existence in the "First Time" (sp tpj). Following a linear conception (D.t) of Time we might ask: if Time had a beginning, should we expect for it to come to an end? However, the simultaneous Egyptian circular approach to Time (nHH) turns each end into a new beginning. How should we approach Time before its existence? Can we refer to a "post-Time"? Is the "end" definitive or temporary, awaiting for the (re)start of a new Demiurge's action? Is the immobility of the pre-Creation similar to one after the "end of the world"? This paper intends to be a preliminary approach to this issue. We will follow the traces suggested by some textual sources, focusing on the Demiurge, an entity connected to Time by means of creation and destruction.

Keywords: Ancient Egypt, Time, Creation, End of the World, Demiurge.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 8/3/2018

[*] CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. E-mail: guilhermecborgespires@gmail.com.

Before Time, after Time: existential time markers in Ancient Egypt - beginning, end and restart. A preliminary approach (with a special focus on the Heliopolitan conception)

Guilherme Borges Pires

Introduction

Time is a deeply human dimension: humankind both creates and is created by Time. Every human experience is profoundly rooted on Time. Despite the variations on the Time's perception throughout the world, in most cases, it seems to be impossible to divest Time from human experience: Time is Humanity and Humanity is Time (for a brief introduction on this topic see for instance: Pomian 1984, *passim*; Pomian 1993, 11-91; Mainzer 1999, *passim*; Whitrow 2004, *passim;* for an exemple of temporal conceptions outside the European/Classical vision of the world see Whorf 1950, 67-72).

For the *homo religiosus*, Time, such as Space, is not homogenous (Eliade 1992, 38). Just like human collectives differently perceive distinct spaces/places, in the immense temporality of the whole existence, specific time markers are assigned to a higher importance and religious symbolism, particularly the one that marks the beginning of Time and the one which points out its end.

This paper intends to be a modest preliminary approach to these existencial time markers in Ancient Egypt, presenting the current state of knowledge about this topic. We will follow the traces suggested by some textual sources as we will be focusing on the Demiurge, the author of Creation and therefore extremely connected to Time by means of creation, destruction and renovation. Given the preliminary character of the present work no particular chronology or textual typology were chosen. Nevertheless, due the own character of the available sources and to the primacy of the Heliopolitan theology over the others (Bickel 1994, 53; Servajean 2007, 74), one will most certainly sense a special focus on that cosmological conception.

A brief note on ancient Egyptian temporal conceptions

As any other civilization, the Egyptians cogitated about temporal aspects, something that can be understood not only by their complex setting of daily (political, administrative, economic, social…) activities but also by their theological and philosophical speculation. According to Kaddish (2001, 5) we can even refer to an omnipresence and urgency of Time in the Egyptian collective life even if, contrarily to most modern languages, the Egyptian does not present a whole encompassing term for "Time" (Otto 1954, 135-148; Winand 2003, 17).

Nevertheless, we may observe many words somehow connected to Time in the Egyptian vocabulary. Each part of the day had its own term. In what concerns the most remote time, one can point words like pAw.t (primordial times, origins), js.wt (ancient times) and most importantly sp tpj ("the First Time"), which designated the demiurgical moment, that is, the Cosmos beginning. Vocables such as hAw, rk, a.t, wrS, nw, rr, sw, among others, seem to refer to a somehow undefined temporal span, being rendered in modern terms by "moment" and/or "(period of) time". aHaw, "duration", could either designate an individual lifetime (also conveyed in the expression tp-tA) or a more generic interval, unlike the words rnp.t and tr, which embodied specific notions - "year" and "season", respectively, and their constant return and repetition was covered by the term nrj. The idea of an episodic recurrence could be given by the word sp and its negative form (n sp) can be translated in modern languages as "never". (Kadish 2001, 407).

The daily life, full of political, social, economic and administrative exigencies, required a temporal establishment. In fact, the labour achievements demanded for a temporal flux to go along with the human needs and actions. The Egyptians were then able to manipulate Time, defining and locating "events" (Kadish 2001, 406). The register of the king's most notable actions (whether factual or not), the notes on the officials' activities or even the individual lifetime somehow convey a linear temporal perception, measured in durations, intervals and spans, being evoked by the word D.t. This corresponds to one side of the Egyptian dual and complex notion of "Eternity", a concept which has been subjected to a diverse epistemological exploration by many authors, such as Assmann (1974, 1975, 2003) Hornung (1978), Roeten (2004), Servajean (2007), among many others.

Simultaneously, throughout their history, the Egyptians built a temporal vision and experience which was due to the Space in which they identified and recognized themselves in: the day (hrw) and night (grH) succession or the Nilotic flood (with its consequent agricultural seasons) structured the Egyptian time's perception both in pragmatic and theologic-philosophic terms.

This periodic and eternal repetition invited the Nilotic people to cogitate about a circular and cyclic temporal conception, usually summarized by the word nHH (Leclant 1969, 231; Hornung 1996, 72-74; Taylor 2001, 31; Sales 2015, 19). This would correspond to the other face of the Egyptian perception on "Eternity". By nHH the Egyptians conveyed the natural rhythms, alien to human beings but crucial to Maat's accomplishment. We refer thus to an observation that derives from "being in the world", that is, from the observation of the phenomena repetition in a clear human submission to the geonatural sequences (Sales 2015, 20).

But of course, there was a starting point for these repetitive phenomena. Eternity had for sure a "first time" (sp tpj).

Time and Creation: from inertia to action

In the Egyptian *Weltanschauung*, that is, in the way the Nilotic people saw themselves in reference to their spatiotemporal ambiance, Time is extremely connected to the Creation

of the universe. We can associate Time to Genesis (Bickel 2003, 43), that is, Time as a result of the Creator's activity. Time, as everything else, was created by the Demiurge when he manifested himself in the "First Time" (sp tpj) in the Primeval Waters called by the Egyptians as the Ocean Nun (Nwn).

Despite this intimate connection between Time and Genesis in the "Two Lands", it is striking to notice the absence of an Egyptian myth clearly stating the creation of the temporal dimension (Servajean 2007, 47). However, a brief excerpt from the *Book of The Heavenly Cow* (firstly attested in Tutakhamon's reign) indicates that the countable time - the years (rnp.wt) - appeared as a result of the Humanity's rebellion and the subsequent Ra's departure towards the upper world to join the gods (nTr.w):

> Dd=f n nTr.w pry.w m jAbty.t p.t jm.w jAw.w n nTr jAw xpr(w).n=j jm=f jnk jr(w) p.t smn(w) [Hr.t] r rd.t bA.w nTr.w jm=sn jn=j Hna=sn r nHH ms.n(=j) rnp.wt
>
> "Il dit aux divinités sorties de l'orient du ciel: "Faites des louanges au dieu ancien dont je suis né! Je suis celui qui a fait le ciel et qui a établi [le ciel lointain] pour y placer les *baous* des dieux (bA.w nTr.w*)*. Je m('y) suis retiré avec eux pour toujours (nHH*)* et (j')ai mis au monde les années".
>
> (Hornung 1982, p.1, left column; Servajean 2007, 47)

Therefore, according to this specific text, Time - or, at least, the temporal progression - is a consequence of the world's reorganization by the Demiurge when the human actions put an end to an initial time where gods and humans lived together.

Should we look into more cosmogonical texts, such as the ones connected to the Heliopolitan conception, we will notice that these first cosmological instants are qualitatively different from the others as they also represent the moment when disorder gives place to order, when the Chaos is confined to the limits of the organized world (Bickel 1994, 56-59). Nevertheless we are referring to a totally different vision here, given that, according to this theology, nothing - apart from the Primeval Waters where the Demiurge was somehow drowned - existed. There were no gods nor human beings as Creation had not yet happened. There was no Time: before Creation, there was no Time. How should we refer to a time which truthfully is not? I prefer to simply report to this instance as "before Time" (Ramos 1998-1999, 49-68). Therefore, perhaps contrary to the myth of the Heavenly Cow, there is no such thing as a perfect time lost by means of Creation, whose loss one feels nostalgic about. Instead the general determination is to maintain this time directly connected to Genesis intact. By accomplishing Maat, the pharaoh must preserve the "time of Ra", mainly through the application of the due rites (Bickel 2003, 47). So we can state that "pre-Creation" means "pre-Time" but also "pre-Maat" and that is why it is so important to preserve in the present the order initially established in the "First Time". In fact, Creation is not the end of Chaos: it is only its relegation to the peripheral boundaries of the Cosmos. Indeed, Creation is not a completed or finished task. On the contrary, it keeps on being accomplished, as pointed out by Vernus (2011, 180): "beaucoup s'en fait, la création étant achevée mais non parachevée".

Therefore, in this everlasting cosmic and existential process one might be faced with several crises. The solution to overcome any of them is the return to the origins, as stated by Hornung (1996, 33): "Le monde se comprend à partir de ses origines. (…) le seul fait de revenir aux origines du monde (…) permet un éternel, un dépassement des crises". Creation seems to be the ultimate referent of a mythic representation of Time: the present is legitimated not through a sequential past but from a specific primordial point in that remote past, which is continuously re-enacted (Loprieno 2003, 127). In ancient Egypt this particular moment of the past to which everything is referred to is, of course, the Genesis.

This *topus* remained so attached to the Egyptian theological thought that in the New Kingdom, *sp tpj,* mentioned in the forth and twelfth Amduat's hours, would designate a daily apparition of the Sun (Bickel 1994, 56-59), in a process of *creatio continua* (Assmann 1995, 80-87). Each day is a reenactment of the order firstly established at the moment of the Cosmos Creation. Every morning, the birth-giving creator sun-god would appear in the same place as the day before, renewed; by the end of the day, as an old and tired man, the god would be swallowed by his mother Nut who would (re-)give birth to him, as a divine solar child on the following day. As stated by Zandee (1959-1962, 48): "Every sunrise is equal to the first one the world ever saw. Each morning is a repetition of creation". The use of the expression `s.t n sp tpj` - "the place of the First Time" - in temples' dedicatory inscriptions symbolically linked them to the place where Creation had once happened thus connecting the building to the very first cosmological moment (e.g. west wall of the upper courtyard of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari).

The sun-god's movements of rising (`wbn`) and setting (`Htp`) divide the continuum of Time into temporal units and thus create Time itself, which reinforces the extreme connection between Time and Creation. It is the solar Demiurge who is responsible for the existence of the temporal measurements, as we can read in the Papyrus Leiden I 344 (vso. iii, 10-11):

```
jr hrw sxpr wnw.wt jp.tw r s.t nmtt=f wp rnpwt [Abdw] kmt xft
sodd=f [wjA] m pt
```

> "Who creates the days and brings the hours into existence, so that they are counted according to his movement, who divides the years and [months], so that they are complete while he travels [in the bark] in the sky"
>
> (Zandee 1992, 234-239; Assmann 1995, 82).

As stated by Assmann (1995, 97), if on one hand the Sun's light omnipresence turns the Space available to human experience, on the other its periodic movement turns Time's human apprehension possible. This is particularly important in the New Kingdom solar hymns, where we can read expressions which emphasize the everlasting aspect of the (re)creation: "you appear in your place of yesterday/ in your condition of yesterday" (Zandee 1959-1962, 48).

The Egyptian Creation might be envisaged as the transmutation from the Sole One to the Many (Hornung 1986, *passim*). We refer then to a process of giving both shape and name to the formless matter which had been drowned in the Primeval Waters. Thus we may affirm that the loneliness of the Demiurge signifies an inertness time, which, in fact, is an

absence of Time itself. In fact, one fundamental condition for the accomplishment of Time is that life itself exists: it is only with the "breath of life" (Assmann 1995, 83) given by the Demiurge to every living being that existence begins and thus Time starts. One day, on the sp tpj, with no apparent reason, the Demiurge realizes his own existence and begins to create.

This *causa sui* moment marks the transition from inertia to action and so we can identify an intense relation between activity and Time in ancient Egypt. The time of the Creator's action is indeed the creation of Time itself. This creative task entails a vital ontological transition: from the non-Being to the Being. We should nevertheless mention that this "non-Being" is not textually expressed as "nothing". The author of the *Pyramid Texts*, for instance, presents the pre-Creation not as a pure ontological absence but instead as the opposite of the order established in the Genesis. This "non-Time" is then presented as if we were referring to the negative of a photograph:

> "I was born in Nu when the sky had not yet come into being, when the Earth had not yet come into being, when the establishment (of the world) had not yet come into being, when disorder had not yet come into being, when the awe that came into being for the eye of Horus had not come into being" (*PT* 486).[1]

The start of Time in ancient Egypt is contemporary with the origins of all existing forms, which occurs in the initial dawn (Sauneron and Yoyotte 1959, 43).

In ancient Egypt we do not find a single Creation narrative but a plurality of them. In Heliopolis, for example, the Genesis is somehow biological: Atum gives birth to the primordial couple - Shu and Tefnut - by means of ejaculation and/or expectoration. Profoundly cosmic, these deities carry in themselves the essence of Time, as we can read in CT 80:

> sk Sw m nHH tnf.t m D.t
>
> "Vois, Chou est la pérennité, Tefnout est l'éternité" (Bickel 1994, 134)

This wholeness is given by a gloss in CT 335: "As for what exists, it is eternity and everlasting. As for eternity, it is day; as for everlasting, it is night" (Faulkner 1973, 263).

Therefore, we can say that the Egyptian cosmic time is both linear and circular, the two being complementary, such as the day and night. As argued by Winand (2003, 20), the concepts of pendulum (from which Time balances between two ontological states, one of the idyllic and the other chaotic) and line (from time which progresses from two different states) are easily reconcilable. As pointed out by Bickel (2003, 45):

> "Chu représente la vie, un principe qui est en éternel mouvement et en constant renouvellement; cette caractéristique concorde avec le concept de *neheh*. Tefnout, quant à elle, représente le principe de *maât*, la valeur inaltérable qui trouve son pendant dans l'immuabilité du temps-*djet*"

[1] I express my gratitude to Professor Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska who has allowed me to use this still unpublished translation.

Shu and Tefnut are thus the totality of Time, inaugurated by Creation. Moreover the god is given the name of "Life" (anx) and the goddess is called "Truth" (mAat), as we can read in CT 80:

> Dd.jn tm sAt.j pw anx.t Tfnt
>
> wnn=s Ana sn=s Sw
>
> anx rn=f mAat rn=s
>
> "Atum dit: "c'est ma fille vivante, Tefnout,
>
> elle sera avec son frère Chou.
>
> "Vie" est son nom à lui, "Maât" est son nom à elle" (Bickel 1994, 49-50)

Creation, which inaugurates Time, relies on a harmonious cosmic life: "Life, truth and time were the energies that perpetuated the world created by Atum" (Assmann 1995, 80).

Should we consider other Egyptian fundamental theological and cosmogonical traditions, we will perhaps notice that no particular attention is payed to "before Time". The so-called *Memphite Theology* (Lichtheim 1973, 51-57; El Hawary 2010, pl.XV, among others) presents the verbal Creation with no specific mention to the Time the action takes place:

> xpr(w) m HAty
>
> xpr(w) m ns m tjt Jtm
>
> jw wr aA PtH swD(w) [n=f nTr.w nb].w kA.w=sn sk
>
> m HAty pn m ns pn
>
> There took shape in the heart
>
> there took shape on the the tongue in the form of Atum.
>
> For the very great one is Ptah, who ordered the *kas* of all gods
>
> through this heart and through this tongue
>
> (Shabaka Stone, col. 53; Lichtheim 1973, 54; El Hawary 2010, pl.XV)

Therefore, the demiurgical act is presented with no indications on the cosmological state of the world before the *mise en oeuvre* of Ptah's accomplishments. No description of what preceded it is given nor of the place the god is when he decides to bring the Cosmos into existence. We are informed that Ptah created "everything" (x.t nb.t; Shabaka Stone, col.59) and no Time creation is explicitly stated. In fact, this document provides with a lot more details regarding the spacial, geographical and administrational structuring of the world (Shabaka Stone, cols.59-60) than to temporal aspects.

If we consider the cosmovisions connected to the Ogdoad, a theological concept which often association with Hermopolis should be nuanced (Bickel 1994, 27-29; Zivie-Coche 2009), the task of tracing a temporal perception is made extremely difficult by the profusion and geographical dispersion of the sources. The *Pyramid* and the *Coffin Texts* provide us with no clear and absolute mention of this group of eight deities (four males and

four females) neither of their role and connection to the Creation (Bickel 1994, 54). The "Ogdoad" (xmnyw, "The Eight") is firstly mentioned in Hatshepsut's Speos Artemidos (18th dynasty) and from the 26th dynasty it acquires the graphic appearance of four couples, each one with a given name; it is only from the Ptolemaic Period that "the Ogdoad" becomes a common designation, particularly, in Thebes (Zivie-Coche 2009, 167-172).

It is the not the purpose of this paper to deal with all the temporal features that one might identify in every textual attestation relating to the Ogdoad and so we would not dare to refer to an "ogdoanian conception of Time" and even less to an "Hermopolitan" one. We would nevertheless like to briefly consider one excerpt from the propylene of Khonsu, dated from Ptolemy III Euergetes' reign, where we are informed that the Odgoad was fashioned in the Nun, where the "fathers and mothers", born in Thebes, created Light:

> xmnyw nbi m Nwn it.w mw.wt ir Sw ms m WAst
>
> "L'Odgoade façonné dans le Noun, les pères et les mères qui font la lumière" (Zivie-Coche 2009, 189)

We are facing therefore with a primordial oceanic condition of the pre-Cosmos, where the deities are put into the world and the Light is created. We understand that they belong to a different Time, the one in which they performed Creation:

> Dd.w ir itn qmA Ax.w m hAw=sn
>
> "Les ancêtres qui font le disque solaire, qui ont créé toute chose utile en leur temps" (Zivie-Coche 2009, 190)

Therefore if the first excerpt point us to a continuum, where sp tpj is daily renewed through the permanent creation of Light, the second presents a specific temporal dimension, when Creation effectively took place and the Time of the current cosmological state somehow began.

If Time is a Creation's output, than it must mean that before the Genesis even past did not exist. This somehow resonates in the Rameses II's Rhetorical Stelae from Abu Simbel, where we can read:

> tA mn(.w) mj sp tpj=f nn wn Xr-HA.t
>
> "the country being stable like in its First Time when there was no Past" (*KRI* II, 312, 12), translated by Loprieno (2003, 131)

The wholeness of Time seems to start at Creation, as suggested by a rather enigmatic *Coffin Text* spell, which, once again, deeply interconnects the temporal dimension to the cosmic beginning:

> jr nt(y).t wn(=w) nHH pw Hna D.t
>
> "Quant à celui qui est venu à l'existence, c'est le temps (nHH) et l'éternité (D.t)" (Servajean 2007, 52)

"After Time": the end of Time?

Should we admit that Time had a beginning then the logical epistemological consequence is to ask whether or not it will have an end. Is Time an everlasting reality in ancient Egypt?

Winand (2003, 21) points out that in civilizations that thought their temporalities in circular means, such as the Nilotic one, the search for the origins was stronger than the concern about the end of the world. In fact, as we have previously mentioned, the Creation was not envisaged as a single cosmogonic occasion. On the contrary, every sunrise was the repetition and renewal of the maatic organization of the Cosmos, in which Time played a very important role, conveying an idea of an "eternal return", a religious and anthropological concept which has been worked by several authors, such as Eliade (1978). However the inevitable experience of temporal linearity enables a certain eschatology (Winand 2003, 21). Simultaneously, as argued by Assmann (2003, 120), if one conceptualizes a Creator-god which existed before Creation, that is, "before Time", it is logical to question his existence after the end, that is, "after Time".

Therefore the Egyptians also cogitated about other existencial time marker: the one that corresponded to the terminus of the Creation. Nevertheless, according to Elsebaie (2013, 91), it is difficult to follow the traces suggested by the Egyptian texts connected to the end of the world, since we do not have elaborated myths that may serve as counterparts of the Genesis ones.

Time, as every single product of the demiurgical activity, is limited: it has an immense duration but is not infinite. One day - very distant in Time - the Many will return to the One, the matter's indifferentiation will come back and with that the immobility which is contrary to movement caused by the Creation. This idea of Time as limited reality can be attested in *PT* 274: "*The King's lifetime is eternity [nHH]/ His time is everlastingness [D.t*]" (Faulkner 1998, 92).

The dead king seems in fusion with the Creator in an Eternity which appears more to be a temporal dilatation than an effective infinite existence.

According to the Nilotic religious anthropology, in the end Time will be the annihilation of itself with the consequent return to the aquatic and liquid state of Chaos, as we can read in CT 1130:

> jw jr.n=j HH m rnp.wt m jmytw=j r wrD-jb sA Gb
>
> Hms.kA=j Hna=f m st wat
>
> jw jA.wt r njwt jw njwt r jA.wt
>
> jn Hw.t wS=s Hwt
>
> "J'ai instauré des millions d'années entre moi et ce fatigué de coeur, le fils de Geb,
>
> ensuite je serai assis avec lui en un seul endroit,
>
> et les buttes deviendront des villes et les villes des buttes,
>
> chaque maison ruinera l'autre". (Bickel 1994, 229)

and mainly in the famous chapter 175 from the *Book of Dead*:

jw=k r Hhw n HHw
aHa n HHw
jw rdj.n=j hAb=f wrw
jw=i gr.t r HD jrt.n=j nbt
jw tA pn r jj m nnw
m HwHw mj tpy=f a
jnk sp Hna wsjr
jr.n=j xprw=j m ktxwftw
nn rx sn rmT nn mA sn nTrw

> "You are to have millions of millions, a lifespan of millions. When I have had him send out the elders, and I shall indeed destroy all I made, and this land shall turn into Nun, as a floodwater, as its original condition. I alone am to remain, with Osiris, when I have transformed myself into other snakes, which men do not know, which gods do not see" (Quirke 2013, 438)

The end of the world is thus announced by the Creator himself: everything will return to its original state (Elsebaie 2013, 97-98). This systematic reversal of the creative work seems to be alien to both gods and human beings (Bickel 2003, 52).

Actually, Atum, the god who pronounces the spell above cited, is etymologically implied with both creation and destruction, since the Egyptian word tm means at the same time "to complete" and "to not exist", thus signifying both the "Whole" and the "Nothing" (Elsebaie 2013, 98; Popielska-Grzybowska 2013, 255). The Genesis' author is simultaneously the destruction's promotor. Like the "First Time" had not been caused by anything, there seems to be no apparent reason for the cosmic annihilation: both creation and destruction are manifestations of the Demiurge's free will (Elsebaie 2013, 100).

