

Masada – The Rock Fortress

A comparative study of the Northern Palace in relation to the Western Palace

af Ditte Maria Damsgaard Hiort

Artiklen omhandler Herodes den Stores byggeprogram på Masada i Judæa. Her blev det Vestlige Palads opført i 35 f.Kr., og kun ca. 10 år efter blev det Nordlige Palads opført. Hvorfor endnu et palads?

Symbolværdien i det ødelagte Korinth

af Anna Mohr Larsen

I 146 f.v.t. led Korinth nederlag til de romerske styrker. De skriftlige kilder siger, at byen efterfølgende blev jævnet med jorden og lå ubeboet hen i hundrede år, indtil Cæsar i 44 f.v.t grundlagde den på ny. Men de materielle kilder afslører, at der også i den mellemliggende periode var en eller anden form for liv i byen på Isthmen. Hvorfor fortalte den officielle version af historien noget andet? Denne artikel undersøger ophavet til og motiverne bag myten om Korinths udslettelse.

Livet som graver

af Anne Norge Lauridsen

En levende fortælling om de mange lærerige og givende stunder på en uddannelsesudgravning i Kalydon, men også om de store fysiske og psykiske udfordringer den medførte. Her fortalt af en 1. årsstuderende i Klassisk Arkæologi.

Specialeresumeer

Igen i dette nummer bringer vi specialeresumeer fra de nyligt færdiguddannede ved klassiske studier i Aarhus. Tillykke til Ditte Maria Damsgaard Hiort, Sine Grove Saxkjær og Kristine Thomsen!



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Introduction

“After following this perilous track for thirty furlongs, one reaches the summit, which, instead of tapering to a sharp peak, expands into plain. On this plateau the high priest Jonathan first erected a fortress and called it Masada; the subsequent planning of the place engaged the serious attention of King Herod” (Joseph. BJ VII.284-286).

The etymological origin of Masada placed in Judaea, Israel is: *Metzad* or *Metzuda* (Netzer 2006, 17) and stems from Hebrew meaning rock. The extensive building program undertaken on Masada was without question one of Herod the Great’s greatest achievements. Herod came to Masada twice before being elected king. Firstly in 42 B.C.E. and again in 40 B.C.E., but he did not begin any construction work at that time. (Netzer 2006, 19; Joseph.BJ I.237, 293;AJ XIV.296, 397). One of the first large projects on Masada is the Core of the Western Palace, begun about 35 B.C.E. (Netzer 2006, 19-24). The construction of the second palace On Masada, the Northern Palace was begun approximately 10 years later (Netzer 2006, 27-32, also see p. 18, 20 for an overview of the Herodian building activity of Masada in all three main phases).

The methodically approach will be two short introductory sections on the research and general history of Masada followed by a thorough analysis and discussion, which will include different aspects such as a topographical, an architecturally and as well as a chronologically one.

In dealing with the architecture of Masada a multitude of questions arise. Among these questions several concerns the relation between the Western- and the Northern Palace.

Why did Herod decide to build yet another palace, the Northern one? What are the dominant architectural features and differences between the two? What influences can be detected in the layout, design and decorative features?

It could as well have been interesting to concentrate on the layout of the whole of Masada. What types of structures do we find there, how do they differ in construction, function and purpose? This study would be meaningful in the context of seeking a broader understanding of Masada as a fortress as well as a home for Herod and his family in general. Due to the limitations of this paper such an undertaking is unfortunately not possible.

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An outline of the research history of Masada

E. Robinson recognized the precise location of Masada in 1838 based on the accounts of Flavius Josephus (Netzer 2006, 17). Josephus' works have shown to be invaluable since he is the only historical source describing the mount and the geography surrounding it, and as well the events during the Great Revolt against the Romans in the years 66-73 C.E. (Joseph. *BJ* VII. 275-406).

Various scholars have surveyed Masada, but the first one to undertake excavations on a large scale was Yigael Yadin in the years 1963-65. (Netzer 2006, 17 - see as well Netzer's note 2; Yarden 1997, 7-40). The task was a tremendous undertaking considering the organization of the first excavation on the site. The mount is, as learned from Josephus as well, more or less impenetrable from the outside, and there were many practical obstacles Yadin and his team needed to consider before the work could even begin (Joseph. *BJ* VII. 280-286; Yadin 1997, 19-36). The archaeologist next to Yadin, who has carried out the most extensive work on Masada, is Ehud Netzer in close cooperation with a multitude of other scholars. Netzer has primarily been working with the different building phases/rebuilding's, the architecture and layout in general and the design of the structures (Netzer 1991).

The dedicative work carried out by Netzer on Masada among other sites, has provided the archaeological research in Judaea with plenty of new evidence concerning chronology, topography and layout, design and foreign influences.

It was until recently assumed that the site was Hasmonaean in origin due to the above written quote by Josephus (Josephus. *BJ* VII. 285). However, In contrast to the literary tradition, to this date no material finds clearly indicate the existence of Masada during the Hasmonaean Period. It is possible though that a few water cisterns were built during that period. Furthermore, did Netzer undertake soundings in 1989 and again in 1996-97, which proved that the Core of the Western Palace and the three adjacent "Small Palaces" did not stem, as previous believed also by Netzer himself, from earlier than about 35 B.C.E. The time, when Herod began his building projects on the site (Netzer 2006, 19. For further reading on the Hasmonaean structures in Judaea see Netzer 1999). As written in the introduction did Herod visit Masada at least twice before being elected King of Judaea in 40 B.C.E. (Netzer 2006, 19; Joseph. *BJ* I. 237, 293; *AJ* XIV. 296, 397). This may indicate that some sort of structure, probably not built from strong and lasting materials did exist prior to the construction work undertaken by Herod. However, since nothing supporting this hypothesis has been excavated yet, one can only speculate how Herod and his family were accommodated at that time.

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A historical outline of Masada

The history of Masada is long and troubling. The site has proved to be of vast interest to both Historians and Archaeologist. The two most interesting and important periods in the history of Masada are, the time of Herod and the Zealothian occupation followed by the Roman siege (For further reading concerning the general history of Herod see Günther 2005 and Shalit 2001).

Herod and his family stayed for unknown periods of time on Masada probably from the beginning of the construction work in ca. 35 B.C.E. till the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E. (Joseph. *AJ* XVII. 191). The exact reasons for his staying's are of uncertainty. Did Masada primarily serve as a place for refuge? Did it have a greater political significance or was it equally a place for relaxation and vacations (Forester 1996, 55-56; Netzer 2006, 40; Joseph. *BJ* VII. 300-303)? However, It seems reasonable to believe that the Herodian Family at first found accommodation in the early Western Palace, and about 10 years later in the Northern Palace as well.

After Herod's death, Roman legionaries who maintained positioned there till 66 C.E., when the Zealots, an extremist Jewish group drew them out and captured Masada, garrisoned Masada (Joseph. *BJ* IV. 398-410; Yadin 1997, 16). The structures on Masada stayed more or less intact till the arrival of the Zealot's, who did not construct any major buildings themselves, however, they did make additions and a multitude of rebuilding's (Netzer 1991, with special empathy on pp. 573-655; 2006, 17; Joseph. *BJ* VII. 275-406).

Expounded in the writings of Josephus is the most dramatic event of Masada, which took place in the years 66-73 C.E. During the Great Revolt of the Jews against the Romans the site was besieged in 66 C.E., and eventually finally fell into the hands of Rome as the last standing fortress in 73 C.E. (Campell 1988; Cotton 1989; Richmond 1962).

The Roman general Lucius Flavius Silva was the engineer and mastermind behind the siege, which must have been a very difficult task taking the surrounding geography and harsh countryside into consideration. One only needs to turn to Josephus again to learn just how impenetrable the rock was (Joseph. *BJ* VII. 280-284). However, Silva and his armies succeeded and left a garrison on Masada (Joseph. *BJ* VII. 407).

The fate of Masada from then on is of minor both historical and archaeological interest, and there is as well no evidence of great settlement for example. However, we do know due to survey and excavation that a group of Byzantines lived there in the 5th and 6th centuries C.E. (Netzer 1991, 137-147; Yadin 1997, 16).

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The Western Palace; description

This paper's aim is partly to distinguish the differentiating features of the Western Palace in comparison to the Northern one. The description and following discussion will hopefully shed some light on why a second palace was needed.

The following description will not be a general and overall view of every single unit and room. Instead it will include a short introduction to the structure as a whole and a more thorough description of a few of the rooms, however, only in the Core-section.

The Core

The Core of the Western Palace can, according to stratigraphy and style of building, be dated to ca. 35 B.C.E. This makes the Core one of the earliest structures to have been built on the site (Netzer 2006, 19. *BJ* I. 237, 293., *AJ* XIV. 296, 397.)¹. Yadin thought that the whole structure of the palace should be dated contemporarily, whereas Netzer detected two main phases of construction. The above-mentioned phase, which includes the Eastern Service Wing, the Western Service Wing and the first stage of the Side Entrance Wing. The later phase should according to Netzer be dated to ca. 15 B.C.E., contemporarily with the grand Casemate Wall. This phase comprises all of the remaining parts of the palace.

Netzer then increased the two phases to a total of four, where the Core is the earliest and the only structure in phase I (Netzer 2006, 21-24).

The Core is almost perfectly rectangular, measures ca. 28 x 23.5-24.5 m and consists of a variety of rooms (Netzer 2006, 21-24). The rooms are surrounding a large open courtyard, Room 441 (Netzer 1991, 245-247; 2006, 22). The courtyard was by far the largest space in the Core (12 x 10.5 m) and was the center of the complex. It was entered through the Open Reception Room 521 (7 x 6.7 m) to the south of it (Ibid.). The reception room opened onto the courtyard via a portico in the form of a *distyle in antis*. The two pilasters and columns were of the Ionic order and painted black and red (Ibid.).

