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Les prouesses et les réformes entreprises par les rois Šarrum-Kin et Naram-Sin afin de consolider leur pouvoir sur l'empire akkadien

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L'empire akkadien est documenté par approximativement 8.000 tablettes cunéiformes dont la plupart concernent les règnes de Naram-Sin et de Šar-kali-šarri¹, découvertes dans plusieurs cités et régions telles que Girsu, Umma, Nippur, Adab, la vallée de la Diyala, Suse et Gassur². Ces documents, dont la nature est d'ordre administratif ou militaire, sont rédigés tantôt en akkadien, tantôt en sumérien³. En plus de ces tablettes cunéiformes, la période sargonique livre diverses œuvres d'art dont la Stèle de victoire de Naram-Sin, le Masque de Šarrum-kin (mieux connu sous le nom de Sargon qui est la forme francisée de son nom akkadien) ou la Statue de Maništušu. Il existe également des sources posthumes concernant les rois Šarrum-kin et Naram-Sin, mais celles-ci sont porteuses d'idéologie royale, telle la Légende de Sargon, et une grande partie des récits est empreinte de mythologie, ce qui rend leur utilisation assez complexe d'un point de vue historique⁴.

¹ SCHRAKAMP 2020, p. 616.

² FOSTER 1986, p. 46.

³ SOLLBERGER et KUPPER 1971, p. 97-114.

⁴ MICHALOWSKI 2020, p. 693-694.

L'empire akkadien, dont la capitale est la cité d'Akkad⁵, fut fondé par Šarrum-kin vers la fin du XXIV^e siècle après sa victoire contre le roi sumérien Lugal-zagesi, réalisant ainsi l'unification de la Babylonie, depuis la mer Méditerranée jusqu'au Golfe persique⁶. La période de prééminence de l'empire se situe entre les règnes du premier roi, Šarrum-kin (\pm 2316 à 2277), et du cinquième roi, Šar-kali-šarri (\pm 2197 à 2173), et son point culminant est atteint sous le règne de Naram-Sin (\pm 2253 à 2198). Après une existence d'environ 180 ans, l'empire akkadien commence à s'effondrer dès le cinquième roi, Šar-kali-šarri, mais s'effondre totalement sous le dernier et onzième roi, Šu-turul (\pm 2148 à 2134)⁷, à la suite de diverses invasions étrangères dont notamment celle des Gutis⁸ et des rébellions à l'intérieur de l'empire akkadien⁹.

Rois	Chronologie ¹⁰	Nombre d'années de règne	Notes	Inscriptions royales mentionnant les rois
Sargon (Šarrum-Kin)	2316 à 2277	+/- 39 ans	Usurpateur, il a déposé le roi Lugal-zagesi ¹¹	RIME ¹² 2 E2.1.1.1-17 et 2001-2005
Rimuš	2276 à 2254	+/- 22 ans	L'ordre de succession de ces deux rois n'est pas très clair ¹³	RIME 2 E2.1.2.1-22 et 2001
Maništušu				RIME 2 E2.1.3.1-7 et 2001-2003
Naram-Sin	2253 à 2198	+/- 55 ans		RIME 8 E2.1.4.1-54, 1001-1004 et 2001-2025
Šar-kali-šarri	2197 à 2173	+/- 24 ans		RIME 2 E2.1.5.1-1. Et 2001-2005
Igigi	2172 à 2170	+/- 2 ans	La liste royale sumérienne mentionne 4 rois rivaux au titre de roi ¹⁴	
Nanum				
Emi				
Elulu				
Dudu	2169 à 2149	+/- 20 ans		RIME 2 E2.1.10.1-3 et 2001
Šu-turul	2148 à 2134	+/- 14 ans	Dernier roi de l'empire akkadien	RIME 2 E2.1.11.1 et 2001-2003

Tableau 1 : Liste chronologique des rois akkadiens

⁵ WESTENHOLZ 1999, p. 31-32. La cité d'Akkad n'a toujours pas été découverte archéologiquement. Plusieurs hypothèses de localisation ont été émises. La plus probable la situerait entre les villes de Samarra et de Bagdad, à l'est du Tigre.

⁶ GREGORY 2016, p. 447.

⁷ Il existe aussi une inscription d'un certain LI-lu-ul-DAN (RIME E2.1.12.1), mais l'identité exacte de cette personne est pour l'instant inconnue (FRAYNE 1993, p. 218).

⁸ SCHRAKAMP 2016, p. 50-51.

⁹ VAN DE MIEROOP 2004, p. 67.

¹⁰ SCHRAKAMP 2020, p. 615.

¹¹ THORKILD 1939, p. 143. Selon la liste royale sumérienne, Šarrum-Kin était un cultivateur de dattes et échanton d'Ur-Zababa.

¹² Le terme *RIME* est un acronyme signifiant *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia : Early Periods*. Il s'agit de plusieurs ouvrages répartis en 5 volumes et qui recensent les textes en langue akkadienne ou sumérienne rédigés par les souverains mésopotamiens : Pre-Sargonic Period (RIME 1), Sargonic and Gutian Periods (RIME 2), Gudea and His Dynasty (RIME 3/1), Ur III Period (RIME 3/2) et Old Babylonian Period (RIME 4).

¹³ SCHRAKAMP 2016, p. 1-4. Maništušu aurait succédé à son père et aurait donc régné avant Rimuš, mais il n'existe aucune preuve qui corrobore cette hypothèse.

¹⁴ THORKILD 1939, p. 173.

Cet article met en évidence ce que les premier et quatrième rois d'Akkad, Šarrum-kin et Naram-Sin, ont entrepris afin de consolider le pouvoir sur l'empire akkadien, à travers l'étude de leurs prouesses militaires et des réformes religieuses et administratives menées par les rois.

1. Les prouesses militaires des rois akkadiens

Šarrum-kin, fondateur de l'empire akkadien

Šarrum-kin ne possède aucune ascendance royale¹⁵. En conséquence, il se rebelle contre le roi Ur-Zababa, roi de Kish, fonde une nouvelle cité appelée Akkad et en devient le roi¹⁶. Ur-Zababa, apeuré face à Šarrum-kin, fait appel à Lugal-Zagesi, roi d'Uruk, afin qu'il l'affronte¹⁷. C'est ainsi que Šarrum-kin mène une campagne de propagande au cours de laquelle il légitime son autorité en soulignant la continuité entre les souverainetés des dynasties primitive et akkadienne¹⁸. Il tire également profit des divinités en établissant des liens avec trois d'entre elles (ainsi, il se décrit, à la fois, comme gouverneur d'Enlil, prêtre d'An et administrateur d'Ištar) et en répétant leur désir d'élever Šarrum-kin au titre de roi. C'est ainsi qu'il obtient le soutien et l'adhésion d'une partie de la population locale¹⁹. Puis Šarrum-kin parvient à vaincre Lugal-Zagesi ainsi que sa coalition de cinquante princes par une succession de trois batailles à la suite desquelles il finit par raser les murailles d'Uruk²⁰.

Par la suite, Šarrum-kin continue ses conquêtes à travers toute la Mésopotamie mais également dans les régions limitrophes, en pillant et en saccageant de nombreuses cités²¹, telles que Ur, Umma, Elam et Simurru²² et en ayant à sa disposition une armée efficace, personnelle et loyale²³. Šarrum-kin doit ses victoires à une nouveauté technique, l'arc composite²⁴.

Naram-Sin, un roi conquérant

Lorsque Naram-sin accède au trône, il prend l'initiative de poursuivre les conquêtes militaires entreprises par ses prédécesseurs sur un large territoire entourant la cité d'Akkad. En ce qui concerne la partie occidentale, Naram-Sin mène des conquêtes sur un territoire allant de la Cilicie jusqu'au Mont Liban en passant par le Mont Dibar, tandis qu'en ce qui concerne la partie orientale, il mène des conquêtes jusqu'au territoire des Lullubis en passant par les sources du Tigre et de l'Euphrate. Dorénavant, Naram-Sin ajoute le titre de « Roi des Quatre

¹⁵ HEINZ 2007, p. 67.

¹⁶ LAFONT 2017, p. 173. Rien n'est connu concernant la date et la manière dont Šarrum-kin est monté sur le trône, de même pour les premières conquêtes qu'il a entreprises avant sa victoire contre Lugal-Zagesi.

¹⁷ WESTENHOLZ 1999, p. 36.

¹⁸ NIGRO 1998, p. 85.

¹⁹ HEINZ 2007, p. 71.

²⁰ SCHRAKAMP 2016, p. 2.

²¹ HEINZ 2007, p. 68.

²² BRUMFIELD Sara 2013, p. 6.

²³ WESTENHOLZ 2007, p. 34.

²⁴ RANDALL 2016, p. 20. Un arc composite est conçu à partir de plusieurs pièces assemblées les unes aux autres afin de former un arc. De ce fait, ces arcs nécessitent le recours à de nombreux matériaux (cornes, ramures ou os avec tendons, bois ainsi que de la colle) afin d'assembler les deux structures en bois recourbées. Cette forme de l'arc permet à l'archer d'obtenir une puissance de tir plus élevée qu'un arc classique.

Régions » à sa titulature royale, montrant ainsi qu'il est le roi d'un empire couvrant un vaste territoire²⁵.

L'événement militaire le plus significatif de son règne est la *Grande Rébellion*, qui voit se soulever une grande partie des cités conquises autour de deux grandes personnalités, à savoir Iphur-Kish et Amar-girid (RIME E2.1.4.6), nommés respectivement roi de Kish et roi d'Uruk par les habitants de ces cités. Ces cités, qui étaient autrefois indépendantes, ont été conquises par Šarrum-Kin lorsqu'il a unifié la Mésopotamie. Kish était l'une des anciennes capitales de la Mésopotamie septentrionale, tandis qu'Uruk était une cité de grande importance en Mésopotamie méridionale²⁶. Ce conflit se déroule en deux grandes phases, la première contre Iphur-Kish et la seconde contre Amar-girid.

La première partie de ce conflit se déroule en Mésopotamie septentrionale où Naram-Sin fait face à Iphur-Kish. Ce dernier parvient à mettre en place une coalition avec le soutien des cités de Cutha, Sippar, Tiwa, Kazallu, Giritab, Apiak, Eresh, Bar, Borsippa, Urum et Dilbat. En premier lieu, Naram-Sin se trouve en difficulté et doit trouver refuge à Akkad avant de lancer sa contre-offensive contre Iphur-Kish. La guerre face à ce dernier se déroule en deux combats : le premier a lieu au « champ du dieu Sin » entre les villes d'Urum et de Tiwa, tandis que le second se déroule près de Kish, à la porte de la déesse Ninkarak. Finalement, Iphur-Kish est vaincu, la cité de Kish est conquise et le nombre de victimes se compte par milliers²⁷.

La seconde partie de ce conflit se déroule en Mésopotamie méridionale, où Naram-Sin lutte contre Amar-girid, qui met en place une coalition avec les cités d'Ur, Lagash, Umma, Adab, Shuruppak, Isin et Nippur, ainsi qu'avec des rois étrangers²⁸. Naram-Sin mène plusieurs combats contre Amar-girid. Les hostilités se déroulent entre les cités d'IRI-UD et d'Ashnak et finissent dans le Djebel Bishri, où Naram-Sin parvient à vaincre son adversaire. Il défait aussi les cités d'Ur et d'Uruk et le nombre de décès et de prisonniers se compte, également, par milliers²⁹.

La suite des événements nous est inconnue, mais nous savons qu'il y a eu, au total, neuf batailles toutes déroulées en une année et que la victoire de Naram-Sin a été facilitée car les deux antagonistes ne travaillaient pas de concert³⁰. Naram-Sin répétera, à plusieurs reprises, sa victoire dans les écrits. Le bilan final est assez conséquent : le nombre de décès parmi les ennemis se compte par milliers, tandis que leurs chefs sont humiliés et conduits devant Enlil à Nippur, sans compter les milliers de prisonniers³¹.

L'armée akkadienne

L'organisation militaire akkadienne est peu connue, mais selon les dires de Šarrum-Kin et de Naram-Sin, l'armée akkadienne était divisée en neuf régiments ayant à leur tête des *šakkanakkū*, des sortes de généraux. Selon Westenholz, chacun des régiments pourrait être

²⁵ WESTENHOLZ 1999, p. 47.

²⁶ WESTENHOLZ 1999, p. 53.

²⁷ GLASSNER 1997, p. 114-115.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ GLASSNER 2011, p. 139.

³⁰ WESTENHOLZ 1999, p. 53.

³¹ GLASSNER 2011, p. 139.

composé de 600 soldats, puisque Šarrum-Kin prétendait accueillir à peu près 5400 guerriers à sa table³².

Naram-Sin, à la manière de ses prédécesseurs, dispose d'une armée forte et efficace. En effet, les guerriers akkadiens étaient confrontés à plusieurs batailles qui, pourtant, s'enchaînaient et se déroulaient en divers lieux. Ces guerriers sont équipés de frondes, d'arcs et de flèches, de haches d'armes et de lances, mais l'arme la plus impressionnante est l'arc composite qui est capable de percer la cuirasse de l'adversaire³³. Malheureusement, les tactiques employées par les Akkadiens ne sont pas connues mais selon les représentations iconographiques, les troupes akkadiennes sont caractérisées par la légèreté de leur habillement en contraste avec les époques antérieures³⁴.

2. Les réformes entreprises par les rois akkadiens

Les réformes administratives

Avant le début de ses conquêtes, Šarrum-kin prend l'initiative de créer une nouvelle cité en Mésopotamie, appelée Akkad. À la suite de son coup d'état et de son accession au trône après sa victoire contre le roi Lugal-zagesi, Šarrum-kin désigne Akkad comme la nouvelle capitale de son empire³⁵. Il déplace, par conséquent, le centre du pouvoir vers Akkad afin de mieux contrôler le centre du Croissant fertile³⁶. Le roi réside au sein de la capitale et organise des visites dans les provinces en compagnie des membres de sa famille et de sa cour³⁷.

Lorsqu'il arrange le contrôle territorial de la partie septentrionale de son empire, Šarrum-kin décide de conserver la structure mise en place par les Sumériens, c'est-à-dire la division en provinces gouvernées par des *ensi*³⁸, à une différence près. En effet, il remplace l'élite sumérienne par une élite akkadienne. De ce fait, il nomme au poste d'*ensi* certains membres de sa cour royale, lesquels sont accompagnés d'un contingent de soldats³⁹. En plus de perdre leur pouvoir, les élites sumériennes sont dépouillées de leurs richesses au profit des Akkadiens⁴⁰. Dans la partie méridionale de l'empire, les anciens rois deviennent les vassaux de Šarrum-kin⁴¹.

La tradition considère Šarrum-kin comme le premier souverain qui a intégré une population étrangère (dans un premier temps, une population sumérienne) à une population akkadienne⁴², réalisant ainsi une espèce de symbiose entre les deux peuples. Par la suite, il privilégie l'akkadien par rapport au sumérien en tant que langue orale, mais le sumérien ne disparaît pas totalement, comme le prouvent les textes retrouvés, écrits soit en akkadien soit en sumé-

³² WESTENHOLZ 1999, p. 65-68.

³³ WESTENHOLZ 1999, p. 65-68.

³⁴ FOSTER 2016, p. 166-167.

³⁵ STEINKELLER 2021, p. 46.

³⁶ GREGORY 2016, p. 448.

³⁷ SCHRAKAMP 2016, p. 7.

³⁸ SCHRAKAMP 2016, p. 3.

³⁹ GREGORY 2016, p. 449.

⁴⁰ HEINZ 2007, p. 68.

⁴¹ STEINKELLER 2021, p. 47.

⁴² HEINZ 2007, p. 68, et TOUROVETS 2014, p. 154.

rien. Les autres régions conquises par Šarrum-kin et ses successeurs verront la langue akkadienne s'imposer⁴³. Sous le règne de Naram-Sin, l'akkadien devient la langue administrative et événementielle, tandis que le sumérien devient la langue littéraire.

Les réformes religieuses

Il n'est pas rare qu'un roi donne en mariage une de ses filles à un souverain ou à un prince, mais il est tout à fait possible pour le roi de donner en mariage une de ses filles à une divinité. De ce fait, lorsqu'un roi nomme une de ses filles grande prêtresse d'une divinité, cela signifie qu'elle devient l'épouse de cette divinité⁴⁴. Šarrum-kin est ainsi le premier roi à nommer sa fille, Enheduanna, grande prêtresse de Nanna à Ur⁴⁵. Naram-Sin suit les traces de son grand-père en nommant ses trois filles – Tuta-napshum, Enmenana et Shumshani⁴⁶ – grandes prêtresses, respectivement d'Enlil à Nippur, de Nanna à Ur et de Shamash à Sippar. L'installation des princesses au poste de grandes prêtresses permet de mieux contrôler le clergé local⁴⁷. Cette fonction deviendra, par la suite, une tradition en Mésopotamie. Des rois de l'époque d'Ur III et de l'époque paléo-babylonienne agiront de même, tels Ur-Namma pour sa fille Ennigalana⁴⁸ ou Išme-Dagan, roi d'Isin, pour sa fille Enannatuma. Par ailleurs, le roi néo-babylonien Nabonide est le dernier roi à nommer sa fille, En-nigaldi-Nanna, grande prêtresse de Nanna à Ur⁴⁹.

Naram-Sin est le premier roi à devenir une divinité. En effet, l'inscription de la statue de Bassetki (RIME E 2.1.4.10) indique que les habitants de la cité d'Akkad ont demandé aux dieux qu'ils déifient Naram-Sin ; en outre, les habitants de la cité ont ainsi fait ériger un temple dédié à Naram-Sin. De même, la Stèle de la victoire de Naram-Sin représente le roi portant une couronne à cornes qui, dans l'iconographie, est une attribution accordée aux divinités⁵⁰.

Naram-Sin lance également un vaste programme de construction de temples dédiés à plusieurs divinités telles qu'à Inanna/Ishtar à Zabalam⁵¹. Il a également commencé la reconstruction et l'embellissement du temple d'Enlil à Nippur ; il sera achevé par Šar-kali-šarri. Ses prédécesseurs tels que Maništušu ont fait construire des temples dont un pour Ninhursag et un autre pour Ishtar à Ninive. Il en va de même pour son successeur, Šar-kali-šarri, qui effectue des travaux aux temples d'Ishtar et d'Ilaba à Babylone⁵².

Les réformes « artistiques »

Pendant le règne de Rimuš, une réforme dans l'écriture cunéiforme a débuté et sera poursuivie sous les règnes de Maništušu et de Naram-Sin. Mais cette réforme reste relativement

⁴³ JANASHIA 2021, p. 1.

⁴⁴ CHARPIN 2020, p. 1.

⁴⁵ HEINZ 2007, p. 67-68.

⁴⁶ WEIERSHÄUSER 2008, p. 255-256.

⁴⁷ SCHRAKAMP 2016, p. 7.

⁴⁸ WEIERSHÄUSER 2008, p. 242.

⁴⁹ RINGER, 1967, p. 118-121.

⁵⁰ BRISCH 2013, p. 40-41.

⁵¹ SCHRAKAMP 2016, p. 5 et 7.

⁵² FOSTER 2015, p. 15 et 23.

minime, puisqu'on constate toujours la présence d'une forme d'archaïsme dans l'écriture. Selon Sara Brumfield, les anciens scribes employaient des formes archaïques, tandis que les jeunes scribes employaient les nouvelles formes. De plus, les tablettes se présentent sous un nouveau format, elles deviennent rectangulaires avec des bords plus nets⁵³.