This state of "after Time" is then similar to the one we found "before Time", particularly, in the Heliopolitan conception. Aquatic Chaos seems to be the non-Time environment in this cosmovision, which is equivalent to non-existence, including the gods' one, as we read in a Ptolemaic text, translated and quoted by Assmann (2003, 121):

> "On dit de lui dans les écritures: celui qui dure après le temps *neheh*, parce qu'il est l'Un qui reste ensemble avec la Majesté de Rê, tandis que la terre sera dans le flot et sera submergée par l'océan primordial comme avant son origine et tandis qu'il n'y aura pas de dieu et pas de déesse qui, eux aussi, se retransformeront en serpent"

The Egyptian cosmic end is thus the return to the One, not to the Nothing. According to the Egyptian thought the world is not the extension between two "nothings" but between two "Ones" instead (Bickel 2003, 52). Therefore we have:

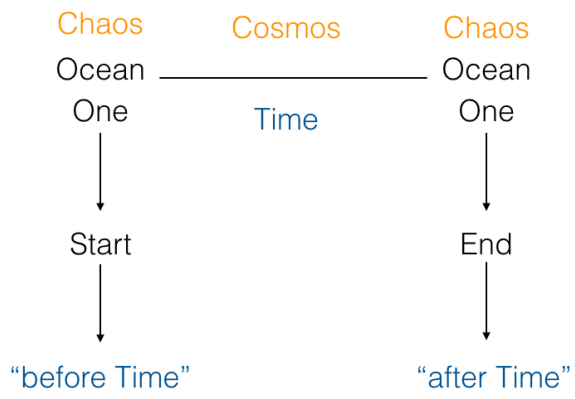

Fig. 1 - Chaos & Cosmos; "Before Time" & "After Time"

One should underline that the time of the end is not better nor worse. In fact, it is just a return to the initial Nun, where only the Demiurge and Osiris, united and transformed, will find a virtual existence:

> "(...) contrairement aux menaces magiques qui n'envisagent qu'un cataclysme, la pensée théologique, très cohérente, prévoit un retour ordonné jusque dans le Noun qui deviendra l'élément de "post-existence". Tout ce qui constitue cet univers (les dieux, les morts, les vivants et le cosmos) sera ainsi privé d'existence, seuls le créateur et Osiris trouveront dans le Noun à nouveau une existence virtuelle" (Bickel 2003, 52).

The Egyptians did not live in the apocalyptic hope of a better world to come neither regarded the world's annihilation from a negative perspective (Elsebaie 2013, 101). Consequently no one awaits for a new Creation, since the one established at the "First Time" already had all existential potentialities, as argued by Bickel (2003, 52).

The Egyptian cosmic time seems to be the apparently impossible conciliation between linearity and circularity which, in the end, will merge into immobility, just like it had happened in the beginning. The "before Time" and the "after Time" in ancient Egypt are both characterized by non-action and inertia. The Time created is, in the end, the Time destroyed.

Nevertheless from a circular temporal perspective we may regard each end as a new beginning in a logic of permanent restart. Niwiński (2013, 215) advises us to pluralize the concept of "end of the world" in ancient Egypt. The notion that each end was symbolically identical with the new beginning is ichnographically expressed by the Uroboros snake, which bites his own tail (sd m r), in a clear manifestation of beginning, end and restart. A textual identification of this circular serpent is possibly suggested in CT 717:

> psH.n tm mH.n=f r=f ann=f ann
>
> "Atoum a mordu, il a rempli sa bouche, il s'est lové (?)" (Bickel 1994, 230).

The Demiurge is thus the one and only being, the One that provoked both creation and destruction and therefore contains the ultimate power to overcome the cosmic annihila-

tion. Atum is the one who, in the end "will be there (…) waiting for that miraculous moment when he will take again consciousness of himself to recreate." (Elsebaie 2013, 101).

Final Remarks

By the end of this paper one should be aware of the diversity - both synchronically and diachronically - of the Egyptian sources concerning Time, even if they do not always explicitly referred to it. Different temporal conceptions and perceptions co-existed in the Nilotic country, throughout time and space. More targeted studies are thus required in order to fully and deeply analyse and consider this core civilizational reality, something that would not fit in the scope of this paper, which main goal was to present a preliminary overview on the subject.

We may understand that the Egyptian Demiurge is a being with a specific and distinct temporality, who is able to create, repeat and reverse. The Demiurge, the Creation's author, specially regarded through the Heliopolitan lenses, will resist to the end of Time, surviving to the final moments of the Cosmos. He lives "before Time", in the "Time" but also "after Time". Experiencing different temporalities such as the ones here qualified as "time of inertia" or "time of action", the Egyptian Creator survives to the various ontological cosmic mutations. The Demiurge creates, lives and exceeds the Time itself. He superintends over Time:

> nnk sf jw=j rx.kwj dwA
>
> "Yesterday is mine, I know tomorrow". (CT 335; Bickel 1994, 187; Faulkner 1973, 260).

This fact is particularly important in the New Kingdom when the Egyptians conceptualized a divine being which is out of the Time and therefore able to exist before its concretization and after its terminus. Quoting Assmann (2003, 120): "S'il y a un dieu qui est en dehors du temps et aux yeux duquel le temps dans sa totalité apparaît comme le jour passé, il est nécessaire de penser que c'est un dieu qui existait avant la genèse du monde et qui existera après sa fin". Time, as space, is, until its very ultimate limits, under the Demiurge's jurisdiction (Vernus 2011, 180).

In the beginning there were the Waters and in the end too. Or should we say: in the beginning and in the end there was/will be the non-Time? Is inactivity the true Egyptian Eternity? This immobility corresponds to a stationary conception of Time, which exists in parallel with the circular and the linear and can be found in Egyptian art, where the Egyptians try to overcome Time through an idealized iconography. Indeed François Daumas (1977, 432) classifies the Nilotic art as "un art à mesure de l'éternité" which tries to transmute the present life into Eternity. We may also address the Egyptian funerary beliefs in stationary terms. Indeed after being declared as "justified" in the Osirian court, the deceased inhabits an apparent lack of Time, out of the temporal constraints, according to Sales (2015, 38). Is there any past or future in the after-life? Do individuals live there as in an "eternal present"?

One should not misconceive this "eternal present" with the whole Eternity. In fact, the after-life is within the limits of the created universe, which means that the deceased will stay there for as long as the Universe exists. The moment Cosmos ceases, the beyond spaces will no longer exist too:

> "Comme le monde des vivants, les espaces imaginaires de l'autre monde, conçus avec une étonnante richesse de détail, sont intégrés dans la course solaire et font partie du cosmos. L'autre égyptien se situe entièrement à l'intérieur des limites de l'univers créé, tant du point de vue spatial que temporel" (Bickel 2003, 51).

Therefore, destruction seems to be a wholeness in ancient Egypt. Simultaneously, the true suspension of Time is apparently only experienced by the Divine. Using Assmann's (2003, 112) terminology, we can say that the Egyptian absence of Time is located at the limits of the "big time", that is, the cosmic and divine temporality, contrary to the "small time", in which humans and terrestrial beings live.

The "eternal return", previously mentioned, allows the proximity between these two times, even if the separation between sky and earth, the contends between Horus and Seth or the departure of the old and tired Ra from this word (as described in the Myth of the Heavenly Cow) from this world serve as continuous mementos of the ontological impossibility of returning *de facto* to the "First Time". The rite is the open door to that wish and so the time of the ritual is always of sustenance and repetition (Sales 2015, 31) in its quality of sacred time (Eliade 1992, 38). As stated by Bickel (2003, 50), only the ritual can overcome the spilt between the "First Time" and the "now". The ritual gives the illusion that the "First Time" is in fact "every time".

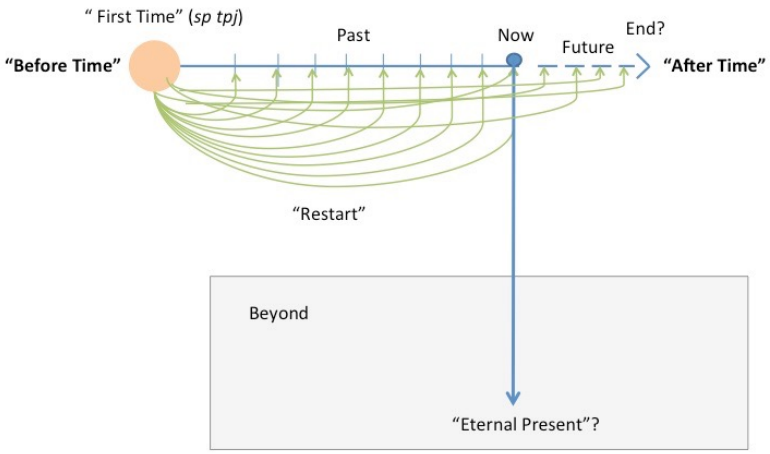

Fig. 2 - Time and the return of time in Ancient Egypt

To sum up, we may state that it is impossible to disconnect Time from Creation in ancient Egypt: the Genesis inaugurates Time and so before it there was not any temporality, which will again be verified when the world is brought to an end. Therefore, Creation and Destruction are true existential time markers for the Nilotic people since the only one to inhabit the "before Time" and the "after Time" is the Demiurge. Time is activity, order and life, and the absence of Time means the lack of all ontological features. Time is a true existential wholeness.

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(Re)constructing the history of the nomadic population in Bronze Age southern Levant

Eva Katarina Glazer[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 158-167

Abstract

Bronze Age was a dynamic period in southern Levant history marked by the emergence of urban centres followed by their collapse and subsequent re-emergence. Reconstructing the processes of

urbanization implies understanding the interactions between the different components of society (rural sedentary, nomadic and semi-nomadic). The problem with the pastoral nomadic society is that it was not explicitly mentioned in the written records. Most written sources came from the urban centres and were written by biased scribes. The second problem with the pastoral nomads is that they did not leave much archaeological traces. By using analytical methods in comparing all of the available data, both written records and material remains of the Bronze Age sites as well as the anthropological models of the cultural contacts between nomadic and sedentary populations in different region and in different times it is possible to re(construct) the history of nomadic population during Bronze Age southern Levant.

Keywords: pastoral nomads, Bronze Age, Levant.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 8/3/2018

[*] Department of History / Centre for Croatian Studies-University of Zagreb. E-mail: ekglazer@gmail.com.

(Re)constructing the history of the nomadic population in Bronze Age southern Levant

Eva Katarina Glazer

Introduction

Bronze Age Levant history portrays different components of a rather versatile society. Urban, rural and nomad components of Bronze Age society must be considered when trying to decipher the historical processes of the period.

The period in discussion is most commonly recognized as the first great urban period in the area.[1] Some settlements became urbanized but the majority of the population continued to live in rural settlements. Alongside the urban and rural populations, the region was, and still is, occupied by a variety of groups that live a nomadic lifestyle.

Nomadism takes various forms in different parts of the world, depending not only on the natural environment, but also on the economic, social and political environment (cf. Castillo 2005, 126). Pastoral nomadic groups have existed throughout Near Eastern history, but their failure to leave behind written records or abundant physical traces has meant that their history is poorly documented relative to that of sedentary people (cf. Schwartz 1995, 249).

Interrelations between nomads, semi-nomads, and urban city dwellers along with farmers and sedentary villagers have been considered in many terms and from different perspectives. In order to assess the role of the pastoral nomads of the ancient Near East we must rely on scant archaeological remains, written records of the sedentists and comparative data from ethnographic studies of modern-day nomads.

This paper aims to highlight the cultural contacts between nomadic and sedentary populations in the Bronze Age southern Levant by presenting several interesting aspects of the interactions between urban, rural and nomadic populations in order to re(construct) the history of the nomadic population in Bronze Age southern Levant.

[1]It was marked by the emergence of urban centers followed by their collapse and subsequent reemergence all of which is well documented in historiography based on many decades of intensive archaeological research combined with intensive study of ancient archives.

The Bronze Age southern Levant

At the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC the Levant was undergoing a process of urbanization. This is not to say that the entire population moved into towns and it may be assumed that the majority still continued to live in villages scattered throughout the countryside. However, the crystallization of the city or town as a form of settlement is the single most important social phenomenon during Bronze Age in the Near East as a whole and appears to be one of the essential conditions for the development of civilization (Ben-Tor 1992, 85). Various explanations for the origin of cities have been advanced and debated at length in the literature, ranging from the monumental work of Lewis Mumford (1968) to the most recent anthropological works on this inexhaustible subject.[2]

The definition of the city or town is a subject often studied and much debated. Its intricacies cannot be fully treated here, but it can be generally said that some conditions such as size, fortifications, population density, public buildings, social stratification and a part of the population engaged in non-rural pursuits are essential for the definition of a settlement as urban, though not all of them are required in every case. During the Bronze Age settlements that developed into urban centres were relatively large, surrounded by fortifications, and display rudimentary zoning of sacred spaces, markets and residential areas (Mazar 1992, 108-109).

The important developments incipient in the Early Bronze Age I such as the expansion into new regions, the establishment of a Mediterranean economy, the accumulation of surplus, and the increase in population, reached maturity in the Early Bronze II and III. Only a few Early Bronze Age I sites were abandoned or destroyed while most of them continued into the following phase gradually becoming urbanized.

Most of these urban centres were founded at the beginning of the Early Bronze II period, increasing in size and strength of fortifications in Early Bronze III. In the southern Levant the cities evolved out of an agricultural economy, that is, they evolved from rural settlements of the Early Bronze I period in a way that left some rural settlements abandoned while others grew in size which resulted in the formation of a two or three level hierarchical system in which the largest settlement became an urban centre which dominated over smaller neighbouring rural settlements.[3] The urban unit dictated the political organization of the Levant region for the following two thousand years. Nevertheless, the development of agriculture developments, a higher standard of living and the resultant increase in population also led to the foundation of new smaller settlements, farmsteads and villages (cf. Ben-Tor 1992, 96). Because ancient cities were part of an agriculturally based economic system, the centre and its surroundings were interdependent. It is precisely the regulation of the agricultural surplus that played a key role in the process of the urbanization.

[2] For example Aidan Southall's book *The City in time and space* published in 1998 remarkably combines anthropological archaeology with contemporary urban anthropology.
[3] In the three level system those rural settlements dominated over smaller villages and hamlets, cf. Frick 1997, 15.

The concentration of Early Bronze Age settlements in the Mediterranean zones led to the establishment of the so-called Mediterranean economy which was the basis of economic life for thousands of years, from the beginning of the third millennium onward. This economy is based on a combination of goat and sheep herding with cultivation, especially of the olive, the vine, and other fruit trees. In agriculture there is a noticeable increase in the importance of previously known crops such as cereals, vegetables and legumes (lentil, chickpea, bean and pea) and various fruits (walnut, almond, fig, plum, date, pomegranate).

The most characteristic feature of the Early Bronze Age economy seems to have been the investment in large-scale horticultural production, implying a settled and stable mode of life (cf. Stager 1976) as fruit trees and vines can only be reproduced by cloning and do not produce fruit until many years after planting. So, floral, faunal and textual evidence all point to a settled agricultural life style in the Bronze Age Levant.

Agriculture on any scale is bound to be a sedentary occupation, therefore agricultural settlements are mentioned in the context of sedentary inhabitants. But sedentary populations were not the only ones inhabiting this region. Some settlements contain evidence of seasonal settlement by pastoral nomads. It is an established fact that a significant non urban population coexisted with the urban and rural population during Bronze Age (and further on). To put it simply, towns provided villagers and semi-nomads with various spiritual and material services, with a market for their produce, protection in times of danger, and perhaps a political framework and a sense of community. The villagers and semi-nomads, in return, brought their surplus produce into the urban settlements, and played an important part in inter-site communication and the trade network.

Aristotle (1988) describes the different agricultural and pastoral lifestyles in Politics "But as there are many sorts of provision, so are the methods of living both of man and the brute creation very various; and as it is impossible to live without food, the difference in that particular makes the lives of animals so different from each other. Of beasts, some live in herds, others separate, as is most convenient for procuring themselves food; as some of them live upon flesh, others on fruit, and others on whatsoever they light on, nature having so distinguished their course of life, that they can very easily procure themselves subsistence; and as the same things are not agreeable to all, but one animal likes one thing and another, it follows that the lives of those beasts who live upon flesh must be different from the lives of those who live on fruits; so is it with men, their lives differ greatly from each other; and of all these the shepherd's is the idlest, for they live upon the flesh of tame animals, without any trouble, while they are obliged to change their habitations on account of their flocks, which they are compelled to follow, cultivating, as it were, a living farm. Others live exercising violence over living creatures, one pursuing this thing, another that, these preying upon men; those who live near lakes and marshes and rivers, or the sea itself, on fishing, while others are fowlers, or hunters of wild beasts; but the greater part of mankind live upon the produce of the earth and its cultivated fruits; and the manner in which all those live who follow the direction of nature, and labour for their own subsistence, is nearly the same, without ever

thinking to procure any provision by way of exchange or merchandise, such are shepherds, husband-men, robbers, fishermen, and hunters: some join different employments together, and thus live very agreeably; supplying those deficiencies which were wanting to make their subsistence depend upon themselves only: thus, for instance, the same person shall be a shepherd and a robber, or a husbandman and a hunter; and so with respect to the rest, they pursue that mode of life which necessity points out." Aristotle's understanding of different strategies of life illustrates his standpoint as representative of the urban population.

As already mentioned, during the Bronze Age we can observe the process of urbanization that was interdependent with the development of an agricultural economy. Animal husbandry represents a crucial facet of this economic system.

There is a variety of ways in which herd animals can be managed, varying from the keeping of small herds within sedentary village communities, through small scale grazing movements in the surrounding landscape, to large scale, nomadic patterns of movement, although there is a lack of evidence that full-scale nomadic pastoralism was practised in the Levant during Bronze Age. Each of these pastoral strategies implies an increasing degree of mobility on the part of the animal keepers and an increasing disassociation between animal keeping and agriculture, which is primarily a sedentary occupation. As Grigson (1998) points out the term pastoralism is widely used in contemporary archaeological literature with a wide variation in meaning, so pastoral systems include such diverse lifestyles as: mixed farming, semi-sedentary pastoralism, semi-nomadic pastoralism to nomadic pastoralism. Agricultural sedentarism and nomadic pastoralism represent different forms of potential economic strategies that certain populations practised in trying to adapt to given geographical and ecological conditions. These economic strategies could easily be combined in the same general area, that is, they weren't mutually exclusive. For example, when faced with severe environmental or climatic difficulties, farmers had the option of adopting a pastoral nomadic life style.[4] Trying to decipher the history of nomadic populations of the Bronze Age in the southern Levant is difficult because research has traditionally been mostly focused on the urbanization process, but it is precisely the archives from urban centres that provide textual evidence on the subject.

Written records - introduction to nomads

Due to the exclusively verbal practices of cultural dissemination the nomadic populations of the Bronze Age did not leave any direct written records so, in order to study them, we must consider the written records of the sedentary population. However, the important historical archives we have at our disposal today contain very few records of nomads which makes this a difficult task.

[4] For example most of the explanations of abandonment of the Early Bronze III urban system simply consider the population shift to pastoralism, cf. Issar and Zohar 2007, 139.

Nomadic pastoralists are not explicitly mentioned in Near Eastern written sources until the second half of the 3rd millennium, although the small number of texts prior to this period does not preclude earlier contact with such peoples (Schwartz 1995, 253). The later 3rd millennium texts tend to depict pastoral nomads as groups outside the urban sphere whose behaviour was dangerous and disruptive, a portrayal also found in succeeding periods. In the alternating cycles of political centralization and disintegration characteristic of Near Eastern history, the ancient texts often target nomadic groups as the principal agents of decentralization and destruction.

For example MAR.TU in Sumerian texts from the 3rd millennium BC appear most frequently as a group of people that pillage sedentary territory. Shu-Sin mentions that he had built up a 280 km long wall to stop these attacks. "A wall of the Amorites which holds back Tidnum" (Nilhamn 2008, 26) points to a significant effort to stop the nomadic population infiltrating the territory considered to be part of an urban domain.

Because ancient historical sources were written by urban-based scribes the traditional scholarly view of nomadic-sedentary relations focused on the antagonism between the two polarities. Ancient texts often emphasized the "otherness" of pastoral nomadic groups. For example, a late 3rd millennium text from Mesopotamia *The Curse of Agade* describes the nomadic group Gutians as a group "not classed among people, not reckoned as part of the land/... people who know no inhibitions / with human instinct but canine intelligence and monkeys' features" (Schwartz 1995, 250).

The nature of cultural contacts between nomads and sedentary populations is similarly described in other regions as well, for example Smith (2005, 263) mentions in his work about the evolution and ideologies among the nomads in Arid North Africa "Saharan nomads are notorious for their personal aversion to agriculture. They are, however, quite happy for other people to grow grains for them and to extract their tribute at harvest time."

This rather negative aspect of nomadic society is present in other works as well, for example the description of the ruthless nature of nomads by Issar and Zohar (2007, 102) "Nomadic people have always been warriors, 'lean and mean'; they not only fight continuously with other nomads over wells and pastures, but constantly hover, like birds of prey, on the edge of the fertile fields, ready to pounce on the stores of the farmers at the slightest sign of weakness."

It seems that urban based scribes tried to present nomads as people who are the diametric opposite of urban populations. In the so called Weidner chronicle nomads are depicted as individuals "who were never shown how to worship god, who did not know how to properly perform the rites and observances" in short people completely beyond the pale of urban civilization and, perhaps more to the point, beyond the control of urban political authority (Schwartz 1995, 250).

These representations of nomads rely on an antithesis between nomadic and sedentary ways of life. Dwellers of urban centres and rural people did not look favourably upon groups of

nomadic pastoralists who had established themselves in the fields around the villages or near croplands. It is understandable why such an intrusion would be considered a threat to their way of life. But the presence of nomads on the periphery of the city could present a force able to help in defending the city against a common, more powerful enemy. Some sources provide information on how the nomads were required to bolster the rank of the armies. For example, a document from Mari provides information about drafting the nomadic population in military campaigns of the urban rulers "Go to the heart of the steppe and be accompanied by La'um's employees and the sugagus of the Banks of the Euphrates. In the camps there are one thousand men who have not taken the oath. Take care of the centre of the steppe. La'um and the sugagus of the Banks of the Euphrates should travel all around the camps and the sugagus of the camps should render the oath by the life of the god." (Durand 1998, 502-3)

Mutually dependent relationships between the nomadic and sedentary societies included not only the recruiting of nomads in military services for sedentists. The nomads depended on the sedentary society mainly because their economy was not entirely self-sufficient. Pastoral nomadic economy had to be supplemented with agriculture and crafts. Historical sources demonstrate beyond doubt that a substantial part of their material culture was procured by the nomads from the sedentists (cf. Khazanov 1984, 16-17). The nomads also played a very important role as middlemen in various types of exchange between different sedentary societies. As Ibn Khaldûn (2005) explained it "While the Bedouins need the cities for their necessities of life, the urban population needs the Bedouins for conveniences and luxuries". The role of nomads in the trade was extremely diverse, ranging from mediating trade between sedentists to transportation of goods. Although textual data does provide evidence of the role of nomads in the context of trade, an analysis of selected archaeological data provides further insights into the history of the Bronze Age nomads in the Levant.

Archaeological records - placing nomads in context

As Schwartz (1995) points out, the recognition of pastoral nomadism in the ancient Near East in the archaeological record is notoriously difficult because pastoral nomads tend to leave only meagre physical traces.[5] Also it can be difficult to establish specific associations of archaeological remains with nomadic pastoralists, rather than with sedentists or hunters. Because of the relatively scant material remains it is also difficult to determine the dating of the archaeological data. These problems are exacerbated by the fact that research was mostly focused on sedentary settlements, while rural settlements as well as the remains of nomads were often ignored.