This room was not the sole reception room in the Core. The second one, the Closed Reception Room 458 (8.7 x 6.0 m) to the southeast of the courtyard, was originally termed the "Throne Room" by

¹ For an overview of the construction work at Masada see Lichtenberger 1999 as well. For a general overview of Herodian constructions see as well Japp 2000 and Roller 2007. It should already here be noted that there are discrepancies between Netzer's work from 1991 and 2006. The soundings in 1996-97 provided new evidence and the scholar has as well changed his mind regarding several different elements according to his continuously research.

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Yadin. This was due to four hollows in the floor indicating that a canopy for a throne once stood there (Netzer 1991, 247-248; Yadin 1997, 118). Netzer, however, do not believe this to be the case and prefers the designation reception/dining room (Netzer 2006, 252). The room was entered via three doorways in the eastern part of Room 521. It could as well be entered via a short corridor, Corridor 534, in the eastern part of the Core (Netzer 1991, 248; 2006, 23). A possible small dressing room, Room 457, was built west of the corridor (Ibid.).

The so-called “Mosaic Room”, or Room 456 east of the courtyard (8 x 5 m), provided the access to the small corridor south of it (Netzer 1991, 249-250; 2006, 23. For colour photos of the mosaic see Yadin 1997, 124-125). This room had several entrances the main one being in the north. The room itself was divided into two due to another distyle *in antis*. The northern part was paved with plaster, while a large geometrical and floral designed mosaic covered the floor in the southern part (Ibid.). The second interesting feature in this room is the flight of stairs in the northern part that led to the upper story. The second story mainly consisted of bedrooms, which mean that Herod had some of the most necessary facilities taken care of instantly, which again indicate that he himself and his family did stay in Masada from early on for periods of time (Netzer 2006, 23-24).

The Core consist of several other rooms, among them a bathhouse, a *mikve* and some guardrooms etc. (Netzer 1991, 251-263; 2006, 21-24).

Later structures

The structures surrounding the Core display a variety of rooms for many different purposes. The more important ones are built in phase II, the Eastern Service Wing and the Western Service Wing, and in Phase III the Storeroom Wing. The palace preserved all possible necessities in its final stage (Foerster 1996, 57; Netzer 1991, 264-286, 301-307). The decision to expand that quickly after the construction of the Core, and then the additional storerooms soon thereafter as well indicates that there was an immediate demand for service and storage for food and liquids. Here it would be appropriate to mention the three Small Palaces as well, which according to their typological resemblances with the Core, should be dated contemporarily with this (Netzer 1991, 319-359; 2006, 24-27). This would mean that there was also a need for more private dormitories. This can be understood so that Masada now had to comply for the needs of several people. Not only the royal family, but also for all the people who helped run the place on a daily basis.

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The Northern Palace; description

The description of the Northern Palace will also not be a general and overall view of all the different units and rooms we find there. Taken the palace's size into consideration it seems more reasonable to give an introduction to the structure as a whole, which will as well include some geographical and topographical comments. The description will, however, comprise a more thorough analysis of a few selected rooms. Even though one ought to designate the Northern Palace as a complex including at least the Large Bathhouse, this will not be a part of the description and following discussion (Netzer 2006, 265).

The geographical and topographical situation

Masada is located 400 m. above the Dead Sea. The rock in itself measures approximately 580 m from north to south and 200 m from east to west. It is semi-rhomboid in shape and stands on its own being separated from the cliffs, which partly flanks the rock (Netzer 2006, 17; Yadin 1997, 27). As written previously was the rock according to Josephus close to being completely impenetrable. Whether fortified by man or nature, it was the strongest fortified fortress (Joseph. BJ VII. 280-284; Foerster 1996, 55). There were only two ways of getting to the summit of Masada. Winding its way up the eastern slope was the "Snake Path" mentioned by Josephus. The second path on the western slope was a ramp connected to a smaller track (Netzer 2006, 17; Yadin 1997, 7-40. See as well Netzer's note 3).

The rocks location was without question in every way perfect. It is not difficult to imagine why Herod thought it a great idea to build a fortress here. However, the location also offered complete isolation, and if the fortress was meant as a place of refuge one could not have chosen a safer site.

"The Northern Palace is the piece de resistance of Herodian construction on Masada and one of the most exceptional edifices erected anywhere by the builder-king."(Netzer 1991, 134).

This quote by Netzer clearly illustrates just how great an undertaking the construction of the Northern Palace had been. Not only was the palace placed on the mounts northern and dangerously sloping extremity, which must have been an immense task for the engineers and construction workers, it also comprised architectural and design-wise high standard features.

Another mentionable point is that the masonry of most walls in the Northern Palace consisted of light Limestone Ashlars laid in strait courses. Most of the other buildings on Masada consisted of extremely heavy Dolomite stones. This again cements the fact that a new way of thinking, constructing and

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building was necessary to carry out the tremendous task it was to engineer and construct this palace. Fact is that it was the only building besides the fortifications that Josephus mentions. It was famous (Joseph. *BJ* VII. 289-291; Netzer 1991, 134-135; 2006, 27-29).

The placing of the palace can by no mean have been a coincidence. It offered commanding view in three directions, maximum shade and it was completely isolated offering the best safety possible for the king. A point, which is also emphasized by Netzer (Netzer 2006, 29).

The building operations were according to Netzer preceded by a thorough study of the topographical situation. The extremity's resemblance with a ship prow and the extreme drop from the summit cannot have been easy conditions for any architect or engineer (*Ibid.*).

The three rock terraces existed prior to the construction, however; first they had to be levelled by the architects. Hereafter the first step was to build and set up the scaffolding, which have left visible traces in the bedrock (*Ibid.*).

Upper Terrace

One entered the palace through the Northern Square and Courtyard 90. From the courtyard one had to pass through yet another corridor, Room 93, before accessing the palace proper, on the Upper Terrace that is (Netzer 1991, 102-134).

The Upper Terrace served primarily as sleeping quarters and for reception purposes (Netzer 1991, 137-147; 2006, 30). The terrace consisted of two main parts; the southern one comprised two bedroom suites and a hall termed 80. In the northern part Hall 80 opened onto to a large semi-circular balcony via a portico, another distyle *in antis* (Netzer 1991, 138; 2006, 30).

The bedroom suites each contained two bedrooms and a small corridor. The rooms, corridors and the hall were all lavishly decorated with frescoes and mosaics. Corridor 87 and Room 88 illustrates some of the decorative features well (Netzer 1991, 138-146; 2006, 30).

The balcony is not that well preserved. A pergola of sorts perhaps surrounded it. The foundation of this colonnade is the only surviving part, but many of the column drums have been found scattered around the mount. A small garden could have been placed on the balcony as well. At the western end the flight of stairs leading down to the two lower terraces began (Netzer 1991, 146-147; 2006, 30).

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Rooms 83-85 were of Byzantine origin and were together with Hall 80 and Corridor 80-81 used sometime during that period.

Each terrace was supported and surrounded by high terrace walls. The walls supported the platforms on which the structures were constructed, and as well linked each terrace together as so did the staircases between each level (Netzer 2006, 29).

Middle Terrace

The Middle Terrace is located 18 m below the Upper Terrace. It is also not well preserved, and only the foundations of the round structure in the centre, laying on a square platform, have been preserved.

The foundations indicate very clearly though that two concentric walls once stood here (Netzer 1991, 148-153; 2006, 30-31). A circular reception hall, which was surrounded by a colonnade once stood on top of the walls. According to Netzer a tholos of sorts. Possibly a belvedere or a smaller banqueting-hall. The colonnade was erected on top of the outer circular foundation walls (Foerster 1996, 58; Netzer 1991, 148-153; 2006, 30-31).

The outer wall had a diameter of ca. 15 m. The distance between the two walls was ca. 3 m, making it a quite massive construction (Netzer 1991, 149-152; 2006, 30-31).

Rooms along the cliff had been constructed in the south part of the terrace. They had different purposes such as an exhibition room for example. The terrace also contained two water installations including a stepped pool, perhaps a mikve (Netzer 1991, 158; 2006, 31. See as well Netzer's note 47 here).

The staircase, Staircase 65, leading to the Lower Terrace was placed in the western part in connection with an Exedra, "Exedra" 57 (Netzer 1991, 155-157).

Lower Terrace

The Lower Terrace is located another 12 m below the Middle one, a total of 30 m below the Upper Terrace (Netzer 2006, 29).

This is the best-preserved terrace of the three, which is fortunate due to the lavishly decorated central hall, Hall 1 (Netzer 1991, 158-170; 2006, 31-32).

The main feature is the nearly square hall, most likely a banqueting-hall, which was surrounded on all four sides by colonnades. The colonnades had freestanding columns on the outside and engaged ones on the inside, which were attached to the walls that surrounded the hall.

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The southern colonnade, however, featured engaged columns of both sides due to its edge being cut into the rock, which was just beneath the Middle Terrace.

All the columns were of sandstone, of the Corinthian order with Attic bases (Netzer 1991, 159-162; 2006, 31-32. For colour photos see Yadin 1997, 44, 46, 48-49). The engaged columns inside the hall as well as those outside in the colonnades, were of the same dimensions and had the same details, the stuccoed fluting and the Attic bases, but only the ones inside the hall stood on pedestals as well. According to Netzer did the height of the hall defiantly exceed that of the colonnades and clerestory windows were then introduced (Ibid.).

The fresco decorations in the hall were plenty. It seems likely that the whole hall bore these decorations, and that the ceiling due to stucco fragments found in the debris, was also decorated (Netzer 2006, 32).

The terrace did not consist of that many other rooms due to the size of the large hall. Besides the hall, there were two smaller units adjacent to it. The western one, Rooms 12 and 13 (Netzer 1991, 163; 2006, 32), served merely as entrance to the Lower Terrace, and the eastern one showed a unit in two stories; one in level with the hall and the other below it. The lower level served as a Roman Bathhouse, Cellar 16, Room 15, Tepidarium 9, Frigidarium 8, Caldarium 10, Room 11 and Corridor 7 (Netzer 1991, 163-170; 2006, 32), while the upper level according to Netzer probably served as bedrooms for guest (Ibid.).

Architectural differences and influences

The two descriptive sections concerning the two palaces on Masada make it quite evident that there were great differences both in the layout and design. These differences were partly due to architectural influences.