L'art akkadien devient assez spectaculaire durant l'Empire akkadien, notamment sous le règne de Naram-Sin avec la célèbre statue de Bassetki et la Stèle de victoire. Cette statue, découverte en 1974, porte une inscription datée de l'époque de Naram-Sin. Façonnée à partir de cuivre allié, elle reproduit en grandeur nature⁵⁴ un personnage représentant un héros barbu nu. En s'appuyant sur plusieurs points d'étude, Anne Porter suggère qu'il s'agit de Naram-Sin en personne. En effet, le personnage de la statue de Bassetki partage la même musculature que Naram-Sin représenté sur sa Stèle de la victoire, et la position du personnage, comme protecteur du peuple, montre les jambes enroulées autour d'une douille qui devait probablement supporter un étendoir. Comme dit précédemment, l'inscription mentionne le désir de la ville de déifier Naram-Sin après que ce dernier est sorti victorieux de neuf batailles, aux cours desquelles le roi était soutenu par la déesse Ishtar⁵⁵.

Ensuite, la Stèle de victoire de Naram-Sin se présente sous la forme d'une stèle qui célèbre la victoire de Naram-Sin sur Satuni, le roi des Lullubis. La stèle, initialement érigée à Sippar, a été découverte en 1888 à Suse, car le roi élamite Shutruk-Nahhunte I^{er} (± 1185-1155) l'a emmenée dans sa capitale. À la différence des précédentes stèles, la Stèle de victoire présente plusieurs registres en une scène unique : on peut constater la défaite des ennemis, l'arrivée de l'armée akkadienne et le triomphe du roi Naram-Sin. Sur cette stèle, Naram-Sin est représenté au même niveau que les divinités : il porte un casque à cornes de taureau qui symbolise la puissance divine, tandis que les étoiles présentes au-dessus du roi personnifient les divinités qui sont, ainsi, représentées auprès du roi⁵⁶.

Les réformes économiques

Šarrum-kin développe une série de routes qui relient les cités entre elles afin de faciliter, entre autres, le commerce mais également le déplacement des troupes militaires. Ces routes commerciales permettent d'atteindre les mines d'argent anatoliennes jusqu'aux mines afghanes de lapis-lazuli en passant par les bois de cèdres du Liban et le cuivre de Makka⁵⁷. Outre les routes commerciales, Šarrum-kin développe également le commerce maritime jusqu'à la vallée de l'Indus et au littoral nord-est de l'Arabie et du Bahreïn⁵⁸.

Sous le règne de Naram-Sin, une nouvelle méthode d'agriculture est mise au point. Ainsi, les Akkadiens abandonnent la culture intensive sur de petites surfaces que pratiquaient les Sumériens, au profit d'une culture extensive sur de grandes surfaces. Une partie de l'économie akkadienne était concentrée autour de l'agriculture⁵⁹.

⁵³ BRUMFIELD 2013, p. 17-20.

⁵⁴ BAHRANI 20221, p. 191.

⁵⁵ PORTER 2014, p. 606-607.

⁵⁶ IBRAHIM 2018, p. 809-813.

⁵⁷ JANASHIA 2021, p. 4.

⁵⁸ SCHRAKAMP 2016, p. 3.

⁵⁹ FOSTER 2015, p. 17 et 23.

Une nouvelle méthode de mesure apparaît lors des règnes des rois akkadiens. En effet, le *gur* akkadien est mis en place afin de mesurer l'orge. Ainsi, 1 *gur* correspond à 300 litres d'orge. De même une nouvelle méthode de datation est conçue. Dorénavant, un nom sera attribué à l'année en lien avec un évènement majeur qui s'est déroulé lors de l'année précédente ou du début de l'année en cours, tels que la destruction d'une ville, une campagne militaire, la construction d'un temple, la nomination d'un prêtre, ... Ce système est employé à travers la Babylonie jusqu'en 1500 et à partir d'Ur III, des listes de noms d'années ont été conçues⁶⁰.

3. Conclusion

L'empire akkadien n'a pas connu de période de paix lors de ses \pm 180 années d'existence. Chaque nouveau roi devait faire face, lors de sa montée sur le trône, à des révoltes, comme le dit Jean-Jacques Glassner : « *Il est de notoriété que la mort d'un souverain est l'occasion rêvée pour les plus ambitieux de ses sujets de se révolter contre son successeur et de tenter de briser le carcan de la sujétion* »⁶¹. Ainsi, ces rois devaient prendre les armes afin de mettre un terme aux révoltes qui revenaient sans cesse tout au long de leur règne. Chacun de ces rois met en place une série de réformes afin d'accroître la puissance et l'hégémonie de l'empire akkadien dans tout le Proche-Orient : des réformes administratives (nouvelle capitale, gouverneurs de provinces et nouvelle langue), des réformes économiques (création d'une série de routes, développement du commerce et amélioration de l'agriculture), des réformes religieuses (rôle de la grande prêtresse, création de temples et déification).

⁶⁰ VAN DE MIEROOP Marc, 2004, p. 61.

⁶¹ GLASSNER 2011, p. 139.

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RÉSUMÉ

L'empire akkadien, documenté par des milliers de textes cunéiformes, fut le premier véritable empire que le monde ait connu. Ayant vécu près de deux siècles, l'empire akkadien connut une hégémonie lors des règnes des quatre voire cinq premiers rois akkadiens avant de s'effondrer avec le onzième roi akkadien. L'objectif de cet article est d'examiner rapidement la manière dont Šarrum-Kin et Naram-Sin ont consolidé leur empire à travers des batailles et des réformes.

ABSTRACT

The Akkadian Empire, documented in thousands of cuneiform texts, was the first true empire the world had known. Having lived for two centuries, the Akkadian Empire enjoyed hegemony during the reigns of the first four or even five Akkadian kings before collapsing with the eleventh Akkadian king. The aim of this article is to briefly examine how Šarrum-Kin and Naram-Sin consolidated their empire through battles and reforms.

MOTS-CLEFS

1. Empire akkadien
2. Conquêtes militaires
3. Réformes
4. Šarrum-Kin
5. Naram-Sin

KEYWORDS

1. Akkadian Empire
2. Military Conquests
3. Reforms
4. Šarrum-Kin
5. Naram-Sin

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The Egyptian collection of the Municipal Museum « Giuseppe Barone » in Baranello (CB, Molise region, Italy)

By

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Member of the “Saipinaz” association

in memory of my friend, Claudio Niro,
Director of Baranello Public Library and Municipal Museum

The collection of Egyptian artefacts by Giuseppe Barone preserved in Baranello Municipal Museum¹, although limited in number, is certainly remarkable for the workmanship and typological variety of its documents. The 19th century collector has brought together items related to the funeral sphere and the world of magic, the funeral practice and worship and, finally, to common use. More specifically, the Baranello Museum owns two alabaster canopic jars, three faïence *ushebtis* (however, the Barone catalogue mentions six), three amulets of the same material and a scarab in steatite, three bronze statuettes of divinities, two necklaces, a bracelet and thirteen small stone containers, some attributable to the land of the Nile due to the shape, while others due to the material, namely, alabaster. Currently the pieces are placed in showcases no. VII, VIII and XXVII, while the canopic jars are outside the

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¹ About the birth and size of the Baranello Municipal Museum, see the contributions in DI ROCCO 2012.

showcases. Most of the objects refer to an Egyptian context of the Late Period, notably between the 7th and 4th centuries B.C.; other artefacts are Roman versions of Egyptian originals. In addition, it is worth mentioning that some are fakes, presumably artfully created by the sellers that had enriched the 19th century antiquarian trade, and were then purchased by Barone to later on become an integral part of the collection. Finally, a conspicuous number of modern elements deserve to be mentioned; it is a result of 19th century Egyptomania that most likely originating in the Neapolitan antiquarian trade: there are four candle holders in the shape of a woman, five in the form of a man and two of a sphinx, and two small living room items in the form of a crouching lioness. Unfortunately, the acquisition channels and the origin of the objects are unknown but, in all probability, they were collected from further away areas and purchased on the 19th century antiques market, presumably in Neapolitan area, considering how often the owner visited.

1. *Canopic jars*

The presence of this type of containers is linked to the development of embalming practices: in fact, they had to accommodate the bowels of the deceased, removed before the body was bandaged and treated to ensure their conservation. Generally, four jars were present in the grave goods, placed near the sarcophagus or contained in a special box divided into four sectors. They were equipped with a lid which, starting from the XVIII dynasty up to the Ptolemaic period, had the form of the four sons of Horus, each of whom protected the organs kept inside. Duamutef, the jackal, through the intercession of Neith, preserved the stomach of the deceased; Hapy, the baboon, in association with the goddess Nephtys, was in charge of lung defence; Imsety, a genius with a human aspect, together with the goddess Isis, protected the liver; Qebhsenuf, the falcon, together with the goddess Selqet, preserved the intestines. This identification of the human–zoomorphic heads of the lids with the sons of Horus, also mentioned in the epigraphs, lasted until the Third Intermediate Period, when it began to be disregarded.

Anepigraphic canopic jar (Fig. 1 a-b)

Inv. no. 162; unknown provenance. Measurements: Lid: height 10.4 cm, width 12.5 cm. Container: height 29.3 cm, width 14 cm, ø 11 cm. Alabaster. The surface of the container shows numerous cracks and chips, mainly near the shoulder; the lid, made of plaster, also shows conspicuous damage especially on the headgear of the human figure, along which a fracture line runs in a longitudinal direction. CORONA 2012, p. 48.

The container is tapered towards the bottom and has a rounded shoulder; the median band shows no inscriptions. The lid is made with a different material and, therefore, it is certainly not pertaining to the container; among other things, it does not fit perfectly to the vase. It is probably a recent work. It reproduces in detail the anthropomorphic features of the tutelary genius Imsety: the divinity wears a wig on his head, which hangs down but leaves the ears uncovered².

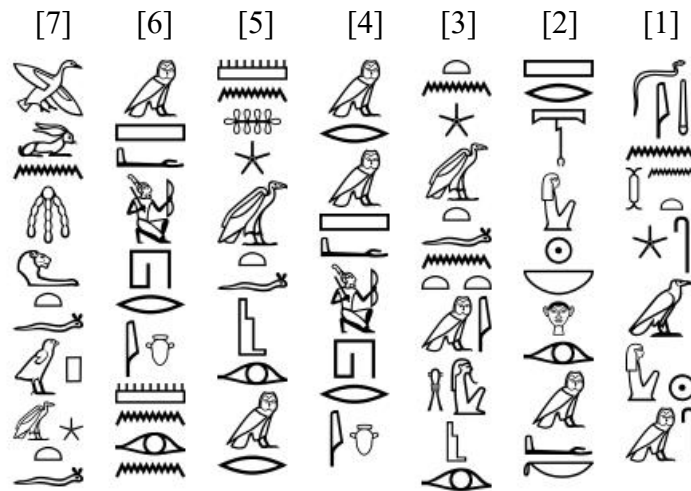
² Typological comparisons can be represented by MARTIN-PARDEY 1980, no. 1345-1348; DOLZANI 1982, no. 19065.

Canopic jar for hr-jb-jmn (fig. 2 a-b)

Inv. 82; unknown provenance. Measurements: Lid: height 15 cm, width 14 cm. Container: height 34 cm, width 19.3 cm, ø 10.5 cm, depth not detectable as the interior is cluttered. Sandy yellow alabaster with light streaks. The surface of the container and that of the lid have slight nicks. A photo appears in CARANO 1967, figure in the text between p. 48 and p. 49 and in *Da Monte Vairano a Baranello* 2006, figure in p. 13; CORONA 2012, p. 48–49; IDEM 2015, p. 75–78, fig. 4.

The container is quite elongated, tapered towards the bottom with a rather rounded shoulder; it is completed by a lid very rich in details, which show the human features of Imsety, equipped with a false beard under the chin and a wig that hangs down on the forehead, but allows the observer to see the ears. The front of the vase bears a magical–religious inscription, framed in an epigraphic field characterized by strong lines and divided into seven vertical columns.

The characters have been rendered with care and are perfectly intelligible:



¹ | *ḏd-mdw jn njt sdw3.j sm* ² | *šr.j r'-nb hr jrj mk* ³ | *t n dw3-mwt.f nty jm(.j) s3 wsjr* ⁴ | *mr mš'*
hr jb j ⁵ | *mn s3 dw3-mwt.f wsjr mr* ⁶ | *mš' hr jb jmn jr(j) n(y)* ⁷ | *p3-wn-h3t.f pw dw3-mwt.f*

[1] *Words spoken by Neith: "I spend the morning*

[2] *and the evening every day, making the protection*

[3] *of Duamutef who is in me. The protection of the Osiris,*

[4] *general hr-jb-jmn³ is*

[5] *the protection of Duamutef, (because) the Osiris,*

[6] *general hr-jb-jmn, born to*

[7] *p3-wn-h3t.f, is Duamutef".*

The passage reported is a variant of the canonical text pronounced by Neith, the patron goddess of Sais, a city located in the western area of the Delta. The ritual formula invokes the protection of the deceased by one of the four sons of Horus, the funerary genius Duamutef, traditionally represented as a jackal. According to the classification of Kurt Sethe⁴, this for-

³ RANKE 1935, p. 230, no. 8.

⁴ SETHE 1934, pp. 230 ff., type XIX.

mula was used mainly from the XXVI dynasty up to the Late Period, as confirmed by some epigraphic data: the expression $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ (“spend the morning”) recurs in some examples of the Saitic period⁵, as well as the writing $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ (“spend the evening”)⁶ and the extended form of the title attributed to *hr-jb-jmn*, $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ (“general”). With regard to the spelling of the latter term, an engraving error by the craftsman was noted and corrected later. The function of *mr mš'*, which developed from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period, was the prerogative of eminent court men, not necessarily linked to the world of war. Some funerary *ushebti* statuettes, dating back between the XXVI and the XXX dynasty, which are referred to a man called *hr-jb-jmn*, are preserved in Rome, Cremona, Dijon and Dresden⁷. Moreover, it is perhaps possible, merely as a hypothesis, to identify him in the character – also awarded the role of *mr mš'* – mentioned on a fragment of a stele now exhibited in the Louvre Museum, initially located at the *Serapeum* of Memphis⁸, on which the officer, a general, is indicated as the husband of $[\text{š}t\text{z}-] jr.t-bjn.t$ ⁹ and father of $j'h-mš$. Two *ushebti*¹⁰ were dedicated to *p3-wn-h3t.f*, which could be the same character mentioned in the jar, attributable to the XXVI dynasty: to these proofs must be added five contemporary statuettes, now kept in the Museo Archeologico di Napoli¹¹, in which it is suggested that the man could have at least one other son, *hr-wd3*¹²; nevertheless, its identification rests only on the homonymy. Furthermore, the lid representing the genius Imsety raises many perplexities: although the material from which it was modelled coincides with the canopic jar, the epigraphic information suggests the image of the jackal Duamutef. This discrepancy can be explained by assuming that the original lid has been lost and replaced with another one, maybe belonging to the same set (this is a practice that is anything but occasional among the antique dealers of the 19th century) or that all four lids had already been originally sculpted in human form, as the habit of diversifying the images of the four deities had been lost. As for the chronological framework, prosopographical study and artistic characteristics point without any doubt to the Saitic age.

* * *

The Photographic Archive of the Museo Archeologico di Napoli preserves the negative of an Egyptian funerary jar, which is interesting as it is also entitled to the general *hr-jb-jmn* (fig. 3)¹³. Unfortunately, the canopic jar is nowhere to be found, and it is impossible to deduce any information about the origin, the circumstances of acquisition and the measurements. In fact, the corresponding printed sheet, drawn up in 1928, with the inventory number 1051 refers to another vase in the collection, different from ours; the no. 5254 is in the negative, but this

⁵ VAN WIJNGAARDEN 1932, pp. 7, no. 32; 8, no. 37; 10, no. 45; 15, no. 77; REISNER 1967, no. 4100, 4108; JANSEN-WINKELN 2014, 2, pp. 934, no. 60.340.4100; 935, no. 60.342.4108; 936, no. 60.343.4124; 937, no. 60.344.4134; 1136, no. 60.694; 1137, no. 60.696; 1148, no. 60.724; 1149, no. 60.729; 1150, no. 60.731; 1155, no. 60.750.4396; DOLZANI 1982, no. 19034.

⁶ *Wb.* IV, p. 144, 1.

⁷ Rome: GRENIER 1996, p. 79, pl. II, no. 116; JANSEN-WINKELN 2014, 2, p. 1147, no. 60.722. Cremona: POZZI, GOTTI 2004, p. 91. Dijon: LAURENT, DESTI 1997, pp. 99-100, no. 123. Dresden: *Ägyptische Altertümer* 1977, no. 80-81; *Ägyptische Kunst* 1989, no. 157.

⁸ JANSEN-WINKELN 2014, 1, p. 553, no. 57.274 (with previous bibliography).

⁹ RANKE 1935, p. 323, no. 1.

¹⁰ SCHLÖGL, BRODBECK 1990, p. 239, no. 168.

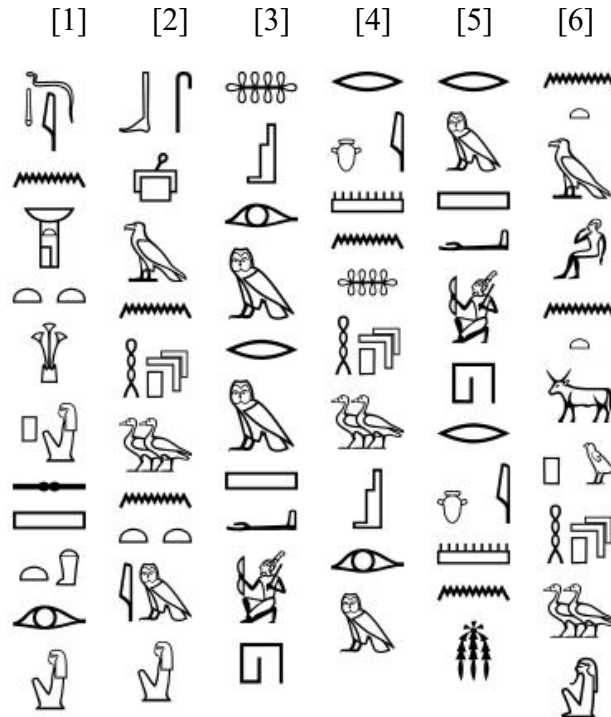
¹¹ POOLE 1989, p. 179, no. 19.17-21.

¹² RANKE 1935, p. 246, no. 23.

¹³ CORONA 2015, pp. 77, fig. 3; 78-79.

indication has not produced any results either. Consequently, we also ignore the shape of the lid, which, in accordance with the epigraphic data, had to reproduce the image of a baboon, but could also have been in a human form. The scientific literature does not include in-depth studies or translations referable to this object, but only two brief mentions¹⁴: this lacuna reasonably demonstrates that the loss of the object dates back to almost forty years ago. The text, divided into six vertical columns, carefully subdivided and framed by a rectangular epigraphic field delimited by rather deep lines, is very clear. The signs show the same degree of refinement already noted in the inscription of the jar of the Molise region.