However, archaeology has advanced significantly and research has shifted to marginal regions uncovering more and more evidence of nomads.

[5] Such remains could include campsites, hunting traps, animal pens, cemeteries not attached to permanent settlements, or rock art, as well as ceramics, stone tools, and other portable artefacts, cf. Schwartz 1995, 251.

In the context of the well known phenomenon of coexisting urban and nonurban populations in the Levant Bronze Age we could argue that nomadic pastoralists were hardly involved in plant cultivation, i.e. they were mobile to the extent that exclusively practiced animal husbandry. Such nomadic mobility is most certainly evident in the role they played in overland trade routes.

An excellent example of the role of pastoral nomads in the context of trade can be observed in the metals trade of the southern Levant. Recent results of archaeological research in the southern Levant sites provide sufficient evidence of the role of the nomadic population in the production and trade of copper and bronze. It is conceivable that the nomadic population established contacts with representatives of sedentary societies like the Egyptian officials who were likely interested in exploiting the natural resources of the region. Copper was one of the most traded commodities during the Bronze Age and the demand for it was so large that significant efforts were made in tracking all of the available sources of this metal. Notably, the southern Levant region, especially Timna and Faynan were very rich in copper ore.

Archaeological research discovered mines and other remains of metallurgical activities in Timna (Rothenberg 1972, 63). The results reveal large Egyptian expeditions to this area and it seems that a local nomadic population known as Midianites was employed for some of the labour in these smelting sites (Rothenberg 1972, 230-234). Timna was located along the copper trade route that connected the northern part of the Negev with a large urban centre Tel Masos where large scale copper production took place and which seems to have been a meeting point of nomadic populations and sedentary inhabitants.

In Early Bronze I period Egyptian artefacts begin to appear in the south Sinai area and copper from the Faynan region of Jordan can be found in Egypt. Egyptian documents refer to the Shasu people, a nomadic tribe whose economic subsistence was based on pastoral nomadism. Along with the Egyptian documents, recent archaeological data from southern Jordan sheds new light on the relations between southern Levant nomadic population and Egypt (see Levy et al. 2004)

Thirteen smelting sites were discovered containing some 5000 tons of slag which indicates a scale of metal production of perhaps several hundred tons of copper during the Early Bronze Age. This is by far the largest example of copper production during this period in the ancient Near East (see Hauptmann 2000). During the Early Bronze II-III period, when the first "urban revolution" occurred in the southern Levant, radical changes in copper production are evident at the site of Khirbat Hamra Ifdan. Excavations at the site have revealed the largest Early Bronze Age metal workshop in the Middle East, and have yielded thousands of finds related to ancient copper processing.[6] The data from this site provides vital information for accurately reconstructing Early Bronze Age metal processing as well as the extents of trade

[6] This unique assemblage of archaeometallurgical remains includes crucible fragments, prills and lumps of copper, slags, ores, copper tools (e.g. axes, chisels, pins), copper ingots, a few furnace remains and an extensive collection of ceramic casting moulds for ingots and tools, see Levy et al 2002, 425.

networks that were linked to significant social changes in that period. The excavations at Khirbat Hamra Ifdan shed new light on the scale and organization of Near Eastern Early Bronze Age metal processing due to the unusually large sample of artefacts related to production activities. The exact nature of the Shasu nomads involvement in the metallurgy production activities is still unclear but their presence in the region is evident from Egyptian records as well as archaeological materials. The role of pastoral nomads in the trade of copper and bronze is evident but future research should focus on other aspects of trade as well.

Conclusion

The Bronze Age was a period marked by the emergence of relatively large urban centres. Accumulation of surpluses and the increase in population also led to the foundation of the new smaller settlements, villages and farmsteads. Animal husbandry was practised not only by sedentary people residing in permanent settlements but also an important economic strategy of pastoral nomads. When discussing the developments of the Bronze Age period in the southern Levant, the urban-rural-nomad network should be taken into account. The differentiation between nomadic and sedentary populations is not always easy to decipher because nomads in general did not leave written records. Also, the archaeological remains of nomadic campsites and temporary settlements were often perceived as remains of sedentary people. That is precisely why the reconstruction of the history of nomads should be considered "between texts and material culture".[7]

The problem with the written records of the period in question is that they come from urban archives. Texts concerning the nomadic populations were composed by urban scribes who often did not make an effort to explain the background of nomadic tribes. Scribes mostly portrayed nomadic tribes as invaders, raiders, in general "other people". Although such records emphasize the polarity between nomadic and sedentary people they offer insight into nomadic culture. Nomads are described as tribal people, loyal to their tribe and courageous. Written sources confirm that they were feared for their military skills. Such portrayals of nomads in the official records could have been used by the urban elites to justify and validate their influence in the cities. Whatever the case, written records are important because they place nomads in specific regions at specific periods of time.

Because of the problematic nature of the literary sources it is important to confirm our assumptions with archaeological evidence. Historically, this was considered unreliable because of the migratory nature of nomads, however due to different strategies of nomadism, ranging from almost sedentary to totally mobile, some of the nomadic populations have left traces such as temporary settlements or campsites which can be found in the archaeological record.

[7] The title of the conference held in Lisbon 2016 where this paper was presented.

Reconstructing the history of nomads must include their interactions with sedentary populations best exemplified in the symbiotic trade relationships. The evidence from Timna and Faynan testifies to the existence of a nomadic population engaged in copper production and trade with Egypt which is also evident in the Egyptian records.

The presence of nomadic populations in the Levant today, coexisting with our modernized global culture is a testament to the resilience and adaptability of this lifestyle.

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Childhood in Mesopotamian texts and archaeology: finding a common ground?

Christoph Schmidhuber[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 168-181

Abstract

Children in antiquity, having long been rather overlooked in modern scholarship, rightly received increased attention by archaeologists, historians and philologists in recent years. Despite few exceptions, however, most studies have not addressed how to deal with the divide between archaeological and textual data. This is also true for ancient Mesopotamia, where the separation of Assyriology and Near Eastern Archaeology has created reluctance in integrating both types of sources. While combined approaches have been successfully applied to specific topics in recent years (e.g. Neo-Assyrian expansion, climate change), childhood and other aspects of social history generally lack such treatments.

In this paper, I review different types of data available for studying children in the Old Babylonian period (2000-1600 BC) and I outline opportunities and challenges in integrating material culture and texts by discussing two thematic case studies, infant mortality and child socialisation.

Keywords: childhood studies, identity, material culture studies, Mesopotamia, Assyriology and Near Eastern Archaeology.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 7/3/2018

[*] University of Cambridge. E-mail: cs677@cam.ac.uk.

Childhood in Mesopotamian texts and archaeology: finding a common ground?[1]

Christoph Schmidhuber

Introduction

The material remains of ancient Mesopotamian societies offer archaeologists and philologists plenty of material to reconstruct various aspects of ancient social, legal and economic life. Myriads of tablets containing many types of information have been discovered, while excavations have unearthed past palaces, temples and residential areas. The combination of the different sources for study, i.e. of archaeology and texts, however, often presents methodological problems that are difficult to overcome. This is especially true for the study of social history, in my case the study of childhood in the Old Babylonian period.

In this paper, I will argue that an investigation deploying both kinds of data is possible, and beneficial, for certain research questions, although the variable nature and quality of the archaeological data restricts the number of questions that can be approached from both angles. Therefore, I will provide two case studies in which a joint investigation can prove fruitful and I will outline some of the challenges in combining archaeology and texts.

Old Babylonian history and society

The Old Babylonian period, usually defined as the period between 2000 and 1600 BC in southern Iraq, witnessed an unstable political climate, with the dynasties of Isin and Larsa competing for hegemony before the eventual ascendancy of the rulers of Babylon, the most famous of these being Hammurapi. Even the dynasty of Babylon, however, could not control the extensive territory it initially conquered, and quickly lost economic (Yoffee 1977) and eventually political control over the area, while in the final part of the period whole regions in the South, including Nippur, were under the control of the still poorly-documented Sealand Dynasty (Dalley 2009). Not only are these historical events and processes well documented (Charpin 2004), but we also have a fairly good idea of how society was organised, at least for the urban/upper class who left behind written documents, such as the textual sources which tell us about taxation, prices and social institutions, e.g. the *nadītu*-priestesses (Stone 1982, Harris 1964).

[1] I would like to thank Dr. Martin Worthington and Dr. Augusta McMahon for discussing a draft of this paper. Thanks also to Dr. Jane Moon and the Ur Region Archaeology Project for providing me with a photo of a clay rattle. My research is carried out with support of the AHRC Doctoral Training Partnership.

However, many themes still require clarification, such as the role of children in society (Garroway 2014) and if we can combine the observations from textual sources with archaeological discoveries in the extensive residential areas dating to the Old Babylonian period, e.g. Areas TA and TB at Nippur (McCown and Haines 1967) and Areas EM and AH at Ur (Woolley and Mallowan 1976). The prime example of combining archaeology and text is Elizabeth Stone's (Stone 1989) study on Areas TA and TB in Nippur, in which she matches architectural remains with the information on inhabitants recorded on cuneiform tablets found within the structures (but see also Charpin, 1986 on Ur). Although many issues and problems remain open for debate, e.g. the function of specific rooms and houses (see reviews by Postgate (1990) and Charpin (1989)), Stone most importantly highlighted how a social phenomenon, namely inheritance and division of property, can be illuminated from both sides, archaeology and texts. A promising study directly related to children is Garroway's (2014) treatment of children and their relationship to Ancient Near Eastern households, which draws on material from Mesopotamia in the 2nd millennium BC, the Bible and archaeological remains from the 1st millennium BC Levant. Garroway's study touches upon several methodological considerations, which could not be fully developed due to the scope of her study.

In the following, after outlining some challenges which arise in the study of childhood, I will present two case studies to highlight how a combination of archaeology and texts yields the opportunity to shed light on themes underrepresented in texts due to the biases (function, parties involved, etc.) that affect the latter.

Age groups and social categories

The challenges facing the study of childhood in the Old Babylonian period start with ancient terminology. Scholars of different disciplines have argued that our modern concepts of "childhood" are social constructs and that pre-modern societies perceived young individuals in different ways[2] which could be reflected in the choice of terminology (Heywood 2001, 11-12). It is no secret that Mesopotamians rarely count, or record, an individual's age in years (e.g. Livingstone 2007, 9). Exceptions are Nabonidus' mother, Adad-guppi, who claimed to have been 104 years old and children who were only a few years old (ibid.). While in the Middle Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian periods, the "age" of children could be defined by their height (in cubits, see Brinkman 1982, Radner 1997), for the Old Babylonian period the only means of identifying children in letters and legal documents are terms that could mean "child", in that period derivatives from the verb *ṣeḫēru* "to be small", such as *ṣuḫāru*, *ṣeḫru*, and the female terms *ṣuḫārtu* and *ṣeḫertu*. Several scholars have noted, however, that these terms not only describe young individuals, but can also describe "servants" independent of age (Wilcke 1985, 216, Harris 2000, 17).

Based on my analysis of more than 250 attestations of *ṣuḫāru* that I collected from legal and epistolary sources, carried out as part of my PhD, I argue that these seemingly

[2] Recent scholarship thus modifies Ariès' (1962) argument that "childhood" did not exist in pre-modern times by stating that it was different in nature and thus difficult to identify.

deviant meanings can be reconciled if we view *ṣuḫāru* as indicating lack of seniority, in a given economic or family household, rather than strictly signifying youth[3]. Although seniority and age are closely interlinked, one could be considered more junior than someone of lesser age, depending on factors independent of age, e.g. one's profession, marital status, experience and skill. This is comparable to terminology in other ancient and modern languages, such as the uses of *garçon* in French (Finet 1972), *pais* in ancient Greek (Golden 1985) or even modern uses of boy (e.g. the lift boy)[4]. This conclusion, however, also implies that *ṣuḫāru*, and probably other derivatives of *ṣeḫēru*, too, are not clear indicators that the individual described as such is a young individual and only the context can reveal that, e.g. when it is paired with DUMU.GABA "unweaned child" (see ARM 26/1 221 below), which is not given in all uses of the words.

The methodological problems relating to age groups and social categories are exacerbated when trying to match categories given in texts with the skeletal remains from child burials. When I reviewed a number of excavation reports and their documentation of graves (not just restricted to the OB period), comparison between the different categories used was extremely difficult.

Firstly, for most of the excavation history in Iraq, variation in human skeletal remains played a minor role for the research questions asked and accordingly was not necessarily been documented with much detail. This is especially true for early excavations at Ur, Nippur and Sippar.

The excavations at Isin (1973-1989) can serve as a more recent example of how an increasing interest in the close analysis of skeletal remains over time results in a better documentation thereof. The first three seasons at Isin had to operate without an "anthropologist" considering the graves (Ziegelmayer 1981, 103), whose skeletons were of poor preservation, resulting in minimal information about age, the only two instances being "Jüngling" and "Säugling", although neither category has been defined in a manner suitable for comparison with other sites. For seasons 4-6, skeletal remains were sent to an anthropologist in Germany who, despite deploring the increased deterioration of the material during transport, managed to provide more detailed information, including absolute age estimates (Ziegelmayer 1981). Only in seasons 7-8 (Ziegelmayer 1987) and 11 (Hrouda 1992) was the anthropologist present on site and the documentation and identification of the skeletal remains is visibly more detailed than in the previous two publications.

[3] Evans (1958, 9) argued for the related term *ṣeḫru* that "the person described *ṣihrum* was not merely young, but incapable of protecting his own interests on the one hand, or of undertaking the rights and responsibilities of a full member of society upon the other. While this was the consequence of his tender years, it is important to note that it was not simple youth which was in question, but legal minority; in Babylonia a person remained young for many years after attaining his majority". I will argue that legal minority was a consequence of a lack of seniority rather than the core criterion for being a *ṣuḫāru* or *ṣeḫru*, as presented by Evans.

[4] A similar phenomenon has also been observed for medieval sources: "Medieval sources were often vague when it came to estimating ages, and caught by the ambiguities surrounding language in this area. In the same way as "boy" used to be applied to an adult slave in the United States, or garcon to a mature server in a French café, so words for "child", such as *puer*, *kneht*, *fante*, *vaslet* or *enfes*, often drifted to indicate dependence or servility. Hence they too might apply to adults as well as to young people" (Heywood 2001, 17)

Secondly, even if well documented, different excavations use different age group categories and definitions for sub-adult individuals (McMahon and Stone 2013, 87). Many of the Old Babylonian skeletal remains are poorly described due to the date of the excavations. Woolley and Mallowan's report on OB Ur (1976) does not give any definition of their categories "infant", "child" and "adult". Furthermore, Frank (2008, 232) noted the complete absence of "adolescent" from their terminology, which can be found, however, in the documentation of the Nippur graves (McCown and Haines 1967, 117-144). Even if the Ur publication contained a category "adolescent", does this modern classification reflect any ancient social category? If we follow McMahon and Stone's (2013) definition, even the "older children" category, admittedly for a 4th millennium BC context, ends with at 10 years. At Khafajah, however, grave 2 is described as a "simple burial of a child", which is then further specified as a 12-14 year old individual (Delougaz, Hill, and Lloyd 1967, 60), whereas at Isin the skeleton in grave 113 is described as "juvenil, ca. 17-18 Jahre" (Ziegelmayer 1987, 124). Considering that many graves from the Old Babylonian period come from the excavations at Nippur and Ur with undefined age categories, it is very difficult to correlate distinctions between age groups in burials with potential sub-groups in texts.

Despite these terminological problems and the haphazard situation surrounding reconstructing ancient social categories, I nevertheless present two distinct cases where the combination of both data can still be fruitful: infant mortality on the one hand and how children are raised on the other hand.

Case Study 1: Child burials[5]

Even though a nuanced sub-division of age groups among the skeletal remains is rarely possible, we can make one general observation: child burials testify to a very high rate of child mortality in Mesopotamian society. While there is sometimes the option to compare the number of intramural child burials with estimates of a residential structure's population size (Frank 2008, 250), the absolute number of child burials indicates that infant and child death were common experiences in ancient Mesopotamia. Here the archaeology complements the textual record, which only rarely reports on children's deaths. Here are the most prominent examples, representing both unnatural and possibly natural death, which each have been discussed in various contexts by different scholars (e.g. Finet 1972, Ziegler 1997). All these instances are of exceptional nature, whether because of the status of the child involved (king's daughter, example 1) or the mode of death (examples 2 and 3):

(1) *ana dāriš-lībūr qibīma umma ušarreš-ḫetil mārka-ma* [*aššum* MUNUS.TUR *š*]*a munusbēltim* [*immaḫê*]*m* [*mārat b*]*ēlīya* [*ul ibluṭ*] [*inanna i*]*mt*[*ūt*] [U4.]x.KAM *waldat* [x] x x x [*ūmīšu-m*]*a* d*irra-gāmil* [*imma*]*ḫêm* [*umma š*]*ū-ma* [*ul iball*]*uṭ* [*lāma šar*]*rum ana mari*ki [*i*]*kaššadam kīma* MUNUS.TUR *šī mītat qibīšumma*

[5] An article published after this manuscript has been submitted (Valk 2016) discusses material and textual evidence of infant loss in Ancient Mesopotamia as well and provides an extensive treatment of the topic.

lū īde [*a*]*ssurri ana mari*^{ki} *ina erēbīšu mūt* MUNUS.TUR *šâti šarrum išemmêma iṣabb*[*at*] *ītaššuša*[*m*]

"Speak to Dāriš-lībūr, thus (says) Ušarreš-ḫetil: concerning the MUNUS.TUR of the lady, she became hysteric. The daughter of my lord did not get well. Now she is dead. She was born on the X day [...]. On that day, Irra-gāmil became hysteric; thus he (said): "She will not live. Before the king reaches Mari, tell him that that MUNUS.TUR is dead, and may he know; perhaps if the king were not to hear about the death of that MUNUS.TUR until he entered Mari, he would be (too) distressed."

(ARM 26/1 221, after Archibab)

(2) *ana bēlīya* [*q*]*ibīma* [*um*]*ma baḫdī-līm* [*wa*]*radkama* [1 DU]MU.GABA (DUMU.GABA) *ša šaddagdêm waldu* [*ina*] *meḫrêt sakkanim labīrim* [*ša*] *elēnu piātim šapiltim* [*ina ṭ*]*ēh* I_7.DA *nadīma* LU_2.TUR *šū* [*ina q*]*ablīšu nakisma* [*išt*]*u irtīšu ana qaqqadīšu šakin* [*bal*]*u qaqqadīšu adi šepīšu* [*laššu*] *lū zikar* [*lū si*]*nniš mannum* [*lū īd*]*e ištu qablītīš*[*u*] [*adi ša*]*pliš ul ibašši*

"Speak to my lord, thus (says) Baḫdī-Līm, your servant: one DUMU.GABA, that was born (in) the previous year, lay in front of the Old Palace, which (is located in) above the lower region, in proximity to the canal. This LU2.TUR has been cut in the middle. It was established from the breast to the head, (but) without its head. It did not exist to the feet. Was it male, was it a female? Who may know? (Because) from his middle downwards (lit. until downwards), he did not exist (anymore)"

(ARM 6 43, after Archibab)

(3) *u* UR.MAḪ *akkilum ša ištu* ITI.4.KAM *ina ḫalṣim udappiru ištu* ITI.1.KAM *ana halṣim imqutma* 4 [T]UR.MEŠ *idūk*

"And a lion, (man-)eating, which has been chased away from the district 4 months ago (lit. from 4 months), he has return jumped (?) and he has killed 4 TUR"

(ARM 14 2, after Archibab)

Furthermore, the incantations and amulets against the demon Lamaštu, associated with (fatal) childhood illness, testify to a common fear of child death and the society's need to counteract this, seemingly supernatural, threat (Farber 2014, Wiggermann 2000). The following Old Babylonian incantation illustrates vividly the hatred projected onto Lamaštu for the death and suffering she brings among infants and their families[6]:

[6] Normalisation and translation are taken from Farber's edition.

Anum ibnīši Ea urabbīši
panī kalbatim išīmši Enlil
īṣat rittīn ar(a)kat?
ubānātim ṣuprātim
arrakat amāša e"ēlā
bāb bīti irrub [...]*ti*
iḫallup ṣērāni iḫlup ṣerram ītamar LU_2.TUR
ina imšīšu adi sebî<šu> iṣbassu
usḫī ṣuprīki
rummī īdīki
lāma ikšudakki
apkallam šipir Ea qardu
rapašk ṣerrum puttâ dalātum
alkīma atallakī ina ṣēri
epram pīki
tarbu'am panīki
sahlê daqqātim
umallû īnīki
utammīki māmīt Ea
lū tattal(la)ki

"Anu begot her, Ea raised her,
Enlil fitted her with a dog's face.
She has hardly any palms
(but) long fingers,
(and) very long claws,
her elbows are "binders demons".
She enters the door of the house[7], [...]
slithers in like a snake.
After slithering in by the pivot, she saw the LU_2.TUR,
she grabbed him at his belly seven times.
Pull out your claws,
loosen (the grip of) your arms,
before a valiant wizard with regard to Ea's craft will overcome you!
The pivot is wide (enough) for you, the doors are wide open!
Go and roam about in the wilderness!
(I swear that) I will fill your mouth with dust,
your face with drifting sand, your eyes with tiny cress (seeds)!
I herewith conjure you by the curse of Ea:
Be gone!"

(OB2 in Farber 2014, 280-281)

[7] Farber has "She enters the house through the door". Here, a more literal translation is favoured.

The usual silence of textual sources concerning child death could be explained if we assume that the death of one's infant was usually only thematised within one's own household and thus covered in oral communication, of which we have no record, and was only rarely dealt with in written form. In that case, it still remains unclear whether this was considered a private matter that need not, or must not, be thematised outside one's household. The archaeological remains, however, remind us that child mortality was high and that the death of infants and younger children must have been an unfortunately common experience and a constant fear[8].

Case Study 2: How to raise a child?

The most frequently discussed aspect of childhood in the Old Babylonian period is scribal education[9]. While studies of this topic yield valuable insights into the methods of socialisation and education in the Old Babylonian period, they only do so for a very small segment of society. Scribal schooling was a phenomenon reserved for the upper portion of society and the textual sources remain silent about the ways in which the largest proportion of society, non-members of the elite, raised and educated their children. If they were not prepared for the scribal profession, how were they prepared for their future economic role?

Although we occasionally find paid arrangements between different parties about *tarbītum* "raising" in letters and legal documents from less-elite sources[10], the exact nature of that "raising" and the methods involved are not specified:

> I*Aḫam-nirši itti iltani mārat* (DUMU.MUNUS) *Ilīšu-ibbīšu* I*Lamassi mārat ilīšu-ibbīšu ana mārūtim ilqe kasap tarbītīša*[11] I*Iltani mār<at>* (DUMU.<MUNUS>) *Ilīšu-ibbīšu maḫrat libbāšu ṭāb* [...]
>
> "Lamassī, the daughter of Ilišu-ibbīšu adopted (lit. took for sonship) Aham-nirši from Iltani, the daughter of Ilišu-ibbīšu[12]. Iltani, the daughter of Ilišu-ibbīšu, has

[8] Further variables that could be investigated with regards to burials are burial location (cf. McMahon and Stone 2013, Frank 2008, Garroway 2014), method (Garroway 2014, Frank 2008) and grave goods (Garroway 2014 for Canaanite burials).