The first notable difference is the location. The Western Palace is located very geographical and topographical sensible one could say, whereas the Northern Palace is placed on a dangerously sloping mountainside: "The Hanging Palace" (Foerster 1996, 58). The location of the palace does indeed correlate well with its relation to Roman Villa architecture, where one of the defining features is the use and shaping of the landscape (Förtsch 1996, 74-78).

The second notable difference and feature is the fact that the Western Palace has a strong introverted character, whereas the Northern Palace is planned outward taking advantage of the surroundings and the

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landscape.

The Western Palace's centre is the south-eastern part. The Core consisted of, as discussed previously, reception, banqueting, baths and bedrooms.

All the immediate necessities were present so to speak. The other units, constructed in the second and third phase, were never fully integrated into the general plan of the palace. The Core was the nerve and the centre (Foerster 1996, 56).

The Northern Palace consisted on the contrary of a multitude of units built on three terraces all planned and integrated within the same general layout.

Gideon Foerster believes that The Core shows clear Hellenistic influence on one side; however, on the other side the un-unifying tendencies show rather an Oriental influence (Ibid). Foerster recognizes the difficulties of finding comparisons for the palace. He mentions several, one of them being the so-called *Strategeion* at Dura Europos. The resemblance is notable. The *Strategeion* consists of several of the same elements, as well a *distylein antis*. This structure recalls, as is the case with the Western Palace, also Oriental architectural features (Foerster 1995, 56-57).

It has through the paper been underlined that the Northern Palace in every aspect is a highly elaborated and developed piece of architecture.

Foerster has tried, in the same manner as with the Western Palace, to shed light on the significant features and details.

It is according to his research possible to detect both a clear Hellenistic and Roman influence (Foerster 1996, 58-61). Foerster writes: *"The existence of two different traditions side by side, the eastern Hellenistic and the western Italian, should not surprise us; at this point of time took place the first massive encounter with the western art and architecture in Palestine and there had not yet been time for a real synthesis of these two not-so-different cultures. One should add that traditional local Judaeian designs and concepts were also involved in this encounter."*(Foerster 1996, 61).

The quote points to one of the central elements discovered in the layout of the Northern Palace; it does not consist of a predictable uniformity.

Let us have a closer look at some of the components. Most elements in the palace are detected in Roman Villa architecture: the banqueting-halls or *triclinia*, the bedrooms or *cubicula*, baths etc. What is generally not seen is the so-called tholos on the Middle Terrace (Netzer 1991, 148-15; 2006, 30-31).

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The tholos seems to have clear Hellenistic predecessors. Foerster suggests that the tholoi was an essential Hellenistic palatial feature based on several examples, among them palaces in Vergina and Pella (Foerster 1996, 60. See as well Hoepfner et al. 1992 for an overview of Hellenistic Palatial architecture). Besides these direct structural comparisons, depictions of the tholoi have been discovered on tomb facades in Petra. This style apparently reflects an Alexandrian-Hellenistic tendency (Foerster 1996, 60-61; McKenzie 1990).

Foerster sees this as highly likely due to the feature of decorating engaged columns as seen in the banquet-hall, Hall 1, on the Lower Terrace. This form of decoration is in keeping with the popular Hellenistic tendencies detected in some Alexandrian *hypogaea* (Netzer 1991, 158-170; 2006, 31-32; Foerster 1996, 60-61). Foerster's final suggestion is then that the tholos and banquet-hall are Hellenistic in origin, whereas the cubicula with the semi-circular portico in front it on the Upper Terrace (Netzer 1991, 146-147; 2006, 30) and the bath on the Lower Terrace (Netzer 1991, 163-170., 2006, 32) most probably are Italian in design and presentation (Foerster 1996, 61).

Foerster's argumentation finds validation both in the ancient sources and in the architectural remnants. He has proven his points by using the available evidence. Some of his criticism has been directed towards several scholars. It has been suggested by Harald Mielsch that the design of the Northern Palace was completely Roman and is a direct demonstration of Herod's loyalty towards Rome. Foerster of course disagrees, which only seems sensible (Foerster 1996, 59-60). However, Foerster as well recognizes the fact that a traceable larger Roman influence is present in the layout and design of the palace and on Masada in general. This is according to him due to some of the close friendships between Herod and important Roman figures like Agrippa (Foerster 1996, 58).

Netzer agrees with Foerster in his criticism of Mielsch and writes: *"Although a Roman influence can clearly be detected in many of Herod's projects, the claim that this "Romanizing" was primarily a political means of gaining Rome's favour does not appear to me to be correct. Herod was a client king who had been appointed by the Roman Senate, but he was above all a ruler in his own right, and this was recognized by Rome"* (Netzer 2006, 95). However, it does also seem reasonable to believe that his friendship with rich foreigners did bring some new ideas and knowledge to the table. Herod travelled a lot in periods. On these travels he would have been presented to new styles, fashions and impressions. He had his financials covered and could build whatever he wished to (Netzer 2006, 243-245). Based on this fact, it makes perfect sense that Herod perhaps wished to show some international trends off and as well invite foreign craftsmen who already knew the trade to work for him.

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It will probably never be completely comprehended, why Herod decided to spend a massive amount of money and time, in planning and building this Palace. It seems reasonable to suggest that the construction of the Western Palace was due to more sensible needs, whereas the Northern Palace demonstrates elaborateness, boldness and innovation. At the same time, one has to remember that Masada was most likely a place of refuge as well. It has through the analysis been proven that the palace offered it all: complete protection and isolation – comfort, luxury and lavishness.

Decorative differences and influences

Several interesting decorative features are displayed in the Western- as well as in the Northern Palace (It will not be possible to discuss all decoration types and styles in this paper). Israel was in the Hellenistic Period placed between two influential kingdoms: The Ptolemaic and the Seleucid. This resulted in a constant flow of impressions both from a more Oriental orientated world and the Hellenistic one (Rozenberg 2006, 350). The region of Judaea did at the same time honour their indigenous religious Jewish traditions to some degree, and no excavation has so far revealed depictions of human beings (Fittschen 1996, 150; Rozenberg 2006, 373).

The Western Palace displays several extraordinary mosaics and white plastered walls decorated in the Masonry Style. The Northern Palace shows a wide variety of Wall Paintings and several tendencies and influences are present (Rozenberg 2006, 355).

Firstly, it would be appropriate to comment on the so-called Masonry Style. This style could have derived from Greece, where it was known already in the Classical Period. The style indicated that the whole of the wall was plastered, which was originally more out of practical necessity than decorative means. The style evolved and differed in character and appeared frequently after the fifth Century B.C.E. The most common type of decoration seen in the Masonry Style was the dividing of walls into four horizontal zones, thereafter applying the use of the five-stone scheme (Rozenberg 2006, 350). It seems evident that two tendencies arose in Israel in the period of the Late Masonry Style: a rich polychrome decoration of the upper part of the walls, prevalent throughout the Mediterranean, and an Alexandrian variant of the style, which had immense influence on the Hasmonaean and Herodian architecture. The variant was as well polychrome and often displayed imitations of alabaster and marble veins as seen in the Northern Palace, Hall 1, on the inner walls of the pedestals (Netzer 1991, 159-162; 2006, 31-32; Rozenberg 2006, 351-352. For color photos see Yadin 1997, 44, 46, 48-49).

This clear Hellenistic influence is not the only one exerted in the Northern Palace, which also displays Wall Paintings and Frescoes of the Second Pompeian Style (Rozenberg 2006, 355-356; Beyen 1938).

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However, the so-called Alexandrian variant of the Late Masonry Style seems evident to Silvia Rozenberg in Hall 1, whereas Klaus Fittschen sees a stronger western tendency and refers to parallels in Italy (Fittschen 1996, 146-147; Rozenberg 2006, 352).

The mosaics in the Western Palace show quite the variety as well. The more simple ones, the white mosaic floors, illustrates the simplest composition and is found in most of Herod's palaces. A fine example was exposed in Bathroom 447 in the Western Palace. The type was popular and used in Italy (Peleg and Talgam 2006, 378; Netzer 1991, 256-257). The more extravagant mosaics found in the Palace include the large polychrome mosaic from Room 456 (Netzer 1991, 249-250; 2006, 23. For color photos of the mosaic see Yadin 1997, 124-125). It reveals a complex mix of bands, floral designs, spandrels and geometric patterns. Orit Peleg and Rina Talgam believe that this style derives from Hellenistic mosaic floors, and comparable examples have been excavated in Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt (Peleg and Talam 2006, 379).

Conclusion

The initial approach to the paper, was that a clear demarcation from the beginning was essential, in order to prevent it from becoming solely a description of the structures on Masada. So many different buildings have been detected and excavated on the site that a fully analysis and appreciation of them all could not have been reached within 15 pages.

The construction of two so obviously different palaces seemed like an interesting study to investigate further. Some of the questions, which immediately came to mind were: why did Herod decide to built yet another palace about 25 B.C.E.? What are the dominant architectural features and differences between the two? What influences can be detected in the layout, design and decorative features?

This task seemed reasonable, but it became clear that the first step would be to establish both an archaeological and historical framework for the paper, which resulted in two short introductory sections.

The fact is that both palaces show significant architectural features. Therefore it was necessary to describe and analyze the layout of the palaces and to elaborate further on some of the features.

Through the descriptive analysis it was possible to detect and shed light on some of the architectural and decorative differences. It quickly became clear that both palaces possessed a great variety of structural elements and influences.

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One of the more surprising discoveries was the fact that it was not a strictly Hellenistic either Roman influence, which could be detected.

The Western Palace revealed a more traditional Jewish tendency, the lack of animals and humans in the mosaics for example, and the discovery of a mikve. At the same time did the layout of The Core and some of the Wall Paintings correspond better to Hellenistic predecessors; for example the more “closed” layout of the palace in general contrast to the Northern one.

The Northern Palace revealed a mixture of influences as well.

The so-called tholos is most likely a Hellenistic feature, whereas several of the other architectural elements show a clear tendency towards Roman Villa architecture: for example the inclusion of the nature in the layout. One of the more complex matters is the question on the predecessors of the Wall Paintings in the Northern Palace, and the exact reasons concerning the construction of the palace.