The magic-ritual formula is articulated as follows:



¹ | *dd-mdw jn nbt-hw(t) h(3)p(j) sšt3 jr.j* ² | *bs3 n. hꜣpj nty jm(.j)* ³ | *s3 wsjr mr mš' h* ⁴ | *r jb jmn s3 hꜣpj wsjr m* ⁵ | *r mš' hr jb j'mn m* ⁶ | *s n t3-šrjt-n.t-t3-jḥ.t pw hꜣpj*

[1] *Words spoken by Nephtys: "I conceal the secret,*

[2] *I make protection of Hapy who is in me.*

[3] *The protection of the Osiris, general hr-*

[4] *jb-jmn is the protection of Hapy, (because) the Osiris,*

[5] *general hr-jb-jmn, born*

[6] *to t3-šrjt-n.t-t3-jḥ.t¹⁵, is Hapy".*

Also in this case it is a variant of the classic text¹⁶ pronounced by Nephtys, tutelary goddess of the city of Heliopolis, who implores the protection of Hapy, the son of Horus traditionally represented with the head of a baboon, on the deceased. The invocation is interesting

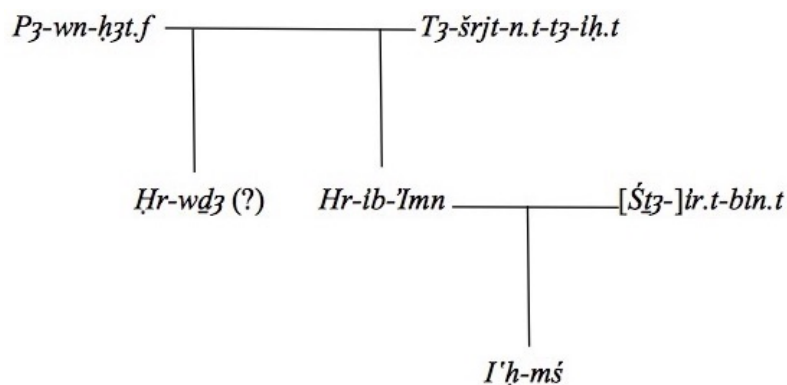
¹⁴ CHEVEREAU 1985, p. 106, doc. 137, no. 4.2; LAURENT, DESTI 1997, p. 99, no. 123.

¹⁵ RANKE 1935, p. 370, no. 3.

¹⁶ SETHE 1934, pp. 229 ff., type XIX.

for some epigraphic characteristics referable to the Saitic period: the verb 𓂏𓂏𓂏 (“to conceal”) is written in the short form 𓂏 , just as is often in parallel texts¹⁷; the name 𓂏𓂏 (“secret”) is expressed through an unusual, yet not isolated, writing¹⁸; the verb 𓂏𓂏𓂏 (“to make protection”) is written without the determinative¹⁹; moreover, the name of the genius Hapy 𓂏𓂏𓂏 is transcribed three times through the limited use of the spelling, only in the last case with the determinative²⁰. The prosopographical information is also remarkable, because the name of the general's mother, *t3-šrjt-nt-t3-jh.t*, is mentioned, though in its abbreviated form, but it is not mentioned in the exemplary of the Molise region: thus, it is possible to reconstruct at least a part of the family nucleus of the character in question, which concerns both parents. For the external appearance of the jar, the choice of the funerary formula, including the orthographic solutions, and the widespread attention to detail, typical of the artistic Renaissance of the first half of the 7th century B.C., it seems possible to attribute the object to the Saitic period. The comparison between the two canopic jars highlights a series of interesting analogies: the elongated shape, the downward tapering shape and the rounded shape of the shoulder would seem, in some way, to confirm that the two containers come from the same grave set. Due to the lack of documentation related to the canopic jars, it is not possible to establish their origin with certainty: however, some observations are possible. First, it should be noted that the names of the generals *p3-wn-h3t.f* and *hr-jb-jm* are attested in the necropolis of Saqqara²¹, while they are practically absent elsewhere. Secondly, the name *t3-šrjt-n.t-t3-jh.t* (= the daughter of *Ihet*, the sacred cow), may be related to the Delta area, including Saqqara.

Thanks to the information obtained from the prosopographical study of the evidences in our possession, excluding any other possible homonyms, the following genealogical line can be proposed, as a mere hypothesis, related to three generations:



¹⁷ *Wb.* III, 30, 6-31, 3. See also DOLZANI 1982, no. 19029, 19033, 19036; MÁLEK 1978, p. 139.

¹⁸ LEPSIUS 1900, III, p. 247, no. 7186; REISNER 1967, no. 4278; BROVARSKI 1978, no. 23.741.

¹⁹ PIEHL 1886, p. 18, pl. XIV, B; VAN WIJNGAARDEN 1932, pp. 10, no. 43; 12, no. 55; 15, no. 76; REISNER 1967, no. 4107, 4183; DOLZANI 1982, no. 19036; JANSEN-WINKELN 2014, 2, pp. 935, no. 60.341.4103; 936, no. 60.344.4132/33; 938, no. 60.348.4172; 1113, no. 60.675.4115; 1137, no. 60.696; 60.697.4187; 1141, no. 60.711.19033; 1148, no. 60.724.

²⁰ REISNER 1967, no. 4127, 4271, 4301; JANSEN-WINKELN 2014, 2, p. 939, no. 60.349.4271.

²¹ To know more about *hr-jb-jm*, see PORTER, MOSS 1981, p. 798. To know more about *p3-wn-h3t.f*, see *ibidem*, pp. 504, 806, 808, 824; DE MEULENAERE 1966, p. 8 no. 20. Furthermore, from the *Serapeum* comes the stele (IM 4175) – as previously anticipated, our note no. 8 – in which the general *hr-jb-jm* is remembered as the husband of *[Št3-]jr.t-bjn.t* and father of general *j'h-mś*: the proposed identification is based on the association of the name with the rank in a document of the XXVI dynasty, therefore in line with the chronology indicated by the canopic jar from Baranello.

2. *Ushebtis*

The *ushebtis* (from the verb *wšb*, to answer)²² are funerary statuettes of a magical–ritual nature modelled in different materials, mainly wood, stone or faïence. Their adoption in the funeral kit dates back to the XII dynasty, in the Middle Kingdom period, and it lasts until the end of the Ptolemaic period. They generally carry tools for agricultural work, the hoe and the plough, which they use, according to Egyptian belief, to work in the *Iaru* fields instead of their master. To animate them, it is necessary that the priest recites the formula of the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead, engraved or painted on the body of the statuette²³. Through the formula, it is easy to see the importance that agriculture played in the Egyptian world and, obviously, the fear of the members of society, wealthy or not, of having to endure the fatigue of manual work in the afterlife (a reality very similar to the sensory world). These artefacts are usually kept in a special wooden box, commonly decorated with religious scenes, inserted in the funeral kit. In central-southern Italy the *ushebtis* appear already in pre-Roman times (Rome, Capua, Erice), but in cultural contexts, probably brought by trade of the Phoenicians and the Cypriots. In Egypt, their presence in the tombs of the nobles, initially limited to one or two specimens, reaches a total of 401 (365 servants plus 36 assistants, the latter dressed in living clothes and equipped with sticks and whips) in the Third Intermediate Period. Given their mass production for massive sale in the Templar areas in the Late Period, the use of moulds and faïence, an inexpensive and easily available material in Egypt, became established.

In the Barone collection, there is a first group of three statuettes (inv. no. 812–813, 816) in faïence with a mummiform appearance, with a tripartite wig on the head, a false beard on the chin and hands holding a plough hoe; the feet rest on a small horizontal pillar. The correctness of the hieroglyphs, the detailed execution of the modelling of the body and face, the use of glazing and the presence of the characteristic dorsal and base pillars would seem to ensure the genuineness of the Egyptian workmanship of these objects as well as pointing towards a dating to the Late Period. Of the same material, there must have been three other *ushebtis* mentioned in the old Barone inventory, now missing (inv. no. 811, 814–815)²⁴. The collection includes two other statuettes (Barone inv. no. 504, recent inv. no. 3267)²⁵ of the same type as the previous ones but forged in bronze. Similar in appearance to the preceding examples, they are each characterized by two inscriptions, identical for both, one arranged on the back, vertically along the dorsal pillar, and a second which develops in the lower area of the front, oriented in the horizontal direction and arranged along eight lines of text separated by deep engravings: many of the signs used, however, are meaningless. Furthermore, the use of metal

²² Among the latest contributions, see TATOMIR 2018-2019 (with a wide bibliography, p. 13, note 26).

²³ See *infra* (*ushebti* for *rnn*). For interesting informations about the economic implications related to *ushebtis*, SILVER 2009.

²⁴ The exhibits of the museum are recorded in a printed catalogue, still preserved today, drawn up by the owner. Indeed, there was also another redaction, different from the previous one. We do not know whether it conformed to the one known today or enriched with notes and annotations; currently, however, it is no longer traceable. The 19th century catalogue that can be consulted today reads: “811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. *Schébti o Chapti; statuette funerarie in forma di mummie. Sono di argilla coperte di smalto lucido a colori verde tenero od azzurrino. Rimontano a circa 18 secoli prima dell'era volgare, e che gli Egizii offrivano in omaggio ai morti*”. (= “*Schébti or Chapti; funerary statuettes in form of mummies. They are made of clay covered with glossy glaze in soft green or blue colour. They date back to about 18th century before the Common Era, and which the Egyptians offered as homage to the dead*”).

²⁵ PISTILLO 2013, pp. 122-123, no. XXXVII, 28; CORONA 2017, pp. 8-9, fig. 1; 11-12.

also raises doubts about authenticity: though metal *ushebtis* have been actually documented in some studies²⁶, in the case in question, it seems more likely to link these artefacts to a modern production using casts from originals. On the same base, between the two *ushebtis*, there is also another figure (same inventory number), maybe a deity, dressed in a long robe wrapped in a cloak, wearing a high turreted headdress on his head. The double-sided representation presents a zoomorphic face on the front, while on the back it is modelled with human features. The strangeness of this representation indicates that it must be placed amongst one of the many original manifestations of modern Egyptomania²⁷.

Ushebti for j'h-mś (Fig. 4)

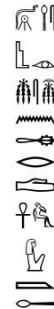
Inv. no. 813; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 12.1 cm, width 3.8 cm. Light green faïence. Good state of conservation: only slight superficial scratches are detectable. CORONA 2012, p. 50; IDEM 2017, pp. 10, fig. 2; 12–13.

The statuette is represented in the characteristic mummiform aspect, modelled on the canonical iconography of the god Osiris. The specimen rests on a narrow pedestal; on the back, it has a dorsal pillar that starts from the wig, from which it is separated through a deep horizontal incision, and extends to the base²⁸; the head is covered with a smooth tripartite wig and a false beard²⁹. The arms, hidden inside the bandages, are crossed on the chest, the right over the left³⁰; according to a well-established pattern, hands grip a plough³¹, the *mer* hoe and the rope that supports a basket of woven fibre falling over the left shoulder³². The hieroglyphic epigraph develops vertically just below the chest and is delimited along by two parallel lines, closed at the top by a horizontal one³³: the stroke is deep and the hieroglyphs are easily readable.

The text says:

shd wsjr j'h-mś m(s) n hrd-'nh m3' hrw

The illuminated one, the Osiris j'h-mś³⁴, born to hrd-'nh³⁵, justified.



²⁶ See for example GIOVETTI, PICCHI 2015, p. 422, VII.3a; CORTESE 2009a, pp. 92-93, no. 59-60.

²⁷ The 19th century catalogue of G. Barone (p. 66) says: “504. Anubis, divinità egiziana dal corpo di uomo e la testa di cane, tenuta in mezzo da due Schèbti, figure di mummie, con le braccia conserte, portanti nelle mani due marre. Tre statuette in bronzo sulla comune base di marmo nero di Verona”. (= “504. Anubis, Egyptian divinity with the body of a man and the head of a dog, held in the middle by two Schèbti, figures of mummies, with folded arms, carrying two hoes. Three bronze statuettes on the common black marble base of Verona”). Amelia Pistillo (see *supra*, note no. 24) interprets the central figure as a representation of the god Anubis.

²⁸ Typology XIA5, in JANES 2002, p. 239.

²⁹ Typology 36, in *ibidem*, p. 242.

³⁰ Typology 3, in *ibidem*, p. 243.

³¹ Typology 8, in *ibidem*, p. 244.

³² Typology 19, in *ibidem*, p. 245.

³³ Typology 7c, in *ibidem*, p. 247.

³⁴ RANKE 1935, p. 12 no. 19.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 277 no. 14.

The deceased is the namesake of a king of the XXVI dynasty, Amasis II (570–526 B.C.), about whom the Greek historian Herodotus draws a portrait that is not exactly flattering³⁶. This notation constitutes a *terminus post quem* to place the life of our character, since the custom of imposing the name of the king on the born is known. *Ushebtis* dedicated to the same person are known in Lausanne, Paris, Oslo, Cairo, Bergamo, Florence, Moscow, Perm, London, Manchester, Princeton and San Francisco³⁷. The text also mentions the mother of the deceased; there is the epithet *mꜣ'-hrw* (“justified”, “right of voice”) at the bottom, referring to the dead. The term, from a conceptual point of view, marks the person who, after the death, was brought in front of the divine tribunal of *psychostasis* and he did not lie during the interrogation.

According to the prosopographical information, the compositional syntax and the technical characteristics, the statuette seems to be attributable to the Saitic period, characterized, first of all, by the presence of the base and the dorsal pillar, then the expression of a cold face, posed with a slight smile, the meticulous rendering of the volume of the figure, the high relief of the details of the body and of the agricultural tools, and the care taken in the engraving of the epigraphic panel and of the inscription.

Ushebti for rnn (Fig. 5)

Inv. no. 816; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 18.6 cm, width 5 cm. Dark green faïence. Sufficient state of conservation: abraded and damaged surface, hardly legible inscription. CORONA 2012, p. 50–51; IDEM 2017, p. 11, fig. 3; 13–14.

This statuette also has a mummiform appearance and has both a pedestal and a dorsal pillar extending from the wig, from which it is divided by a deep double horizontal incision at the base³⁸. The head wears a smooth tripartite wig and is adorned with a false beard³⁹; the face is modelled with a great abundance of details, which outline with good realism the deeply sunken eyes, the raised cheekbones, the fleshy mouth and the pronounced nose (with the tip missing). Also, in this case, the hands, just outside the bandages, are arranged crossed just below the chest line⁴⁰ and they hold the tools, a plough, the *mer* hoe and a rope connected to a basket that falls on the left shoulder. The field of the hieroglyphic epigraph is divided into ten horizontal lines⁴¹; while it extends along the abdominal area and lower limbs as usual, the text, in reality, extends up to the feet and lacks the lower closing line of the epigraphic field, accord-

³⁶ HDT, II, 172-182; see also DE MEULENAERE 1975; WILKINSON 2012, pp. 441-446.

³⁷ Lausanna: KAPPELLER, SCHNEITER 1996, p. 68, no. 606; KÜFFER 2000, pp. 22-23, no. 10f. Paris: Louvre, AF 13935 / MG 14588 (<https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010085175>). Oslo: NAGUIB 1985, no. 1,93; EADEM 2018, p. 16, fig. 8; 18. Cairo: NEWBERRY 1930, no. 47347-47350. Bergamo: GUIDOTTI 1987, pp. 27-28. FLORENCE: PELLEGRINI 1900, p. 259, no. 253. London: EA34037 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA34037); EA64580 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA64580). These statuettes present the same characteristics as the one reported in this study; the other examples dedicated to the same person have hieroglyphic inscriptions on the front surface divided into horizontal lines and not on a single vertical column. Paris: Louvre, E 20271 / MG 2772 (<https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010005344>). Moscow: HODJASH 2002, pp. 130-131, no. 389. Perm: BERLEV, HODJASH 1998, p. 101, no. 130. Manchester: JANES 2012, pp. 346-347, no. 189. Princeton: y1958-306 (<https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/28185>). San Francisco: 192598 (<https://www.famsf.org/artworks/shabti-of-ahmose-2>).

³⁸ Typology XIA6, in JANES 2002, p. 239.

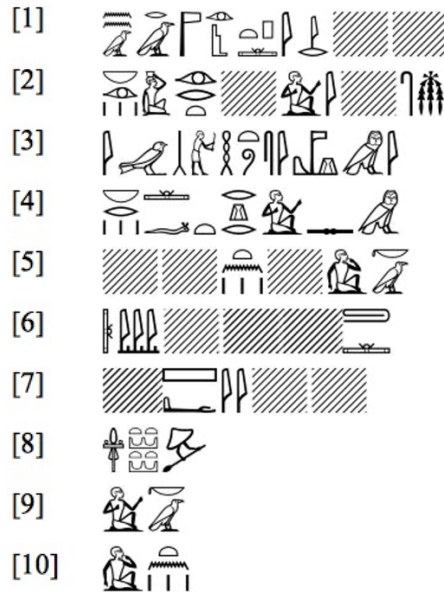
³⁹ Typology 36, in *ibidem*, p. 242.

⁴⁰ Typology 28, in *ibidem*, p. 243.

⁴¹ Typology 3b, in *ibidem*, p. 247.

ing to a solution which, however, is not entirely unusual. The text can be read with difficulty, probably due to the use of an exhausted matrix, and in many places the hieroglyph is abraded to the point of compromising the reading. The name of the deceased is barely noticeable, while the surviving text, as it always happens in the specimens that have the same compositional syntax, shows a version of the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead, which is the formula to be recited to animate the statuettes.

The inscription states:



¹| [j wšbty jpn] jr jp.t(w) wsjr rnn ²| ms [---] r jrt k3.t nb jrj ³| jm (m) hrt-ntr jst hw sdb(w) j
⁴|m (m) s r hrt.f (mk wj) ⁵|k3.tn [jp.tw tn r smhy] ⁶|wdbw [r srwd] sh.(w)t ⁷|r hnt š'y (n) ⁸|
 j3btt (r) jmntt (ts phr) ⁹|(mk wj) k3. ¹⁰| tn

[1] [O these ushebti! If one counts] the Osiris rnn⁴²

[2] born to [---] to do (all) the works which are wont to be done

[3] there in the God's land – now indeed obstacles are implanted therewith

[4] as a man at his duties –

[5] [“Here I am”] you shall say [when you are counted off to serve there,

[6] to irrigate] the riparian lands, [to cultivate] the fields,

[7] to transport the sand of the east

[8] (to) the west (and vice versa).

[9] “(Here I am)” – You

[10] shall say⁴³.

⁴² RANKE 1935, p. 224 no. 14.

⁴³ Although there are some small variations in the original text (for example, an inversion of the two sentences in line 6) it was decided to integrate the modern text with the classic formula reported in JANES 2002, p. xix; however, we preferred to leave the original text incomplete, because the terms are subject to different spellings. A list of the main formulas is available in SCHNEIDER 1977, p. 46 ff.

The mentioned character is not known from other statuettes; line 2 shows the name of a parent, which unfortunately is illegible. This *ushebti* also seems to refer to the period between the Saitic and the Ptolemaic period, not only for the workmanship, but also according to the formula reported on the object.

Ushebti for w3h-jb-r' (Fig. 6)

Inv. no. 812; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 10.7 cm, width 1.5 cm. Dark green faïence. Poor state of conservation: surface with slight scratches, hardly legible inscription on the back. CORONA 2012, p. 51; IDEM 2017, p. 14–15.

The statuette, which has almost entirely lost its dark green glazing, is represented mummy-form with a pedestal and a dorsal pillar that extends indistinctly from the wig to the base⁴⁴. The face is modeled in light strokes, on the cheeks the barely perceptible relief of the cheekbones comes off. On the head the tripartite smooth wig and a big fake beard can be seen⁴⁵; the arms are crossed at the chest, hidden by the bandages, while the hands come out just at the sternum line, in a mirror position along the same direction⁴⁶: the left hand holds a *mer* hoe and a rope connected to a basket that falls on the opposite shoulder, the right one a plow. The rectangular basket is engraved behind the left shoulder. The statuette is anepigraphic on the front, but it has a short hieroglyphic inscription very lightly engraved along the dorsal pillar.

The text, inserted in an epigraphic field without frames, is difficult to read and says:

hm-ntr n jtm wsjr w3h-jb-r' ms (n) mrt-ptḥ m3' hrw

The priest of Atum, the Osiris w3h-jb-r' born to mrt-ptḥ⁴⁷, justified.