[9] The plentiful specimens of scribal exercises preserved to us invited scholars to reconstruct the ancient curriculum (Tinney 1999) or curricula (Robson and Ohgama 2010) and extract the methods by which the students were educated both by acquiring skills such as reading and writing, as well as by the content of compositions, which aimed to convey ideals and values of Old Babylonian society (Robson 2007) and/or preserve those of earlier times (George 2005).
In addition, Volk (1996) elucidated how the Edubba literature, which told fictional stories from everyday life of students, and other documents can yield information on various methods of preparing sub-adults for adult life. He acknowledges the fact that formal education has been favoured as subject of study over informal education (or, in emic terms, "raising"), but as his sources are mostly from literary sources (or from the court from Mari), they still describe the topic through the lenses of scribal education or only for the elite segment of society.

[10] Often *nadītu*-priestesses are involved who come from well-endowed families (Stone 1982).

[11] The copy has ŠA instead of TA.

[12] The identical patronym indicates these two are sisters, who are most likely *nadītu* priestesses. according to their names and the use of DUMU.MUNUS as patronym.

> received the silver for her (i.e. Aham-nirši) raising.[13] Her heart is satisfied" (CT 33 40:1-11)

The term *tarbītum* alone could be interpreted in a variety of ways and a lack of further context makes it impossible to side with one option. The purpose of "being reared" could be a formal apprenticeship, as is most likely the case in CH 188 and 189, as Petschow (1980-1983, 569) and others before him argued, but that does not need to be the sole function of the word. It could also just refer to informal education and a general socialisation of an individual, i.e. teaching the individual appropriate behaviour in line with society's values and morals ("Erziehung", cf. Volk 2000, 29).[14] Alternatively, it might even have been a compensation payment for the time that a child was too young, too weak or too inexperienced to work.

The role of material culture in socialisation

How could archaeology help to shed light on the question of socialisation and education? It is well known from wider archaeological literature that material culture helps to experience and explore the world, society and our own identity, especially for children (Sillar 1994, Baxter 2006). The major difficulty lies in associating material culture with children. First and foremost, it is not unlikely, maybe even very likely, that children interacted with the same material culture as adults, as they most likely lived and grew up in an "adult world" household and perceived, and at some point participated, in household activities involving "adult world" material culture, such as food production and consumption and rituals. As in other cultures, they probably learned by imitating their parents' behaviour and interaction with material culture (Sillar 1994) or by oral instructions from adults or older siblings on how to use certain objects the "right" way. This aspect sounds trivial, but is important to consider when approaching the issue of socialisation. In their later childhood, they probably learned crafts on adult tools as well, or one could envisage simplified gadgets for the early stages, such as the miniature looms seen in the modern Andes for young children to practice on (Sillar 1994, Greenfield 2000). From texts it is well known that children often accompanied their parent to, for example, weaving workshops (Maekawa 1980, Waetzoldt 1988).

Rattles and games

The question remains whether there is any material culture exclusive to the use of children, i.e. produced purely for child consumption (most importantly, "toys"). Rattles

[13] Here, the payment is a compensation payment for the previous mother by the adoptive mother for the "raising" of the adoptee.

[14] "Nach dieser (und parallelen Aussagen) ist *šūnuqum* […] als Terminus technicus für die rein körperliche Aufzucht von *tarbītum* differenziert, das, so es in einem expliziten Gegensatz zu den zuvor genannten Begriffen steht, das Erziehen zu einem altersgemäßen Verhalten bedeutet. Oftmals steht jedoch *tarbītum* in einer Art und Weise für sich, die nahelegt, dass der Terminus an diesen Stellen beide Aspekte, körperliche Aufzucht ebenso wie Erziehung, abdeckt" (Volk 2000, 29, fn. 142)

come to mind; Figure 1 shows one found recently at Tell Khaiber. Games have also been frequently associated with children. In my view, an association with children alone cannot be presumed a priori. Adults and children play games alike. Rattles may be used mostly by children today, but their contexts in Old Babylonian levels, i.e. residential areas and temples and palaces alike, makes a cultic function at least equally likely (Stone and Zimansky 2004, 97).[15]

Rattle from Tell Khaiber. ©Ur Region Archaeology Project.

[15] Further parallels are kwn from other cultures. Maya gods, for example, are depicted as shaking rattles (Taube 2013, 109, Fig. 5.6 b). For a direct association with children see Gruber (1995, 641), who thinks that most "clay baby rattles" and miniature clay models from ancient Israel "may have been children's toys".

Miniature objects

Another intriguing category are miniature objects, of which a considerable number have been unearthed from Old Babylonian levels, in the form of numerous terracotta plaques, human and animal figurines, model beds, model chariots, model chairs (see Figure 2) and model boats, etc. These miniatures have often been assigned a symbolic function a priori, which scholars have then tried to reconstruct (see e.g. Cholidis 1992, 44, 120-121, McCown and Haines 1967, 95). Occasionally, the idea of them being used as toys is considered, just to be immediately refuted. For model tables, for example, Cholidis' (1992, 44) main argument against a "toy" interpretation is that they were glued together with bitumen when broken instead of producing a new one. She argues that the effort producing a new one would have been equal to that of fixing the old one and thus assigns a more important function to the model table, in her opinion a symbolic one.[16] In my opinion, this practice of repairing is no counter-argument to the use of model tables as toys, as Cholidis herself says that both alternatives take approximately the same time and effort. Furthermore humans often build a strong relationship to toys that requires authenticity, i.e. the object being the same, rather than being replaced. Whether this character trait can be assumed for the Old Babylonian period is unclear and requires further systematic studies on ancient attitudes towards material culture in both archaeology and texts.

Clay model of a chair from Diqdiqqah, South Iraq. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

[16] "Da man mit fast dem gleichen Aufwand problemlos einen neuen Tisch hätte anfertigen können, muß er für den Besitzer doch wohl von größerer Bedeutung gewesen sein" (Cholidis 1992, 44)

Even if not fitting exactly our modern notions of toy[17], a primarily symbolic purpose does not mean that children did not interact with miniatures. For the modern Andes, Bill Sillar (1994) argues that the idea of toys and the symbolic idea of ritual are not necessarily dichotomous. He describes his ethnographic observations that miniature houses in the Andes were built in front of shrines on pilgrimage, which were then equipped with miniature "trees" and animals, either as a gift to the god and/or in the hope that the builder would receive a life-size house similar to the miniature in return. The action of building the house was described as "playing" (*pukllay* in Quechua) by the pilgrims. Quoting Tschopik (1950), Sillar gives further evidence of miniature clay animals being used both as toys, as well as being placed in miniature houses during the Santa Barbara fiesta to ensure prosperity for the subsequent year.

Following Sillar's observations, we can suggest for Mesopotamia that an object like a model table or a model bed, with symbolic importance in ritual, did not necessarily have this attribute all year round and might thus not have been inaccessible for child's play on other days of the year. This would only be the case if the models were found in a secluded part with restricted access for the inhabitants of the residential structure they were found in, but as none of these objects were found in situ, this is impossible to prove. Central to most recent studies of miniatures seems to be their "ability to function as a powerful tool for personal identity negotiation"[18] (Langin-Hooper 2015, 63) by creating intimate interaction with their user and offering the user to experience aspects of the world (and one's position therein) in some sort of microcosm. This property can be utilised both by children when playing with these objects, as well as by any age group during ritual and miniatures those can function as a means of socialisation and identity building for all age groups, including children, and thus could provide as a form of education.

While this is just a theoretical point of departure, I hope to develop it further in my future research, as this is the only way of accounting for informal education and socialisation covering children from the whole spectrum of society.

Conclusion

The study of childhood is complex even when considering just one type of source, archaeology or text. The terms associated with "children" in texts are ambiguous and require close contextual analysis, while the archaeological identification of children and material culture they interacted with is only possible within a solid interpretive framework. While the combination of both types of data brings new caveats and cannot be

[17] Cambridge Dictionaries Online defines toy as "an object for children to play with" and "an object that is used by an adult for pleasure rather than for serious use". (http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/toy). The Oxford English Dictionary lists "A material object for children or others to play with (often an imitation of some familiar object); a plaything; also, something contrived for amusement rather than for practical use (...) Now the leading sense, to which the others are referred". Sometimes "toy" is associated with miniatures, but again described as non-practical and restricted for child's play.

[18] In the context of her study on Hellenistic Babylonia, this "identity negotiation" involves balancing Hellenistic and Mesopotamian influences on everyday life and one's identity, independent of the individual's age.

apt for all research questions per se, the case studies above have shown that it can be very productive and opens new paths of enquiry or at least new points of departures that a separation of archaeology and texts could not yield.

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Ancient Egyptian Collections in Portuguese Museums – Building an Image of Ancient Egypt

Ronaldo Gurgel Pereira[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 182-192

Abstract

This work presents some partial reflections on a post-doctoral project aiming to study epigraphy from Egyptian collections in Portugal. A quick view of some catalogues and expositions combined help us to picture how museographic strategies in use in Portugal portrait Egypt to the non-academic public. As the main focus of this work lies in epigraphy, an especial approach to selected objects will be also part of the debate.

Keywords: Portuguese museums, Egyptian collections, Museography, Egyptology.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 7/3/2018

[*] CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. E-mail: ronaldo.gurgel@yahoo.de.

Ancient Egyptian Collections in Portuguese Museums – Building an Image of Ancient Egypt

Ronaldo Gurgel Pereira

On the Project

According to the ICON, a museum is "a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment"[1]. It is possible to trace a background of such institution towards Ancient Greece. However, a museum as we acknowledge it nowadays is, essentially, a modern invention, which started as a "cabinet of curiosities" during the Renaissance.

Since its start as a symbol of aristocratic fame and prestige, the museum assumed new educational purposes. As a useful resource for teaching about History, Sciences and Arts, museums are now also a useful "bridge" between academic discourses and civil society. Thanks to such kind of connection, academic knowledge is wider spread, not being reduced to the libraries and colleges.

For the non-academic public is able to interact with the museum collection actively, throughout personal interpretation, debates, and reflection. So, since museum collections are capable of producing subjects of debates in society, it also is liable of carry ideological messages (Vergo 1989; Andrew 2012). Such ideology is present directly or indirectly. It can be part of a political agenda concerning cultural identity, historical heritage, religious propaganda, etc. On the other hand, indirect messages can be interpreted after a study of museographic strategies, for instance.

Thus, here, the museum is dealt with not just as a place where collections are exposed, and people receive it passively feeding a mechanism of reproduction of information. It is rather a physical space where theory and praxis do a dialogue, and also as a place for the production of a new lore.

So, this work offers a short reflection on Egyptian collections hosted by Portuguese museums. It is integrated to a post-doctoral project in progress since 2012, under the support of FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia. The first triennial of activities has been dedicated to analyze Portuguese and Spanish museum collections of Late Period (664-332 BC) Egyptian artifacts. The first part of this project was concluded in 2014. Some entirely new objects and even a new collection have been published (Gurgel Pereira 2013, 105 – 116). However, the actual conditions of Egyptian epigraphy in Portuguese

[1] Statute adopted by the 22nd General Assembly in Vienna, Austria on August 24th, 2007.

museums needed a close attention. In general, there is no transliteration in descriptive works of Portuguese collections. Transliterations demonstrate few to no acknowledgement of essential conventions. Transcription of hieroglyphs is also a problematic issue, since it obeys no convention either; and it frequently omits hieroglyphs, thus obliging the student to always double-check written information directly with the artifact.

Therefore, the main objective of this last part of the project is to promote a review of all Egyptian epigraphy in Portugal, correcting the many mistakes concerning transcription, transliteration and grammar. Another objective is to better understand the whole potential of Egyptian collections in the country and how to improve museographic strategies.

On the Study of the Documental Corpus

There are eleven museums in our selected corpus, covering a total of seven Portuguese cities. For this work, a number of them will be debated. The examples for epigraphic debates are from: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (Lisbon) – home of the biggest collection of Egyptian artifacts in Portugal, and Museu de História Natural (Porto) – hosting the second biggest collection, and also owning a literary award for its catalogue for the Egyptian collection.[2] The last one is the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa. Despite its tiny collection and absence of catalogue, it is interesting to include one artifact from that museum into debate. The idea is to present fresh examples from most diverse origins and promote comparative perspectives. A different set of artifacts has been analyzed and published by the Iberian Association of Egyptology (Gurgel Pereira 2016a, 519-528).

That choice obeys two simple parameters. Firstly, each one contributes in different aspects to picture the general view of Egypt via the glasses of Portuguese museums as a whole. Secondly, each one poses as emblematic examples of the general panorama of Egyptian collections in the country. In addition to those museums, the exhibits from Calouste Gulbenkian Museum and Marciano Azuaga Collection (Núcleo Museológico de Arqueologia – Vila Nova de Gaia) will also be presented in comparative comments in other topics of the debate.

The first impression of someone committed to deal with Portuguese collections is the huge amount of bibliography available. Virtually every collection had published catalogues or articles describing at least the majority of their respective objects. However, after a more detailed observation it is possible to observe some problems.

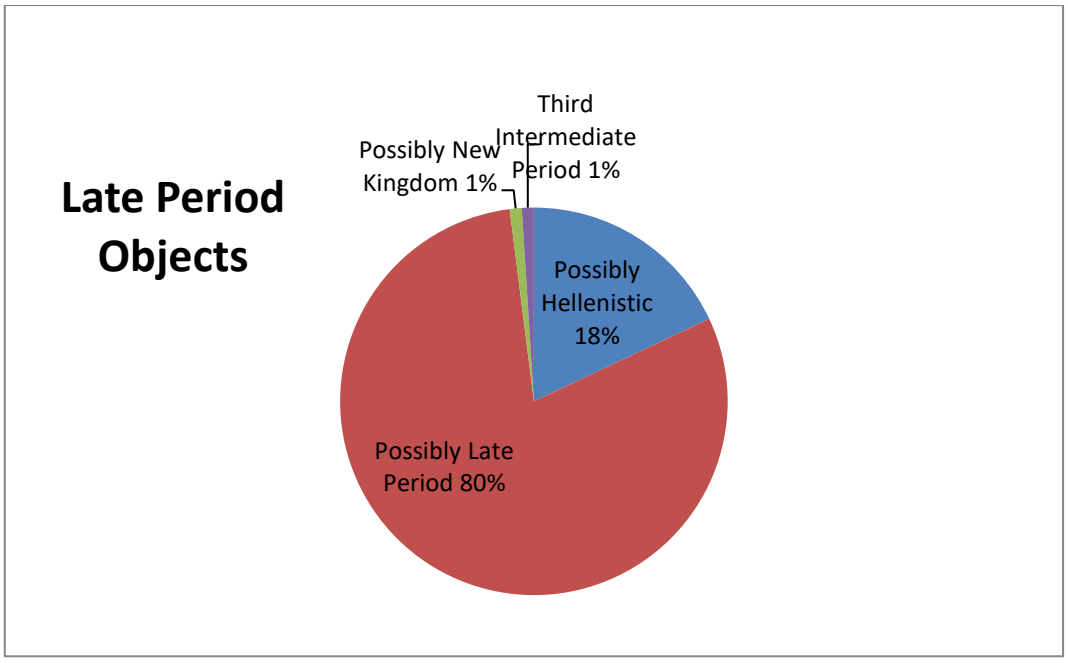
Portuguese collections, in general, have a very similar background. Some private collector – usually from aristocratic background[3] – donated to a museum his entire collection of art, which usually include some Egyptian artifacts. Normally the documentation on those objects is vague, if not entirely absent. In this category fits the Museum Nacional de

[2] "Best Catalogue of 2012" according to APOM – Portuguese Association of Museology.

[3] Indeed, even the Portuguese Royal Family left some Egyptian artifacts to the Museum of Archaeology, Vila Viçosa.

Arqueologia, whose collection was also obtained from other smaller Portuguese museums. After the Carnation Revolution, in 1974, many documents vanished from that museum. So, if any inventory giving more accurate details to that collection was ever made, it is so far gone.

The task of creating such catalogue was a heroic effort based greatly in comparative analysis with similar objects, already studied in other museums worldwide. However, in many cases, it was simply impossible to establish chronologic and geographic contexts to such objects. Most of what could not be surely identified was put into a great category of "Late Period". Initially, a hundred objects have been selected as Late Period artifacts. After studying those objects and their available bibliography it was possible to establish some contestation on their chronologies, as follows:

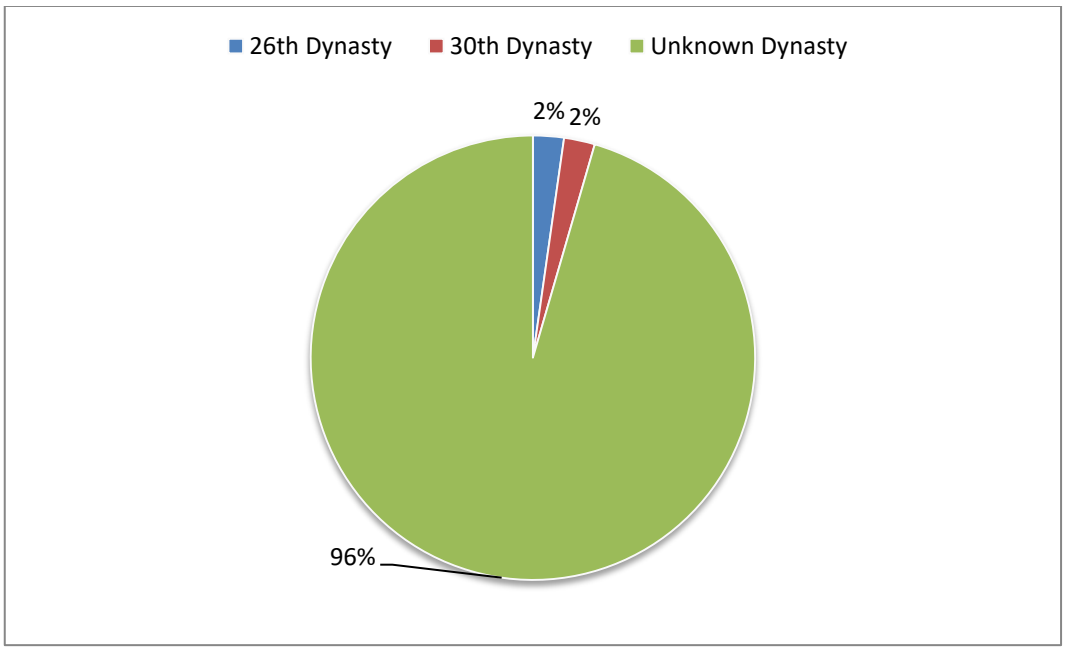


Much of Late Period objects are considered potentially Hellenistic actually. This is treated as a rule for all Bronze objects, which are systematically labeled as being from "Late Period or Hellenistic". Similar treatment is given to scarabs and faïence amulets. Back the time when Late Period was underestimated by Egyptologists as a decadent period, it was normal to classify any problematic objects as belonging this period.

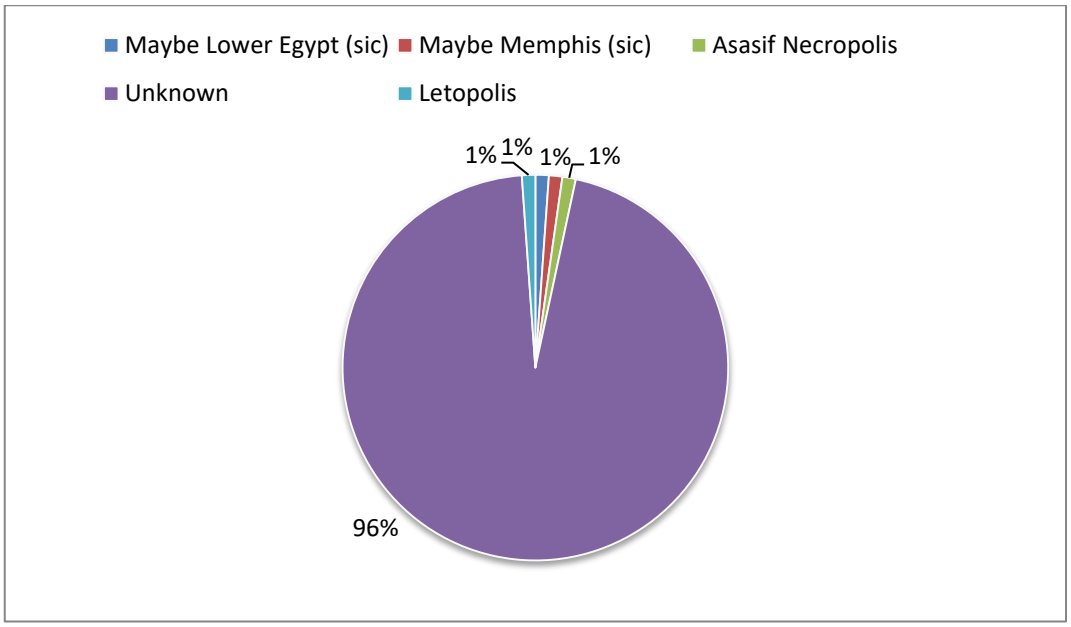
The Saite renaissance actually promoted exceptional copies of objects from Egypt's past. The Saite canon also became strong enough to endure throughout the Ptolemaic rule as synonym of "Egyptian Art". Thus it was necessary to examine objects from other periods in order to verify if more chronology issues would appear.

Another issue is present, when the "Late Period" is analyzed. Most of those objects from unidentified dynasties lack inscriptions or special characteristics. Therefore, most of them remain unclassified on their dynastic background.

A special status is given to the mummy-case of Irtieru (MNAE 135), from the Third Intermediate Period, yet wrongly labeled as Late Period. It presents a typical example of rigid cartonnage fashion in use. Such example was first identified by Aidan Dodson and resulted in an article (Figueiredo 2005, 437 – 450). The exhibition, nonetheless, still tags the object as Late Period.



Another issue is to identify the geographical origin of those objects. It is most certainly that they have come from different Egyptian necropoleis. However, thanks only to the existence of inscriptions, two objects offer the identification of its respective necropolis of origin.



A good solution for that question would be to share the digital databank of objects with other museums worldwide. Teamwork would allow many gaps to be filled, and partnership with international specialists would enhance the international importance of that collection.

On the Problems found with Epigraphy

A particular issue is the quality of published catalogues and articles. They all can be resumed as a preliminary description of a given object, followed by a translation, which at sometimes is partial. The transcription of hieroglyphs can be also incomplete in some readings. The transliteration can be incomplete in some works as well. Mistakes have been found in elementary words and formulae such as translating nb.t-pr as "housewife" (Port. "dona de casa"). (Araujo 2006, 93; 2011, 116 and 213).

There was also a case of a wrongly recognized king, "Nebrepehtire (sic)", instead of Ahmose in which nṯr nfr is translated as "kind god", instead of "perfect god". (Araujo 2006, 80-81).

An example of the correction efforts made is the Bronze figurine of Osiris (Museu Nacional – MNAE 318). The statuette is 14.5 cm tall, and its square base has a small inscription in three of its sides.