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Indføring i problematikken omkring Korinths ødelæggelse

På grund af sin gunstige placering ved Isthmen var bystaten Korinth i hellenistisk tid aldrig rigtigt autonom, men i perioder tværtom kastebold mellem den makedonske og romerske stormagt på den ene side og de græske på den anden. Efter at Det Achaiske Forbund i 243 fvt. befriede Korinth fra makedonsk overherredømme, blev denne medlem af forbundet. Da der i 228 fvt. udbrød krig mellem forbundet og Sparta, søgte forbundet imidlertid hjælp hos Makedonien med det resultat til følge, at Korinth igen i 222 fvt. blev en makedonsk garnisonsby. Takket være romernes sejr i Den Anden Makedonske Krig kunne Korinth atter vende tilbage til forbundet i 196 fvt.

De følgende 50 år var dog præget af en romersk indblanding, der havde til formål at svække de græske forbund. Rom forsøgte blandt andet at få Sparta til at udtræde af Det Achaiske Forbund, hvad der i 146 fvt. førte til, at forbundet erklærede krig mod Sparta og derigennem Rom (Wiseman 1979, 461; Polyb. 38.11). Krigen kom til at stå ved Korinth, hvor forbundets general Diaios mødte den romerske konsul Lucius Mummius og tabte. Spørgsmålet er, hvad der dernæst skete. Samler vi vores antikke kilder til slaget, tegner der sig det billede, at Korinth efter nederlaget blev plyndret og ødelagt, og at kvinder og børn blev solgt til slaveri¹.

Der er ikke nogen tvivl om, at Mummius indtog byen og ødelagde den i et eller andet omfang. Tidligere har der dog blandt forskerne ligefrem været konsensus om, at denne ødelæggelse var total, og at byen var ubeboet frem til dens ny grundlæggelse i 44 fvt. som romersk koloni under Julius Cæsar (Wiseman 1979, 491). Arkæologiske studier har sidenhen problematiseret dette, da få af de bygninger, der er blevet udgravet i Korinth, viser tegn på at have været udsat for voldsomme ødelæggelser i 146 fvt. (Id. 494).

Arkæologien modviser også, at Korinth i den mellemliggende periode, 146-44 fvt., skulle have været helt ubeboet. Der er fundet spor af to nye veje i det område, der senere blev det romerske forum (Romano 2004, 46), og derudover er der fundet 11 knidiske amforahåndtag, 4 sølvmonter, et beboelsesområde i den nordlige ende af byen samt diverse genstande ved Demeter og Kore-helligdommen og Asklepeion, der alle kan dateres til denne mellemliggende periode (Wiseman 1979, 495). Om de sidstnævnte genstande

¹ Plyndret: Strabon 8.6.23; Pausanias 7.16.8; Florus 1.32.5; ødelagt: Pausanias 2.1.2, 7.16.8; Strabon 8.6.32; Livius *perioch.* 52; Justinus, 34.2.6; Florus 1.32.5; CIL 12.626; Antipater fra Sidon *Gr. Ant.* 9.151; Cicero *Agr.* 2.38; *Imp. Pomp.* 5; *ad Fam.* 4.5.4; solgt

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kan siges at dokumentere en kontinuitet i disse helligdomme er usikkert; den manglende kontinuitet ved langt de fleste helligdomme leder Nancy Bookidis, Assistant Director Emerita ved Korinth-udgravningerne, til at antage, at indbyggerne i perioden ingen tidligere tilknytning havde til den græske by (Bookidis 2004, 150).

Det bedste bevis på, at byen var beboet i de ca. 100 år mellem ødelæggelsen og nygrundlæggelsen, får vi måske af Cicero, som faktisk besøgte Korinth i 79-77 fvt. (Wiseman 1979, 493). I en passage om hvordan tiden læger alle sår, skriver han i *Tusculanae Disputationes en passant* om besøget:

vidi etiam in Peloponneso, cum essem adulescens, quosdam Corinthios. hi poterant omnes eadem illa de Andromacha deplorare: "haec omnia vidi ...", sed iam decantaverant fortasse. eo enim erant voltu, oratione, omni reliquo motu et statu, ut eos Argivos aut Sicyonios diceret, magisque me moverant Corinthi subito aspectae parietinae quam ipsos Corinthios, quorum animis diuturna cogitatio callum vetustatis obduserat (3.22.53).

Der er flere ting, der er værd at bemærke i denne passage. Først og fremmest får vi, som allerede nævnt, slået fast, at Korinth *ikke* var ubeboet på tidspunktet for Ciceros besøg, og deraf følger, at ødelæggelsen i 146 fvt. ikke var så omfattende, som kilderne ellers lader os forstå – Cicero inklusive²!

Dernæst er det i forhold til ovenstående antagelse om indbyggernes manglende tilknytning til Korinth interessant, at Cicero kalder disse mennesker for *Corinthii*. Man kunne selvfølgelig mene, at enhver, der uagtet vedkommendes baggrund bosatte sig i Korinth, med rette kunne kaldes *Co-rinthii*. Men Cicero kalder dem netop dette *på trods af*, at de i udseende (*voltus*), dialekt (*oratio*), gestik (*motus*) og statur (*status*) minder ham mere om *Argivi* eller *Sicyonii*.

Det er således bemærkelsesværdigt, at Cicero trods disse indbyggers fremmedartethed og trods deres fremmedgjorthed over for de omgivende ruiner – som jo netop er det, der gør denne passage relevant for Ciceros filosofiske diskussion af sorg og trøst – kalder dem *Corinthii*. Om Cicero dermed modbeviser Bookidis' antagelse er tvivlsomt, men hans betragtning vidner om, at der har boet nogle mennesker, der i en eller anden forstand har skabt sig en korintisk identitet, hvorfor man må antage, at de ikke blot har været på gennemrejse, men at byen altså har været beboelig i en sådan grad, at den kunne tjene som fast

² Jf. note 2. Mere herom i det følgende.

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bopæl for disse *Corinthii*.

Man kunne også knytte en kommentar til disse *parietinae*, ødelagte mure, og lade det tjene som endnu et illustrativt eksempel på diskrepansen mellem hvad kilderne siger, og *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. Dermed glider vi over i opgavens egentlige krop, om hvilken det er på sin plads at sige et par ord, inden bymurenes ødelæggelse diskuteres.

I det følgende vil der blive bygget videre på det her introducerede misforhold mellem skriftligt og materielt kildemateriale; dog ikke med det endemål at fastslå, at der faktisk eksisterer et sådant misforhold – det er allerede gjort – men med den hensigt at analysere dets karakter. Det vil blive undersøgt, hvilke kilder der med rette faktisk kan siges at udtrykke noget, der er i direkte modstrid med virkeligheden og dermed ophav til 'myten' om det totalødelagte og ubeboede Korinth. Denne diskurs omkring ødelæggelsen vil blive analyseret for at bestemme symbolværdien i det ødelagte Korinth, og slutteligt vil et udblik til Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* tilbyde et litterært perspektiv på Korinths potentielle dobbeltbundede symbolik.

På sporet efter forestillingen om det ødelagte og ubeboede Korinth

I sit værk *Periegesis* opsummerer Pausanias kort, hvad der skete, da romerne havde vundet slaget i 146 fvt.:

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῷ πολέμῳ, παρείλοντο μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τείχη περιεῖλον ὅσαι τετειχισμέναι πόλεις ἦσαν: Κόρινθον δὲ ἀνάστατον Μομμίου ποιήσαντος τοῦ τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Ῥωμαίων, ὕστερον λέγουσιν ἀνοικίσαι Καίσαρα, ὃς πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρῶτος τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατεστήσατο: ἀνοικίσαι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ (2.1.2).

Verbet περιαιρέω har grundbetydningen at fjerne noget, der omgiver noget, dvs. Pausanias altså skriver, at romerne (udover at de fratog de undertvungne deres våben (τὰ ὄπλα)) fjernede bymurene de steder, der var sådanne (τείχη περιεῖλον ὅσαι τετειχισμέναι πόλεις ἦσαν). I en mere detaljeret beskrivelse af slaget beskriver han, hvordan Mummius i to dage efter kampen tøver med at indtage Korinth, da han dårligt kan tro, at den er så ubeskyttet, som den ser ud til. Han slutter af med at skrive: τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἦρει τε κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἔκαιε Κόρινθον (7.16.7).

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Korinth blev altså stormet og brændt, og blev – på lige fod med andre græske bystater i Det Achaiske Forbund – afrustet og frataget sine mure. Vi ved dog fra Cicero, at der endnu var mur-rester på det tidspunkt, han besøgte Korinth, og Strabon, der besøgte byen efter nygrundlæggelsen omkring slutningen af det 1. årh. fvt., skriver følgende om sin tur på Akrokorinth: ἡμῖν ἀναβαίνουσιν ἦν δῆλα τὰ ἐρείπια τῆς σχοινίας (8.6.21).

Det ville have været lettere, hvis de alle tre havde brugt det samme ord for mure. τεῖχος, som Pausanias anvender, kan referere til mure af mange slags, men dets primære betydning er befæstningsmure (Frederiksen 2011, 22). Σχοινιά, som Strabon anvender, er synonymt med τεῖχος, men da han befinder sig på Akrokorinth, er det sandsynligt, at der er tale om et andet murværk end det, der har beskyttet hele byen (Id. 47). Når Pausanias skriver, at murene fjernes, mens Cicero og Strabon beskriver stadig synlige stykker af murværk, kan det altså være fordi, de ikke taler om det samme. Hvorom alting er, tjener eksemplet med murene til at understrege, at Korinth ikke blev jævnet med jorden. Hvordan er denne idé så opstået?