Once again, the deceased bears a basilophorous name, which is not easy to decipher and recalls Psammeticus I (664–610 B.C.), the first king of the XXVI dynasty⁴⁸: as often happened, the name was inserted in a cartouche although it was attributed to someone other than the king⁴⁹. Obviously, the homonymy constitutes a decisive *terminus post quem* for the chronology of the statuette in this case too. The character held the role of priest of Atum (*hm-ntr n jtm*): in the Heliopolitan theology the god was a solar deity and creator of himself and of the

⁴⁴ Typology XIc, in JANES 2002, p. 240.

⁴⁵ Typology 35b, in *ibidem*, p. 242.

⁴⁶ Typology 23, in *ibidem*, p. 243.

⁴⁷ RANKE 1935, p. 158 no. 22.

⁴⁸ About Psammetichus I see SPALINGER 1982; FORSHAW 2019, pp. 52 ff.

⁴⁹ See DE MEULENAERE 1966, pp. 33-34.

life⁵⁰. The priesthood of this divinity was attested in the Middle Kingdom⁵¹, while in the New Kingdom various honorary offices rise⁵²; finally, it returned to be attested in the Late Period⁵³. The name of the mother is also very badly preserved, probably due to the exhausted matrix: in any case it is highly probable that the hieroglyphic characters can be interpreted as *mrt-ptḥ*. The reading of the epigraph is facilitated by the comparison with a Late Period *ushebtī*, today in the Egyptian collection of the Museo di Archeologia Ligure in Genoa, which shows the same morphological and epigraphic elements as the Baranello specimen⁵⁴.

Purely as a hypothesis, starting from the priestly title ("the priest of Atum"), the Heliopolitan origin of the deceased can be proposed.

The artistic characteristics of the artefact ensure its ancient origin and make it plausible to date the object between the XXVI and the XXX dynasty.

3. *Amulets*

Amulets are small objects to which popular superstition attributes particular magical powers and the ability to protect against evils and dangers: generally, the properties of each talisman depend on the shape, which is often a graphic sign of the word, and on the material. The magical power contained in each object can be activated by a magic formula, in some cases reproduced on the surface, always recited by a priest; this kind of text can be found, for example, in the Book of the Dead, which accompanies the deceased to the tomb in funerary practice. The decisive importance of the formula is evidenced by the fact that the tradition of inserting small strips of papyrus, containing magical formulas, inside miniature containers is documented in the New Kingdom.

There is no substantial difference between amulets for the living and those for the dead. In any case, the objects are provided with a through hole, which allows them to be fixed to a rope to be worn as bracelets or necklaces, or to be placed on the mummy: in the latter case, they can be attached to a net that surrounds the body or inserted inside the bandages.

In religious literature, passages are known from which it is clear that even the deities used the magic of objects to ensure some form of protection.⁵⁵ There are several classifications of amulets: W.M.F. Petrie⁵⁶ divides them into amulets of similars, powers, property, for protection, and representing gods (in human, animal or miscellaneous form); F. Lexa⁵⁷ classifies them as real, written or knotted amulets; H. Bonnet⁵⁸ classifies them based on what they represent.

⁵⁰ About Atum see KÁKOSY 1975; MYŚLIWIEC 1978 and 1979; SHAW, NICHOLSON 1995, pp. 49-50 (*Atum*).

⁵¹ See GASSE, RONDOT 2007, p. 201; PANOV 2018, p. 105.

⁵² See AL-AYEDI 2006, pp. 46-47, no. 91 (*Steward of Atum*); 102, no. 269 (*Overseer of the priests of Atum*); 258-259, no. 832 (*Greatest of seers of Re and Atum in Thebes*); 349-350, no. 1121 (*Master craftsman of the barque of Atum, the Heliopolitan*); 535-536, no. 1759 (*Festival conductor of Atum*).

⁵³ See KLOTZ, LEBLANC 2012, pp. 650-653; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/546005>.

⁵⁴ CORTESE 2008a, p. 115, fig. p. 118, no. 26.

⁵⁵ See for example PLUT., *De Iside et Osiride* 65; CHASSINAT 1935, p. 191; DERCHAIN 1965, I. 142; II. 16.

⁵⁶ PETRIE 1914.

⁵⁷ LEXA 1925.

⁵⁸ BONNET 1952, pp. 26-31.

Scarab (Fig. 7a-b)⁵⁹

Inv. no. 80; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 1.5 cm, width 1 cm. Steatite. Fair state of conservation: though the back has some scratches, it retains traces of the original light green enamel; the flat part retains the clearly legible inscription. CORONA 2012, p. 51–53.

Carefully worked, the amulet portrays an insect with its wings closed in the elytra clearly divided by two deep grooves, the prothorax quite clearly separated from the elytra and the head embedded in the body: there is a through hole in the longitudinal direction, which defines the object as an ornamental element of a jewel. The base oval has a series of hieroglyphs engraved quite precisely, which can be interpreted as *jmn-r' nb(-j)*, that is *Amon-Ra (is) (my) Lord*.

Considering the material, the artefact appears to be authentic Egyptian, presumably manufactured between the 8th and 7th centuries in the shops of Memphis or the Delta (Naucratis, Bubastis, Tanis, etc.); the production of the Aegean Egyptian type of Perachora-Lindo (ca. 750-650 B.C.) would be inspired by this model at a later time⁶⁰. These kinds of talisman, with a very ancient origin, is quite widespread among the peoples of Egyptian culture and religion, even far from Africa, thanks to the Levantine trade. Already in the pre-dynastic period, Egyptian rural communities attribute medical-magical functions to the sacred scarab: the most important of these, in consideration of the ethological behaviour, concerns the sphere of female fecundity (childbirth, infant health) and regeneration (rebirth). The connection to the solar cult (*Khepri*) and the accentuation of the funerary value can be attributed to the Heliopolitan priesthood after the birth of the pharaonic State; Asians and Phoenicians, who spread the scarab in the Mediterranean area, understand the popular value in favour of their women and their children, as evidenced by the contexts of discovery of these magical objects⁶¹.

The scarab always performs a pragmatic protective function outside Egypt; in the Roman imperial age, it was replaced by the so-called gnostic medical-magical gems (*Abraxas* type).

Udjat-eye (Fig. 8)

No inv. number; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 4 cm, width 2.3 cm. Light green faïence; chipping along the surface, at the bottom and in the right portion, where some gaps are evident. CORONA 2012, p. 51, 53–54.

The amulet, facing right, has a certain refinement in the processing of details, such as the plumage of the hawk, the eyebrow and the iris; the short eyebrow, in particular, is treated with light incisions. The various elements of the eye are made in relief and characterized by a darker colour. The anterior surface is slightly convex; the back surface is smooth. There is a through hole in the longitudinal direction that defines the object as an element of a necklace

⁵⁹ The 19th century catalogue reports the presence of another scarab (of the heart?), now untraceable (BARONE 1899, p. 91): 783. *Grosso scarabeo in pietra verde, rinvenuto a Pompei* (= 783. *Large green stone scarab, found in Pompeii*).

⁶⁰ About the context see BOSTICCO 1957; about type Perachora-Lindo scarabs see HÖLBL 1979, I, pp. 212-215. About similar specimens with formula including the name of Amon-Ra, see HORNUNG, STAEHELIN 1976, pp. 310 ff., in part. no. 610 and p. 397, MV 9; SCHLICK-NOLTE, VON DROSTE ZU HÜLSHOF 1990, pp. 78-79, no. 45 (with indications and comparisons relating to the various decorative elements). About typology of scarabs with god's name see GORTON 1996, p. 63 and in part. p. 67, type XXII A; TEETER 2003, pp. 52 ff., in part. no. 60-63.

⁶¹ DE SALVIA 1978, in part. pp. 1008, 1028 ff. (Italic context), 1041 ff. (Egyptian context), 1049 ff. (Greek-Eastern world).

or a bracelet. The stylistic characteristics lead us to hypothesize a dating between the XXII and the XXV dynasty⁶².

Udjat-eye (Fig. 9)

No inv. number; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 2.1 cm, width 1.8 cm. Dark green faïence; intact. CORONA 2012, p. 51, 53–54.

Specimen similar to the previous one, but turned to the left: in addition to the size and colour, the shape of the eye, slightly flattened, and the iris, with an accentuated quadrangular shape, differ. This object also has a horizontal through hole. The stylistic features refer to the Late Period⁶³.

The *udjat* is quite well known in Italy⁶⁴ and meets a good fortune even among those Mediterranean peoples (in particular the Phoenicians) who had relations with the Egyptians: it is well attested in the Phoenician-Punic context, in Carthage⁶⁵, in the Iberian peninsula⁶⁶ and in Sardinia⁶⁷. Its first use should date back to the VI dynasty and it would have been prolonged, in all probability, up to the Ptolemaic period⁶⁸. The power of *udjat* is based on the prehistoric belief, also present in Egypt as in the rest of the Mediterranean, that the “beneficial eye” rejects the “Evil” (or the “evil eye”). In the Nile Valley, priestly mythopoeia links him to the story of the fight between Horus, the falcon god of the city of Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt, and Seth, in which the former loses his left eye, later treated by Thot. The Egyptians always grasp the pragmatic value of *udjat* (= “healed”), using it both as a therapeutic remedy (placing it on the abdominal cut inflicted on the mummy) and as a protector from the “evil eye” (drawing it on sarcophagi and ships). According to Petrie⁶⁹ this amulet appears for the first time in Egypt during the VI dynasty and develops up to the Ptolemaic Period, maintaining the described value; the luck of the amulet among the Phoenicians and the Greeks, then, is determined by the pre-existing local beliefs on the positive/negative power of the eye (human and animal)⁷⁰.

Qebhsenuf (Fig. 10a-b)

No inv. number; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 3.9 cm, width 2.8 cm. Faïence blue-green. Superficial scratches; the lower portion is incomplete. CORONA 2012, p. 51, 54.

⁶² See BERLEV, HODJASH 1998, p. 201, no. XV. 459, pl. 186.

⁶³ See *ibidem*, p. 204, no. XV. 499, pl. 186.

⁶⁴ Quite widespread, however, in the collections of the peninsula. Just for example: ESPOSITO 1989, pp. 92, no. 10.3-5; 146, no. 15.25-27; 209-210, no. 29.252-283; CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI 1999, p. 53, no. I.13, fig. 24; CORTESE 2009b, pp. 66, no. 25; 85, no. 52; 95, no. 65; 120, no. 106a; CONTARDI 2009a, pp. 167-168, no. 163; DONATELLI 1995, pp. 144-145, no. 333-337; CORTESE 2008b, pp. 113-115, fig. p. 114, no. 23-24.

⁶⁵ VERCOUTTER 1945, pp. 284 f.

⁶⁶ PADRÓ I PARCERISA 1983, pp. 58-59, no. 07.20, pl. XLII; IDEM 1985, pp. 29-35, no. 23.27-23.39; 41-44, no. 23.49-23.51, pl. LXXI-LXXIII.

⁶⁷ HÖLBL 1986, pp. 142 ff.

⁶⁸ PETRIE 1914, pp. 32 ff., pl. XXIV-XXV.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁰ In general PADRÓ I PARCERISA 1983, p. 59; MÜLLER-WINKLER 1986a; SHAW, NICHOLSON 1995, p. 151 (Horus); CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI 1999, p. 32.

The plaque, roughly worked and with a flat rear face, reproduces the appearance of a hawk facing right. It has a through hole, at the eyes, for fixing the talisman: in the Late Period, the images of the sons of Horus together with other protective amulets⁷¹ are placed on the mummy, at the level of the chest, with the support of covering nets made of faïence beads or sewn with linen thread on the cloth or on the bandages. The use increases when the practice of extracting the entrails of the deceased is extinguished in the mummification process and, therefore, the use of canopic jars ceases and, consequently, the protection of the funerary deities represented in the lids: to precisely restore these figures, the plaques are born, on which the winged scarab, *Khepri*, identified with the rising sun, a symbol of the rebirth of the deceased in the otherworld, is inserted. In our case, the plate represents Qebhsenuf, the tutelary genius of the intestines⁷². This kind of fetish uniquely refers to the funerary sphere, since it is applied to the body of the deceased during the embalming process; its presence outside Egypt is rare.

4. *Bronze statuettes of deities*

Almost all the Egyptian bronzes come from votive deposits in the most important temples of Egypt, by virtue of their function of *ex-voto* for thanksgiving to the deities or for propitiation. The practice of depositing such objects, carried out by pilgrims and visitors to the temples, developed mainly in the Late Period, a fact which is important for dating⁷³.

Osiris (Fig. 11)

Inv. no. 646; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 12 cm. Solid cast bronze with light green patina; very extensive oxidation and corrosion; chips on a large part of the surface; *uraeus* is missing on the crown. CORONA 2012, p. 52, 54; PISTILLO 2013, p. 123 no. XXXVII, 30.

The Osiris figurine has the classic mummiform appearance. The god wears the *atef* head-dress, whose mitre – the white crown – is completed on the sides by two ostrich feathers; a false beard is placed under the chin. The arms are gathered on the chest, and the hands, the right placed over the left, hold the sceptre *heqa* (right hand) and the flagellum *nekhekh* (left hand). There are many specimens preserved in Italy and abroad⁷⁴. The dating refers to the Late Period.

Osiris (Fig. 12)

Inv. no. 509; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 14.5 cm. Solid cast bronze with dark green patina; extensive oxidation and corrosion; chipping all over the surface; gaps in the crown, irregular fracture just below the plantar area. CORONA 2012, p. 53–54; PISTILLO 2013, p. 123 no. XXXVII, 29.

⁷¹ About amulets see PETRIE 1914; REISNER 1958; ANDREWS 1994.

⁷² PETRIE 1914, pp. 39–40, pl. XXXII, no. 182E; BOTTI 1964, p. 12, no. 15; BERLEV, HODJASH 1998, p. 183, no. 161–163.

⁷³ GUIDOTTI 1987, p. 29.

⁷⁴ By way of example only for Italy: SFAMENI GASPARRO 1973, pp. 174, no. 21–23; 196, no. 99; 199–200, no. 111–115; 209–210, no. 141–148, pl. XIX–XX, fig. 24, 26–27; 235–236, no. 222–223, pl. XLV, fig. 65; GUIDOTTI 1987, pp. 29–30, B1; D'ERRICO 1989, pp. 115–116, no. 12.30–61. In the foreign context, it will be sufficient to mention, without the intention of being exhaustive, Germany: GRIMM 1969, pp. 65 ff., 162–164, no. 51–52; 177–178, no. 75; 181 no. 81; p. 208–209, no. 121; 229–230, no. 141; 231 no. 144, pl. 4.4. Austria: FLEISCHER 1967, pp. 108–110, no. 136–140, pl. 73–74. Hungary: WESSETZKY 1961, pp. 35–36, pl. IV, fig. 6 and pl. V, fig. 7; 49, pl. XIII, fig. 17; 53, pl. XVI, fig. 21.

The representation portrays the god, always in a mummiform aspect, with a false beard and the white *hedjet* crown, a symbol of dominion over Upper Egypt, equipped with *uraeus*, the sacred cobra symbol of pharaonic royalty; the arms converge towards the centre of the figure, and the hands are gathered just below the chest, the right over the left, and hold the sceptre. This depiction of Osiris is not particularly common in the bronze production of Egyptian craftsmanship, as the posture of the subject and the presence of the sceptre usually refer to another mummiform deity, namely Ptah. On the basis of a similar statuette, dated with certainty, it seems possible to point towards the XXVI dynasty⁷⁵.

Osiris is the most represented of all the gods. His cult assumes particular importance in the Egyptian world starting from the First Intermediate Period: the legend of death and rebirth and the consequent role of the lord of the Underworld give his figure a broad consensus, especially in the Late Period. According to the myth created above all by the Heliopolitan theology, Osiris also obtained the government of all Egypt and became its first ruler. In the two representations, the god is portrayed with the typical symbols of power, such as the scourge and the sceptre, the *atef* and *hedjet* crowns; in the *atef* headdress, ostrich feathers stand out, indicating the function of Osiris as the supreme judge of the Hereafter. The god then presents the curved false beard, emblem of divine power, as opposed to the straight beard, which instead symbolizes human power.

Isis-Fortuna-Demeter (Fig. 13)

Inv. no. 545; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 5.2 cm. Bronze. Hollow casting; light pale green patina; intact. CORONA 2012, p. 54-55; PISTILLO 2013, p. 122 no. XXXVII, 23.

The pattern is the classic one of the standing figure, with the weight of the body on the left leg, with the right leg set back and the left shoulder slightly pushed back; the goddess wears a long chiton with a V-neck and short sleeves up to the elbow, while a *himation* descends from the left shoulder and falls draped both in front and, particularly, on the back. The face, with roughly engraved inexpressive features, is framed by a swollen cord of hair parted on the forehead and gathered under the nape in a low *nodus*, from which two long locks fall down on the right shoulder; the head, encircled by a semi-circular diadem, is crowned by the *kalathos*, the prerogative of Demeter. In her hands, then, the goddess bears the typical attributes of the oar, on the right, and of the cornucopia surmounted by the crescent moon, on the left, as symbols of domination over chance. The workmanship of the small bronze statuette refers to the Roman imperial period, perhaps at the end of the 1st century A.D., in the Campania area. The iconographic scheme⁷⁶ is quite common both in Italy and in the provinces⁷⁷: by way of comparison, a small bronze statue preserved in Trieste⁷⁸ and another one in Enns⁷⁹ should be mentioned. *Isis-Fortuna-Demeter* appears very often in various collections: her representation is affected by the religious syncretism that characterized the representation of many Egyptian gods in the Roman times. It is evident that the mixture of characters pertinent to the devotional sphere brings together female figures originally conceived in a different way: while the Roman *Tyche/Fortuna* reproduces the blind fate, Isis, the maternal and protective goddess, embodies the provident luck that is able to bend fate to his will, indeed to dominate it, as

⁷⁵ BERLEV, HODJASH 1998, p. 75, no. 182.

⁷⁶ BOUCHER 1976, p. 149, note 249.

⁷⁷ BIEBER 1915, pp. 67-68, no. 199-199a.

⁷⁸ CORALINI 1998, pp. 285-286, fig. 33.

⁷⁹ FLEISCHER 1967, pp. 91-92, no. 109, 113, pl. 59.

many of his aretalogies recite⁸⁰. In the Roman world, the cult of the goddess in the *lararia* tends to propitiate the good fortune of the house; in the same sense, the traditional offerings of eggs, fruit and pine cones, symbols of prosperity and fertility, on domestic altars must be understood.

5. Bracelet and necklaces

Unlike the modern conception, based mainly on the aesthetic aspect, these objects generally take on an apotropaic function in the Egyptian culture: the magical protection derives as much from the decoration of the grains, as from the material or metal – and, therefore, from the colour – from which they are obtained, as well as from the fact that they can be enriched with amulets (*udjat* eyes, scarabs, *wadj* column) to amplify or strengthen their protective value. The materials used are lapis lazuli (which represents primordial water), carnelian (whose red/orange colour is associated with blood), amethyst (with a characteristic purple colour, sacred to Thot, a symbol of spiritual transformation), jasper (deep red, associated with the fertile blood of Isis) and turquoise (replaced in some cases by faïence: the green colour represents strength and vigour) are often used.

Bracelet with “eye” Egyptianizing beads (Fig. 14)

Inv. X 113 (recent cataloguing no.); unknown provenance. Measurements: total length 14 cm. Beads of various sizes in opaque polychrome glass worked with the lost core method. Intact elements. PISTILLO 2013, p. 85-86 no. XVI, 8.