FRONT SIDE

ḏd mdw jn Wsjr wnn-nfr

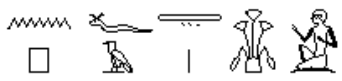
« Words to be spoken by Osiris Wenn-Nefer:

RIGHT SIDE

(r)dj(.w) ꜥnḫ Ḥr(w) s3

"May he give life to Horus, the son

BACK SIDE



n pf3 t3 mḥw

of Pefa-ta-Mehu" »

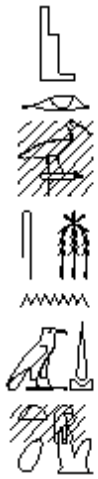
In fact, it was possible to transcribe a substantially different inscription, if compared to the catalogue's version.

For comparison, here follows the catalogue's transcription (Araujo 1993, 342):

> "Palavras ditas por Osíris Uen-Nefer, que possa ele dar a vida a Hor, filho de Paieftamehit (?) sic". Translation: "Words to be spoken by Osiris Wenn-Nefer, may he give life to Hor, son of Paieftamehit (?)"

The author did not mark properly the illegible portion on the text's first line. Instead, he 'covered' it by a speculative unmarked subjunctive  (r)dj=f (he may give). However the author chooses (D36) ignoring the proper  (D37). Besides, his intervention is followed by the imperfect passive participial formula *(r)dj(.w) ʿnḫ* "May he give life!" Therefore, his proposed translation is grammatically incorrect. It is also important to notice how the original hieroglyph  (H8) was unexplainably replaced by  (G39) in the catalogue.

Another example to be debated here is the shabti figurine from Lisbon National Library (inventory number 146). Its publication in an article (Araujo 1998, 166) did not manage to identify the name of its owner. However, after observation, it was quite possible to notice some mistakes in the transcription of hieroglyphs. Then it is possible to read the owner's name.



Wsjr Ḏḥwtj ms(j) n Wḏ3-3s[.t]

Osiris Djehuty, born of (from) Wdja-Ast (lit. "Hail Isis")

On the other hand, here follows the article's version:

Wsir (…)[sic] *ms ms n wḏ3-3st*

"Osíris –més (sic), filho de Udjais.t"

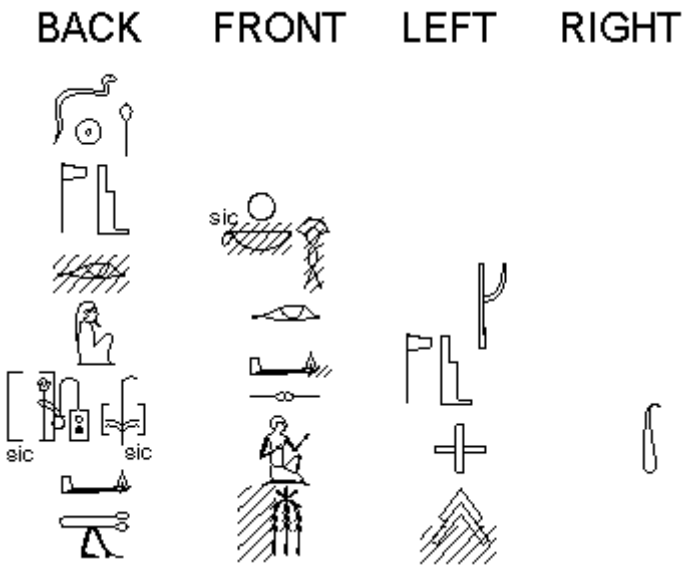
(My) English translation: Osiris –mes (sic), son of Udjais.t

The last example of problematic epigraphy comes from the catalogue of Porto University (FCP: 41.01.007 – old 7487). It is a shabti figurine in faïence 6 cm tall, poorly finished and filled with random hieroglyphs, carved on all sides. However, the catalogue offers a partial transcription of its "text" and presents an actual reading out of fantasy. Here follows its transcription:

So, it was translated as (sic): "Que brilhe Osíris (?), escriba real (?), filho de Basterdis (?)" (It may be translated to English as: "May Osiris shine (?), royal scribe (?), son of Basterdis (?)". The proposed version is actually lacking of any actual grammatical sense whatsoever.

The catalogue declares (Araujo 2011, 146) it as an "uncommon organization of hieroglyphs", being its reading "doubtful". In fact, the only possibility of producing such transcription is by selecting some hieroglyphs and ignoring others. Hence, many hieroglyphs had been left out from the proposed transcription. The second line apparently tries to render a continuation for the front text, omitting some unknown hieroglyphs at the top.

Nothing is mentioned on the many other hieroglyphs present in the object. Thus, here follows my transcription:



Given the state of the shabti[4], the figurine was probably damaged during its confection process or even deliberately used for didactical purposes. It was most likely used by an apprentice to practice his incision skills. On its back side, there is a formula "May Osiris shine!"; then it follows a title: "royal scribe" (although its hieroglyphs are incomplete:  instead of  ; and instead of ); then it follows the verb (r)dj (to give), and finally the hieroglyph V15. On its front side, at the top, there is another pair of imperfect and incomplete hieroglyphs which I assume to be part of an attempt to carve correctly the name Sokar Osiris:  >  >  . Then, it follows the verb (r)dj, the word "man" and a damaged "ms(j)" (to be born). The left side starts with an Aa26, and then, part of the Osiris' name, then a cross, and it is finished by a damaged Aa5. On the right side there is a lonely U33.

On a General View of the Exhibitions

Usually, Egyptian collections put into display offers little contextualization. Small descriptive tags are the most normal support for the visiting public. Such tags occasionally contradict chronology given by the catalogue or the respective museum databank. Other materials such as maps and tables of chronology – when present – are not properly integrated to the collection. In other terms, the public is kept unaware of how to connect the objects to given maps and chronologies.

Sometimes Egyptian collections are kept in a shady atmosphere, even when there are no risks of damaging objects due to exposition to light. A short quiz has been made with visiting students and personal staff of the Calouste Gulbenkian Musem. They have been asked about the reasons for the lack of light in the room. The most regular answer was the relation between Egypt and underground tombs, pyramids and funerary milieu. When

[4] See Appendix.

they have been asked to compare it with the neighboring Greco-roman room – perfectly illuminated – they understood how Egyptomania can be also present as an indirect discourse by a museum. Sometimes Egyptomania in museums can be more evident, such as the pyramid-shaped display case at Núcleo Museológico de Arqueologia – Colecção Marciano Azuaga, Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal.

In general, Egypt brings out an idea of mystery and incomprehension. Many interviewed visitors commented they do not expect to understand ancient Egypt by visiting a museum. So, the idea of a museum having a limited mission of classification and conservation is still something to change in the imaginary of the visiting public.

Regarding forgeries, it is quite common that museums and private collectors gather fake objects, most of the time, accidentally. The fake Egyptian artifact is still a big taboo in Portuguese museums. Some few are still in exhibition as original objects, but most of them are actually hidden from public. The dominant opinion on fakes in Portuguese museums is that they expose to ridiculous the legacy of former private collectors or even current museums where the objects are to be kept. The most extreme case comes from a museum in Vila Nova de Gaia, northern Portugal, where fakes were kept careless in deliberated state of deterioration inside a box.

A different and relatively recent approach to fake objects is to consider them part of the very History of Egyptology (Brier 2013). The process of rehabilitation of fakes can be very fruitful, if focused on a context of debates concerning Egyptomania, the commerce of antiquities, the memory of the first Egyptologists, and early collectors and institutions – on one hand – and methodologies of testing antiquities – on the other.

In fact, they may become even a very interesting topic into display, as it was already made once by the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.[5] There is an educative exhibition of combined forgeries and originals. Its main objective is to teach how museums acquired fake objects for their collections – and sometimes even deliberately. This is an emblematic example of how proactive can be the interaction between public and museum collections.

As a conclusion, it is fair to consider that published catalogues and articles must be urgently reviewed. Recently the first grammar of Middle Egyptian in Portuguese has been released[6] (Gurgel Pereira 2013a, 2016). This is an important tool to provide students and museum personal with proper rules and conventions for transliteration and translation. New publications must replace the older material in revised editions. As for the exhibitions, it would be a great achievement if the curators and museum directors across the country came into contact one to another in order to debate their collections and compare approaches and databanks.

The integration of smaller and bigger museums could give more visibility to Portugal in the international scenario. This would be very useful, especially when international

[5] The Art of Fake – Egyptian Forgeries from the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (digital gallery).

[6] This work received a revision and a preface from Prof. Pascal Vernus, (EPHE, Sorbonne). The grammar also offers a glossary with over 900 words, plus an appendix presenting ca. 700 Hieroglyphs, bibliographic references for over 500 hieroglyphic fragments under study, and a key for ca. 300 exercises.

cooperation could improve greatly the didactic usages of ancient Egyptian artifacts in the country, and even help to track down the lacking data on so many objects.

Museums can be a very important place in charge of connecting academic and civil communities. Thus, investing in new methods of presenting collections having in mind non-academic perceptions of the past could provide excellent opportunities to reach more effectively the public.

Appendix:

BACK (MHN 41.01.07 – 3 2007.07.19 ©)	FRONT (MHN 41.01.07 – 1 2007.07.19 8 ©)	LEFT (MHN 41.01.07 – 2 2007.07.19 ©)	RIGHT (MHN 41.01.07 – 4 2007.07.19 ©)
			

Shabti Figurine, Museu de História Natural, Universidade do Porto (FCP: 41.01.007 – old 7487), with kind permission.

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Sources *that* study Antiquity: study perspectives on Herodotus' *Histories,* or how have the historians interpreted the *father* of History

Catarina Miranda[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 193-207

Abstract

The study of Antiquity presents theoretical and practical challenges to the researcher in every investigation. Studying, however, a source that not only contains potential information about the Past, but that also produces an historical investigation, confronts the researcher with a whole different kind of challenge, one that necessarily calls into question the understanding of the discipline and its praxis. This article aims to analyse this subject by considering the case of the *Histories*.

Not long after Herodotus wrote it (around the 5th century BC), the *Histories* generated much debate, either about the way in which the narrative was constructed, the subjects the author took closer attention to, or the methods used throughout the research. This article provides some study perspectives on both content and form of this source, in order to understand how have historians approached and interpreted Herodotus' work since then.

Keywords: Herodotus, Study perspectives, Historiography, Methodologies.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 19/3/2018

[*] CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. E-mail: catmi21@hotmail.com.

Sources *that* study Antiquity: study perspectives on Herodotus' *Histories,* or how have the historians interpreted the *father* of History

Catarina Miranda

A researcher of ancient History must attend to two particular issues in his/ her studies, of methodological and epistemological nature respectively: the first one concerns the sources for the investigations, and the second one relates to the immanent (yet, quite challenging) issue of Antiquity's (growing) distance in time.

Sources[1] are a necessary part of historical investigations. To begin one, the researcher must deliberate on what will be used as a source and evaluate how to approach and interpret each one. Parallel to these leading questions are considerations about the accessibility of the content, the relevance of a source for a given subject, likewise the acknowledgement of its place (physical and symbolical) back in the *where* and *when* it belonged to. All these queries reveal a set of preoccupations which inevitably emerge at the point of studying the Past. The answer to each one of them may vary, leading thus to different approaches and interpretations of a given subject[2].

The questions addressed above are not exclusive to sources of Antiquity - on the contrary, they permeate all historical chronologies – and neither is the second issue raised above, i.e. the length of time that separates the researcher from the object of study.

Modern historiography has been written almost entirely in the *past tense*. There is nothing impeding it, in its core, to study Present times, but it has been somewhat a tacit agreement among historians not to do so, maybe based on the assumption that time distance assures a better position for reflections of this sort than belonging to the epoch itself. When studying Antiquity, if time is remote enough to allow (according, *lato sensu,* to non-postmodernist theories) detached interpretations and prevent near-sighted ones, what can be said about the consequences of utterly disparate environments of author and object? When studying a culture long gone, buried under multiple layers of History, surviving irregularly, scarcely at times, mostly *pale*, sometimes displaced in space and certainly in time, can distance still be perceived as an advantage to the researcher?

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[1] I consider *source* in this article as a «trace of the past» in need of being articulated by the historian, and not a «pristine [i.e. original, pure] piece(s) of evidence» or a raw documentary of «the real past», with «latent explanations», which the historian merely allows «to speak for itself». It becomes evidence only once it is used «on behalf of (some or other) argument (interpretation)», therefore being «the product of the historian's discourse». The quotes cite Jenkins 2003, 58-60.

[2] « (…) the sources may prevent just anything at all from being said, nevertheless the same events/ sources do not entail that one and only one reading has to follow. » Jenkins 2003, 15.

It seems the answer to these questions is rather bittersweet: although the gap is insurmountable, i.e., it cannot be dealt with successfully, it is also the very reason justifying the emergence and assuring the future of the discipline. Indeed, «Epistemology shows we can never really know the past; that the gap between the past and history (historiography) is an ontological one, that is, is in the very nature» of it (Jenkins 2003, 23). It became, however, historians' goal since the very beginning to devise methods to cope with that fact in pursuit of an intelligible, meaningful Past.

The conference *Sources to study Antiquity* tackled these issues by proposing academics to take a long, hard look at the ways in which it is possible to approach this vast chronology which is Antiquity, namely through the usage of manifold sources.

The present article wanted, however, to take a step further, and so it adapted the conference's title into "Sources *that* study Antiquity". This change of scope aims to bring forth the question of how do historians approach sources that not only contain potential information about the Past, but that also procure to inquiry it themselves. How exactly do historians interpret a source which has the purpose of producing a historical discourse? A source that formulates an interrogation or a goal at the debut of the investigation, in order to provide a certain audience with a perspective on a subject?

In addition to the two theoretical issues presented earlier, the historian must face historically different ways of thinking and doing the same job. The *line* between author and object is necessarily challenged.

Having this in mind, a specific Ancient author immediately stands out, especially for the multiple, often conflicting, views around his work. This article will refer to Herodotus of Halicarnassus and his *Histories* with the aim of providing study perspectives on this source. The emphasis will be, nevertheless, on the relationship between subject and object, historian and the *Histories*, hence the historiographical overtone of the approach.

The *Histories*, or the *Enquiries,* is a nine-book-long text, written around the 5th century BC. It is generally introduced nowadays as «the oldest surviving historiographical work of Antiquity. Four times the size of Homer's *Iliad»* (Baragwanath and Bakker 2009, 1) – indeed, a notable source.

Each of the nine books is named after a muse, and it is of great relevance that the first to be mentioned is Clio, the muse of History. In fact, to be rigorous, since History means something quite different nowadays, she should rather be mentioned as Clio, the celebrator of great deeds and accomplishments[3]. Besides, that is exactly how Herodotus describes his work: «Hérodote de Thourioi expose ici ses recherches, pour empêcher que ce qu'ont fait les hommes, avec le temps, ne s'efface de la mémoire et que de grands et merveilleux exploits, accomplis tant par les Barbares que par les Grecs, ne cessent d'être renommés; en particulier, ce qui fut cause que Grecs et Barbares entrèrent en guerre les uns contre les autres. » (Herodotus 1970, 13).

[3] Her name derives from the Greek root *klēo/ kleio*, meaning "to recount glorious deeds", "to make famous" or "to celebrate". Liddell and Scott [1963], 379.

The main goal of this work was to establish the causes for the Greco-Persian Wars. In order to do so, Herodotus travelled through Greece, through Persian lands and also lands the Persians could not subdue, procuring throughout this journey cultural, historical and even natural reasons to explain the conflict. For that purpose, he encompassed historical, mythological, ethnographical and geographical material, to name a few, in an extensive effort to carry out the *historiē* ("a learning by inquiry" in ancient Greek[4]), not just concerning the Greek perspective, but that of the "barbarians" as well.

If stating the quantity of composite content[5] is insufficient to describe the uniqueness of this work it is because, simultaneously, there is a puzzling unprecedented methodological (and ultimately epistemological) preoccupation throughout the research[6] (Bakker 2006; Lloyd 2002, 419; Luraghi 2007, 76). This is particularly reflected on the strong presence of the author/ researcher in the narrative, evidenced by the occurrence of statements in the first person[7], but also with references regarding the process of gathering information (Luraghi 2007, 76).

Briefly presented, both content and form - *Histories* and its meta-*historiē*[8] - have been interpreted very differently over time.

Although born in today's Turkey, Herodotus belonged to a Greek cultural framework, for this panorama extended far from mainland Greece. It was through the inheritance of Greek tradition by Europeans that this author would come to be granted the paternity of Western historiography (Evans 1968, 12).

Cicero (2nd-1st century BC; Evans 1968, 11) was probably the first Ancient author to clearly recognize Herodotus as the first person (in that part of the world) to produce an historical account - someone concerned about the causes and context(s) of given human events, or, ultimately, someone concerned about giving them meaning. At the same time, however, Herodotus' reputation as "deceitful" and "malicious" (Plutarch[9]; Baragwanath 2008, 10-11), a "storyteller" or an "ignorant" (Evans 1968, 12 and 14) had already took over most of the discourses about him. Either because of his methods for giving information[10] ("deceitful"), or his "failure" to preserve *kleos*[11] ("malicious"), the "incongruities" and tells

[4] Liddell and Scott [1963], 335.

[5] Or as Brock put it: Herodotus' task involved «complex and multifarious material, a time-frame of a couple of centuries and a huge cast of characters» Brock 2003, 15; also Thomas 2006, 60.

[6] «Other ancient historians rarely dealt with the question of how they gathered information, usually confining it to preliminary statements at the beginning of their works. » Luraghi 2007, 76.

[7] «as I have been told» (8.38), «I cannot write down exactly» (6.14.1), «That is what I heard» (2.55.1), or formulations of opinions. Luraghi 2007, 76.

[8] This expression belongs to Nino Luraghi; it refers to the discourse of the author as an inquirer.

[9] «Plutarch [1st-2nd century AD] was a perceptive reader of the *Histories*, and its first explicit critic – as well as the most disapproving. Driven by frustration at Herodotus' unjust treatment of his hometown Thebes, his *On the Malice of Herodotus* (…) often strikes us as overblown and mean-spirited. Many of its observations are nonetheless keen. » Baragwanath 2008, 9.

[10] E.g. by giving many versions of a story (some discrepant), not expressing then his view on what he believed to be true. Baragwanath 2008, 22.

[11] E.g. by making a charge and then withdrawing, although propagating and so undermining famous deeds and their actors in this manner. Baragwanath 2008, 10-11, 13 and 15.

of wonder[12] ("storyteller") or the seemingly acritical, ingenuous and disorganized account ("ignorant").

From no longer than a few generations after Herodotus' death (Evans 1968, 11), throughout the development of the discipline of History, speaking of him would, then, first and foremost mean to speak of his reliability (Van der Dussen 2016, 155), but, ultimately, of one's definition of History (Van der Dussen 2016, 156). «Herodotus' prose (…) can be read in a multiplicity of ways, depending on what interests each reader brings to the task. » (Dewald and Marincola 2006, 7). And so it was. More immediate successors on the historian's *craft* would claim to be against him precisely because he did not meet what they conceived as History. Thucydides (5th-4th century BC)[13] and Plutarch are among the most noticeable ones.

These Ancient authors believed a historian's work should be contemporary to its writer and with a limited purpose, as opposed to being one about distant Past[14] and with a large scope. Moreover, it should be educational[15], valuable to men in the future (Evans 1968, 12 and 14), not a tell of the "exotic", with an "entertaining", "vivid" writing or "praise-and-blame" kind of formulations (Baragwanath 2008, 10). More importantly, the historical account could not have the objective of arbitrating quarrels or points of view[16] - much less with tendencies to be "philobarbaros" (as Plutarch named Herodotus)[17] –, especially if pursuing for that matter other than political reasons for the event (Evans 1968, 16; Van der Dussen 2016, 160).

Much would be said and written about the *Histories* since Antiquity. The 19th century, however, became a turning point in herodotean studies. According to Evans (1968, 15), it created a *mythology* of its own[18] because, adding to the "true or false" debates, and to one's consideration of the discipline, 19th century historians introduced debates on *Quellenforschung* (the "study of sources") (Marincola 2007, 2).

[12] E.g. by making plot/ perspective changes, "out-of-place" commentaries and digressions. Baragwanath 2008, 12-13 and 22.

[13] « Herodotus had the bad luck, however, that shortly after finishing his *Histories* he had Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* as his successor. (…) Thucydides as well based his inquiries on oral sources, but, in contrast to Herodotus, the object of his study, the Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta (431–404 BC), made him not only a contemporary of the events he described, but also to have the advantage of being acquainted with the language of the oral information his study is based on. Besides this and again in contrast to Herodotus, he merely concentrated on political history. Because of these features, in antiquity Thucydides was generally considered more trustworthy and accordingly taken more seriously than Herodotus. » Van der Dussen 2016, 156-157.

[14] «until the nineteenth century knowledge of the past one was not personally acquainted with was generally considered to be dependent on the information provided by historians or eyewitnesses. It was only with Georg Niebuhr (1776 – 1831) that the notion developed that historical knowledge should be based on the independent study of sources instead of authorities, that is, on documents, archaeology, and all kinds of artifacts. (…) Since he could not rely on previous studies and neither confined himself to contemporary history, Herodotus therefore embarked on a project that until the nineteenth century was considered inconceivable» Van der Dussen 2016, 159-160.

[15] «[Herodotus] aimed at giving a picture of the vicissitudes of history, whereas Thucydides [like other ancient authors] was in search for certain lawlike essences» Van der Dussen 2016, 161.

[16] Plutarch: «on the level of events the historian should write what he knows to be true, but in the case of doubt, prefer a better account to a worse (855e), so too particularly when delving into the necessarily more obscure realm of the hidden causes and motives behind those events» Baragwanath 2008, 13).

[17] Being able to deconstruct Greek norms negatively was not very well seen by some ancient historians. Cartledge and Greenwood 2002, 367.

[18] Very much linked to the way, once again, History writing was perceived at that time.

Owing that, Herodotus' credibility fell into deep suspicion. Firstly, because he did not give a thorough explanation on his choice and use of sources, often "failing" to mention some of them; and secondly because he resorted more to oral than written sources, which would only find its place in History very recently. These were the main set of critics made to his account during this period (Hornblower 2002). The work would only have its credibility restored in the beginning of the next century, by a man named Felix Jacoby, a German classicist and philologist (Dewald and Marincola 2006, 4).

His studies introduced a new form of defending Herodotus' reliability: being the first (to be known) to show a particular concern with making intelligible Past and Present, it could not, however, be expected of him to resemble contemporary historiography. Therefore, Jacoby suggested that the studies should not revolve so much around the trustworthiness of his accounts, but the *parenting* issue: «being without doubt the father of history, he is not truly an historian either, as if paternity must necessarily bear an unfinished part. »[19] (Hartog 1999, 376).

From there onwards, this interpretation wielded influence in the following studies, which would either agree or oppose it (Hartog 1999, 371). But soon these "father" or "liar" polarities lost strength, when the premises in which the debate was supported were *emptied*. Despite having been an important change in herodotean studies, the reason for diverting discussions about the trustworthiness and validity of Herodotus accounts stopped being because he was the first of the *job* (and therefore supposedly less *apt* for the task).