Pausanias skriver jo i samme passage, at Korinth blev gjort ἀνάστατος af Mummius, hvilket Loeb oversætter med "laid waste" (Jones 1918 ad loc). Liddl-Scott Jones giver da også 'laid waste' og 'ruined' som de to oversættelsesmuligheder, man har, når det drejer sig om en by. Mogens Herman Hansen og Thomas Heine Nielsen argumenterer dog for, at vi skal have fat i grundbetydningen af ordet ('drevet fra hus og hjem'), også i de tilfælde hvor det gælder byer, så vi i stedet bør oversætte med 'affolket' ("depopulated") (Hansen og Nielsen 2004, 123). I så fald siger Pausanias ikke mere, end at byen blev indtaget og affolket, og at der blev sat ild til den og ødelagt (dele af?) dens mure. Delvis nedrivning af murværk og en enkelt brand er ikke ensbetydende med total ødelæggelse og umuliggørelse af genbefolkning.

Det er altså ikke Pausanias, vi kan tilskrive udsagnet om, at Korinth blev jævnet med jorden. Strabon skulle man heller ikke tro det var, når han nu selv taler om de gamle mure, der stadig var synlige efter den romerske ny grundlæggelse; interessant nok skriver han dog senere, hvor han uddyber årsagen til konflikten, som han sporer til at være korinternes hånlige (ὑπεροπτικῶς) opførsel over for romerne: ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλων ὧν ἐξήμαρτον ἔτισαν δίκας αὐτίκα: πεμφθείσης γὰρ ἀξιολόγου στρατιᾶς, αὐτὴ τε κατέσκαπτο ὑπὸ Λευκίου Μομμίου (8.6.23).

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Verbet κατασκάπτω betyder virkelig 'graver ned' og derfor – oftest – 'jævner med jorden'. Det, man her må holde sig for øje, er, at krige og ødelæggelser af byer fandt sted så ofte, at man nærmest kan tale om en terminus technicus for de forskellige ting, der kunne overgå en by – herunder at blive jævnet med jorden (Hansen og Nilsen 2004, 120). Det er påviseligt, at mange af de byer, om hvilke det bliver sagt, at de bliver jævnet med jorden, kun i ringe grad blev ødelagt, og mange af dem fortsatte deres eksistens en eller to generationer senere, som om intet var hændt (Id. 122). Med dette *in mente* kan vi måske nok medgive, at Strabon overdriver en smule, men denne overdrivelse er terminologisk determineret, og altså en vi bør være os for at læse meget ind i.

Mere interessant er det, at Strabon fortsætter med at skrive: πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐρήμη μείνασα ἡ Κόρινθος ἀνελήφθη πάλιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν (8.6.23). Vi ved, at Korinth ikke var ἐρήμη, ubeboet; spørgsmålet er, om Strabon også vidste det. Hvis han gjorde, skal vi nok forstå denne usandhed som tjenende til at fremhæve Cæsars store bedrift: nygrundlæggelsen. Strabon var ganske vist græker, men han skrev sandsynligvis (dele af) værket i Rom; selvom der er uenighed om hvorvidt han skrev sit værk primært under Kejser Augustus eller Kejser Tiberius, er der tydelige eksempler på ting, der udelades – og som f.eks. ikke udelades af den kejserkritiske historiker Tacitus – der afslører ham som tilhænger af romersk imperialisme, eller i al fald optaget af ikke at misfornøje kejseren (Pothecary 2002, 387-438 passim). Dette kan altså også forklare, hvorfor han alene placerer skylden hos korinterne som set i citatet ovenfor.

Men Strabon besøgte jo først Korinth efter nygrundlæggelsen, så der er også den mulighed, at han ikke har vidst meget om perioden mellem 146-44 fvt. Han gør lidt tidligere i passagen opmærksom på, at han bygger på Polybs historieværk, hvori denne ifølge Strabon fortæller, hvordan han selv så romerne udvise ringeagt for kunstkattene (8.6.23). Da Polybs værk slutter med 146 fvt., må Strabon dog have fået opfattelsen af, at Korinth var ubeboet frem til nygrundlæggelsen, andetstedsfra. Præcist hvor er ikke til at sige, men vi skal i det følgende se eksempler på forfattere, der trækker på episodens symbolværdi, og dermed nok har været med til at skabe 'myten' om det ruinerede (og i forlængelse heraf ubeboede) Korinth.

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Det ødelagte Korinths symbolværdi

Antipater fra Sidon, om hvem vi ikke ved meget andet, end at han havde sit virke omkring 130 fvt. (Murphy-O'Connor 1983, 44) og var fra Sidon, skrev følgende digt:

Ποῦ τὸ περίβλεπτον κάλλος σέο, Δωρὶ Κόρινθε; ποῦ στεφάναι πύργων, ποῦ τὰ πάλαι κτέανα; ποῦ νηοὶ μακάρων, ποῦ δώματα, ποῦ δὲ δάμαρτες Σισύφια λαῶν θ' αἶ ποτε μυριάδες; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἴχνος, πολυκάμμορε, σεῖο λέλειπται, πάντα δὲ συμμάρψας ἐξέφαγεν πόλεμος μοῦναι ἀπόρθητοι Νηρηίδες Ἰκεανοῖο κοῦραι, σῶν ἀχέων μίμνομεν ἀλκυόνες (*Græsk antologi* 9, 151).

Han skriver altså, at der ikke er et eneste spor tilbage af Korinth (οὐδ' ἴχνος ... λέλειπται). Ligesom med Strabon er det ikke til at sige, hvilken viden Antipater har haft, og hvor han har haft den fra, men i et klagedigt som dette er objektivitet i endnu ringere grad end i et historieværk skrevet under Kejser Tiberius vel at vente. Pudsigt nok er vendingen at genfinde på latin hos Cicero, der i anden tale af *De Lege Agraria* har følgende passage om Korinth og Kartago:

deleta Carthago est, quod cum hominum copiis, tum ipsa natura ac loco, succincta portibus, armata muris, excurrere ex Africa, imminere duabus fructuosissimis insulis populi Romani videbatur. Corinthi vestigium vix relictum est. erat enim posita in angustiis atque in faucibus Graeciae sic ut terra claustra locorum teneret et duo maria maxime navigationi diversa paene coniungeret, cum pertenui discrimine separentur. haec quae procul erant a conspectu imperi non solum adflixerunt sed etiam, ne quando recreata exurgere atque erigere se possent, funditus, ut dixi, sustulerunt (2.32.87).

Når jeg citerer hele passagen, er det fordi, der er flere ting, der er værd at betragte nærmere. Frem for alt er der passagen, hvori han siger det samme som Antipater, nemlig *Corinthi vestigium vix re-lictum est*³. Enten skal vi lægge meget vægt på *vix* og fastholde, at han kun siger, at der næsten ikke var spor tilbage af Korinth (hvad vi jo ved, Cicero ved, er tilfældet), eller også skal vi simpelthen tilskrive hans og Antipaters udtalelse en forventelig poetisk og retorisk overdrivelse (Wiseman 1979, 493).

Vi kan altså ikke finde nogen kilde, der på troværdig vis hævder, at Korinth blev tilintetgjort og lå ubeboet

³ Dertil kommer også antydningen af at byen var ubeboet derefter, da den simpelthen blev jævnet med jorden, for at den netop ikke skulle kunne genopstå: *non solum adflixerunt sed etiam, ne quando recreata exurgere atque erigere se possent, funditus, ut dixi, sustulerunt*.

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i cirka 100 år. Vi kan derimod hos Antipater og Cicero se, at de har haft en interesse i at fremstille det sådan; Antipater nok på grund af modstand mod den romerske overmagt, Cicero fordi han vil understrege den hidtidige forsigtighed i romersk sikkerhedspolitik, hvor man har helgarderet sig mod eventuel fremtidig modstand fra Kartago og Korinth ved at ødelægge disse byer.

Til de to kan også føjes Lucius Mummius selv, der på en dedikation til et ukendt Hercules Victor-tempel lod indskrive, at Achaia blev erobret og Korinth tilintetgjort under hans auspicer: *auspicio imperioque / eius Achaia capt(a) Corint(h)o / deleto* (CIL 12.626). At han har bidraget til at skabe et billede af en mere omfattende ødelæggelse, end hvad der var tilfældet, er ikke så underligt, særligt ikke når vi vender tilbage til Ciceropassagen herover og betragter sammenstillingen af Korinth og Kartago, der blev besejret samme år. At Mummius kan fryde sig over noget, Antipater ser som en tragedie, er på ingen måde opsigtsvækkende, når vi betænker handlingsforløbet og den meget hårde retorik omkring ødelæggelsen af Kartago. Denne diskurs – nok mest berømt fra Catos *Carthago delenda est*⁴ – var så hadefuld og barsk, at den har tiltrukket opmærksomhed fra forskere, der beskæftiger sig med folkedrabsstudier (Se f.eks. Kiernan 2004).

Netop sammenstillingen mellem slagene ved Kartago og Korinth, som vi genfinder hos senere forfattere (F.eks. Plutarch *Caes.* 57.8 og Dio Cassius 43.50.3) på grund af sammenfaldet i år mellem såvel deres ødelæggelse som ny grundlæggelse iværksat af Cæsar (Wiseman 1979, 92), kan have været medvirkende til at sprede opfattelsen af, at det, der skete i Korinth, lignede det, der skete i Kartago. Konflikten mellem Rom og Kartago blev genstand for episke værker af Naevius, Ennius og Vergil, hvori den fik mytiske dimensioner⁵. Det er muligt at tale om en vis afsmitning fra Kartago på Korinth; i al fald opstår der også en fortælling om slaget ved Korinth, hvor den berømte korintiske bronze bogstavelig talt skulle være opstået i kampens hede: Flammerne ved byens nedbrænding skulle have gjort det så varmt, at flere metaller smeltede og blev blandet sammen til en hidtil ukendt legering. Plinius den Ældre fortæller denne historie i *Historia Naturalis*, men gendriver den i samme ombæring, da de håndværkere, der benyttede dette værdifulde bronze, havde deres virke før 146 fvt. (34.3).

Plinius var nok ikke den eneste, der godt var klar over, at historien ikke holdt vand. Eksistensen af en

⁴ Bemærk at både Mummius og Cato anvender verbet *deleo*; det er ikke urimeligt at forestille sig, at Mummius (eller den, der har lavet inskriptionen på hans vegne) har haft Catos *catchphrase* i baghovedet.