This is a single-turn jewel of twenty-two beads with a through hole in irregularly globular polychrome glass paste interspersed with an elongated cylindrical bead. The elements have white or different shades of yellow, light blue and blue as a base, while the internal decoration is made up of concentric blue and white dots, according to the typical arrangement of the decoration defined as “eye”. This aesthetic solution was born in Egypt between the XVIII and the XIX dynasty, but was soon adopted by the shops of the Syro-Phoenician area which, taking advantage of the crisis in the Egyptian glass industry between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period, expanded it into the Mediterranean from East to West. Their arrival in Italy has been traced back to around the 1st millennium B.C.⁸¹. Not only do the necklaces of “eye beads” obviously have a clear aesthetic function, deriving from the combination of bright colours opposite each other, but they also constitute a powerful talisman that opposes the power of the healed eye and, therefore, benign, to the sick eye or “evil eye”, in the same way as *udjat*-eye, in favour of the weakest social categories, such as women and children. Precisely because they are interpreted by popular sensibility as a tool for protection, necklaces with these types of beads are often included in funeral kits⁸². The original magical value elaborated in the Nilotic environment is obviously adapted and reinterpreted autonomously by the peoples who welcome it through trade: this process would have reasonably taken place in Italy as well. It is possible, in this sense, that this type of objects would have needed ritual practices intended to activate their magical-protective properties through special ceremonials such as the recitation of formulas and litanies by professionals.

⁸⁰ See in general SFAMENI GASPARRO 1998, in part. pp. 313 ff.; DE SALVIA 2012b, in part. pp. 43, 45-46.

⁸¹ DE SALVIA 2002, pp. 211-212, no. VII.5; the scholar provides an extensive bibliography on the subject. To know more about the subject, see also EISEN 1916. To know more about the development of Egyptian magic in the Mediterranean area, see also DE SALVIA 1985, in part. pp. 132 ff.

⁸² See for example MUFFATTI 1967, pp. 453, no. 58; 454, no. 60, 63, 65, 67, pl. LXXII, b. 4, 6, 9, 12-13.

The dating of the beads of the bracelet (probably assembled in the 19th century) oscillates between the 8th and 6th century B.C.

Necklace with Egyptianizing “melon” beads (Fig. 15)

Inv. no. 749; unknown provenance. Measurements: total length of the necklace 22.5 cm; the vague ones have a diameter between 1.1 and 2 cm. Faïence. Rod modeling. PISTILLO 2013, p. 85, no. XVI, 6.

The necklace (reasonably assembled or reassembled in the 19th century) has a round of twenty-three vague pieces of different sizes, larger in the centre and getting smaller and smaller towards the ends. The elements of aqua green colour are of the “melon” type with vertical streaks with parallel lines; they are organized around a narrower white grain with orange vertical streaks⁸³. The bead of the type in question appears in Egypt around the XVIII dynasty, dating element as *terminus post quem* for the object.

Necklace with tubular vagues, amulet and pendant (Fig. 16)

Inv. no. 747; unknown provenance. Measurements: total length of the necklace 26.5 cm, flat vague length 2.4 cm, circular vague diameter 1.7 cm, final pendant length 4.2 cm. Glass paste. Beads of various sizes in light blue, turquoise and black faïence. Rod modelling. Corrosions and scratches are evident. PISTILLO 2013, p. 85 no. XVI, 5.

The necklace has a round of twenty elongated tubular shaped beads. A greyish pendant can be seen in the final portion, flat with a through hole for the short sides, with an irregularly wavy profile but symmetrical in both halves: the object can be interpreted as a double *udjat-eye*⁸⁴. The terminal part houses a turquoise grain of the “melon” type with vertical streaks with parallel lines⁸⁵, inserted in a tubular bead similar to those that made up the circle of the necklace, fixed to the rest of the composition by a small oblong flattened element. The green faïence pendant has the shape of a papyrus *wadj* column⁸⁶. The Egyptian word *w3d* means the “green”, which embodies freshness, vigor, youth. Between the two types of representation, one more bare and devoid of decorations and another more finely adorned, the object in question seems to fall within the second.

Initially the exclusive prerogative of the king and the nobles, only in the Third Intermediate Period did the talisman, spread among the people, mainly women and children, mostly between the XXVI and the XXX dynasty, and was worn, as prescribed by the Texts of the Sarcophagi and the Book of the Dead (chap. CLIX and CLX), both by the living and by the dead, precisely because of the allusion to physical vigour, regeneration and rebirth of the body. In particular, chap. CLIX describes the formula for the activation of the powers of the object, which must be recited on an emerald artefact identical in shape to the talisman and, consequently, placed on the neck of the deceased⁸⁷. Outside the Egyptian world, the object was traded by the Phoenicians and has been found, as well as in Phoenicia, also in Palestine, in Cyprus, Lindo, Carthage, Ibiza and in Amendolara; there are numerous attestations in Sar-

⁸³ CORTESE 2009c, p. 64, no. 20; CONTARDI 2009b, p. 107, no. 77.

⁸⁴ DONATELLI 1995, p. 145, no. 338; CONTARDI 2009c, p. 111, no. 87.

⁸⁵ See *supra*, necklace inv. no. 749.

⁸⁶ In general MÜLLER-WINKLER 1986b. See also DONATELLI 1995, p. 148, no. 353; CORTESE 2009d, pp. 94-95, no. 63; CONTARDI 2009d, pp. 108-109, no. 80.

⁸⁷ BUDGE 1969, pp. 526 f.

dinia too⁸⁸. It is likely that the necklace was assembled in recent times with various objects available at the antique dealer. The dating of the various amulets oscillates between the XVIII and the XXX dynasty.

6. *Stone everyday vessels*

The museum preserves a small collection of Egyptian-made or, in any case, Egyptianizing vases. Similar to specimens used in the rest of the Mediterranean basin (for example, in the Greek world), this kind of containers (called *alabastra*, sometimes improperly, since other types of stone are also used, such as limestone or glass, especially in the Mediterranean area, as also sometimes in Egypt) are used for the preservation of oils and perfumes: in any case, the objects of the Barone collection are empty today.

Alabastra appeared in Egypt at the beginning of the New Kingdom and persisted until the Late Period: they represent a production of fine workmanship, which flanks the rougher and everyday terracotta pottery, dating back to the time of the origins. This pottery spread quickly in the Aegean area and was imitated locally (it suffices to remember the pottery of Rhodes). In Roman times, Egyptian production was often inspired by that of Italy, so it is not always easy to recognize the origin.

The objects illustrated in this section seem to refer in part to the latter period, but some are certainly older: in this case, the dating is specified.

For the preparation of the following catalogue, we have chosen to follow the inventory number assigned to each object as the criterion for listing.

Unguentarium (Fig. 17)

Inv. no. 733; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 9.1 cm, external rim ø: 5.95 cm, ø opening: 2.7 cm. Smooth surface; small surface chips. Alabaster.

The specimen has a flat brim with a semi-circular section, which is grafted onto a low neck; ovoid body ending in a flat base. It is possible to hypothesize the chronological reference as the beginning of the New Kingdom (XVIII dynasty), a period in which, among other things, ceramic was characterized by a certain tendency towards elegance and decorative richness⁸⁹.

Alabastron (Fig. 18)

Inv. no. 766; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 7.6 cm, external rim ø: 2.1 cm, ø opening: 0.8 cm. Slight surface chips. Alabaster.

The specimen has a small rim with a convex profile, flared neck upwards, slightly pronounced shoulder, slender and tapered body, and round base⁹⁰. It is probably datable to the 5th century B.C.

⁸⁸ See DE SALVIA 2012a, pp. 218 f.

⁸⁹ See VON BISSING 1904, pl. III, no. 18312; PETRIE 1937, pl. XXXIV, no. 872; for the dating see also LILYQUIST 1995, p. 62, fig. 162.

⁹⁰ See VON BISSING 1940, tav. XV, no. 7c.

“Barrel”-type vase (Fig. 19)

Inv. no. 768; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 7.2 cm, external rim \varnothing : 2.95 cm, \varnothing opening: 2.6 cm. The surface has cracks, even deep ones. Alabaster.

The specimen has a rim with a semi-circular section rounded at the top that develops irregularly in height and width, ovoid-shaped body and flat base. Judging by the morphological characteristics, the object probably dates back to the Protodynastic Period⁹¹.

Alabastron (Fig. 20)

Inv. no. 769; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 14 cm, external rim \varnothing : 2.3 cm, \varnothing opening: 1.6 cm. Small surface chips. Incrustations. Microcrystalline gypsum.

The specimen has a slightly flared rim, flat bulge dividing the rim from the elongated and tapered body, flat base. The object should be framed between the last quarter of the 2nd century and the first decades of the 1st century B.C.⁹²

Alabastron (Fig. 21)

Inv. no. 770; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 10.5 cm, external rim \varnothing : 1.9 cm, \varnothing opening: 1.5 cm. Small surface chips; a potholder is chipped. Incrustations. Alabaster.

The specimen has a flared hem, straight neck and slightly pronounced shoulder, followed by an elongated and tapered body from which two vertical semi-circular potholders emerge with a small trapezoidal-shaped extension in relief; slightly round base⁹³.

Balsamarium (Fig. 22)

Inv. no. 771; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 12.5 cm, external rim \varnothing : 2.8 cm, \varnothing opening: 1.5 cm, base 3.8 cm. Chipped surface, abraded and patchy edge. Incrustations. Limestone.

The specimen has a slightly everted rim, long cylindrical neck flared downwards, ovoid body expanded downwards, flat base. It has a strong resemblance to some Tarentinian vases⁹⁴, dated back between the last years of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century A.D.: for this type of object, a recovery from glass models has been hypothesized, replaced by ceramic production after the introduction of the blowing technique and the consequent increase in production. The use of alabaster suggests the possibility, but not the certainty, that the workmanship is Egyptian (Memphis or, maybe, Naucratis), but an oriental origin (Cyprus) cannot be excluded.

Alabastron (Fig. 23)

Inv. no. 772; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 15.7 cm, external rim \varnothing : 4.3 cm, \varnothing opening: 1.9 cm. Small surface chips; part of the rim is missing. Limestone.

⁹¹ See PETRIE 1937, pl. IV, no. 143; ASTON 1994, pp. 84, fig. 13, no. 83; 122-123.

⁹² See VON BISSING 1904, pl. III, no. 18338; IDEM 1940, pl. XIII, no. 24. The dating follows what proposed by COLIVICCHI 1997, p. 218.

⁹³ See VON BISSING 1904, tav. III, no. 18332.

⁹⁴ See COLIVICCHI 1997, pp. 237 ff., type 4.2 (with dating).

The specimen shows a brimmed hem, straight neck and not very pronounced shoulder, followed by a tapered body on which two vertical semi-circular potholders are set with a small trapezoidal-shaped extension in relief; round base⁹⁵. The vase could be referred to the Late Period.

Alabastron (Fig. 24)

Inv. no. 774; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 16 cm, external rim ø: 5 cm, ø opening: 1 cm. Good state of conservation; the surface has small scratches. Translucent alabaster.

The object has a wide everted brim hem, followed by a short cylindrical neck and a narrow shoulder; the ovoid body on the side is provided with two small square sockets, while the bottom is flat⁹⁶. It could be a specimen of Cypriot workmanship dating back between the 5th and 4th century B.C.

Alabastron (Fig. 25)

Inv. no. 776; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 11.8 cm, external rim ø: 3.9 cm, ø opening: 1.4 cm. Smooth surface; surface chipping. The body is in alabaster (neck and hem appear to be a recent addition).

The specimen has a brim with a convex profile and cylindrical neck slightly tapered upwards, both irrelevant; shoulder only hinted, followed by an elongated body with two vertical potholders inserted in a small trapezoidal-shaped extension in relief; the object is glued to the base, which is therefore not visible⁹⁷. The vase could be referred to the Late Period.

Alabastron (Fig. 26)

Inv. no. 777; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 11.5 cm, external rim ø: 3.9 cm, ø opening: 1.5 cm. Encrustations due to the nature of the stone are present; the surface shows scratches, especially on the edge. Limestone.

Specimen with brimmed hem, narrow shoulder, short cylindrical neck, followed by an ovoid body on which two vertical semicircular pot holders are set with a small trapezoidal extension in relief; round base. Datable to the XXVI dynasty⁹⁸.

Alabastron (Fig. 27)

Inv. no. 778; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 18 cm, external rim ø: max. cons. 4.3 cm, ø opening: 1 cm. Smooth surface; superficial chipping, patchy edge in two places, abraded shoulder, chipping corbels. Microcrystalline gypsum.

The specimen has a brimmed hem, low cylindrical neck, slightly pronounced shoulder, slightly tapered cylindrical body, round bottom under which a double superimposed disc with three corbels is inserted. The object is very similar to the Tarentine vases (but analogous evidences also come from Volterra, Preneste, Metaponto, Canosa, Capua and Foggia) belonging

⁹⁵ See ASTON 1994, pp. 90, fig. 19, no. 228; 166.

⁹⁶ See VON BISSING 1940, pl. XIV, no. 34.

⁹⁷ See PETRIE 1937, pl. XXXVII, no. 963.

⁹⁸ See *ibidem*, tav. XXXVII, no. 950; VON BISSING 1940, pl. XVII, no. 2; ASTON 1994, pp. 90, fig. 19, no. 227; 166.

to women and of fine workmanship, from whose study⁹⁹ the purely Italic origin emerged, more precisely from the central southern area of the peninsula.

With regard to the chronology, one can perhaps conform to what is proposed for the homologous Tarentine vases, present in the grave goods between the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.

Alabastron (Fig. 28)

Inv. no. 779; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 12.4 cm, external rim ø: 2 cm, ø opening 1.6 cm. Slight surface chips. Alabaster.

The specimen has a slightly flared hem, flat bulge dividing the hem from the elongated and tapered body, vaguely round base. The object is similar to the one in Fig. 20, but with a broader shape¹⁰⁰.

Alabastron (Fig. 29)

Inv. no. 781; unknown provenance. Measurements: height 12.8 cm, external rim ø: 2.1 cm, ø opening: 1.35 cm. Slight surface chips. Incrustations. Alabaster.

The specimen has a very flared rim, a wide disc that separates the rim from the very slender conoid-shaped body, and a pointed base. The dating was set between the last quarter of the 2nd century and the first half of the 1st century B.C.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ In this regard, see COLIVICCHI 1996 and, above all, IDEM 1997, pp. 204-21. The Baranello specimen seems to fit quite easily in the 1.1.2 typology reported by the scholar.

¹⁰⁰ See VON BISSING 1940, pl. XIII, no. 27b.

¹⁰¹ See *ibidem*, tav. XVIII, no. 20-21. About dating see COLIVICCHI 1997, pp. 220-221, type 1.3.

ILLUSTRATIONS ¹⁰²



Fig. 1 a-b : Anepigraphic canopic jar. Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 2 a-b : Canopic jar of hr-jb-jmn. Baranello Municipal Museum.

¹⁰² Photographic credits. Fig. 1–2, 7, 10: photography by Marco Corona, drawing and polishing by Michela D’Alessandro; Fig. 3: M.N.A. Neg. 1141; Fig. 4–6: CORONA 2017; Fig. 8–9, 11–13: IDEM 2012; Fig. 14–29: photography by Marco Corona.



Fig. 3 : Photographic reproduction of the inscribed canopic jar entitled to the general hr-jb-jmn. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



Fig. 4 : Ushebti for j'ḥ-mś. Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 5 : Ushebti for rnn. Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 6. Ushebti for w3h-jb-r'. Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 7 a-b : Scarab. Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 8 : Udjat-eye (facing right).
Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 9 : Udjat-eye (facing left).
Baranello Municipal Museum.



*Fig. 10 a-b. Amulet representing the funerary genius Qebhsenuf.
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



*Fig. 11. Bronze statuette of Osiris.
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



*Fig. 12. Bronze statuette of Osiris.
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



*Fig. 13. Bronze statuette of Isis-Fortuna-Demeter.
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



*Fig. 14. Bracelet (?).
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



*Fig. 15. Necklace with Egyptianizing "melon".
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



Fig. 16. Necklace with wadj column.
Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 17. Unguentarium.
Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 18. Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 19. "Barrel"-type vase.
Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 20. Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 21. Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 22. Balsamarium.
Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 23. Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.



Fig. 24. Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.



*Fig. 25. Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



*Fig. 26. Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



*Fig. 27. Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



*Fig. 28 : Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.*



*Fig. 29 : Alabastron.
Baranello Municipal Museum.*

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ABSTRACT

The Egyptian artefacts of the Barone collection, in Baranello, present a certain variety in the typology of documents: specifically two canopic jars, three *ushebtis* in faïence, three amulets of the same material and a scarab in steatite, three bronze statuettes of divinities, two necklaces and a bracelet along with a group of thirteen small stone containers, some of which can be traced back to the land of the Nile because of the shape or because they are made of alabaster. Most of the materials refer to an Egyptian context of the Late Period, that is between the 7th and 4th centuries B.C.; the other objects are Roman reworkings of Egyptian originals.

There is also a certain number of fakes, bought by the collector Giuseppe Barone: they are now an integral part of the collection.

KEYWORDS

1. Barone collection
2. Canopic jars
3. Amulets
4. *Alabastra*
5. Late Period

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Les inscriptions de l'obélisque de Domitien (piazza Navona). État de la question

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En l'an 81, Domitien (81-96), nouvel empereur de la dynastie flavienne, entreprend une vaste campagne de constructions et de restaurations à Rome¹. Ravagé par un incendie deux années auparavant, le Champ de Mars est en particulier le lieu d'un grand chantier. Pourtant, il ne reste aujourd'hui presque aucune trace du règne de Domitien. En effet, après quinze ans au pouvoir, Domitien est assassiné et subit une *damnatio memoriae* : toute statue, inscription et monument à son nom est détruit ou réattribué². L'obélisque qui, de nos jours, est dressé sur la piazza Navona est le seul monument inscrit au nom de Domitien qui subsiste aujourd'hui, étonnamment bien conservé.

Bien après la mort de Domitien, l'empereur Maxence (306-312) choisit cet obélisque pour le placer sur la spina du Circus Maxentius, le long de la Via Appia. C'est à cet endroit qu'il se trouve au XVII^e s., lorsqu'Athanase Kircher propose au Pape Innocent X de le restaurer et de le dresser sur la fontaine des Quatre Fleuves, construite par Le Bernin au centre de la piazza Navona³. Kircher en profite pour effectuer une étude complète de l'obélisque et proposer une

¹ Domitien est considéré comme l'empereur qui a le plus construit à Rome, après Auguste. MOORMAN 2018, p. 162.

² La plupart des monuments ont été réattribués à Titus et Vespasien, mais aussi à Nerva, le successeur de Domitien.

³ L'appellation « obélisque pamphile » vient de ce que Innocent X appartenait à la famille des Pamphili.

traduction latine de ses inscriptions⁴. Il faut ensuite attendre 1917 pour qu'Adolf Erman établisse la première édition critique du texte de l'obélisque⁵. Quelques décennies plus tard, Jean-Claude Grenier réédita le texte et fit évoluer nettement l'interprétation de celui-ci, sans toutefois revoir fondamentalement la traduction⁶. S'il semblait à Erman que l'obélisque ne faisait que présenter l'ensemble d'une titulature pharaonique tout à fait traditionnelle, Grenier fit remarquer que les titres royaux sont largement inspirés des préoccupations politiques de Domitien. Ceci confère à l'obélisque une valeur exceptionnelle puisqu'il s'avère être une source de première main dans l'étude du règne de Domitien.

Les articles d'Erman et de Grenier offrent les seules éditions critiques des inscriptions de l'obélisque. La plupart des recherches ont eu tendance à étudier l'obélisque de Domitien en sa qualité de monument égyptisant dans le contexte de la Rome Flavienne, sans se préoccuper de la valeur de ses inscriptions. Cet article cherche dès lors à relancer l'intérêt pour les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de l'obélisque, en proposant une actualisation de la traduction de Grenier et de l'interprétation historique qu'il a initiée⁷.