History would find itself on the verge of great conceptual disruption. Postmodernist, Anthropological and Postcolonial studies, represented by names such as Michel Foucault, Hayden White, Edward Said and Jan Vansina, redefined the discourse concerning this subject, giving researchers on Herodotus' *Histories* a whole other possible interpretation (Dewald and Marincola 2006, 5).

It was after the second half of the 20th century that Postmodernism[20] emerged. When applied to the historical discourse (later in the century), it led some of its theorists to question history's *golden calfs*, namely, the pretension for objectivity and the assumption

[19] My translation.

[20] On the origins of the concept: «It refers, first of all, to a complex of anti-modernist artistic strategies which emerged in the 1950s and developed momentum in the course of the 1960s. (…) From this anti-representational, formalist point of view [which is modernism], postmodernism gives up on this project of self-discovery and is a (cowardly) return to pictorial narrative, to representational practices. (…) However, for many of the American literary critics that bring the term postmodernism into circulation in the 1960s and early 1970s, postmodernism is the move *away* from narrative, from representation. For them, postmodernism is the turn towards self-reflexiveness (…). The other arts further complicate the picture. (…) Yet, there is a common denominator. In their own way, they all seek to transcend what they see as the self-imposed limitations of modernism, which in its search for autonomy and purity or for timeless, representational, truth has subjected experience to unacceptable intellectualizations and reductions. » Bertens 2005, 1-5.
On the development of the concept over time: «postmodernism has been defined as the 'attitude' of the 1960s counterculture (…) In the course of the 1970s, postmodernism was gradually drawn into a poststructuralist orbit. (…) postmodernism gives up on language's representational function and follows poststructuralism in the idea that language constitutes, rather than reflects, the world, and that knowledge is therefore always distorted by language, that is, by the historical circumstances and the specific environment in which it arises.» Bertens 2005, 5-6.

of the existence of an historical truth[21]. This meant that Herodotus' subjective presence in the narrative (pondering and commenting on the various subjects, for instance), his use of literary techniques (for purposes of persuasion or reflection, for example) and his avoidance of a straightforward, firm perspective on events[22] were no longer perceived as incompatible with the nature of his work. In fact, it is rather curious how «the *Histories* can contribute to modern debates on the boundaries between history and fiction»[23] and how, because of that, they have become «all the more alluring, to twenty-first century» historians (Baragwanath 2008, 5).

Anthropology also contributed to a great change in herodotean studies. With the rapid spread of postmodern tenets across Humanities, cultural studies saw a «spectacular upgrading» (Bertens 2005, 10). «Since the awareness that representations create rather than reflect reality (…), representations have been endowed with an almost material status. Culture, long seen by many as determined, either directly or indirectly, by a more fundamental mode of production, has now become a major constitutive power in its own right. In fact, for many theorists signs (a term which of course includes all forms of representations) are the most important constitutive element in the contemporary world[24]» (Bertens 2005, 10-11). With the valorization of cultural studies within Anthropology came the interest on mentality(ies)[25], tradition(s), ethnography, and (especially) the elevation of oral sources to the same level of potentiality as those written[26] - therefore, putting to rest the attacks on Herodotus' choices for content and sources (Dewald 2009, 496-497).

Postcolonial studies[27], on their turn, have made great contributions to the development of theories concerning cultural contacts – an ever-present issue across *Histories*, but that only recently began to receive some interest. Moreover, by calling historians' attention towards the peripheries, this theory led into a change in the interpretation of Herodotus' discourse on other lands as mere "digressions" or "fait-divers" (Dewald 2009, 496; Dewald and Marincola 2006, 5-6).

Although summarized, this contextualization serves to inform the general panorama that would bring to a new phase the interpretations about Herodotus' *Histories*. One would no longer debate the truth or validity of his accounts since History itself was now perceived to have a permanent subjective dimension in the process of constructing a narrative about Past events.

Most historians, then, turned to an unexplored field, where now every source (including this one) had its own valid significance (Marincola 2007, 3-4), where something said, or

[21] On a definition of History according to this theory see Jenkins 2003, 31-32.
[22] «his account of the past [is more] a matter (…) of possibilities rather than certainties. It remains to some extent provisional, open to his readers' collaboration in extending and modifying it. » Baragwanath 2008, 26.
[23] To know more about this debate, see White 2001, 39-63.
[24] See for instance Geertz 1973.
[25] It led herodotean studies to investigate matters such as the intellectual environment in Greece and the treatment of and attitudes toward foreigners, which had a tremendous impact in the understanding of the *Histories*. Dewald 2009, 496.
[26] On this topic see Portelli 2012.
[27] «Post-colonialism (or often postcolonialism) deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and societies. (…) originally used by historians after the Second World War» Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2008, 168.

something silenced in a text, had equal importance. A field where a perspective, as that of Herodotus, could say more about this period and Greek culture and mentality than it was ever imagined. Hence the change of foci of the studies: Herodotus as an author, his aims, literary techniques, his views on what he was doing and the themes he was dealing with (Dewald 2009, 495; Murray 1987, 93), to name a few.

The reception of the *Histories* by other authors in later periods did not answer if this was, after all, History in its own time. To know that the genre of this work has been interpreted according to contemporary assumptions about the nature of a historical investigation allowed historians to move from that discussion into another one, that is, to what History and the writing of History meant in the 5th century BC.

Some historians did a remarkable work comprehending the Ancient Greek notion of History. To begin with, a distinction needs to be drawn between the craft and the object: on the one hand, if the Past, mythical or historical, had a great importance in Greek society, the investigation into the Past, on the other hand, occupied a *shy* niche[28] (Nicolai 2007, 13-14). Additionally, if one was asked about this niche, it was mandatory to recognize Homer's writings, for instance. The reason for that lays in the fact that, for a very long time, the Epic was the only repository of Past events (Finley 1965, 284) - and with such an ascendancy that it would convey a traditional objective of History, that is, to preserve glorious/ remarkable deeds[29] (Finley 1965, 283; Hartog 1999, 17-18; Nicolai 2007, 15). This becomes very clear once it is realized that the patrons of the Epic text, the Muses, were no other than the daughters of Mnemosyne/ Memory. The Arts were, after all, attached, from *cradle,* to the Past (Nicolai 2007, 16).

Having the Epic, and its authors, such an overwhelming presence, it was difficult (surprising even) for another genre to emerge with such vigour[30]. The genre to come and occupy dominantly that very niche talked about would be the one Herodotus initiated (Nicolai 2007, 17).

In comparison with the Epic, both genres sought to «domesticate death» (Hartog 1999, 18) but, when doing so, they used different resources – and here poses the great divide between the new genre and the genre used until then to speak of the Past: where the first asked for inspiration from the Muses, Herodotus pursued other devices for achieving authority (Hartog 1999, 25-27; Luraghi 2006, 86-87).

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[28] « [Herodotus] not only actually lived in the renowned fifth century BC in the Greek world, but also represented a substantial part of the so-called 'Greek miracle', which peaked in this century. It is not customary, however, to see Herodotus (…) within this context, since, with regard to this period, usually reference is made to the pre-Socratic philosophers, the sophists and Socrates, the tragedians, statesmen like Pericles, and Greek architecture and sculpture as examples of this blooming era. (…) [it] relates to the fact that the Greeks did not value history highly. Aristotle is an exemplification, when he compares in his *Poetica* history with poetry, saying that the latter is of more value – with an explicit reference to Herodotus – since it deals with general truths and not particular events. » Van der Dussen 2016, 156.

[29] In the same way, it led ancient historians to believe their accounts had to teach about morals and conduct, that the historical narrative had to be able, like the Epic poem, to deliver a message to the reader, so it could be useful for later times (Finley 1965, 284). There are discreet signs of this in Herodotus, but it is more pervasive in Thucydides, for example.

[30] Ionian philosophers and their school of skepticism could be presented as a cause for that rupture. The development of the *polis* and of politics as a discipline are other appointed reasons («The new look had to be secular, non-mythical»). Finley 1965, 299-300; also Thomas 2006, 60-61.

He created a whole new discourse, based on his eyewitness testimony, on oral information and on his judgements (Dench 2007, 499; Luraghi 2006, 77; Van der Dussen 2016, 164) - respectively, *opsis*, *akoē* and *gnomē*. The following citation is a plain example of the latter: «Jusqu'ici, ce que je disais est tire de ce que j'ai vu [*opsis*], des réflexions que j'ai faites [*gnomē*], des informations que j'ai prises [*historiē*]; à partir de maintenant, je vais dire ce que les Égyptiens racontent [*akoē*], comme je l'ai entendu; il s'y ajoutera quelque chose aussi de ce que j'ai vu par moi-même [*opsis*].» (2.99.1; Herodotus 1972, 130).

To these instruments we may add yet another kind of authorial presence: his presence as a narrator, organizing the text (Bakker 2006, 95; Brock 2003, 9) by guiding the narrative (and the reader[31]), interrupting or explaining pieces of information[32] (Dewald 2007, 97). In fact, this is a work strongly structured in order to display the process of investigation, involving purposely the reader on the *Histories'* making[33], for the creation of this new kind of authority and authorship (Baragwanath 2008, 2 et.seq.; Dewald 2007, 94 and 98).

However, more than the speech, what exactly made this piece of work History(ies), and not a concoction of popular traditions, a glorifying poem or a mythography was the simple fact that it privileged reality[34]. And, more than that, it sought its meaning (Dewald 2007, 99), while simultaneously (according to the most recent views about the discipline) admitting the limitations of the knowledge itself.

Despite this, historical writing was never a *scientific* discipline in Antiquity, like philosophy for example was (Nicolai 2007, 17). It was more a boundless, experimental even, ground, especially in the case of Herodotus, as he convoked many other *genres* (ethnography, oral history, geography…) to produce his large scope work, so difficult to fit in any category then and now (Bakker 2006, 92; Nicolai 2007, 19; Thomas 2006, 60). If the Past is a foreign country[35], it seems its study was born an *outcast*.

In spite of being a new genre, we can tackle some of the intellectual environment to which it certainly belonged to. Indeed, Herodotus shows signs of familiarity (influence even) with theories developping in both science and methods of argument and persuasion at

[31] Reader or listener since «the text (…) is performed orally or read out (as in the case of the original mid to late fifth-century BC audience), and (…) [read individually] (e.g. Plutarch, moderns). » Baragwanath 2008, 6, footnote 15.

[32] In order to help the reader cope with such an enormous and complex work, Herodotus may have opted to adopt «an audible, accessible, ever-present authorial presence, reassuringly guiding the audience along the route of the narrative». But it is rhetoric, and not methodology, that has him drawing «the audience on to respond positively to» him. Brock 2003, 15.

[33] «readers are invited all the more vigorously to judge matters for themselves. The role was one that Herodotus' fifth-century audience was particularly well equipped to undertake: they were practiced in the processes of speakers' debates, in their various contexts – lawcourt, assembly, sophistic *epidexis*, tragic performance, and so forth – and at all levels, public and formal through to private and informal» Baragwanath 2008, 18-19.

[34] Being myths only given as supplementary information which he can then criticize or just abstain from doing so.

[35] Taking David Lowenthal's expression.

that time, namely medical and natural sciences and sophistic work (Luraghi 2006, 79; Thomas 2006, 64 and 68).

For instance, there is the already mentioned authorial presence in the narrative, which is a trace of influence of sophistic works (Thomas 2006, 73)[36]. There are also the comments on his methodology, that are shared with medical writings of that same period (Thomas 2006, 71). More generally contribuiting to pinpoint the intelectual milieu is the verification of his empirical, "rational" spirit throughout the entire text[37] (Cartledge and Greenwood 2002, 361; Thomas 2006, 62), even while speaking of traditions, wonders and religion - which could easily have stood instead as signs of his deep connection with Archaic Greece (Thomas 2006, 61-62).

Herodotus is, actually, one could say, between a past heritage and a present drive for innovation. A particular showcase of this is his speculations on the reasons for human diversity - a theme of great interest for his ancestors, but one that he would take to a whole new level, arranging his own theories (in dept to some of the intellectual developments contemporary to his person), complemented by the detailed descriptions of every group of people he became acquainted with (Thomas 2006, 62, 64-65). Likewise, there is the constant seek for motive behind the actions, that «present a parallel to (...) Homer (...) and (...) the tragedians» (Baragwanath 2008, 5) [38].

The meta-discourse that gives shape to the genre is, one could say, meeting his epoch's expectations and influences as well as surpassing/ adding to some of them (Luraghi 2006, 85). That may be why Herodotus makes so many statements on the details grounding his research – he was, truly, drawing borders for something new (Cartledge and Greenwood 2002, 352; Luraghi 2006, 85-86).

Having said that, could it all really be just to cover a forgery, like it was assumed for a while? In view of the most recent works on the matter, it certainly was to inspire credibility, but not one we can judge from our time's parameters; it was a credibility founded on honesty[39] and persuasion simultaneously[40], based on both expected and new devices to construct authority.

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[36] It can also be ascribed to sophistic influence the immanent tension «between Herodotus' conviction that truth about the past is accessible and worth preserving, and his recognition – doubtless sharpened by the sophists' speculations – that much of importance remains partially concealed. This is very much the case when it comes to questions surrounding human and – even more so – divine motivations. » Baragwanath 2008, 4.

[37] «Herodotus' preference for the tangible, the visible, and the empirically verifiable against abstract, 'invisible' speculations, (...) though it should be added that he goes on immediately to attempt his own explanation, admitting that he too has to delve into the realm of 'the invisible' to do so (2.24.1). » Thomas 2006, 62.

[38] Herodotus had a very complex view on human actions and interactions: the attention he gives to individual motivation, complemented with cultural and environment influence, is astouding (Thomas 2006, 66, 70-71; Rood 2006, 304). In any case, Herodotus is not a relativist in full sense (Thomas 2006, 70); as the word *histor* also reveals, he is a judge, an arbiter, dedicated to determining who was to blame for a quarrel by examining the customs and laws of a tribe, departing, always, from his own cultural framework (Evans 1968, 16). See also Cartledge and Greenwood 2002, 367.

[39] In the sense of assuming his subjectivity as a part of the work (showing the procedures for his investigation, the *step-by-step* of his judgments and considerations...).

Why cite, for example, his informants, his *akoē*? Was Herodotus "naïve" to the point of believing all he heard? And why cite contradictory versions? Could it not be his way of reminding the doubtful nature of the material (Baragwanath 2008, 12)? The social/ cultural nature of memory, and, thus, of the knowledge he gathered[41] (Hornblower 2002, 379; Luraghi 2006, 83-84; Luraghi 2007, 143)? Was he not remarking, after all, how History is in fact contested territory[42] (Baragwanath 2008, 2; Jenkins 2003, xi)?

The case with *Histories* is that Herodotus, voluntarily or not, brought into discussion in his work the problem of provenance of knowledge about the Past (Fowler 1996, 86; Luraghi 2006, 87; Luraghi 2007, 160). That is probably the main reason for the multiplicity of views (and attacks) on his work. The *father* of History launched the discipline with its very own problematic issues, issues that we are still debating today.

All these examinations into Herodotus' writing serves the purpose of reminding that his accounts may not have been as unsophisticated, thoughtless or immature as one used to believe (Thomas 2006, 73). Understanding Herodotus' methods and the motives behind their use is not the same as adjudicating the question of his reliability, but it shows, alternatively, how interested was he in giving a critic, thought-through, coherent discourse about what he was narrating (Luraghi 2006, 88).

And what was it, that he was writing about? Until now, it was made a brief overview of some of the issues that can and are being discussed within the Academy regarding the category in which the *Histories* could be integrated in, given the new approaches possible to this source. Now, I would like to mention some of the study perspectives considering the content of Herodotus' book(s).

While attempting to understand Greco-Persian conflict, Herodotus pays close attention both to Persian customs and the customs of people this empire had succeeded (or not) in conquering, trying to find a reason for that outcome, but also an explanation to general hostility, based on cultural differences (Rood 2006, 290). That was one of the reasons for doubting Herodotus since Ancient times: while his narrative on the war was from the beginning of modern historiography used as a source (whether or not agreeing with it), much like Thucydides' work, his cultural depictions of the *Other*, however, were taken as a minor, distorted, amusing part, even, of the *Histories*.

An example, probably the most thorough, of a description of a people is surely the case of the Egyptians[43]. Recurrent topics are clear in this book, as in the others, when it comes to

[40] The provocation of surprise and wonder or even shock, could very reasonably be leading readers into a process of reflection. The same could be said about the prosecution and defense of celebrated actions. Baragwanath 2008, 16 and 18.

[41] The word « gather » is all the more appropriate considering that his commentary on the subject sounds very much like an ethnographical preoccupation: «Libre à qui trouve de telles choses croyables d'accepter ces récits des Égyptiens; quant à moi, ce que je me propose tout le long de mon histoire est de mettre par écrit, comme je l'ai entendu, ce que disent les uns et les autres. » (2.123) Herodotus 1972, 152.

[42] That is, «that differing interpretations and explanations of historical events and personalities arise from the perspectives of different individuals or groups. » Baragwanath 2008, 2.

[43] « J'en viens maintenant à l'Égypte, dont je parlerai longuement ; car, comparée avec tout autre pays, c'est elle qui renferme le plus de merveilles et qui offre le plus d'ouvrages dépassant ce qu'on en peut dire ; aussi parlerai-je d'elle avec plus de détails. » (2.35) Herodotus 1972, 89.

the description of culture: there are the marvels (*thomata*)[44], the monuments (*erga*), customs (*nomoi*) (Rood 2006, 291), and other features of the life of peoples, such as material culture (*diaita*) and ambiance or the cultural development of the group (*ēthea*) (Redfield 1985, 98). But Herodotus does not simply mention them as a *guiding book*; he exhibits a critical approach - on his own way undoubtedly - measuring, comparing, translating and evaluating customs (or natural phenomena), usually using techniques such as symmetry and systematic oppositions to organize more conveniently the information for the reader (Redfield 1985, 103). This next citation is a showcase of this matter: «Les Égyptiens, qui vivent sous un climat singulier, au bord d'un fleuve offrant un caractère différent de celui des autres fleuves, ont adopté aussi presque en toutes choses des mœurs et des coutumes à l'inverse des autres hommes. » (2.35.5 ; Herodotus 1972, 89).

Nevertheless, Herodotus never leaves his role of foreigner, i.e. he only «notes particular traits; he is not concerned with the functional, structural, or stylistic coherence of the cultures he describes» (Redfield 1985, 97). As a "tourist", he collects the difference (and the more curious, the better), he does not delve much into it (unless for macro-approaches, Redfield 1985, 106). But it is through this exercise (comparing and contrasting little details) that he becomes aware of cultural relativism (Redfield 1985, 99).

We can find critical approaches between lands, concerning the communities' memory. For instance, if Egypt seems better (easily) described, during the Scythian *logos* Herodotus puts greater emphasis on the difficulty of gathering information, and the Persians seem to him to have many (the most) contradictory stories about their Past (Luraghi 2007, 152-155). Besides providing his macro-understanding of a trait of these cultures, is he not telling us, once again, of yet another problem of the collection of information about the Past? Indeed, in societies with mainly oral discourses about their Past as a community, our knowledge will be deeply constrained by what (and how) they preserve it (Lloyd 2002, 125; Luraghi 2007, 146 and 150). And for that, as Herodotus realized, there is not much that *opsis*, *gnomē* or *akoē* can do. In this way, the inconsistency of his books, another flaw appointed to his work, is now being discussed as a direct consequence of the material he was using. Far from hiding it, Herodotus clearly shows the stories for what they are - information he gathered (Luraghi 2007, 150), deducted or saw. Rather than making it a poorly fluid narrative, this only enriches the content for the (modern) historian to explore.

Speaking of the "exotic"*,* as a wanderer, was interpreted and treated by most later historians as a discrepant part of the *Histories*, when compared to the narratives on the

[44] «A *thōma* may be some aspect of the landscape or a natural peculiarity of a country. (…) Another category of *thōmata* is works of art and monuments. Technical ingenuity is often the admirable quality present in this type of *thōma*; in addition, massive size and great expense seem to be important qualities of these types. Inventions and stratagems which put natural resources to good use or allow an obstacle to be circumvented are another source of wonder. Human beings can arouse wonder for their heroism, audacity, and intelligence. (…) Physical difference can arouse wonder, and so too can biological and ethnographical differences. Observed phenomena which are perceived as being in some way abnormal or ordinarily improbable can be wonders. » Priestley 2014, 55.
«The narration of *thōmata* in the *Histories* seems to function as a consciously rhetorical means of catching and holding the audience's attention. » Priestley 2014, 58.

Greco-Persian War. This was mainly because writing as a traveller was interpreted as a simple, superficial, leisure activity and not a serious enterprise. However, it has now come to be realized that the act of wandering (specifically for Ancient Greeks) could be deeply connected with wisdom, with thought (Redfield 1985, 102), therefore representing quite the opposite of later understandings. Indeed, Herodotus could not resemble an ethnographer[45], much less on present terms, but he never proposed himself to do that – what he did aim at was to write «a Greek book for Greeks about Greeks and others» (Redfield 1985, 102).

Are these accounts subjective - inevitebly; ethnocentric – yes, very (Lloyd 2002, 418; Rood 2006, 298); but is he aware of this? The answer is also affirmative. It is not a coincidence that Herodotus defended Pindar's expression «custom is king of all»[46] (Lloyd 2002, 418; Rood 2006, 298-299). Furthermore, it is quite significant that he was even impelled to find a cause for the differences between one another, making an elaborate case using environment as the central argument (Dench 2007, 500; Rood 2006, 301-302). Still, even if Herodotus had not been aware of it, it would not be a problem, for really what we are studying is the perspective of a Greek of his own world, and there is much (academic) interest in understanding that (Redfield 1985, 98).

Initially motivated to write about a confrontation, political and cultural, investigating the *Other* soon became Herodouts' predominant narrative. In doing so, «Herodotus (...) invited his Greek audience to think through their own preconceptions» (Rood 2006, 300), to challenge «the Greek/ barbarian distinctions themselves» (Pelling 1997, 58).

Parallel to that, as famously François Hartog would explain it, he was also very concerned with making a *mirror* for the Greeks, a cultural map (Rood 2006, 302), where the definition of the Self had everything to do with the definition of the Other. «Thus cultural relativism becomes ethnocentric and serves to reinforce the tourist's own norms» (Redfield 1985, 100).

If this relationship with other peoples has started to receive much attention, the things Herodotus says in concrete about them are still reluctantly addressed. It is my belief that it is, in part, due to the persistence of the idea that some of it does not match what is known nowadays about these lands. But does it have to be viewed as a problem? Why not attempt to comprehend why was it that way? For example, if historians stress now the remarkable mass of officials there were in Ancient Egypt, why did not Herodotus mention it when speaking of social classes (Lloyd 2002, 422) – when he specifically dedicated so much attention to social organization? And what about the non-existent references to the idea of a divine ideology in Egypt (Lloyd 2002, 427), that could itself be a matter of

[45] Mainly because his attention is not that of one looking for the universal man, but rather an observer of space and time variations. «That is why Herodotus does not write about his categories, but simply employs them – because he is not trying to state the a priori conditions of all experience, but rather to bring some order into the chaos of his actual experience. » Redfield 1985, 106.