⁵ Miles 2011, 118. Bogen er konsulteret i pdf-format, og sidetallene henviser til denne. Filen kan rekvireres hvis ønsket.

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sådan fortælling understreger dog stadig, hvor ladet et symbol ødelæggelsen af Korinth var, og hvor skelsættende et år 146 fvt. på mange måder var. Året markeres ofte af moderne forskere som et vendepunkt i romersk udenrigspolitik (F. eks. Miles 2011, 113; Kiernan 2004, 28, Feger 1952, 439-440 og Graverini 2002, 61), og Cicero var da også optaget af begivenhedernes moralske implikationer. I sit filosofiske værk *De Officiis* diskuterer han forskellen på, hvad der er nyttigt, og hvad der er moralsk korrekt, og han kommer i denne forbindelse ind på behandlingen af Korinth. Indledningsvis er han beklagende: (...) *maiores nostri (...) Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt; nollem Corinthum, sed credo aliquid secutos, opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari* (1.11.35), selvom han stadig anfører årsagen, nemlig dets gunstige placering (*opportunitatem loci maxime*) – samme grund som han anførte i *De Lege Agraria* (citeret ovenfor). I tredje bog af afhandlingen er han dog mere fordømmende – denne grund er kun et påskud (*species*) under hvilket der begås uret (*peccatur*): *Sed utilitatis specie in re publica saepissimi peccatur, ut in Corinthi disturbance nostris* (3.11.46). I *De Officiis* er Cicero altså meget langt fra Mummius' triumferende indskrift eller Vergils inklusion af Mummius i sin helteparade i *Æneiden*⁶. Om vi skal opfatte holdningerne udtrykt i *De Officiis* som hans endelige stillingtagen til spørgsmålet, eftersom bøgerne udkom i 44 fvt. som noget af det sidste fra hans hånd, er svært at sige. Uanset hvad står de i skarp kontrast til hvad han skrev i 51 fvt. i *De Republica*, hvor han kommer han frem til, at *Illa iniusta bella sunt, quae sunt sine causa suscepta. Nam extra ulciscendi aut propulsandorum hostium causam bellum geri iustum nullum potest* (3.23.35). Har man altså blot den rette årsag (*causa*) til at gå i krig, nemlig for at tage hævn (!) eller holde en fjende stangen, eksisterer der faktisk en sådan ting som retfærdig krig (*iustum bellum*). Det er ikke videre vanskeligt at få ødelæggelsen af Korinth til at passe i dén kategori, særligt ikke inden for de episke rammer, Vergil skriver det ind i, hvor det handler om at romerne, de trojanske efterkommere, hævner den græske ødelæggelse af Troja⁷.

Man kan med Robert Feger sige, at "(...) dieses Bemühen Ciceros auf weite Strecken den Boden für die Ausbildung einer neuen, den Beginn der Kaiserzeit tragenden imperialen Ideologie bereitet hat (...)" (Feger 1952, 437). Uanset hvad Cicero endte med at mene om lige præcis tilfældet Korinth, kan man altså hævde, at hans anstrengelser for at retfærdiggøre romersk udenrigspolitik har banet vejen for kejsertidens imperialistiske ideologi, som vi også ser udtrykt i de omtalte passager af *Æneiden*, uagtet om Vergil så indestod helhjertet for det eller ej.

⁶ 6.836-837: *Ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho / victor aget currum, caesis insignis Achivis*. Selvom man skal vare sig for at læse næsegrus beundring for det imperialistiske projekt ind i *Æneiden*, ændrer det ikke på, at Mummius optræder i selskab her med mere uproblematisk helteskikkelser.

⁷ Graverini 62. *Aen.* 1.283-285: *Veniet lustris labentibus aetas, / cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenae / servitio premet, ac victis dominabitur Argis*

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Når romerne overhovedet anstrenger sig for at argumentere for deres imperiums eksistensberettigelse, kan det blandt andet forstås som reaktion på grækernes opfattelse af deres egen kulturelle overlegenhed (Graverini 2002, 64-65). Dette var også en opfattelse, mange romere delte, og som kan siges at være latent i Strabons gengivelse af Plinius forfærdelse over håndteringen af de stjålne, korintiske kunstskatte. På den måde kan man sige, at Korinth kommer til at symbolisere forholdet mellem Rom og Grækenland.

Denne symbolik er indlejret i Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, en romersk roman, der bygger på en græsk original, pseudo-Lukians *Onos* (et resumé af et tabt værk, der måske også har heddet *Metamorphoses*). I *Onos* er romanens hovedperson Lucius fra Patrae i Achaea. Han bliver forvandlet til et æsel, rejser mod nord, indtil han kommer til Thessalonike, hvor han bliver forvandlet tilbage til et menneske, hvorefter han slutteligt sejler tilbage til sin hjemstavn (Id. 66). Hos Apuleius derimod kommer Lucius fra Korinth, forvandles til et æsel, rejser rundt i Thessalien for at vende tilbage til Korinth, hvor han atter blive til menneske. Herefter indtræder der også en sørejse parallelt med den i *Onos*; den er dog til Rom, hvor han bliver optaget i Isiskulten.

Apuleius har altså ændret mange ting i forhold til *Onos*; da vi kun kender handlingsforløbet gennem resuméet, er det ikke til at sige præcist hvor meget, men her er vi også kun interesserede i udskiftningen af Patrae med Korinth. Det er blevet argumenteret, at udskiftningen alene skyldes hensyn til et romersk publikum, for hvem Korinth var mere velkendt end Patrae (Id. 59). Forudsætningen for dette er naturligvis, at det intenderede publikum var romersk. Forskere inden for postkoloniale studier debatterer, hvorvidt Apuleius havde et romersk eller afrikansk publikum; er sidstnævnte tilfældet, bliver Korinth på grund af dens historie et ladet, litterært symbol på kulturel identitet i værket⁸.

For en romer vil Korinths betydning måske overvejende ligge i dets ry for at være en rig, men korrump og umoralsk by og i øvrigt sæde for Isiskulten, men Korinth har også det tilfælles med *Onos*, at den er blevet overtaget af romerne, hvorfor det romerske forhold til de undertvungne grækere lurer mellem linjerne i *Metamorphoses* qua romersk gendigtning af græsk original. For en læser i det romerske imperiums periferi, det være sig en græker, afrikaner eller andet, vækker Korinth snarere billeder i stil med det, vi så Antipater tegne. I den forbindelse er det værd at bide mærke i, at den græske roman *Onos* har haft en

⁸ Se f.eks. forskningsoversigten i forbindelse med denne internationale konference om Apuleius og Afrika: <https://sites.google.com/site/apuleiusandafrica/prolegomena-and-bibliography/overview-of-previous-scholarship> (siden er besøgt senest d. 05.07.13 kl. 10.50)

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romersk borger som sin hovedperson, og da denne gør en ganske latterlig figur romanen igennem, har Apuleius på sin vis 'arvet' en kritisk attitude mod Rom (Id. 66-67), som anvendelsen af Korinths symbolik udbygger.

Men selv hvis man som Luca Graverini kommer frem til, at Apuleius' egen identitet var overvejende romaniseret, udelukker det jo ikke muligheden for en 'provinsiel' læsning (Id. 73-74). I analysens øvrige eksempler har vi set Korinth brugt som symbol *enten* på den romerske sejr *eller* det græske nederlag med alle de respektive implikationer til følge; uagtet hvad den historiske person Apuleius måtte have ment om problematikken, ser vi altså, hvordan Korinth kan tjene som et dobbeltbundet, litterært symbol, hvor begge 'historier' om Korinth er til stede samtidigt, hvorved værkets betydning ændrer karakter afhængigt af læserens tolkning af dette (og utallige andre) symboler.

Konklusion

Forestillingen om, at Korinth skulle være blevet jævnet med jorden og have ligget øde og forladt i 100 år, viser sig i antikken snarere at have været et billede anvendt i forskellige sammenhænge for dets symbolske værdi end en egentlig tro. Analysen har vist, at romerne kunne bruge Korinth som symbol på deres storhed og hævn over Trojas ødelæggelse, mens grækerne kunne bruge det til at begræde deres tabte frihed og skælde ud på romerne for den uret, de begik mod dem. Som semantisk felt spændte symbolværdien altså bredt, hvor modpolerne kan siges at være Antipaters' harme og Mummius' triumf.

Men det ville være forkert at sige, at grækerne generelt begræd slaget og romerne glædede sig; som vi har set, er Strabons dom over grækernes egen skyld i deres skæbne hård, og Cicero skammer sig nærmest over sine landsmænds opførsel, selvom han også andetsteds forsøger at retfærdiggøre den. Det er netop denne tvetydighed i Korinths symbolik, der gør det svært at vurdere tendensen, om man vil, i Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Hans værk lader sig ligesom historiens forløb læse fra begge sider; sejren i Korinth eksisterer side om side med nederlaget i Korinth.

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Fig. 1: Apollontemplet i Korinth



Livet som graver

Af ANNE NORGE LAURIDSEN

Aldrig har jeg før arbejdet så hårdt i mit liv! Hakke, skovle og skubbe tunge trillebørene. Dagene bestod af 7 timer i felten efterfulgt af 3 timers registrering i et ophedet og tætpakket magasin. Et par timer før solne-gang kunne vi så vende tilbage til vores bo og falde i søvn. Sådan gentog dagene sig - det var meget hårdt og opslidende. Men så opdagede jeg den græske kolde *frappé*-kaffe, og hvis det ikke havde været for den var det blevet nogle lange uger. Men det var kun sådan jeg følte i den første uge. Med en gammel flaske hjemmerystet kaffe fra en lunken fryser, som jeg sov ved siden af i køkkenet, kom jeg til at elske livet som graver! At stå op med en ubehageligt svag krop kl. 06 til en kold og voldsom blæsende morgen, måske lige hente vasketøjet, som nattevinden havde spredt med gode mellemrum over hele vores have, vaske de kære armhuler, tage noget beskidt arkæologtøj på, smide hvad der nu var tilbage af spiselige ting i gabet, proppe tandbørsten i munden samtidig, vælte ud af døren og ned ad trapperne i kolosal sikkerhedssko og en rygsæk med stakkels Canon indsmurt i jord og nektarin, var en del af den daglige rutine. Så blev man mødt af hele flokken, der sad i koma og ladede op til at, "The Great Archaeological Leader", Rune Frederiksen selv mødte op i sit alt for hvide sæt tøj og sagde de længe ventede ord "*skal vi køre*", uden egentlig at sætte et spørgsmålstejn bagefter. Så blev tempoet ellers sat overordentligt op i de små biler på vej over stok og sten ud til felten. Bilhøjtalerne blæste 90'er hits lige i ansigtet på en og stille, som kaffen hældtes ind i munden på mig i takt med vejens forløb, begyndte vi at rocke med til *Mr. Boombastic*. Garanteret forårsaget af overtræthed på grund af manglende søvn. Turen gik først hen i magasinet for at



Foto Anne Norge Lauridsen

hente udstyr og så hurtigt videre til teatret, hvor jeg havde min trench.