1. *Étude des inscriptions*

Taillé dans un bloc de granit rouge de 16,50 m, provenant des carrières d'Assouan, l'obélisque de Domitien est manifestement de réalisation romaine : comme les autres obélisques de facture romaine, il a une largeur qui varie très peu du bas vers le haut, tandis que les obélisques pharaoniques tendent à s'effiler davantage entre la base et le pyramidion⁸. Les inscriptions elles aussi ont très certainement été gravées à Rome, par un sculpteur peu expérimenté dans le dessin des signes. Il semble impensable, d'une part, que le travail de gravure ait été entrepris avant le périlleux transport de l'obélisque vers Rome. D'autre part, la disposition des hiéroglyphes laisse penser que le graveur ne maîtrisait pas les règles de cadrature⁹.

En revanche, il est évident que le scribe – ou le groupe de scribes – qui procéda à la composition du texte maîtrisait la langue égyptienne. Il devait avoir à sa disposition un ensemble d'archives dans lesquelles puiser les formules issues de la phraséologie pharaonique qu'il sélectionnait et adaptait correctement selon la volonté de Domitien¹⁰. Chacune des faces de l'obélisque présente une titulature pharaonique complète de Domitien : les cinq titres sont augmentés d'épithètes et de formules servant à dépeindre la fonction royale à laquelle était destiné Domitien, ainsi que ses qualités en tant qu'empereur.

Le pyramidion de l'obélisque était gravé de scènes d'offrandes royales. Il n'a été retrouvé qu'à la fin du XIX^e s., en plusieurs fragments forts endommagés (fig. 1)¹¹. Dans chacune des

⁴ KIRCHER 1650. C'est également à ce moment que le sculpteur Marcantonio Canini réalise, à la demande de Kircher, une restauration des passages détruits de la face II et IV (cf. *infra*). Cette restitution est cependant quelque peu fantaisiste en raison de l'incompréhension des hiéroglyphes à l'époque.

⁵ ERMAN 1917, p. 4-10.

⁶ GRENIER 1987, p. 937-961.

⁷ En annexe se trouve l'identification détaillée des signes de cette inscription qui associe graphies traditionnelles et graphies de l'époque gréco-romaine.

⁸ Cf. GRENIER 2009, p. 234. Cela s'observe sur les obélisques romains de l'Esquilin, du Quirinal et Barberini.

⁹ On remarque que les signes hiéroglyphiques de l'obélisque sont fortement allongés et compressés, de sorte qu'ils prennent deux fois moins de place qu'une graphie égyptienne classique. Cf. ERMAN 1917, p. 7.

¹⁰ En raison de la connotation hautement politique du texte, on peut penser que Domitien a pu participer de près ou de loin à l'élaboration du texte.

¹¹ Les fragments du pyramidion sont aujourd'hui conservés au Museo Gregoriano Egizio du Vatican (inv. 25059).

scènes, on voit au centre Domitien en tant que pharaon recevant les offrandes de plusieurs divinités¹².

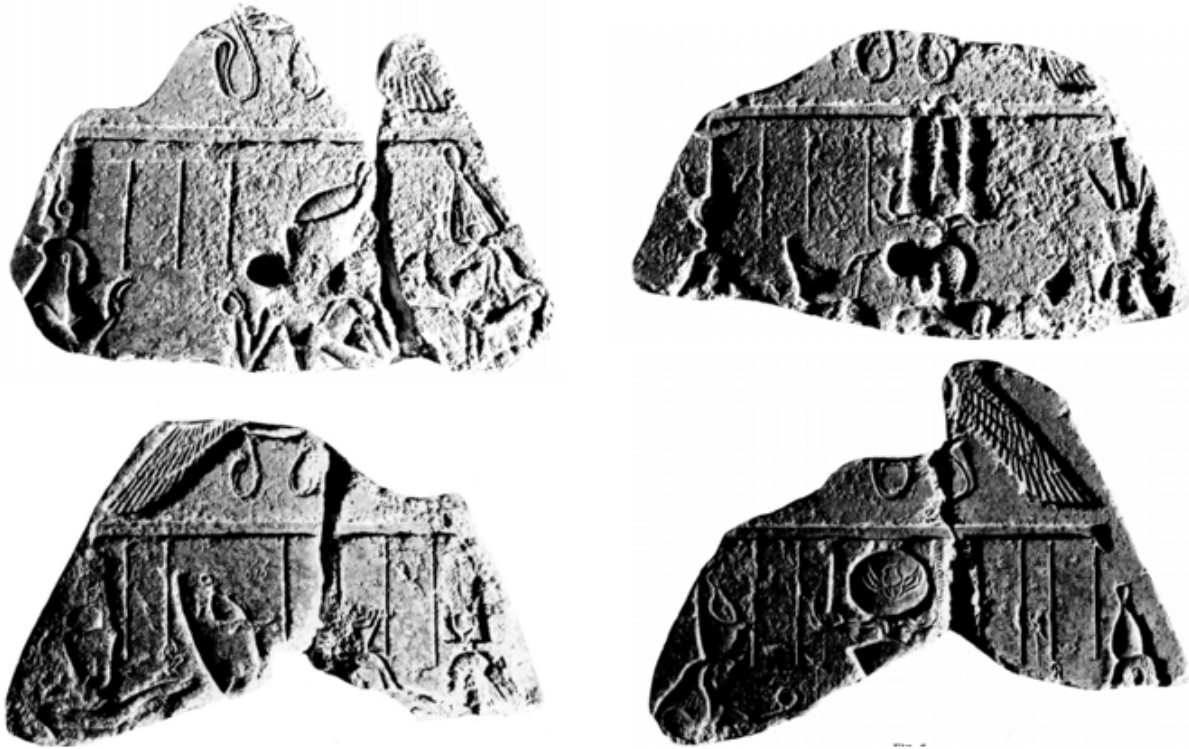


Fig. 1. Les fragments du pyramidion (Grenier 1987, p. 956-957)

Comme l'obélisque a été déplacé, il est impossible de connaître son orientation d'origine et l'ordre dans lequel ses faces devaient être lues. La translittération et la traduction des quatre faces sont présentées ci-après en suivant l'ordre arbitraire proposé dans l'édition d'Erman et repris dans celle de Grenier¹³. Pour les détails, voir l'annexe en fin de cet article.

¹² La description des scènes du pyramidion est assez compliquée en raison des fortes détériorations qu'il a subies. Erman identifiait l'ensemble des divinités à Isis, mais l'analyse plus détaillée des attributs des personnages effectuée par Grenier permet de voir de nombreuses autres divinités (Nephtys, Isis, Mout, Amon, Thot,...). Pour une description détaillée du pyramidion, voir GRENIER 2009, p. 234-237.

¹³ En 2009, Grenier pense voir une logique dans l'ordre de lecture suivant : faces IV, II, I et III.

Face nord actuelle (Grenier, face I)

Hr ḥwn kn, Nbtj wr phty, Hr-nbw sh^c.n sw it.f, Nsw-bity nb t³wy K^cSRS DMTY^cNS¹⁴.

L'Horus « adolescent courageux », Celui des deux maîtresses « grand de puissance », l'Horus d'or « son père l'a couronné », le roi de Haute et de Basse Égypte, le maître des deux terres, César Domitien.

S^ch^c.n.f p(ḳy) thn m inr m³t m³c n it.f R^c-Hr-ḳhty, r rdi(t) m³³ ḥnmmt mnw ir(w).n.f, mr(w) rdi(t) mn rn(w) nsw, bityw ḥryw hr st Hr ḥn^c wd³ t³ m rk dnyt n(y)t k³.sn PLWYI.

Il a dressé cet obélisque dans une pierre de granite véritable pour son père Rê-Horakhty, pour permettre au peuple de voir le monument qu'il a fait, voulant faire que soient durables les noms des rois de Haute Égypte, des rois de Basse Égypte, supérieurs sur le trône d'Horus et que le pays soit prospère au temps de la famille de la gens¹⁵ des Flavii.

Sh³.f nrwt n(y)t itw.(f), sm³(w).f nt(t) w³s.(w), mh.f gmt.n.(f) wš.(w), (hr) rdit ḥ³w (hr) tpyw-(^c), wršw ḥḥ(y) ḳḥwt.sn, di(w).f ḥnh dd w³s nb, ḥnh.(w) mi R^c dt !

Il évoque le respect de (ses) pères, en rénovant ce qui était en ruine, remplissant ce qu'il avait trouvé vide, faisant davantage que les prédécesseurs, passant du temps à chercher des choses utiles pour eux, afin qu'il soit doué de toute vie, de stabilité et de puissance, vivant (soit-il) comme Rê éternellement !

Face sud actuelle (Grenier, face II)

Hr mry t³wy, ḥk³ idbwy, Ntr nfr, ḳ phty, tm³-^c shr(w) ḥft(y)w, nht-^c ir(w) m^c.f.

L'Horus « aimé des Deux Terres, souverain des Deux Rives », le dieu parfait, grand de force, le vaillant qui abat les ennemis, le vigoureux qui agit de son bras.

N ḥ^c.(n).tw m ḥ³w.f. Sd³ t³ hr ḥr(y)t.f, iw^c n(y) it {s³} ntrw (?) hr st Hr, swd³(w) ḥmw{t} ntrw, dr(w) btnw.f, rth(w) Iwnw{t}, ḥb(w) inw m t³-Stt, tpt.f m-ht ḥryw-š^c.

On ne tient pas debout dans son périmètre. La terre tremble à cause de la terreur qu'il inspire, l'héritier du père des dieux sur le trône d'Horus qui assainit les sanctuaires des dieux, qui réprime ceux qui désobéissent, qui contraint les Iounou et ramène d'Asie un tribut, son uraeus poursuivant les Bédouins.

Mḥ.n.f t³ hr k³w.f. Ntt iwtt b³ḥ(w) m k³.f, ḳḥ sh m ir(w).n.f nb.

Il a rempli le pays de sa provende. Ce qui est et ce qui n'est pas est inondé de son ka, (lui) dont le conseil est utile dans tout ce qu'il accomplit.

Wr rn.f r k³(w) n(y) pt, šfyf.r stwt r^c. Nb t³wy K^cSRS TMYTYNS, ḥnh.(w) dt !

Son nom est plus grand que la hauteur du ciel, le respect qu'il inspire (va) jusqu'aux rayons du soleil. Le maître des Deux Terres, César Domitien, vivant (soit-il) éternellement !

¹⁴ GRENIER 1987, p. 939, avait remarqué que l'absence de l'épithète triomphale *Germanicus*, obtenue fin 83 ou début 84 par Domitien, pourrait être un indice chronologique permettant de dater l'inscription des deux premières années de son règne.

¹⁵ Cf. GRENIER 1987, p. 939.

Face est actuelle (Grenier, face III)

Hr hknw ntrw rmt hr.f m šsp.f nsyt n(yt) it.f WSPS^cNS, p(3)y-ntr, m^c sn.f wr DYDS, p3-ntr, d3(w) b3.f r hrt, Nbty kn, ndt(y), inb mnḥ t3 dr.f, Hr-nbw wr pḥty, ir(w) 3ḥw(t), nb ḥb(w)-sd mi Pth-Tnn, ity mi R^c, (Nsw)-bity nb-T3wy, iw(w) mnḥ ntrw, mr(y) B3kt, 3WTKRTR, S3-R^c nb-ḥ^cw K^cSRS TMYD^cINS SBSTS mr(y) 3st Pth, ḥḥ(w) mi R^c !

L'Horus « au sujet duquel dieux et hommes acclamèrent quand il reçut la royauté de son père Vespasien, le dieu, de la part de son frère aîné Titus, le dieu, dont l'âme s'était envolée au ciel », Celui des deux maîtresses « le brave, le protecteur, le rempart efficace du pays entier », l'Horus d'or « le grand de puissance, qui accomplit des choses utiles, qui possède des fêtes Sed comme Ptah-Tjemen, souverain comme Rê », le roi (de Haute et) de Basse Égypte, le maître des Deux Terres, l'héritier efficace des dieux, aimé de Baqet, l'empereur, le fils de Rê, le maître des couronnes, César Domitien aimé d'Isis et de Ptah, vivant (soit-il) comme Rê !

Face ouest actuelle (Grenier, face IV)

Hr k3 nḥt, mr(y) M3^ct, Nsw-bity nb t3wy nb ir(t) ht, S3 R^c nb ḥ^cw, 3WTKRTR K^cSRS TMYD^cINS, mr(y) 'Ist, ntr nfr hnty ḥḥ(w) n(y) R^c [...]

L'Horus « taureau victorieux aimé de Maât », le roi de Haute et de Basse Égypte, le maître des Deux Terres, le maître du rituel, le fils de Rê, le maître des couronnes, l'empereur César Domitien, l'aimé d'Isis, le dieu parfait, image vivante de Rê [...]

Rdi Nbty mndw.sn m r(3).f (rdi sw) mn^cty tp nwdt.f. Hwt-hr (hr) tbn m pḥr.f. Rdi.t(w) n.f i3wt wrt, km3.n Nbty rḥyt mḥn(yt).s(n) hr tp.f, ḥḥ(w) mi R^c dt !

Les Deux Maîtresses ont placé leurs seins dans sa bouche (et) les deux nourrices (l'ont déposé) sur ses langes. Les vaches Hathor jouaient du tambour autour de lui. La grande fonction lui est donnée après que les deux Maîtresses des *rékhyt* ont établi leur *uræus* sur sa tête, vivant (soit-il) comme Rê éternellement !

L'analyse du texte, déjà largement explorée par Grenier et Erman, peut être affinée sur des détails. Il est important de revenir sur leurs apports afin d'en donner une perspective globale. Il ressort de ces études que les inscriptions sont chargées d'informations historiques. En effet, si elles présentent de façon solennelle l'ensemble d'une titulature pharaonique classique¹⁶, chaque titre est sélectionné afin de rendre compte de l'idéologie impériale voulue par Domitien. Ainsi, d'une part, les titres permettent d'inscrire le règne de l'empereur dans la lignée de la tradition multiséculaire et prestigieuse des pharaons et, d'autre part, ils traduisent sensiblement les préoccupations politiques de Domitien.

Cette volonté s'illustre dans le choix du nom d'Horus de la face IV (« taureau victorieux aimé de Maât ») qui est un emprunt du nom d'Horus de Ramsès II. Cet emprunt marque une référence honorable à un pharaon particulièrement populaire qui a marqué l'imaginaire des dynasties postérieures.

En revanche, le nom d'Horus de la face III, qui est inspiré de celui de Ptolémée VIII Évergète II, a sans doute été choisi afin de créer un lien entre la situation de Domitien et celle

¹⁶ La titulature complète comporte cinq titres : nom d'Horus, nom de Nebty, nom d'Horus d'or, nom d'introduction et nom personnel. À ce jour, seule une attestation du protocole complet existe pour les empereurs romains : cf. GRENIER 1987, p. 949.

du pharaon lagide¹⁷. Ptolémée VIII Évergète II affirmait avoir reçu la royauté de la main de son père alors qu'en réalité, devenu roi à deux reprises, il avait succédé à son frère aîné (Ptolémée VI Philométor), puis à son neveu (Ptolémée VII Néos Philopator)¹⁸. Au moyen de ce nom d'Horus, Domitien affirme avoir reçu la royauté de la main de Vespasien, alors qu'il a succédé à son frère Titus. Suétone rapporte dans la *Vie des douze Césars* comment le début du règne de Domitien est marqué par un malaise dynastique¹⁹. Vespasien souhaitait faire de ses deux fils ses successeurs, l'un à la suite de l'autre. Cependant, quand Titus devient le nouvel empereur, il ne proclame pas son frère Domitien comme son successeur avec les titres et les honneurs qui auraient dû accompagner cette charge²⁰. Des querelles brouillent alors leur relation et c'est sans doute pour cette raison que Domitien se proclame héritier de son père, comme si Titus n'avait effectuée qu'un « interrègne ». Le nom d'Horus d'or de la face I, qui est repris de la titulature de Ptolémée II Philadelphie, va aussi en ce sens : « celui que son père a couronné ».

Un autre exemple illustrant la volonté de reprendre une formule du corpus égyptien en fonction des besoins de Domitien est la phrase : « on ne tient pas debout dans son périmètre » (face II). Cette expression est connue par le *Roman de Sinouhé*, où elle apparaît telle quelle²¹. Ce texte fait partie des grands classiques de la littérature égyptienne. L'histoire est fictive, mais elle s'inscrit dans un cadre historique : l'accession au trône de Sésostri I^{er} après l'assassinat de son père Amenemhat I^{er}. C'est lorsque le personnage de Sinouhé est amené à évoquer la personnalité de Sésostri I^{er}, à travers une longue liste de qualités, qu'apparaît la phrase. Il est difficile de savoir à quel point le scribe souhaitait établir une intertextualité claire ou s'il s'agit d'une référence littéraire à un récit célèbre. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, on y perçoit une référence à une description avantageuse des qualités d'un roi illustre.

Depuis les travaux de Grenier, il est clair que les inscriptions de l'obélisque ont pour but de célébrer l'avènement de Domitien en tant qu'empereur. La succession un peu compliquée entre Titus et Domitien a sans doute nécessité un travail de propagande afin de légitimer son accession au trône. Cette légitimité est expliquée, d'une part, par l'hérédité de la charge, comme analysée précédemment à travers les titres royaux et, d'autre part, par la volonté divine de cette succession. Les inscriptions de l'obélisque semblent insister sur le fait que Domitien était l' élu des dieux : « fils de Rê », « l'héritier du père des dieux », « l'héritier efficace des dieux », etc. Dans ce thème, la face IV est particulièrement révélatrice puisqu'elle illustre la naissance divine de Domitien. Le rituel présenté est celui du mystère de la naissance du dieu-enfant comme on le retrouve sur les parois des mammisi²². Ce sont donc bien les déesses qui ont accordé ici la fonction royale à l'enfant.

Si les inscriptions laissent transparaître une réelle volonté de légitimer l'accession de Domitien au trône par la volonté des hommes et des dieux selon les codes de la tradition pharaonique, elles dévoilent également une idéologie impériale profondément ancrée dans la culture romaine.

¹⁷ L'Horus « au sujet duquel dieux et hommes acclamèrent quand il reçut la royauté de son père Vespasien, le dieu, de la part de son frère aîné Titus, le dieu, dont l'âme s'était envolée au ciel » est l'adaptation de la formule de Ptolémée VIII Évergète II : « celui qui a reçu la royauté de Rê de la main de son père ».

¹⁸ GRENIER 1987, p. 949 ; WILL 1967, p. 127.

¹⁹ Explication complète et détaillée : GRENIER 1987, p. 948-951.

²⁰ Suétone, *Vespasien*, XXV ; GSELL 1894, p. 23-29.

²¹ OBSOMER 2005, p. 47.

²² GRENIER 1987, p. 945.

Le texte laisse, en effet, deviner quelques qualités morales que tout bon empereur, à l'image d'Auguste, se doit d'être pourvu : *pietas*, *uirtus* et *liberalitas*²³. Tout d'abord, on remarque l'importance qu'accorde Domitien à la *pietas* envers les dieux (« (il) assainit les sanctuaires des dieux ») et envers sa famille (« il évoque le respect de ses pères »). L'objectif de l'élévation de l'obélisque est tout autant représentatif de la *pietas* puisque Domitien le justifie comme une forme d'hommage à ses ancêtres (face I)²⁴. Valeur ancrée dans le principe du *mos maiorum*, la *pietas* devient une affaire d'État lorsque le *princeps* se voit attribuer la charge de *pontifex maximus*. C'est à partir d'Auguste que l'empereur chargé des devoirs de la *pietas* devient l'intermédiaire entre les citoyens et les dieux²⁵. Ici, Domitien se place comme le garant du dévouement envers les divinités égyptiennes, ainsi que de Vespasien et Titus divinisés.