[46] «If one should make the offer to all mankind and tell them to select the finest *nomoi* from all *nomoi*, after review each would take his own. Nor is it likely that anyone but a madman would think this ridiculous. » (3.38). Redfield 1985, 104.

wonder, since Greeks did not have that concept in their society? Or else the lack of timber in Egypt (Lloyd 2002, 430)?

In the light of what is now known, it is quite understandable that Herodotus spends a lot of time on Egyptian religious matters – not theology, but the practice (Lloyd 2002, 432). It is believed it was an overarching subject in Egyptian society. But Herodotus could have not mentioned it, likewise the examples given before. Was he compelled by the reality on this case? Or is it a question of interest? Or something else? This source as yet to be more explored.

The only truth about historiography, ethnography, or the fields Herodotus seems to have touched, is that they are not *straightfoward* narratives, where the reality is merely *transcripted*. There is always a mediator, with a mind of its own, and a context to which it belongs to. Taking a position like that of 19th century historians might not contribute a lot to the case of this source, because it dismisses such rich details, but neither thus Felix Jacoby's, defending Herodotus' credibility by *patronizing* it at the same time as a *draft* of today's historiography. This text should be accepted for what it is and the researcher should seek to do it with the source's own patterns. That does not necessarily mean to forget our own, mainly because it is impossible, but it means to find a balance between our History and his *Histories*.

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Sappho's poems – Portraits of a poetess

Leonor Santa Bárbara[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 208-213

Abstract

The intimate nature of Sappho's poems has led to different conclusions about her life and her feelings, though few are certain. Plato considered her the 10th muse, marking her importance in Ancient Greek literature. Yet, we only know a few of her fragments. Are these fragments a reflection of the feelings of the poetess towards some of her disciples? Or are they related to what has sometimes been thought her last passion – an old sailor, whose disappearance may have been the cause of her death?

Fernando Campos' recent novel – *A Rocha Branca* – is based on her life using several fragments by Sappho. Are these fragments sufficient to document the poetess' life? Is Campos' analysis adequate? Does he use these fragments with the specific purpose of offering an image of Sappho distinct from the usual one, which associates her with lesbian love?

The purpose of this paper is to examine Sappho's fragments, comparing them with Fernando Campos' readings, and to test how effective they may be as the basis for an historical novel rather than as a true portrait of Sappho in Antiquity.

Keywords: Sappho, love, reception, Fernando Campos, life.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 7/3/2018

[*] CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. E-mail: leonorsantabarbara@gmail.com.

Sappho's poems – Portraits of a poetess

Leonor Santa Bárbara

Sappho is one of the best-known poetesses from Ancient Greece, even if not the only one. She was born in Lesbos, somewhere between the end of the 7th century, and the beginning of the 6th century BC and was contemporary of Alcaeus, also a native of the island. Though we do not know much about her, we do know that she lived most of her life in the city of Mytilene, where she moved with her family after she lost her father. By then she was probably six years old. When Pittacus became tyrant of Mytilene, she had to leave Lesbos, going with her husband to Syracuse, where she may have met Stesichorus. Later, already a widow with one daughter, she returned, as Pittacus' tyranny had softened. She founded a school to prepare girls for the festivals in honour of Aphrodite and also for their future life, and some of these girls seem to be the subject of her poetic fragments.

Books and reading seemed to have been her main interest since she was a child. Plato called her "the tenth Muse" (*Ant. Pal.*, 7. 44), due to the fineness of her poems. Unfortunately, we only have a few fragments, which are not enough to understand the body of her work. The intimate nature of the fragments we do have has led to different conclusions about her life and her feelings. Some believe they reflect her feelings towards some of her disciples; others consider these love poems as expressions of feelings, but not necessarily towards girls.

The love of an adult man for a youth was not strange among Greeks. It was often considered part of the youth's education, as in Athens. Almost certainly the Greeks did not have the same conception of homosexuality as we now do. Plato is a clear source for us on this respect, when he asserts that this kind of relationship should not necessarily be a physical one. Yet, Socrates blushes while admiring young Charmides' beauty and Alcibiades (*Symposium*) states his love for Socrates, regardless of his age. We wonder if the same could as easily happen between women, as may seem the case in some of Sappho's poems. Some scholars (e.g. J. Davidson or L.H. Wilson) believe it possible. Others, however, believe that her poetry simply echoes in its expression of her feelings for women the conventional forms of male desire, as is pointed out both by Nicole Loraux and Annalisa Paradiso. For them even the form of her suicide is a sign of masculinity (Loraux 2003). Yet, M. Johnson and T. Ryan have no doubt that "Sappho's poetry is an intense and insightful presentation of love among women, her lyrics strengthened by the fact that we hear a female voice expressing female emotions." (Johnson and Ryan 2005, 4).

In a recent study, Philip Freeman (Freeman 2016) explores this kind of relationship, having no doubts about the interpretation of Sappho's fragments. He reminds us of the episode described by Lucian, in the 2nd century AD, in his *Dialogues of the Courtesans*, about two women – Leaena and Megilla. Allegedly Megilla loves Leaena "as a man is in love" (Freeman 2016, 113). She is married in secret to another woman, Demonassa, and she asserts that, though she was born a woman, both her mind and her desires are those of a man.

As for Sappho, Freeman maintains that "her poems of passion for other women are often fragmentary and open to interpretation, but by reading them closely, we can gain not only a better knowledge of lesbian love in Sappho's age, but a deeper appreciation for some of the greatest poetry the human heart has ever composed." (Freeman 2016, 115-116). His analysis of some of her poems and fragments, in particular the "Hymn to Aphrodite" asserts how deeply she describes her feelings of love. It should be added, here, that Sappho usually refers to Aphrodite when talking about love. The same already occurs in the Homeric poems, where Aphrodite is the goddess of love. This does not mean that the poetess excludes Eros from her poetry. Quite the opposite, as the god is referred to as a "servant" of Aphrodite (159), or as the god who shakes her hearth[1] (47). But the two lines of 130 remind us of other poets: "Once again limb-loosening Love makes me tremble, / that bittersweet, irresistible creature." In his *Theogony* Hesiod refers to Eros almost in the same way, enhancing his power over men and gods and describing the god as one of the first deities to exist and effectively the source of other life. It is his action that enables Earth to give birth to other beings. Later poetry stresses Eros power, insisting on the idea of a "bittersweet" deity. While making people fall in love, the god also makes them suffer. This terrible but playful youth (or child, after the 4th century BC) takes his pleasure from hurting others with his bitter darts.

In 2011, Fernando Campos published a novel with the title *A Rocha Branca* [The White Rock], based on Sappho's life. As an author of historical fiction, Campos uses, in his own translations, several fragments by Sappho as the basis of his story. The novel begins with the news of her death being brought to Stesichorus, in Sicily, and ends on the ship in which she departed for her last journey, returning to Lesbos and being noticed by Alcaeus. Campos, however, follows her from childhood, establishing a parallel between her life and the accompanying historical events: the war against Athens on the account of Sigium, in which her father died; how Pittacus came to power; Sappho's exile; her relationship with Alcaeus and Stesichorus; her return to Mytilene; and an allusion to Croesus and to the legend, known from Herodotus, of Gyges and Candaules, and its role in his later loss of power.

[1] All English translations of Sappho are those by Ph. Freeman (Freeman 2016), keeping the numbers he gives to the fragments.

As Campos tells it Sappho was born into an aristocratic family with three brothers, and received a very good education, studying both music and poetry. Her interest in poetry may have contributed to her friendship with Alcaeus. She marries a merchant, with whom she has a daughter. Soon after the marriage, Pittacus assumed the power, and her political views led to her leaving Lesbos. They went to Sicily, where she lives for some years, meeting the poet Stesichorus. On one of his sea-journeys, her husband loses his life, and soon afterwards, Pittacus accepted her back in Mytilene, where she returned with her daughter.

Her grace and knowledge made some women of Mytilene ask her to prepare their daughters for Aphrodite's festivals, teaching them singing and dancing. As there was already a school for music and poetry in the city, Sappho refused it. Yet, later, some parents from other cities in Asia Minor (e.g. Colophon and Miletus) brought their daughters to her, to be prepared to participate in the gods' cult. This was the beginning of Sappho's school. Her main purpose was to achieve Beauty, meaning that the girls needed to learn more than music and poetry. Thus Sappho began telling them how to take care of their bodies: hygiene and beauty were connected; there was no beauty without hygiene. But this meant not just bathing, but also looking after the skin, the nails, the hair and the use of personal embellishments. Together with personal care, the girls had lessons in deportment. Dance rhythms, music, and singing came later, together with the preparation of floral garlands. In the traditional festivities, Sappho's disciples enchanted the audiences and were thought to be even better than those of the Andromeda and Gorgo's school.

When, after three years, the girls were old enough to marry, their parents took them home and Sappho's suffering began. Several fragments of her poems belong to this period, and are presented to the reader either as a form of comfort for her solitude, or as counsels given to her former disciples in their new married life.

Another element concerns her alleged passion for the sailor Phaon. First referred as an old man, he returns from one of his travels as a handsome young man, due to the arts of Aphrodite. Women talk about him and how they admire his beauty. Yet, Sappho is one of these whom he most admires. In spite of her age, Campos show her experiencing all the feelings of love and desire with allusions to Eros, the "limb-loosening" god whose power is irresistible, in anticipation of their meeting, and also suggesting her anxieties. After the physical consummation of their love she is calmer and happier, but now begin feelings of jealousy in his absence. With whom may he be? Does he still love her? If so how can he, having received eternal youth, while she becomes an old woman? And all of these speculations come to an end when he disappears without trace. Sappho prepares what will become her last journey and throws herself into the sea from the Leucadian cliffs.

This is Campos' account of Sappho's life. Yet, we do not have enough information to be sure of any of it. Some of the facts he presents as real, are not satisfactorily established, as, for

example, her marriage to Cercylas – a name which may be cognate with the Greek word for penis.

Here I am concerned with his interpretation of the poetic fragments. Instead of using earlier translations, Campos translates them into Portuguese, which allows him to present his own version of Sappho's story. It has been assumed that her poetry which is deeply expressive of the feelings of love was addressed to her female pupils. Fernando Campos is aware of this, but he prefers to add another interpretation to some of those fragments. Being a classicist by academic training, he also knows that his interpretation is not a new one, but that scholars are divided among themselves. In his novel, the first poems of Sappho to be cited are only after she marries and leaves Lesbos. Here we have a fragment of one of her marriage songs, so famous in Antiquity (111):

> Raise high the roof –
> Hymenaeus!
> Raise it up, carpenters –
> Hymenaeus!
> The bridegroom is coming, the equal of Ares,
> and he's much bigger than a big man.

Some may have criticized her marriage songs at the time:

> "The prudish grammarian Demetrius apparently didn't approve of such activities, writing, "Sappho makes cheap fun of the rustic bridegroom and the door-keeper at the wedding, using vulgar rather than poetic language." More than fifteen hundred years after Sappho, a Byzantine churchman was still complaining about her vulgar wedding songs." (Freeman 2016, 49)

Freeman considers this one a "bawdy song". Yet, Campos mentions it as a playful joke by Sappho, on her wedding night, because of Cercylas' height. He presents the marriage as a love relationship that marks Sappho forever, even if she more than once considers herself always as a virgin, if only in her heart. It is this feeling that makes her refuse other marriage proposals.

Most of the fragments usually considered as reflecting her feelings for her disciples, are presented by Campos as counsels given them for their future life, as happens in the case of Anactoria, to whom she sends a poem on the beauty of marriage, after she has revealed her fears of marriage (16):

> Some say an army of horsemen, others a host of infantry,
> others a fleet of ships is the most beautiful thing
> on the black earth. But I say
> it's whatever you love.

It's perfectly easy to make this clear
to everyone. For she who surpassed
all in beauty – Helen – left behind
her most noble husband

and went sailing off to Troy,
giving no thought at all to her child
or dear parents, but…
led her astray.

… for
… lightly
… reminded me now of Anactoria
who is not here.

I would rather see her lovely walk
and her bright sparkling face
than the chariots of the Lydians
or infantry in arms.

It should be pointed out that Fernando Campos' translation is far more poetic in effect than this rather literal one, nor does he indicate the parts missing in the fragment. This is perfectly understandable as he is writing a novel rather than an academic work. There is however a slight but significant difference in the translation: instead of "reminded me of Anactoria / who is not here", in Campos' version Sappho tells Anactoria that she should remember them! This difference is significant: it is not just a different reading of the Greek fragment, but clearly directs the writer in his interpretation of Sappho's affective life. Though he is aware of the interpretations of Sappho's relationship with her disciples – and these also appear in the novel – his main goal consists in separating her private life from her life as a teacher of a group of young women.

Others passages are used to express Sappho's desire for Phaon, as with the famous fragment 31:

He seems to me equal to the gods,
that man who sits opposite to you
and listens near
to your sweet voice

and lovely laughter. My heart
begins to flutter in my chest.
When I look at you even for a moment
I can no longer speak.

My tongue fails and a subtle

fire races beneath my skin,
I see nothing with my eyes
and my ears hum.

Sweat pours from me and a trembling
seizes my whole body. I am greener
than grass and it seems I am a little short
of dying.

But all must be endured, for even a poor man…

This is one of the fragments cited most often as evidence of Sappho's jealousy towards one of her disciples, probably while she is talking with her husband to be. Thus, it is usually regarded as an expression of her love for the young woman. Freeman presents a searching analysis of this fragment, pointing out all of its subtle sexual allusions. Yet, for Campos this is an expression of her love for Phaon, after moments of making love on the grass, her admiration of his youth and a celebration of their love.

These are just a few examples showing us, how Sappho's poetry is subject to different and opposing interpretations. But equally it shows how Fernando Campos tries in the form of a novel, while not denying the possibility of Sappho's tenderness towards her female disciples, insists on the central importance of her heterosexual desire for two men – Cercylas and Phaon.

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Religious texts as a source of a contemporary study of Antiquity – linguistic interpretations of the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts

Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska[*]

RES Antiquitatis 1 (2019): 214-229

Abstract

Religious writings are usually treated in the same way as mythological narratives. It is consistently forgotten that they express faith. They were testimonies of people's beliefs. They were designed to verbalise transcendental reality – to express the Inexpressible. When one comprehends and digests these facts, a scholar is far better able to perceive the predicament, the arduousness of the scrutiny of this genre of written sources.

While studying the written sources the image we would like to recapture is an image scattered in words and phrases, in language. It is embodied in language itself. Thus, the author of the paper scrutinised the world's oldest religious texts – the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Coffin Texts*, against a backdrop of general remarks, to show the uniqueness and specificity of analysis and interpretation of this type of sources.

Keywords: Ancient Egypt, textual sources, linguistic worldview, *Pyramid Texts*, *Coffin Texts*.

Date of submission: 3/1/2018
Date of approval: 11/3/2018

[*] Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures / Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland / CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. E-mail: joannapopielskag@hotmail.com.

Religious texts as a source of a contemporary study of Antiquity – linguistic interpretations of the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Coffin Texts*

Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska

"To learn a language is to have one more window from which to look at the world."
□ □ 门语言，就是多一个观察世界的窗户□
xué yì mén yǔyán, jiù shì duō yí ge guānchá shìjiè de chuānghu
(Chinese proverb)

"Those who know many languages live as many lives as the languages they know."
(Czech proverb)

Linguistic background

Religious language – in particular this of the rituals – has been widely studied. However, analyses usually are concerned with a practical and wordy description of the rituals themselves and not language as a means of transmission of religious thought and faith.

It is apparent that researchers as all of us are formed by their home environment, the society in which they grew up, by their education and the people they met during their lives etc. All of this impinges on the interpretations of the sources they study.

Scholars aim to use all available data to illustrate the issues under study. Obviously though, for historians the written sources represent the base, as archaeologists researching ancient civilisations intuitively concentrate on art, architecture and other material manifestations of the analysed culture.

Yet, scholars have hardly ever known well enough the context(s) of the sources at their disposal and not being believers of the studied religion, and living out of the cultural circle they analyse, they naturally and instinctively have an external and critical approach.

However, awareness of all such hindrances, as well as having considered and keeping in mind the inherent complexity which studying religious writings entails, makes scholarly apprehension more complete, thorough and far-reaching as well as multi-faceted.

We – as users of the language – rarely ponder its nature or the way we transmit our thoughts, feelings or needs. Still some of us as scholars studying the language have only recently started to analyse the linguistic worldview, namely to analyse culture *in* a language. As the present author stated elsewhere (Popielska-Grzybowska 2011, 680-681, 692) the religious language is to express the Inexpressible, as it is – in particular in the land on the Nile in ancient times – language was believed to possess creative potency.

Consequently, writing down and then reading out loud the written words caused them to create religious reality indispensable to achieve certain stages in the way to the beyond and proceeding there concurrently.

The present author has conducted a long-term experiment through her university lectures involving presenting her students and sometimes her colleagues as well with various, carefully chosen, fragments of texts taken out of context. The excerpts include very different genres of literature and usually of very well-known publications as well, as for instance the following:

> "To take the vague idea first. I attach a good deal of importance to vague ideas. All things that 'aren't evidence' are what convince me. I think a moral impossibility the biggest of all impossibilities." (Chesterton, 2011, 253)

But even well-known and well-established texts of culture may seem arduous. Let us see for example – perversely quoted in Portuguese to make the task even more difficult:

> "Rios sabem o seguinte: não há pressa. Vamos chegar lá algum dia." (Milne, 1926, 61)

For if we cite in English the text becomes much easier:

> "Rivers know this: there is no hurry. We shall get there some day." (Milne, 1926, 56)

Does though the change of the language for the one of the original make it a "piece of cake"? Not necessarily and certainly not always and not for all, even if someone read the book. It happens even when the quote is "omnipresent" in our culture. To initiate the brainstorming and discussion the following study questions were asked: When approximately was the text written and for whom (adult, youth or children)? What genre is it?

These are only two very simple examples out of very many and very diversified ones used during the experiment (different languages were checked as well). This shows how easy it is to "deceive" readers when the context is missing. Therefore, the scholar who finds a fragment of a text stands at a similar position when needing to decide about the so-called "Sitz-im-Leben" of the discovered and scrutinised writing. The present author believes that studying cultures through language and in language gives better grounds for multi-faceted and transdisciplinary analysis and hence enhances its thoroughness and also affords different perspectives. Thus, this study constitutes analysis of the linguistic worldview (see in particular Bartmiński, Tokarski 1986; Bartmiński 2012 and bibliography therein, see also: Grzegorczykowa 2010, 188–196; Wierzbicka 2016).

Furthermore, the scrutiny of religious texts of the present author is strongly influenced by the works of the late philosopher Leszek Kołakowski and his ruminations on the nature of the language of religion in general (Kołakowski 1991, 53–64; 2004, 338; 2010, 168, 172). He understood religious language as almost or practically untranslatable. Moreover works of other linguist Teresa Dobrzyńska (Dobrzyńska 1973, 171–88; 1974, 107–22; 1994, especially 79–132) are of import to the present research.

Based on the ancient Egyptian religious written records studied to date it seems vividly crucial that – and contrary to many established opinions (see e.g.: Tillich 1959; Durand 1964/1998; Geertz 1968, 1973, 1983, 2000; Todorov 1977, 203-207; Burkert 2006, 20) – religious language is not symbolic to the same extent as many other forms of language and as many presume, and its inexpressibility does not preclude interpretation. This does not mean that it does not use symbols to portray the described reality, it means though that when symbols are used they have archetypal value (Wheelwright 1968) which makes them *topoi* (Popielska-Grzybowska 2007) which in consequence makes them universal to every human being across time and space, hence in the distant past and today. Moreover, certainly it is not symbol aiming at generalisation or classifications according to types denoting "conjunctive polysemy" (Rimmon 1977, 16-26) and originating from non-linguistic sources (Bartoszyński 1998, 15).

Philosophers and artists frequently accuse language of being inefficient in expressing the human condition. Neither science nor language, according to Ludwig Wittgenstein (Wittgenstein 1922, 6.52) can even approach to resolutions to human troubles or even begin to approximate the quiddity of things. A response to this was phenomenology, especially in Edmund Husserl's apperception, namely in reaching the essence of the thing by intuition and visualising, evidencing impressions which is impossible to achieve by scientific methods. There is no place here to enter too deeply into these philosophical discussions from the beginning of the 20th century, but to conclude it is still worth mentioning the ontological conviction of Gilles Deleuze that human beings are inexpressible by nature (see for instance: Deleuze 1969). Nonetheless, within all these ruminative trends inexpressibility is a negative feature. Here, however, comes religion, and in particular the language of religion. In religion, inexpressibility is indispensible and positive as it leaves room for faith, which is unconditional and unquestionable.

While delving into ancient and religious writings the scholar encounters at least two grades of hardship, which can even preclude the studies being told, namely a time distance and the "religiousness" of the language used. The second fact when forgotten appears to invalidate the results of research in particular, for treating records of religion as mythical narratives discredits their significance and semantic and semasiological responsibility and onus.

As far as ancient Egypt is concerned, a very crucial moment had to occur when oral rituals during funerals started being preserved in a written form – when orality gave way to literacy (Ong 2002, 1-30). Perhaps then the ancient Egyptians felt a profound change and as a consequence "elaborated" a system which could function efficiently in new circumstances, *ergo* adjusting the performativity of oral rites to their written versions. It must have played a vital role in obtaining the same effect that (habitually repetitive) pronouncing of the formulae had previously assured. This seems to be resolved by means of the proper act of writing and thus providing letters, words and phrases for multiple use and multiple recitation whenever need be.

Furthermore, scholars working on ancient religious texts not only interpret ancient religious worldview(s) but also grapple with a rendering of ancient and sacral linguistic worldview that might be most burdensome and challenging part of the job.

Usually oral or written pieces are meant to communicate a message.[1] However, this is not the case if accounts of religion are regarded. The main aim of the religious language is not communication. The intent of texts of a given religion is to provide its believers with records of faith and to assist in a deepening of faith, and in the case of ancient Egyptian texts it was in fact the creation of religious reality as well (Popielska-Grzybowska 2011).

Correspondingly religious language escapes easy categorisations and requirements of pragmatics. The author is not known or obscure and the addressee is not obvious. Moreover, as it was mentioned above, the communicative function of the text is secondary or not important at all. However, respectively, these texts' modality is very high, as is their subjectivity, as they are directed to communities and individuals simultaneously. Modality in religious writings implies impossibility – but apparent or seeming inexpressibility and even impossibility is a meaningful trait of faith. Hence, in this very specific and unique pursuit, inexpressibility is – awkward as it may seem – a value; it connotes positive aspects. Nonetheless and perversely contradictorily to the above-written, impossibility within faith does not exist and thus from absolute impossibility 'something' becomes "absolute" potentiality if and when true faith exists. More, when true faith is concerned, absolute potentiality becomes absolute necessity, and it becomes inevitable and indispensable. Faith does not leave room for doubt and if it is true faith it creates desired reality. In opposition to literature, which "through 'word' tries to create a 'state of lack of words'" (see P. Valéry 1971 and Bartoszyński 1998, 6), religion does not **try** but **creates** by means of word or verb.[2] This distinction is crucial and the significance ascribed to subjects or actions – but notwithstanding this important difference – is language, which – in ancient cultures as well – has the potency to create. However, one needs not put aside and forget that – besides the natural religiousness of the ancient, the Egyptians were very practical and in their world every single thing had to function in compliance with the needs of people – function effectively and perfectly. As a consequence of this attitude the ancient Egyptians wrote extraordinary *Letters to the Dead* claiming assistance from their deceased relatives under imminence of desisting the performing funerary cult of the said ancestor. Appropriately, the Egyptians provided – firstly their pharaohs and as the years went by equally other persons from the family and attendants of the Kings – with a set/sets of handy solutions regarding the journey to the beyond and life thereafter, namely the *Pyramid* and the *Coffin Texts* or later the *Books of the Afterlife* and/or the *Book of the Dead*, and others. These were ready-to-use "tools" to achieve the inevitable, namely the existence in the sky among the Imperishable Stars or in the Fields of the hereafter.