Som dagene gik lærte vi hvad der skulle gøres og påtog os selv ansvar, og lyst til at gøre et godt stykke arbejde. Jeg glemmer ikke scenariet oppe ved udsigten over det antikke teater til en smuk solopgang, og følelsen af stille at blive varmet op af strålerne der listede sig over de tørre bakker der omkredser teatret, hvor nivelleringsapparatet skulle opstilles. Alt her var meget stille og saligt. At gøre alt dette kom jeg til at elske. At være beskidt og bruge sin krop på den måde var noget helt særligt og en unik oplevelse.

Livet som graver

Af ANNE NORGE LAURIDSEN

En oplevelse af et hårdt arbejde, som måske kan sammenlignes med hverdagen for en stor del af verdensbefolkningen.

Vi kom til Kalydon uden nogen egentlig undervisning i feltarbejde, men jeg må konkludere, at dette kun har været en fordel. Jeg har lært på den helt rigtige måde, ud fra erfaring, og jeg er sikker på, at fire uger med boglig undervisning ikke ville kunne give den samme viden ligeså godt som her, hvor vi stod med materialet i hånden og kunne pille og spørge så meget, som vi havde lyst. Hver dag var det en sand fornøjelse at blive instrueret af Christoffer Pelle Hagelquist, der formåede at holde gejsten oppe i vores lille 5x5m jordhul. Han var virkelig en suveræn mentor for os og med sin viden og kærlighed indenfor sten, særligt flintstenen, og andet fra den forhistoriske og klassiske verden, kunne vi kun blive klogere og blev næsten glade når vi fandt en lille og ret ligegyldig sten. Som ugerne gik og vi kom mere ned igennem de forskellige strata blev vi mere udfordret i arkæologens arbejde med at tegne den meget fine balk der langsomt blev højere og højere, måle hver eneste lille stens hjørner og fik registreret hele trenchen på diameterpapir i nøjagtige tegninger der tog hele dagen at fuldføre. Særligt den sidste uge endte i stor travlhed over hele udgravningen med at få gravet og registreret alle fund. Her sad vi og tegnede og målte omhyggeligt i trenchen til Louis Armstrongs dybe stemme og kunne afslutte udgravningen, som belærte arkæologer. Jeg er så glad for, at jeg endte i en trench med lige præcis de seks mennesker som jeg gjorde, og at stene



Foto Anne Norge Lauridsen

som at slæbe under solsejlet i fire uger, og opleve alt fra at blive total hyperaktiv og få kramper af grin til at sidde døende med en hidsig øjenbetændelse, samt en deprimeret følelse af klaustrofobi over tanken om, at alt min tid og væren var lagt i hænderne på denne udgravning. Men når en let brise fløj igennem mit hår, Marie grinende fik mig til at synge med på *Bullerfnis*, Lise lignede en gartner med sin stråhat, som sad og fjernede ukrudt, Frederik desperat søgte efter at finde en porolithos og Christoffer snakkede og snakkede om, at vi måtte danse på *Shen Mao* når vi kom tilbage til Århus, ja, så gik det op for mig hvor lækkert her egentlig var, hvor skønt livet i felten er - især i forhold til at sidde hjemme i Danmark på et gråt kontor. Der skal ingen tvivl findes om, at jeg vil være evig glad for at have deltaget i udgravningen 2013 i Kayldon, Grækenland. Det har været en yderst interessant oplevelse rent fagligt og jeg har

Livet som graver

Af ANNE NORGE LAURIDSEN

fået sådanne gode kontakter, ideer og planer for fremtiden.

Sent vil jeg glemme dansen midt på vejen, formet i en cirkel til græsk folkedans, lige ned til stranden i brune bare tæer og blomstret heldragt, hånd-i-hånd med en lille lokal græsk pige og den anden i Runes. Jeg følte mig så fri i det elskelige græske selskab og den lune nat, dog lettet over at slutte, og fuldt tilfreds over min egen hårde indsats og sociale oplevelser, ja en generel succes omkring hele denne måneds liv. Udgravningen i solens lys vil bestemt være et scenarie jeg vil drømme mig væk til når vinteren kommer og alt dør hen.

Så ta' endelig til middelhavet og hak, skovl og sved så meget du kan indtil du en dag er garvet nok og kan overtage titlen som trenchmaster og blive til noget jeg mere vil kalde den typiske arkæolog under parasol. Som jo nok er det vi uddanner os til, og grunden til vi overhovedet tog af sted. Ikke graver, men erfaren arkæolog.



Specialeresumeer

Klassisk arkæologi

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The Roman horned altar

Af DITTE MARIA DAMSGAARD HIORT

The Roman horned altar: An analysis, discussion, and contextualisation of the material from Jerash

Dette speciale omhandler de såkaldte "hornede altre" fra romersk tid fundet i den antikke by *Gerasa*, i dag kaldet Jerash, i Jordan.

Den antikke by er i dag integreret i den moderne by og ligger i den nordlige del af landet i Ajlun-højlandet. Gerasa tilhørte Dekapolis-unionen og var en større romersk provinsby, som stød voksede igennem det første, andet og tredje århundrede f.v.t. Levanten var en smeltedigel af muligheder byen var nemlig centralt beliggende mellem mange forskellige kulturelle og religiøst varierede centre.

Gerasa er muligvis den eneste lokalitet i hele Jordan, som råder over en så stor samlet gruppe af romerske hornede altre. Altrene fra Gerasa er dog aldrig blevet ekstensivt studeret. Flere forskere har dog kort berørt emnet, eller ligefrem publiceret nogle af dem. Kurt Galling, som i 1925 udgav et større værk omhandlende alle hidtil kendte altertyper fra Levanten, har et afsnit om netop denne type. Ydermere udgiver C.H. Kraeling i 1938 en stor og vigtig publikation om Gerasa, hvor flere af altrene og disses indskrifter er omtalt, men dog ikke dybtgående undersøgt. Derudover har en del arkæologer beskæftiget sig med hornede altre i andre kulturelle traditioner, bl.a. den minoiske og israelitiske. S. Gitin er den førende forsker inden for studiet af altrene fra Israel.

Opgaven tager sit udgangspunkt i mit eget studie af altrene i Gerasa. Jeg rejste derned og foretog mine undersøgelser på lokaliteten. Desuden rejste jeg også rundt i andre omkringliggende dele af Jordan for at finde sammenlignede materiale.

Altrenes ikonografi og hornmotivet har en lang og interessant historie. Selve altertypen har sit forlæg i Israel, hvor der er fundet hornede altre fra mange dele af landet, hvilke kan dateres til ca. 1000-600 år f.v.t. De israelitiske eksemplars forgængere er med al sandsynlighed syriske, og er dateret til ca. 1400-1200 f.v.t. Disse havde dog ikke deciderede horn, hvilke først ses i den form, som den romerske type også repræsenterer, på altrene fra Israel. Der fandtes ydermere store, monumentale udgaver af det hornede alter, som er beskrevet i det gamle testamente. Disse skal dateres lidt tidligere end jernaldertypen, ca. 1200-1000 f.v.t. Den bibelske type har uden tvivl ageret inspirationskilde til udviklingen af det israelitiske alter, hvor man nu ser en forholdsvis stereotyp og ensformig gengivelse af både horn og selve alteret. Hornmotivet er dog langt ældre end både de bibelske og israelitiske altre, og symbolet stammer fra Mesopotamien, Babylonien og Assyrien.

The Roman horned altar

Af DITTE MARIA DAMSGAARD HIORT

Altrene har vist sig at have en både varieret typologi og ikonografi. Ud over hornene fremviser de mange forskellige stilistiske træk. Altrene falder dog alle inden for bestemte grupper af mål, hvor de mindste er knap 0,60 m, og de største godt 1,20 m. De fleste har desuden både en øvre og nedre corona og en ofte relativ flad fordybning til nedsættelsen af en offerskål til røgelse. Flere af altrene fremviser også den såkaldte stiliserede skål. Godt halvdelen af dem har desuden indskrifter, hvilke er vigtige i studiet af det religiøse miljø i byen.

De hornede altre fra romersk tid er alle votivaltre med ganske få undtagelser og havde et specifikt utilitaristisk formål. De blev dedikeret af borgere i byen, som ifølge et løfte til guddommen opstillede et monument til ære for denne, som havde opfyldt et ønske for dem. Dedikationsindskrifterne er til flere forskellige guddomme, hvor Artemis ser ud til at være den mest populære.

Altrene er ud over deres variation interessante, fordi de er fundet i et så stort antal, hvor et gammelt levantisk motiv er det vigtigste element på dem. Dette kunne tyde på at byens indbyggere, som levede i en både helleniseret og romaniseret kulturel sfære, ønskede at vise, at de også gerne ville forbindes med deres lange historie og østlige arv, hvilket de gjorde via genopdagelsen af en tradition, hvor man brændte røgelse af på votivaltre med horn til ære for en guddom. Altrene var endvidere med til at definere og fastslå, hvor de hellige rum i byen befandt sig. Flere af dem er fundet i og omkring den store Artemishelligdom, og en del af indskrifterne er da også dedikationer til selvsamme gudinde. Det at opstille et alter var en vigtig og begivenhedsrig affære, som både udtrykte borgerens velstand, men også dennes religiøse tilhørsforhold. Altrene agerede social-ideologiske markører, og var med til at etablere de systemer, som man begik sig i. De indgik samtidig i gamle og konventionelt konstituerede ritualer, som karakteriserede byens religiøse ståsted.