Ensuite, la *uirtus* de Domitien est démontrée par le courage dont il fait preuve. La face II atteste particulièrement la force guerrière de Domitien à combattre les ennemis éternels que sont, pour les Égyptiens, les Iounou, les Asiatiques et les Bédouins. Cette qualité est, elle aussi, primordiale pour un bon empereur dès lors qu'il revêt la charge de l'*imperium*. La *uirtus* peut également se dévoiler par des qualités morales, comme la sagesse, telle qu'on la trouve dans l'extrait « [lui] dont le conseil est utile dans tout ce qu'il accomplit ».

Enfin, tout bon empereur devait faire preuve de *liberalitas*. Cette valeur est particulièrement importante durant le règne de Domitien, comme l'attestent les écrits de Stace, Suétone ou encore Martial. Ces auteurs relatent comment Domitien semblait prendre très à cœur les largesses impériales²⁶. Notons, par exemple, les célèbres « Calendes de décembre » dans lesquels Stace évoque comme suit les dépenses de Domitien : « nourrissant somptueusement tant de populations, tu ignores, Annone hautaine, la dépense de cette journée »²⁷.

Les inscriptions de la face I de l'obélisque peuvent être un témoignage de la *liberalitas* de Domitien. Tout d'abord, le texte nous apprend que l'obélisque a été dressé « pour permettre au peuple de voir le monument qu'il a fait ». Ainsi, en plus de rendre hommage à ses ancêtres (cf. *supra*), Domitien justifie l'entreprise de l'obélisque par la volonté de l'offrir aux yeux du public. Par ailleurs, la *liberalitas* de l'empereur se jouait aussi dans les distributions régulières de blé organisées à Rome. Ces distributions dépendaient en grande partie des approvisionnements en provenance des colonies. Lorsque les inscriptions annoncent qu'il « a rempli le pays de sa provende », on peut comprendre que Domitien a pris soin de remplir cette charge²⁸.

Enfin, dans l'extrait « Il a dressé cet obélisque (...) voulant faire que le pays soit prospère » se trouve sans doute un souhait de longévité de cette bonne gestion de l'approvisionnement. Il

²³ La suite du propos peut être mise en parallèle avec l'article d'Anna TATARKIEWICZ qui analyse le règne de Domitien comme lieu de la démonstration des valeurs d'*auctoritas* et de *maiestas*. TATARKIEWICZ 2014, p. 117-131.

²⁴ « Il a dressé cet obélisque dans une pierre de granite véritable pour son père Rê-Horakhty, [...] voulant faire que soient durables les noms des rois de Haute Égypte, des rois de Basse Égypte, supérieurs sur le trône d'Horus et que le pays soit prospère au temps de la famille de la gens des *Flavii*. »

²⁵ INGLEBERT 2005, p. 24-25.

²⁶ Stace, *Silves*, I, 6 ; Suétone, *Domitien*, 4 ; Martial, 8, 49 et 79.

²⁷ Stace, *Silves*, I, VI.

²⁸ Une nouvelle construction de Domitien au Champ de Mars est assez représentative de son évergétisme : une grande fontaine dédiée à Minerve Chalcidienne, située à l'entrée du *Diuorum*. Cette fontaine, reliée aux autres monuments du Champ de Mars ainsi qu'au réseau hydraulique de Rome montre comment l'empereur apporte sa générosité à la ville. Dès lors, c'est d'autant plus symbolique qu'elle est placée à proximité du *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, du *Diuorum* et de l'*Iseum Campense* qui jouaient tous un rôle de démonstration de la *liberalitas* de l'empereur. Cf. MOORMAN 2018, p. 170-171.

est intéressant de noter ici que l'Égypte jouait un rôle fondamental dans l'importation de céréales à Rome au point d'en être la source principale sous les Flaviens²⁹. Rome était devenue tellement dépendante de l'agriculture égyptienne qu'un arrêt des livraisons aurait suffi à affamer Rome en quelques semaines³⁰. On peut dès lors comprendre pourquoi Domitien a voulu établir ce lien étroit entre lui et le pays des pharaons.

2. *L'obélisque en son contexte archéologique*

Afin d'appréhender l'obélisque de façon plus globale, bon nombre de chercheurs ont tenté d'identifier l'endroit où Domitien l'avait fait dresser de son vivant³¹. L'opinion largement acceptée par la communauté scientifique est d'admettre que l'obélisque avait été placé par Domitien dans l'*Iseum Campense*, au centre de la cour située entre l'*Iseum* et le Sérapeum. Cette hypothèse, proposée pour la première fois par Erman, repose sur le fait que Domitien a restauré le plus grand complexe religieux dédié à Isis à Rome, tandis que les inscriptions désignent à deux reprises Domitien comme « l'aimé d'Isis » et que les reliefs du pyramidion le montreraient recevant des offrandes des mains d'Isis³². En outre, sur un fragment de la *Forma Urbis Romae*, la cour de l'*Iseum Campense* montre un carré qui représenterait la base de l'obélisque de Domitien. À partir de ce contexte archéologique et de la prépondérance de la figure d'Isis, on s'est accordé à voir en l'obélisque un monument isiaque. Par ailleurs, dès son avènement, Vespasien s'est placé sous la protection de Sérapis et d'Isis³³. Cette dernière a même œuvré à la protection de Domitien lorsque celui-ci a pu s'échapper des gardes de Vitellius en se déguisant en prêtre d'Isis. Dès lors, l'obélisque mentionnant l'avènement de Domitien et placé dans le complexe isiaque de l'*Iseum Campense* serait une façon d'inscrire le règne de l'empereur sous la protection de la déesse égyptienne.

Néanmoins, l'interprétation isiaque de l'obélisque peut être remise en question³⁴. Tout d'abord, Isis n'a qu'un rôle très minime dans les inscriptions. La dédicace de l'obélisque ne lui est pas destinée et on aurait attendu au moins un hommage particulier envers Isis si elle avait un rôle réellement important. De plus, si l'épisode de la protection d'Isis envers Domitien est resté célèbre, ce sont bel et bien Minerve et Jupiter qui ont été désignés par Domitien comme divinités tutélaires. Certes, Domitien a fait reconstruire l'*Iseum Campense*, mais il a participé à la (re)construction de dizaines d'autres bâtiments en tout genre sans que l'on puisse y percevoir

²⁹ Sous Auguste, la Sicile et la Sardaigne étaient encore les sources principales de céréales, mais petit à petit l'Égypte les a surpassées, tandis que la population romaine était toujours croissante.

³⁰ Tacite, *Histoires*, III, 48 ; SCHWARTZ 1978, p. 183-185. Un projet d'édit de Domitien, rendu célèbre par les écrits de Suétone, peut démontrer la préoccupation qu'avait Domitien quant à l'approvisionnement de Rome en céréales : « Une année où le vin était en abondance, alors que le blé manquait, estimant que la culture exagérée de la vigne faisait négliger les terres, il interdit d'en planter davantage en Italie et donna l'ordre de couper des ceps, dans les provinces, en n'en laissant que la moitié au maximum ; mais il ne fit pas exécuter cet édit. » Suétone, *Domitien*, VII, 2 (trad. AILLOUD 1932, p. 84-85).

³¹ Cf. MALAISE 1972, ROULLET 1972, GRENIER 1987 et 1999, LEMBKE 1994, VERSLUYS 2002, BÜLOW CLAUSEN 2014, VERSLUYS et alii 2018.

³² ERMAN 1917, p. 8.

³³ Tacite, *Histoires*, IV, 81-82 ; Suétone, *Vespasien*, 7 ; Flavius Josèphe, *Ant. Jud.*, VI, 123.

³⁴ Cf. tous les articles de Grenier, ainsi que ceux plus récents de TATARKIEWICZ 2014, MOORMAN 2018, PFEIFFER 2018.

une égyptomanie particulière³⁵. L'interprétation isiaque de l'obélisque semble dès lors être abusive.

Par ailleurs, la localisation de l'obélisque dans ou aux alentours de l'*Iseum Campense* peut également paraître sujette à caution. Bien que cette hypothèse soit largement admise, elle ne repose que sur de très faibles arguments. Rien dans les inscriptions de l'obélisque ni dans les vestiges archéologiques et les sources écrites ne permet de soutenir quelque localisation que ce soit. Contrairement aux obélisques de Bénévent dont l'emplacement était indiqué dans les inscriptions³⁶, l'obélisque de Domitien ne mentionne aucun lieu potentiel. Quant au carré de la *Forma Urbis Romae*, au cas où il représenterait la base d'un obélisque, rien ne prouve qu'il s'agisse de celui de Domitien³⁷. Enfin, il n'est pas habituel à Rome de placer un obélisque près d'un autre monument d'inspiration égyptienne.

En 1999, Grenier proposa comme location originelle possible de l'obélisque l'ensemble du *Templum Gentis Flaviae* construit sur le Quirinal à la fin du règne de Domitien³⁸. Selon lui, les inscriptions de l'obélisque servent à démontrer la gloire de Domitien à un point tel que seul ce lieu dédié au culte de la gens *Flavia* pouvait l'accueillir. Si cette hypothèse est intéressante, elle n'est cependant confirmée ni par les inscriptions ni par des preuves archéologiques. À l'heure actuelle, toute proposition de localisation de l'emplacement initial de l'obélisque n'est donc qu'hypothèse.

La vraie question réside dans les raisons qui ont amené Domitien à rédiger un tel texte en hiéroglyphes, en associant les principes de la phraséologie pharaonique et les préoccupations impériales.

Pour commencer, il faut rappeler qu'une *damnatio memoriae* à la suite de son assassinat a détruit toute trace de son implication à Rome. Le fait que les signes hiéroglyphiques étaient incompréhensibles pour le commun des mortels est sans doute la raison qui a permis à l'obélisque de survivre aux destructions. Si l'obélisque prend aujourd'hui une place prépondérante dans l'étude de l'histoire du règne de Domitien, il est difficile d'apprécier quelle était son importance à l'époque, au milieu des nombreuses autres constructions de cet empereur.

On peut néanmoins tenter de comprendre, dans une certaine mesure, l'intérêt qu'il y eut d'inscrire un tel texte en hiéroglyphes sur un obélisque. Tout d'abord, l'Égypte occupait une place importante dans la prospérité de Rome. Cette dernière, en perpétuelle croissance, dépendait totalement des importations de céréales en provenance d'Égypte. Après une succession quelque peu chaotique, Domitien œuvre largement à légitimer son pouvoir et à se faire apprécier de son peuple. À travers ses nombreuses constructions et ses généreuses distributions de denrées, il prouve ses qualités d'empereur en tant que bon gestionnaire du territoire romain et héritier des valeurs ancestrales. En cela, il semble logique que Domitien souhaite que l'Égypte soit durable et que « le pays soit prospère au temps de la famille de la gens des *Flavii* ». De la sorte, il peut se vanter d'avoir « rempli le pays de sa provende ». Inscrire son règne dans la

³⁵ En considérant l'ensemble des constructions qui ont eu lieu sous Domitien afin de mieux comprendre les aspirations de son règne, MOORMAN 2018 déduit que la politique de construction de Domitien visait avant tout à s'intégrer dans la Rome de ses prédécesseurs. La rénovation de l'*Iseum Campense* lui semble davantage répondre à une volonté de « faire augustéen » que de « faire égyptien ».

³⁶ Le « temple splendide d'Isis la Grande, maîtresse de Bénévent ». Sur ces obélisques, voir MÜLLER 1969.

³⁷ GRENIER 1999, p. 229, fait remarquer que les deux pans d'obélisque servant aujourd'hui de seuil au Palais Giustiniani et à Sant'Andrea della Valle auraient pu tout aussi bien convenir au carré de la *Forma Urbis*.

³⁸ GRENIER 1999, p. 229-230.

lignée des pharaons Égyptiens peut dès lors répondre à une double volonté : établir son prestige et son pouvoir, et assurer la survie de son empire.

Enfin, l'écriture hiéroglyphique elle-même pourrait justifier l'existence de l'obélisque. Connue pour sa portée religieuse, cette écriture fut employée par les Égyptiens depuis des millénaires pour fixer les textes dans l'éternité. Dès que l'Égypte passa aux mains des Romains, ces derniers montrèrent une volonté de s'inscrire dans cette dynamique, en favorisant la construction et la rénovation des temples égyptiens³⁹. Égyptomanie ou démonstration de la puissance de Rome à gouverner un si vaste empire, la reprise des codes de la tradition pharaonique est, d'une certaine manière, une façon de placer l'empire dans un projet d'éternité. Comme l'obélisque de Domitien est le seul des monuments romains inscrits à son nom à avoir échappé à la *damnatio memoriae*, on peut dire que l'objectif a été atteint.

³⁹ ROULLET 1972, p. 18-22. Voir aussi TATARKIEWICZ 2014, pour comprendre la place des cultes étrangers dans le maintien des *mores maiorum* à Rome sous les Flaviens.

ANNEXE

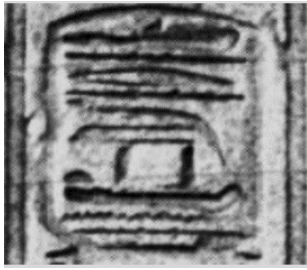




































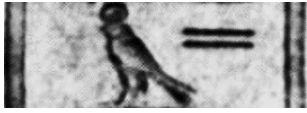



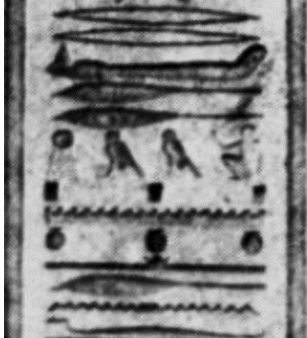













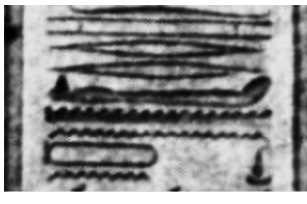









VPh. = F. DAUMAS, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*, 4 vol., Montpellier, 1988-1990.

Wb. = A. ERMAN, H. GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vol., Berlin, 1926-1963.



































Face nord actuelle (Grenier, face I)

	<p>Faucon à double couronne + soleil à uraeus = Hr Le nom d'Horus est inscrit dans un sérekḥ figurant le palais royal Signes h + wn + w + nw + déterm. = hwn Signes k + nw + = kn Trans. : Hr hwn kn Trad. : L'Horus « adolescent courageux »</p>
	<p>Deux déesses sur le signe nb pour Nbty Signes wr + r = wr Deux signes pt + hr pour h + t = phty⁴⁰ Trans. : Nbty wr phty Trad. : Celui des deux maîtresses « grand de puissance »</p>
	<p>Titre Hr-nbw + soleil à uraeus superflu = Hr-nbw Signes s + h^c + ^c + déterm. + n = sh^c.n Signes sw + w = sw Signes t + f + trait + signe f = it.f Trans. : Hr-nbw sh^c.n sw it.f, Trad. : l'Horus d'or « son père l'a couronné »,</p>
	<p>Signes sw + t + t = nsw-bity Signe nb = nb Signes t³ + + trois traits + deux déterm. = t³wy Trans. : nsw-bity nb t³wy</p>

⁴⁰ Pour la lecture de phty, voir ERMAN 1917, p. 18.

	<p>Trad. : le roi de Haute et de Basse Égypte, le Maître des Deux Terres</p>
	<p>Nom dans un cartouche  :</p> <p>Signes  k +  c +  s +  r +  s = K^cSRS</p> <p>Signes  d +  m +  t +  y +  c +  n +  s = $DMTY^cNS$ (nom étranger)</p> <p>Trans. : $K^cSRS DMTY^cNS$. Trad. : César (<i>Caesaros</i>) Domitien (<i>Domitianus</i>).</p>
	<p>Signes  s +  pour  h^c +  nw +  iwf (pour f) = $s^c h^c .n.f$</p> <p>Signes  p +  thn = $p(\text{3}y) thn$</p> <p>Signes  m (tardif) +  i +  in + déterm.  = $m inr$</p> <p>Signes  m^3 (<i>VPh IV</i>, 691) +  t +  m^3t = m^3t</p> <p>Signes  pour  m^3^c ⁴¹ +  c + signes  I et  X superflus = m^3^c</p> <p>Signe  n = n</p> <p>Signes  t +  f = $it.f$</p> <p>Trans. : $S^c h^c .n.f p(\text{3}y) thn m inr m^3t m^3^c n it.f$ Trad. : Il a dressé cet obélisque dans une pierre de granite véritable pour son père</p>
	<p>Signes  R^c +  Hr +  $\text{3}hty$ = $R^c-Hr-\text{3}hty$</p> <p>Trans. : $R^c-Hr-\text{3}hty$, Trad. : Rê-Horakhty,</p>
	<p>Deux signes  r +  di = $r rdi(t)$</p> <p>Deux signes  m^33 (notation tardive) = m^33</p> <p>Signes  $hnmmt$ + deux  m +  m + traits  III = $hnmmt$</p> <p>Signes  mn + trois  nw + déterm.  = mnw</p> <p>Signes  ir +  n +  f = $ir(w).n.f$</p> <p>Trans. : $r rdi(t) m^33 hnmmt mnw ir(w).n.f$, Trad. : pour permettre au peuple de voir le monument qu'il a fait,</p>
	<p>Signe  mr +  r superflu = $mr(w)$</p> <p>Signes  r +  di = $rdi(t)$</p> <p>Signes  mn +  n + déterm.  = mn</p> <p>Signes  rn +  n = $rn(w)$</p> <p>Trans. : $mr(w) rdi(t) mn rn(w)$ Trad. : voulant faire que soient durables les noms</p>

⁴¹ GRENIER 1987, p. 939, n. 7.

	<p>Trois signes  $nsw = nsw$</p> <p>Trois signes  $bity = bityw$</p> <p>Signes  hr + trait + déterm.  = $hryw$</p> <p>Signes  hr +  $st = hr st$</p> <p>Signe  $Hr = Hr$</p> <p>Trans. : $nsw, bityw hryw hr st Hr$</p> <p>Trad. : des rois de Haute Égypte, des rois de Basse Égypte, supérieurs sur le trône d'Horus</p>
	<p>Monogramme  h +  $r = hn^{42}$</p> <p>Signe  $wd^3t = wd^3$</p> <p>Signe  $hpr = t^3^{43}$</p> <p>Signe  $m = m$</p> <p>Signe  rk (valeur tardive) = rk^{44}</p> <p>Signes  dn +  t +  y +  + traits  = $dnyt^{45}$</p> <p>Signes  n +  $t = n(y)t$</p> <p>Signes  k^3 +  s + traits superflus encadrant le signe  nw + traits du pluriel  = $k^3.sn$ (mis pour <i>gens</i>)</p> <p>Signes  p^3 +  l +  w +  y  i +  + déterm. ) (peuples étrangers) + traits du pluriel  = $PLWYI$</p> <p>Trans. : $hn^c wd^3 t^3 m rk dnyt n(y)t k^3.sn PLWYI$</p> <p>Trad. : et que le pays soit prospère au temps de la famille de la <i>gens</i> des <i>Flavii</i>⁴⁶</p>



⁴² GRENIER 1987, p. 939.

⁴³ *Wb.*, V, p. 212.




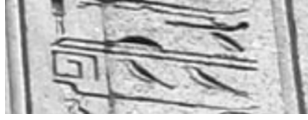
⁴⁴ ERMAN 1917, p. 19.

⁴⁵ *Wb.*, V, p. 464-5.
























































⁴⁶ GRENIER 1987, p. 939.