[1] See R. Jakobson's theory concerning the communicative function of language and his presumption that any cognitive experience can be expressed in any language (Jakobson 1959). However, it may be said that a piece of writing or the words spoken serve to communicate a message – usually but not always, as some examples show. Compare for instance Medieval apparent "love songs" sung by bards to married women at contests at festivals or the experimental text by Reinhard Lettau published in 1963, which actually does not have a genre and any concrete or known linguistic form. Its form is totally open. Such texts first appeared in F. Kafka's oeuvre. In all quoted examples functional aspect of the form of the text is misleading or at least seems not to exist at all.

[2] Interesting to observe how various languages understand and render the creative element in Christian religion. For instance, in English and Polish word/słowo respectively: "In the beginning was the Word…" / "Na początku było Słowo…", while in Romance languages, as for example Portuguese it is verb: "No princípio era o Verbo…".

The *Pyramid Texts*

Here one advances with the exemplification from the *Pyramid Texts*. It is said that beauty is in the eye of the beholder, equally and correspondingly so potentiality and effectiveness is in the thought and faith of the believer. Consequently the primaeval nature of the matter and its figurative presentation guarantees efficiency and performance, as is evident in one of the most ancient fragments of the *Pyramid Texts*, the so-called "Cannibal Hymn":

§ 393a *gp pt jHjj sbAw*
§ 393b *nmnm pDwt sdA qsw Akrw*
§ 393c *gr r.sn gnmw*
§ 394a *mA.n.sn NN xa bA*
§ 394b *m nTr anx m jtw.f wSb m mwwt.f*
§ 394c *NN pj nb zAbwt xm.n mwt.f rn.f*
§ 395a *jw Spsw NN m pt jw wsr.f m Axt*
§ 395b *mr tm jt.f ms sw jw ms.n.f sw wsr sw r.f*

"The sky has got overcast,
The stars darkened,
The celestial expanses quiver,
The bones of the earth-gods tremble,
Those-who-move became still,
"For they have seen the King appearing (being) *ba*,
As the god who lives on his fathers
And feeds on his mothers;
The King is a master of dignitary
Whose mother does not know his name.
The glory of the King is in the sky,
His power is in the horizon
Like his father Atum who gave birth to him,
Although he gave birth to him (=the King),
He (=the King) is mightier than he."
(*PT* spell 273 §393-395 [W 180a, T 275a])

Or even more explicitly, for with the use of physical, sensory picturing while exposing the primary needs and character of the power of the pharaoh (Popielska-Grzybowska, forthcoming b), but concurrently it is potency deriving from ancestors, from tradition embodied in the development of family "heritage" as far as physical, corporal, mental and historical elements are concerned:

§ 407a *wnjs pj sxm wr sxm m sxmw*
§ 407b *wnjs pj aSm aSm aSmw*
§ 407c *gmjj.f m wAt.f wnm.f n.f sw mwmw*
§ 407d *jw mkt wnjsm HAt saHw nbw jmw Axt*

§ 408a *wnjs pj nTr sms r smsw*
§ 408b *jw pSr n.f xAw jw wdn n.f Stw*
[...]
§ 412a *aHaw pj n wnjs jHH Dr.f pj Dt*
§ 412b *m saH.f pn n mrr.f jrm fsDD.f nj jr.n.f*
§ 412c *jm Dr Axt Dt r nHH*

"Unis is the great power
Who has power over the powers;
Unis is the sacred image –
Who is most sacred of the sacred images,
Whomsoever he finds in his way,
He will devour piece by piece.
For the place of Unis is at the head of all the luminous spirits who are in the Akhet.
For Unis is the god who is more elderly than the oldest.
Thousands serve him,
Hundreds present offering to him.
[...]
Continuity is the lifetime of Unis,
Everlastingness is his limit in this his prerogative of:
If-he-likes-he-does:
If-he-dislikes-he-does-not,
which is at the limits of the Akhet for ever and ever."
(*PT* spell 274 § 407–8, 412a-c [W 180b, T 275b])

Ancient Egyptian religious texts' focus is put on sensory aspects and efficiency and thus completeness of the body:

§ 1673a *j.wn.Tn n NN jrtj.f wbA.Tn n.f Srt.f*
§ 1673b *wp.Tn n NN r.f snS.Tn n.f msDrwj.f*
§ 1673c *srd.Tn n NN Swtj.f*
§ 1674a *D.Tn swA NN Hr nTr*
§ 1674b *mH m saHw TAww*
§ 1674c *wnm.n.Tn nw gm NN zp xr.Tn*
§ 1674d *rD.Tn n NN zp (sk sw) jj.j*

"May you open his eyes for the King, may you break open his nostrils for him, may you split open his mouth for the King, may you unblock his ears for him and grow his plumes for him. May you cause the King to surpass the god, who is filled with the power of the winds. When you have eaten this, the King will find the time by you, and you will give the King the time, for he has come."
(*PT* spell 602 §1673 a-1674 d [M 227, N 362])

Moreover, some verbal pictures are very strongly and distinctly culturally typical as the following one:

§ 1080a *sA.j jr sA n nTrw jpw mHtjw pt*
§ 1080b *j.xmw-sk nj sk.j*
§ 1080c *j.xmw-bdS nj bdS.j*
§ 1080d *j.xmw-znjw nj znjw.j*

"I am back to back with those northern gods of the sky – the Imperishable Stars and I will not perish,
(they) who cannot grow fatigued – I will not grow fatigued,
(they) who cannot pass away – I will not pass away."
(*PT* spell 503 §1080a-d [P 457, M 335, N 539, Nt 272a])

Although the message of this excerpt may seem to be bizarre in accordance with our European perception it was natural in the Egyptian one, for it does not necessarily mean verbatim turning one's back to the back of the other and thus showing disrespect, but rather supporting and protection which the gods and Imperishable ones in particular can secure.

Collecting literally every single thing and hedging any unexpected situation during the journey to the sky and in consequence enabling limitless existence there was safeguarded by the Egyptians on very many levels. Therefore, all attainable means were used. It was then appreciated when the concept was possibly the oldest – as is in the case of the text quoted above – and still better, if most primaeval in its nature, as identification with the creator god Atum was.

As the present author has already studied elsewhere (Popielska-Grzybowska 2011) a crucial element of religious reality creation was grammar (and meticulous and vigilant choice of vocabulary), namely for instance the application of superlatives – as above, or varying moods, for example the imperative as follows secured immediate actions:

*§ 1914a *hA NN pw anx anx anx.t anx.t m rn.k pw xr nTrw*
*§ 1914b *xa.tj w wpjw*
*§ 1914c *bA js xnt anxw sxm js xnt Axjw*

"O King, live the life! Be alive, be alive in this your name which is by the gods, you have appeared like Wpjw, likewise a soul at the head of the living, likewise a power at the head of the spirits."
(*PT* spell 665C § 1914 [P 25, M 196, N 337, Nt 241a])

Or else:

§ 275e *a n NN m a ra nwt Szp a.f*
§ 275f *Sw sSw sw Sw sSw sw*

> "The hand of the King is in the hand of Ra.
> O Nut, take his hand!
> O Shu, lift him up!
> O Shu, lift him up!"
> (*PT* spell 253 § 275 [W 164, T 195])

The above quoted text is a beautiful example of the Egyptian sensibility for sound effects and play-on-words. Even for a non-specialist it is easy to notice the word play on homophonic stems (instrumentation): *Sw sSw sw Sw sSw sw*. First of all such repetitions may be treated as very peculiar by a contemporary author. This is what happened with many ancient expressions, even those from the Bible, that at first they were rendered verbatim, but over time such translations were abandoned, as for instance: sleep with a deep sleep, or die with/by death.

The other highly thought provoking genre in the *Pyramid Texts* are the "serpent spells." They are so riveting because of the exceptional difficulty of their translation. There is no place to scrutinise the topic here but it is worth mentioning that R.C. Steiner (Steiner 2011) comments on them clearly: "at least four of these serpent spells (PT 235, 236, 281, and 286) are orthographically distinct from the rest of the Pyramid Texts. They are characterized by exceptional phonetic spelling reminiscent of the "group writing" used to write foreign names and texts in later times. Moreover, they contain several occurrences of a very non-Egyptian sequence of three *alephs* that was frequently miswritten by Egyptian copyists." (Steiner 2011, 77) [See also Popielska-Grzybowska 2015, 90-91]

Conversely to support the same use of superlatives in a similar role though with a much more irrevocable result and execution:

> § 654a *jhj jhj Tz Tw NN pw*
> § 654b *Szp n.k tpj.k jnq n.k qsw.k*
> § 654c *sAq n.k awt.k*
> § 654d *wxA n.k tA jr jf.k*
> § 655a *Szp n.k t.k j.xm xsD Hnqt.k j.xmt amA*
> § 655b *aHa.k jr aAw xsf rxwt*
> [...]
> § 657e *Tz Tw NN pw nj mjjt.k/mt.k*

> "Oho, oho! Raise yourself, o King, receive your head, collect your bones, gather your (body) members together, throw off earth from your body, receive your bread which does not grow mouldy and your beer which does not grow sour, and stand at the door which restrain (common) people.
> [...]
> Rise yourself, o King, for you have not died!"
> (*PT* spell 373 § 654a-655b; § 657e [T 204, M 15, N 62])

This simple – it may seem – linguistic procedure secured what was known and provided for the deceased. Its performative function always played its role when need be. The types

of narration, namely the narrative employed to describe the substantiality of the afterlife world is axiomatic, incontrovertible and palpable:

§ 365a *sq.t n.f tA rdw r pt pr.f jm r pt*
§ 365b *prr.f Hr Htj n jdt wrt*
§ 366a *j.pA NN pn m Apd xnn.f m xprr*
§ 366b *j.pA.f m Apd xnn.f m xprr*
§ 366c *m nst Swt jmt wjA.k ra*

"A stairway to the sky is set up for him that he may mount upon it to the sky – and he will ascend on the smoke of the great censing.
This King will fly up as a bird and alight as a beetle – he does flies up as a bird and alights as a beetle on the empty throne which is in your bark, o Ra."
(*PT* spell 267 § 365a-366c [W 174, T 208, P 344, M 17, N 343])

Hence what is described – the more details the better – as existing and functioning acquires the hallmarks of the real and irrefutable and irrefragable – that is 'true.' This way religious creation through words, verbs – namely through language, was assured. Nobody questioned this potency present in the language thus it constituted the basics of ancient religions, in the case of the Egyptians as a very foresightful and thrifty nation in particular, thus no negligence or even fortuity was admitted or accepted. The dead become sons of the gods and goddesses, their images and progenies:

§ 207c *xpr.k Hna jt.k tm qA.k Hna jt.k tm*

"May you come into being with your father Atum, may you rise together with your father Atum." (*PT* spell 222 §207c [W 155, T 177, P 264, M 193, N 332, Nt 237])

Or in different words:

§ 213a *tm sja n.k wnjs n Sn n.k sw m Xnw awj.k*
§ 213b *zA.k pw n Dt.k n Dt*

"O Atum, raise this Unis up to you, enclose him within your embrace, for he is your son of your body forever."
(*PT* spell 222 §213 [W 155, T 177, P 264, M 193, N 332, Nt 237])

In this manner the final provision for the deceased was their identification with the gods and lastly – as crowning of all efforts – equitation with Atum:

§ 134a *hA wnjs nj Sm.n.k js mt.tj Sm.n.k anx.t*
§ 134b *Hms Hr xnd wsjr abA.k m a.k wD.k mdw n anxw*
§ 134c *mks nHbt.k m a.k wD mdw n StAw swt*
§ 135a *awj.k n tm rmnwj.k m tm Xt.k m tm sA.k m tm*
§ 135b *pH.k m tm rdwj.k m tm Hr.k m zAb*

§ 135c *pSr n.k jAwt Hrw pSr n.k jAwt stS*

"O Unis, it is not dead but alive that you have gone away.
Sit upon the throne of Osiris!
Your sceptre *aba* is in your hand, may you give orders to the living.
mekes and your sceptre *nehebet* are in your hand, so give orders to those-whose-seats-are-hidden.
Your arms are those of Atum, your shoulders are those of Atum,
Your belly is that of Atum, your back is that of Atum,
Your hind-parts are those of Atum, your legs are those of Atum,
Your face is that of a Jackal.
Let the mounds of Horus serve you, and let the mounds of Seth serve you."
(*PT* spell 213 [W 146, T 168, P 255, M 184, N 323, Nt 228])

Therefore – as in many cultures and languages 'to be healthy' is to be whole and/or complete[3] – in ancient Egypt to be whole and complete was to be alive. Moreover, the final stage of completeness appears to be the creative essence of all the gods – the quintessence of the creator – *kA*.

§ 147b *Tn kw jn.sn m rn.k n nTr xpr.k j.tm.t (m) nTr nb*
§ 148a *tp.k m Hrw dAt j.xms.k*
§ 148b *mxnt.k m xntjjrtj j.xm-sk*
§ 148c *msDrwj.k zAtj tm j.xms.k jrtj.k zAtj tm j.xms.k*
§ 148d *fnD.k m zAb j.xms.k jbHw.k spdwj j.xm-sk*
§ 149a *awj.k Hp dwAjwt.f dbH.k pr.k r pt prr.k*
§ 149b *rdwj.k jmst qbHsnw.f dbH.k hA.k jr nwt hAA.k*
§ 149c *awt.k zAtj tm j.xms.k*
§ 149d *nj sk.k nj sk kA.k Twt kA*

"Raise yourself – say they, in your name of god become complete of every god:
Your head is that of Horus of the Duat, O Imperishable!
Your face is that of *khentj-jrtj*, O Imperishable!
Your ears are those of the Twins of Atum, O Imperishable!
Your eyes are those of the Twins of Atum, O Imperishable!
Your nose is that of the Jackal, O Imperishable!
Your teeth are those of Sopdu, O Imperishable!
Your arms are those of Hep and Duamutef,
which you need to ascend to the sky and you shall ascend
Your legs are those of Jmsetj and Kebehsenuf,
which you need to descend to the lower sky and you shall descend.
All your members are the Twins of Atum, O Imperishable!
You shall not perish and your *ka* shall not perish – you are *ka*."

[3] Personal communication with prof. Krystina Rutkowska during the EUROJOS XII conference, Lublin, Poland 7-9 December 2016 (Eastern Slavonic languages).

(*PT* spell 215 § 147-149 [W 148, T 170, P 257, M 186, N 325, Nt 230])

As a consequence, the texts inform:

§ 1609a *wsjr nmtjj m zAf mr n Ttwt kA n nTrw nb*

"O Osiris Nemtiemzaf Merenre, you are the essence (*ka*) of all the gods."
(*PT* spell 589 § 1609a [M 32a, N 43, Nt 21b])

Concluding the present ruminations on the *Pyramid Texts* let us invoke the *passus* which demonstrates faith in the power and inevitability of the words composed and used by the authors:

§ 462a *nj mdw n wnjs tA xr rmT*
§ 462b *nj xbnt.f r pt xr nTrw*
§ 462c *dr.n wnjs mdw.f sk.n wnjs jr.f ja (r.f wnjs) n pt*
§ 463a *spA.n wpwAwt wnjs r pt mm snw.f nTrw*
§ 463b *jT.n wnjs awj m smn*
§ 463c *H.n wnjs DnH(wj.f) m Drt*
§ 463d *pA pA rmT (j).pwAn(s) r.f m a.Tn*

"There is no word against Unis on Earth among people, there is no crime/accusation in the sky among the gods, for Unis has annulled the word against him(self), which he has destroyed this one against ascending to the sky. Wepwawet has caused him to fly up to the sky among his brothers, the gods. Unis has assumed arms as a goose, he flaps his wings as a kite – the flier has flown, O people, he (Unis) has flown away from you."
(*PT* spell 302 §462-463 [W 207, T 288, P 419, M 202, N 346])

The *Coffin Texts*

Did the way of perceiving and thinking of the Egyptians change as viewed in the later religious texts, the so-called *Coffin Texts*? It certainly did – though to some extent. Primarily, the recipient of the writings changed. Furthermore, the material on which the texts were written altered and thus there was less space to convey the "instructions" or caveats while proceeding on the way to the beyond. Although the *Coffin Texts* had more addressees the pharaoh was still among them and, added to which, could be perceived as a guarantor of the everlastingness and order of the world:

298 g *Ts tp.k anx HA.k*
298 h *jwf.k n.k wn{t}.tj Hr Ha.k*
298 i *wnn.k m Smsw anx.k*

"May your head be raised and may your heart live,
may you be your own flesh for you and may you be existing through your body.

May you be as (one of the) Followers and may you live."
(*CT* III 298 g-i spell 230)

The same as earlier grammatical exertions were adopted, as for instance: a confirmative narration, different moods and degrees or simple repetition of the most desired occurrences. All in all, it is the deceased's pronounced out loud will that creates:

170 h *Hr jb DbAt nt wabww*
170 i *jwtj mt.n.sn n mt sjn*
170 j *n mnjj.j n.sn n mnjj xAx*
171 a *jsk jr wnn.jm tA pn n anxww Hr jrt smnt Htp n nTr n nTrw*
171 b *prt-Hrw n Aw*
171 c *jnk jr tp.sn tA*
171 d *jnk pw wnnt.f m tA pn m anxww*
171 e *jb.j jr.f awt.j*
171 f *sDm(w) n.j j(w)f.j*
171 g *Ts.f wj*
171 *h* *jnk nxx*

"Pure Ones, because of whom I will not die by slow death, I will not perish because of them, I will not perish instantaneously. See my existence is created in this land of the living because of what has been created, there are settled for me the divine offerings for the gods and invocation-offering for the luminous spirits. I truly am their survivor. It truly is I who will exist in this land of the living, my heart will make my limbs. My body submits me, it elevates me up, for I am the Old One."
(*CT* I 170 h-171 h spell 39)

Still it is evident how the words devoid of context can be misleading:

483 j *ra tm mwt*
483 k *sDt*
483 l *sDt*
483 m *jw.n.j wsr.j Hna Tn*

"Ra Atum is dead! Fire! Fire! I have come, so that I may be mighty together with you."
(*CT* VII 483 j-m spell 1138)

Fortunately, ancient Egyptian provides many possibilities of rendering the same phrase. One cannot be absolutely sure that it is not a noun 'death' which was meant by the writers of the text, and if it is so the meaning alters entirely and hence entails better into the context of the spell which puts emphasis on the potency of both the god and the King.

Moreover, stating clearly word by word to confirm the intended action or happening was crucial, thus:

399 f *jT.n.f nHH Ht(s).n.f Dt*
399 g *n mt N pn m mt wHm*

"he has fetched continuity and he completed everlastingness, namely N will not die the second/repeated death."
(*CT* VI 399 f-g spell 767)

Speaking out loud was evidently most pivotal and gave an imperative significance to the religious texts, that is to say the creation of religious reality within faith and its potency to create:

145 b *jnk jr ntt sx{p}r jwtt*
145 c *Dd.j xpr Hw*
145d *jwt.f aSA xntj msw*
145e *Hr tp nTrw jm jb n nb nTrw*
[...]
145 j *rxjjt mA wj*
145 k *jnk Hp xntj mswt jrr nttxs{p}r jwtt*

"I am who makes what is and who brings into being what is not. I speak – Hu comes into being. He will come, being multiple, in charge of the births (See Faulkner 1973-1978, vol. I, 248-249 and footnote 8) at the head of the gods, the one in the heart of the Lord of the gods.
[...]
O you people, see me, for I am the Nile foremost of nascency, who makes what is and who brings into being what is not."
(*CT* IV 145 b-d, j-k spell 320)

An analogous – as in the *Pyramid Texts* – narration could be encountered as means of outlining the background of the occurrences and hence assuring their feasibility as well as veracity or even inevitability:

32 c *prr.f nTr pn r pt*
32d *bA.f r tp.f*
32 e *HkAw.f tpawj.f*
32 f *jr n.f jn tm mj qd jr.n.f n.f jm*
32 g *jn.n.f n.f nTrwbAw P jn.n.f n.f nTrw bAw nxn*
32 h *jnq.n.f n.f nTrw jrw pt jrw tA*
32 i *jr.n.sn n.f wTs Hr [a]wj(.sn)*

"This god is ascending to the sky with his soul at his head, his magic in his hands. He has been helped by Atum regarding everything he should have made for him there, he [=Atum] has delivered to him the gods the Souls of Pe, he has delivered to him the gods the Souls of Nekhen and he has gathered for him the gods who

are in the sky and who are on Earth, they make supports for him on (their) [a]rms."
(*CT* VII 32 c-k spell 832)

Conclusions

Notwithstanding the alterations in the view of the creator, in the *Coffin Texts* the culmination point of the metamorphoses of the dead is the same as in the *Pyramid Texts*. The deceased is the quintessence of every divine being:

108 g *xpr.n.j mtm*
108 h *Ax.n.j m Hr*
108 i *Ax.n nTr nb n dp.n.j sw*

"I have come into being as Atum, I am endued as Horus and I am endued (with) every god whom I have experienced."
(*CT* IV 108 g-i spell 316)

Accordingly in the so-called *Coffin Texts* the final effect – the continual everlastingness of existence in the beyond – was also assured by Atum, but in this very case he was much more assisted by other gods and his son Shu – especially Shu as the King. Taking this into consideration and notwithstanding natural and secondary differences resulting from the above-mentioned circumstances, one may assume that the final effect is the same in the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Coffin Texts* – 'becoming Atum' – is experiencing all gods' formation and conditions. As for example the rubric of the spell 275 ascertains: "Assuming all forms in the Realm of the Dead".

Atum in the *Coffin Texts* appears to assist the deceased when he/she takes different shapes and the creator threatens the enemies away but much more often he manifests himself in his offspring and his sovereignty is bestowed to his son on the grounds that only children ensure and safeguard true continuity and existence.

Consequently, the worldview presented in both the *Pyramid* and the *Coffin Texts* not only demonstrates the providence of the Egyptians but also concentrates on the linguistic performative religious reality creation to secure the stability and eternal continual everlastingness in the name of admiration, lure of and even the lust for life best expressed in and by a child.

178 o *jnk wnntzA mrr.f jrr.f*
178 p *anx.f anx.j*

"... for I am indeed the son who wishes, does, lives – and I live."
(CT IV 178 o-p spell 333)

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