Opgavens primære formål er at vise vigtigheden af kontekstualiseringen af arkæologisk materiale. Hvis dette forsøges opfyldt, kan materialet forstås og indgå i mange forskellige kontekster, hvilke alle kan sammenkædes og samlet set give et større overblik og fornyet indsigt, hvor man er bedre i stand til at begribe de ofte komplicerede religiøse, sociale og kulturelle rammer og aspekter, som var grundstenene i antikken.



Indigenous ethnic identity at Timpone della Motta

Af SINE GROVE SAXKJÆR

The question of indigenous ethnic identity at Timpone della Motta — Analysing markers of ethnicity in material culture

I mit speciale koncentrerer jeg mig om den indfødte befolkning på Timpone della Motta i perioden fra 8. – 6. årh. f.Kr. Allerede fra bronzealderen havde den indfødte befolkning kontakt til den græske verden, men særligt fra begyndelsen af det 7. årh. f.Kr. ses en kontinuerligt stigende forekomst af græsk keramik. Dette skyldes en stigning i handel samt de græske kolonilæggelser. Den græske koloni Sybaris blev anlagt ca. 720 f.Kr., blot 12 km fra Timpone della Motta. Forinden havde eubøiske immigranter slået sig ned på den sydlige skråning af Timpone della Motta i anden fjerdedel af 8. årh. f.Kr.

På Timpone della Motta ophørte den indfødte produktion af håndlavet *matt-painted* keramik omkring anden fjerdedel af 7. årh. f.Kr., hvilket medførte, at den materielle kultur fremefter primært var i græsk stil. Jeg forsøger i mit speciale at afdække betydningen af det klare skift i den materielle kultur. Afspejler skiftet i den materielle kultur et skift i identitet? Blev de indfødte influeret af græsk kultur? Og kan vi som arkæologer skelne mellem adoptionen af materiel kultur og kulturelle elementer?

Først og fremmest har jeg forsøgt at etablere en teoretisk og ikke mindst metodisk ramme, der tillader at skelne de finere nuancer i kulturmødet. Her tager jeg udgangspunkt i en opdeling af kulturel og etnisk identitet. Kort beskrevet er min forståelse af begreber følgende: Et individ er født ind i en bestemt kulturel ramme. Den kulturelle ramme medfører et ubevidst 'livsmønster' lig Bourdieus koncepter *habitus* og *doxa*. Livsmønsteret er ubevidst, skabt og bestyrket igennem erfaringer og nedarvede handlemåder. Livsmønsteret udgør den kulturelle identitet. Det skal understreges, at kulturel identitet ikke er statisk, men konstant udvikles og forandres, om end det sker ubevidst. I mødet med andre kulturelle grupper sker et brud med *doxa*, den ubevidste volumen af social viden, og der opstår en bevidsthed om ens kulturelle identitet. Som resultat heraf opstår en etnisk identitet. Elementer af den kulturelle identitet – ritualer, vaner og traditioner – kan bruges bevidst til at udtrykke denne identitet. I situationer med social spænding, f.eks. i konkurrence om land eller ressourcer, er det muligt at forstærke bestemte kulturelle elementer i forsøget på at skabe veldefinerede grænser for ens kulturelle gruppe, udadtil såvel som indadtil. Disse elementer bliver etniske markører.

Indigenous ethnic identity

Af SINE GROVE SAXKJÆR

Som arkæologer er vi begrænsede til at genkende de etniske markører, der har afsat et aftryk i den materielle kultur. I formuleringen af en metodisk tilgang til etniske markører, tager jeg udgangspunkt i studiet af stil, særligt *isochrestic style* som formuleret af Sackett. Derudover inddrager jeg en kontekstuel tilgang, idet jeg argumenterer, at etniske markører kan ses i både materiel stil samt i anvendelsen af materiel kultur, idet anvendelsen kan afspejle ritualer eller traditioner, der igen kan fungere som etniske markører.

I analysen har jeg inddelt Timpone della Motta i tre underkontekster: nekropol, helligdom og beboelsområder. Igennem analyserne forsøger jeg at fastsætte kontinuitet og forandringer i materiel stil samt i anvendelse af materiel kultur på tværs af det omtalte materielle skift fra indfødt til græsk stil. I forsøget på at undgå cirkulær argumentation, der er en af faldgruberne ved en kontekstuel tilgang, har jeg etableret en såkaldt 'backdrop' til hver kontekst. Heri gennemgår jeg kort den givne kontekst samt de forskellige fortolkninger, andre forskere har præsenteret i relation hertil. Udover at undgå cirkulær argumentation, håber jeg ligeledes, at de etablerede 'backdrops' imødekommer faren for ubevidste forudindtagede forståelser og tolkninger. I analysen har jeg fokuseret på keramik, men inddrager ligeledes andre materiale grupper samt arkitektoniske levn.

Baseret på analyserne af materialet fra Timpone della Motta mener jeg, at en indfødt etnisk identitet er bevaret igennem perioden fra 8. – 6. årh. f.Kr. Udover etniske markører i form af materiel stil, kan flere eksempler på kontinuitet i indfødt praksis fra 8. til 6. årh. f.Kr. fastsættes igennem analyserne. Tydeligst er den fortsatte brug af nekropolen, hvori gravene var arrangeret i *tumuli* baseret på slægtskab. Derudover kan en rituel praksis forbundet til rituel vævning identificeres i helligdommen. Skiftet i materiel kultur afspejler ikke en hellenisering af de indfødte, men derimod en fælles kulturel ramme, der er opstået efter generationer af sameksistens.



Ritual movement in Olympia

AF KRISTINE THOMSEN

Ritual movement in Olympia: A comparative study of ritual movement in a Panhellenic sanctuary from the Classical period to Late Antiquity

Late Antiquity in Olympia is one of the more overlooked periods in the sanctuary's history, and this thesis will try to explore the different spatial dynamics in a comparative study between the classical period BC and Late Antiquity from the perspective of ritual movement.

The Panhellenic sanctuary was a place for all Greeks, and became a multi-ethnic gathering point for the entire Greek population in antiquity. Through time the sanctuary changed its form and shape and continuously grew bigger until Late Antiquity when the roman emperor Theodosius II closed the sanctuary because of its pagan nature. The empire had at that point become Christian, and there were no longer room for pagan cult-practices. The Christianization of Peloponnese is not very well known which is mainly caused by the fact that literary evidence is almost non-existing and the fact that the chronology of the early Christian basilicas is not well documented either. This means that it is necessary to study the different early basilicas from their contexts in an attempt to bring them into a bigger perspective and timeline.

The theoretical framework applied to this thesis has its background in Michael Scott's middle level analysis and Christopher Tilley's phenomenological approach to discover how the different spaces in Olympia were connected to each other, and what that meant for the livelihood of the sanctuary. Olympia was a ritual-centered sanctuary where the spaces came alive through the manifestation of the actual rituals. It was shaped by the pilgrims, the activities in the sanctuary, and the surrounding landscape. Because of the importance of the rituals, it was necessary to combine the correct libation with the altars, and once every month the Olympian priests moved through the sanctuary to sacrifice to all the gods at the many small altars. Presumably the pilgrims used, if not the same, route when visiting the *altis*. Pausanias was one of the many pilgrims, and he was tireless in his description of Olympia. In this thesis I have used Pausanias' *Periegesis* as my eyewitness in the sanctuary and choose to study his walk through Olympia. Pausanias also showed the sensitivity there was around the rituals, and he made sure to visit the entire sanctuary. He went back and forth visiting some of the sights several times, but all according to his own agenda. The risk of using one source is obviously that Pausanias cannot be seen as the representative for all pilgrims.

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Neither can he be a stand-in for information about Olympia. However, he can give us an idea of how the sanctuary functioned, and how pilgrims moved according to the rituals.

The actual movement of the body activates the different rooms in Olympia, and to make it more visible, I choose to use Tonio Hölschers categories which include the monumental room, the ritual room, the representative room, and the room around the freestanding sculpture. The most important rooms were the monumental rooms, which for instance included the temple of Zeus and the temple of Hera. The monumental rooms were also the biggest rooms, and they housed the central focal points and main attractions. This meant that all pilgrims visited these monumental rooms at some point during their stay in Olympia. The ritual rooms were independent of buildings and appeared where a ritual was carried out. It meant that by moving through and with the rituals, it created a microcosmos in which the pilgrims amalgamated with each other and the divine in a joined experience. The biggest rituals were carried out during the Olympic games where all the participants (including athletes, pilgrims, and visitors) gathered in a procession through the sanctuary ending at the Zeus ash-altar. Here they sacrificed together and thereby created the biggest ritual room, however momentary it was. This particular ritual was a religious climax for the participants and made everything come together in a higher purpose: Here everything was connected in a small moment – the pilgrims, the visitors, the athletes, the Games, the present sanctuary, and the past.

In the late 4th century AD the pagan cult-practices were closing and the cult statues and images were moved from the sanctuaries. This meant that parts of the ritual route in Olympia disappeared and so did some of the motivation for visiting the sanctuary. It also meant that there now were several free spaces, where new rooms could appear.

Olympia was one of the first places in the Peloponnese where we see an early basilica which is curious since Olympia was also a Panhellenic sanctuary. This place should be one of the hardest places to Christianize, but the spatial analysis showed that by using an already existing building – in this case Phidias' workshop – the Christian congregation managed to introduce Christianity without disturbing the *altis*. It meant that the pilgrims were familiar with the building, and the conversion of the sanctuary was not aggressive like it was in Egypt and Syria. The first phase of Late Antiquity in Olympia showed that the basilica was not built until the middle of the 5th century AD together with a wall around the *altis*. This meant that Olympia presumably wasn't Christianized before this point and thereby giving Olympia a longer life than assumed.