	<p>Signes $\text{P} s + \text{sh}^3 + \text{bird} + \text{snake}$ pour $f = \text{sh}^3.f$</p> <p>Signes $\text{nr} + \triangle t = \text{nr}(w)t$</p> <p>Signes $n + \triangle t = \text{n}(y)t$</p> <p>Signes $\triangle t + \text{snake } f + \text{trois traits } \text{itw}$</p> <p>Signes $\text{P} s + \text{m}^3 + \text{bird } \beta + \text{déterm. } \text{I} + \text{Q} \text{ iw}f \text{ (pour } f) = \text{sm}^3(w).f$</p> <p>Signes $n + \triangle t = \text{nt}(t)$</p> <p>Signes $w^3s + \text{m} + \text{déterm. } \text{bird} = w^3s.(w)$</p> <p>Signes $mh + f = mh.f$</p> <p>Signes $gm + \text{O} nw + \triangle t = \text{gmt.n.}(f)$</p> <p>Signe $\text{W} = w\check{s}.(w)$</p> <p>Signes $r + \triangle t + \text{di} = \text{rdit}$</p> <p>Signes $h^3 + w + \text{w} + \text{traits du pluriel } \text{h}^3w$</p> <p>Trois signes $tp + \text{trois signes } \square = \text{tpyw-}(\check{c})$</p> <p>Signes $wr + \square \check{s} + \text{déterm. } \text{O} + \text{w} = \text{wr}\check{s}w$</p> <p>Deux signes $hw = hh(y)$</p> <p>Signes $\text{bird } \beta h + \text{h} + \triangle t + \text{déterm. } \text{I} + \text{traits du pluriel } \text{I} + \text{O} s + \text{wavy } n = \beta hwt.sn$</p> <p>Trans. : $Sh^3.f \text{ nrwt } n(y)t \text{ itw.}(f), \text{ sm}^3(w).f \text{ nt}(t) \text{ w}^3s.(w), mh.f \text{ gmt.n.}(f) \text{ w}\check{s}.(w), (hr) \text{ rdit } h^3w \text{ (hr) tpyw-}(\check{c}), \text{ wr}\check{s}w \text{ hh}(y) \beta hwt.sn,$</p> <p>Trad. : Il évoque le respect de (ses) pères, en rénovant ce qui était en ruine, remplissant ce qu'il avait trouvé vide, faisant davantage que les prédécesseurs, passant du temps à chercher des choses utiles pour eux,</p>
	<p>Signes $\text{di} + \text{O} s + \text{snake } f = \text{di}(w)\{s\}.f$</p> <p>Signe $\text{nh} = \text{nh}$</p> <p>Signe $\text{dd} = \text{dd}$</p> <p>Signe $w^3s = w^3s$</p> <p>Signe $nb = nb$</p> <p>Signe $\text{nh} = \text{nh.}(w)$</p> <p>Signes $\text{O} R^c + \text{trait} + \text{mi} = \text{mi } R^c \text{ (antéposition respect.)}$</p> <p>Signes $d + \triangle t = \text{dt}$</p> <p>Trans. : $\text{di}(w).f \text{ nh } \text{dd } w^3s \text{ nb}, \text{ nh.}(w) \text{ mi } R^c \text{ dt} !$</p> <p>Trad. : afin qu'il soit doué de toute vie, de stabilité et de puissance, vivant (soit-il) comme Rê éternellement !</p>

Face sud actuelle (Grenier, face II)

	<p>Faucon à double couronne + soleil à uraeus = <i>Hr</i> Le nom d'Horus est inscrit dans un sérekḥ figurant le palais royal Signe $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>mr</i> = <i>mr(y)</i> Signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>t³</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ + trois traits + déterm. $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ = <i>t³wy</i> Signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>k</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>ḥk³</i> = <i>ḥk³</i> Trois signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>idb</i> dont un superflu = <i>idbwy</i> Signe $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>mr</i> superflu Trans. : <i>Hr mry t³wy, ḥk³ idbwy,</i> Trad. : L'Horus « aimé des Deux Terres, souverain des Deux Rives »,</p>
	<p>Signe $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>ntr</i> = <i>ntr</i> Signe $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ (<i>nfr</i> : <i>VPh</i> I, p.248) = <i>nfr</i> Signe $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ = $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ Deux signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>phty</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ superflu + déterm. $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ = <i>phty</i> Signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>t</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>m³</i> (<i>VPh</i> IV, 691) + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ + déterm. $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ = <i>tm³-^c</i> Signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>s</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>hr</i> = <i>shr(w)</i> Signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>š</i> pour $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>ḥ</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>f</i> + traits du pluriel $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ + trait + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ pour $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>t</i> = <i>hft(y)w</i>⁴⁷ Trans. : <i>ntr nfr, $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ phty, tm³-^c shr(w) hft(y)w,</i> Trad. : le dieu parfait, grand de force, le vaillant qui abat les ennemis,</p>
	<p>Signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>n</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>ht</i> + trait + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ = <i>nht-^c</i> Signe $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>ir</i> = <i>ir(w)</i> Signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>m</i> + trait + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>f</i> = <i>m^cf</i> Trans. : <i>nht-^c ir(w) m^cf.</i> Trad. : le vigoureux qui agit de son bras.</p>
	<p>Signe $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>n</i> négatif = <i>n</i> Signes $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>t</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>w</i> = $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>h^c.(n).tw</i> Signe $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>m</i> = <i>m</i> Signe $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>h</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>wr</i> pour $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>w</i> + $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ <i>f</i> = <i>h³w.f</i> Trans. : <i>N $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ h^c.(n).tw m h³w.f.</i> Trad. : On ne tient pas debout dans son périmètre.</p>


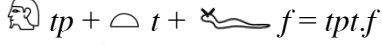







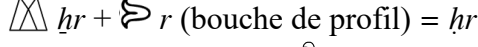


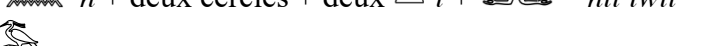


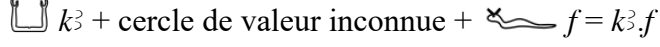
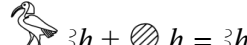


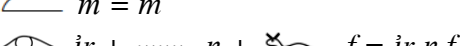


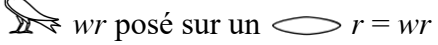
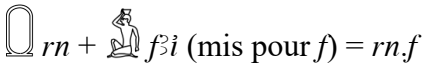

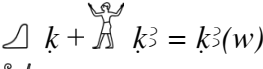


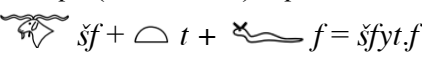


⁴⁷ ERMAN 1917, p. 22.

	<p>Signe  $sd^3 = sd^3$</p> <p>Signes  t^3 (valeur tardive) + trait +  = t^3</p> <p>Signes  hr +  t +  hr +  $f = hr hr(y)t.f$</p> <p>Trans. : $Sd^3 t^3 hr hr(y)t.f$, Trad. : La terre tremble à cause de la terreur qu'il inspire,</p>
	<p>Signes  iw^c +  c inversé +  n +  +  +  t</p> <p>+  f + deux  +  = $iw^c n(y) it \{s^3\} ntrw (?)$</p> <p>Signes  hr +  st +  $Hr = hr st Hr$</p> <p>Signes  s +  $w\bar{d}^3t = sw\bar{d}^3(w)$</p> <p>Signes  hm + déterm.  +  t + traits du pluriel  $$ = $hmw\{t\}$</p> <p>Signes traits du pluriel  +  $ntr = ntrw$</p> <p>Trans. : $iw^c n(y) it \{s^3\} ntrw (?) hr st Hr, sw\bar{d}^3(w) hmw\{t\} ntrw$, Trad. : l'héritier du père des dieux (?) sur le trône d'Horus, qui assainit les sanctuaires des dieux,</p>
	<p>Signes  d +  $r = dr(w)$</p> <p>Signes  b^3 +  t +  nw + trois déterm.  +  f + cinq traits = $btnw.f$⁴⁸</p> <p>Trans. : $dr(w) btnw.f$ Trad. : qui réprime ceux qui lui désobéissent,</p>
	<p>Signes  r +  pour  hw⁴⁹ +  t + déterm.  f = $rth(w)$</p> <p>Signes  iwn et  t notés trois fois = $Iwnw\{t\}$</p> <p>Signes  à lire hb⁵⁰ +  in + déterm.  + traits du pluriel  $$ = $hb(w) inw$</p> <p>Signe  m (noté par deux lignes horizontales) = m</p> <p>Deux signes  + deux traits + deux déterm.  = t^3</p> <p>Signes  stt + deux  t + déterm.  = Stt</p> <p>Trans. : $rth(w) Iwnw\{t\}, hb(w) inw m t^3-Stt$, Trad. : qui contraint les Iounou et ramène d'Asie un tribut,</p>


⁴⁸ ERMAN 1917, p. 23.

⁴⁹ *idem.*

⁵⁰ *idem.*

























































	<p>Signes  $tp + t + f = tpt.f$</p> <p>Signe vertical  (valeur ?)</p> <p>Signes  $m + ht = m-ht$</p> <p>Signe  $hry + \text{traits du pluriel} = hryw$</p> <p>Signe  $š + \text{trois grains} + \text{cercle} = š^c$</p> <p>Trans : $tpt.f m-ht hryw-š^c$.</p> <p>Trad : son uraeus poursuivant les Bédouins.</p>
	<p>Signes  $mh + \text{déterm.} + n + f = mh.n.f$</p> <p>Signe  $t^3 = t^3$</p> <p>Signes  $hr + r (\text{bouche de profil}) = hr$</p> <p>Trois signes  $k^3 + \text{déterm.} + f + \text{trois grains} = k^3w.f$</p> <p>Trans. : $Mh.n.f t^3 hr k^3w.f$.</p> <p>Trad. : Il a rempli le pays de sa provende.</p>
	<p>Signes  $n + \text{deux cercles} + \text{deux } t + f = ntt iwtt^{51}$</p> <p>Signe  $b^3hi + \text{déterm.} + \text{cercle} + \text{cercle} = b^3h.(w)$</p> <p>Signe  $m = m$</p> <p>Signes  $k^3 + \text{cercle de valeur inconnue} + f = k^3.f$</p> <p>Signes  $3h + h = 3h$</p> <p>Signe  $sh = sh$</p> <p>Signe  $m = m$</p> <p>Signe  $ir + n + f = ir.n.f$</p> <p>Signe  $nb = nb$</p> <p>Trans. : $Ntt iwtt b^3h(w) m k^3.f, 3h sh m ir(w).n.f nb$.</p> <p>Trad. : Ce qui est et ce qui n'est pas est inondé de son ka, (lui) dont le conseil est utile dans tout ce qu'il accomplit.</p>
	<p>Signe  $wr \text{ posé sur un } r = wr$</p> <p>Signes  $rn + f^3i (\text{mis pour } f) = rn.f$</p> <p>Signe  $r = r$</p> <p>Signes  $k + k^3 = k^3(w)$</p> <p>Signe  $n = n(y)$</p> <p>Signe  $pt (VPh I, 124) = pt$</p> <p>Signe  $šf + t + f = šfy.t.f$</p> <p>Signe  $r = r$</p> <p>Signes  $r + c = r^c$</p>


















































⁵¹ ERMAN 1917, p. 24.

	<p>Signes $\text{☉} (?)^{52} + \text{☉} stwt + \text{☉} r^c = stwt r^c$</p> <p>Trans. : <i>Wr rn.f r k³(w) n(y) pt, šfy.t.f r stwt r^c.</i></p> <p>Trad. : Son nom est plus grand que la hauteur du ciel, le respect qu'il inspire (va) jusqu'aux rayons du soleil.</p>
	<p>Signe $\text{☉} nb = nb$</p> <p>Signes $\text{☉} t^3 + \text{☉} + \text{☉} + \text{☉} + \text{☉} = t^3wy$</p> <p>Nom dans un cartouche ☉ :</p> <p>Signes $\text{☉} k + \text{☉}^c + \text{☉} s + \text{☉}$ mis pour $\text{☉} r + \text{☉} s = K^cSRS$ (titre romain)</p> <p>Signes $\text{☉} t + \text{☉} m + \text{☉} y + \text{☉} t + \text{☉} y + \text{☉}^c + \text{☉} n + \text{☉} s = TMYTY^cNS$ (nom étranger)</p> <p>Signe $\text{☉} nh = nh.(w)$</p> <p>Signes $\text{☉} d + \text{☉} t + \text{☉} = dt$</p> <p>Trans. : <i>Nb t³wy K^cSRS TMYTY^cNS, nh.(w) dt !</i></p> <p>Trad. : Le maître des Deux terres César Domitien, vivant (soit-il) éternellement !</p>

⁵² ERMAN 1917, p. 24.
























































Face est actuelle (Grenier, face III)

	<p>Faucon  à double couronne  + soleil à uraeus  = <i>Hr</i> Le nom d'Horus est inscrit dans un sérekḥ figurant le palais royal</p> <p>Signes  <i>h</i> +  <i>k</i> +  <i>nw</i> = <i>hknw</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>ntr</i> + traits du pluriel  = <i>ntrw</i></p> <p>Signe  cryptogramme pour <i>rmt</i> + traits du pluriel  = <i>rmt</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>hr</i> + trait  + signe  <i>f</i> = <i>hr.f</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>Hr hknw ntrw rmt hr.f</i> Trad. : L'Horus « au sujet duquel dieux et hommes acclamèrent</p>
	<p>Signe  <i>m</i> = <i>m</i> Trait  superflu</p> <p>Signes  <i>šsp</i> +  <i>p</i> + déterm.  +  <i>f</i> = <i>šsp.f</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>sw</i> +  <i>t</i> +  <i>y</i> +  <i>n</i> = <i>nsyt</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>n</i> = <i>n(yt)</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>t</i> +  <i>f</i> + trait  + signe  <i>f</i> = <i>it.f</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>m šsp.f nsyt n(yt) it.f</i> Trad. : quand il reçut la royauté de son père</p>
	<p>Nom dans un cartouche  :</p> <p>Signes  <i>w</i> +  <i>s³</i> +  <i>p</i> +  <i>šs</i> +  <i>c</i> +  <i>n</i> +  <i>s</i> = <i>WSPS^cNS</i> (nom étranger)</p> <p>Signes  <i>p</i> (ressemblant à un trait) +  <i>y</i> = <i>p³y</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>sb³/dw³</i> (valeur tardive : <i>ntr</i>) = <i>ntr</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>WSPS^cNS, p³y-ntr</i>, Trad. : Vespasien (<i>Vespasianus</i>), le dieu,</p>
	<p>Monogramme  = <i>m^c</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>sn</i> +  <i>nw</i> +  <i>iwf</i> (pour <i>f</i>) = <i>sn.f</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>wr</i> (avec plumet sur la tête : <i>VPh I, 74</i>) = <i>wr</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>m^c sn.f wr</i> Trad. : de la part de son frère aîné</p>
	<p>Nom dans un cartouche  :</p> <p>Signes  <i>d</i> +  <i>y</i> +  <i>d</i> +  <i>s</i> = <i>DYDS</i> (nom étranger)</p> <p>Signe  <i>p</i> = <i>p³</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>sb³/dw³</i> (valeur tardive : <i>ntr</i>) = <i>ntr</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>DYDS, p³-ntr</i>, Trad. : Titus, le dieu,</p>

	<p>Signe  <i>dr</i> + déterminatif  = <i>d³y</i>⁵³</p> <p>Signes  <i>b³</i> +  <i>f³i</i> (mis pour <i>f</i>) = <i>b³.f</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>r</i> = <i>r</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>hr</i> +  <i>r</i> + déterm.  +  <i>t</i> = <i>hrt</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>d³(w) b³.f r hrt</i></p> <p>Trad. : dont l'âme s'était envolée au ciel ».</p>
	<p>Titre  <i>Nbty</i> = <i>Nbty</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>k</i> +  superflu +  <i>nw</i> + déterm.  = <i>kn</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>nd</i> +  <i>nw</i> +  <i>t</i> = <i>ndt(y)</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>inb</i> (forme  : <i>VPh III</i>, 500) +  <i>mnh</i> = <i>inb mnh</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>t³ dr.f</i>⁵⁴</p> <p>Trans. : <i>Nbty kn, ndt(y), inb mnh t³ dr.f</i></p> <p>Trad. : Celui des deux maîtresses « le brave, le protecteur, le rempart efficace du pays entier »</p>
	<p>Titre  (forme  : <i>VPh II</i>, 304) <i>Hr-nbw</i> = <i>Hr-nbw</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>wr</i> +  <i>r</i> + trait  superflu = <i>wr</i></p> <p>Deux signes  <i>phty</i> +  superflu + déterm.  = <i>phty</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>ir</i> = <i>ir(w)</i></p> <p>Tête de l'ibis  <i>3h</i> +  <i>h</i> + deux traits = <i>3hw(t)</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>Hr-nbw wr phty, ir(w) 3hw(t)</i>,</p> <p>Trad. : L'Horus d'or « le grand de puissance, qui accomplit des choses utiles,</p>
	<p>Signe  <i>nb</i> = <i>nb</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>sd</i> (forme  : <i>VPh III</i>, 532) = <i>hb(w)-sd</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>Pth</i> +  <i>Tnn</i> (forme  <i>VPh I</i>, 105) = <i>Pth-Tnn</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>mi</i> = <i>mi</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>ity</i> +  <i>i</i> + idéo.  = <i>ity</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>R^c</i> + trait = <i>R^c</i> (antéposition respect.)</p> <p>Signes  <i>i</i> +  <i>mi</i> = <i>mi</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>nb hb(w)-sd mi Pth-Tnn, ity mi R^c</i></p> <p>Trad. : qui possède des fêtes Sed comme Ptah-Tjenen, souverain comme Rê »</p>


























































⁵³ GRENIER 1987, p. 943.

⁵⁴ ERMAN 1917, p. 25, qui utilise un parallèle ptolémaïque.




	<p>Signes  bit + deux  t (omission de  sw) = (nsw)-bity</p> <p>Signe  nb = nb</p> <p>Signes  t³ +  + trois traits + déterm.  = t³wy</p> <p>Signe  iw = iw(^cw)</p> <p>Signe  mnḥ horizontal et allongé = mnḥ</p> <p>Trois signes  sb³/dw³ (valeur tardive ntr) = ntrw</p> <p>Signe  mr = mr(y)</p> <p>Signes  b³k +  t + déterm.  = B³kt⁵⁵</p> <p>Trans. : (Nsw)-bity nb-T³wy, iw(^cw) mnḥ ntrw, mr(y) B³kt,</p> <p>Trad. : Le roi (de Haute et) de Basse, le maître des deux terres, l'héritier efficace des dieux, aimé de Baqet (l'Égypte),</p>
	<p>Nom dans un cartouche  :</p> <p>Signes  w +  3 +  t +  k +  r +  t +  rw</p> <p>= 3WTKRTR (titre grec)</p> <p>Trans. : 3WTKRTR.</p> <p>Trad. : l'empereur (autocrator = <i>imperator</i>).</p>
	<p>Signes  R^c +  s³ = s³-R^c (antéposition respect.)</p> <p>Signe  nbw ou  nb = nb</p> <p>Couronnes  h +  w +  = h^cw</p> <p>Nom dans un cartouche  :</p> <p>Signes  k +  c +  s +  r +  s = K^cSRS</p> <p>Signes  t +  m (tardif) +  y +  d +  i +  nw +  s</p> <p>= TMYD'INS (nom étranger)</p> <p>Signes  s³ +  b³ (sans corne) +  s +  t +  s</p> <p>= SBSTS (titre grec)</p> <p>Trans. : S³-R^c nb-h^cw K^cSRS TMYD'INS SBSTS</p> <p>Trad. : Le fils de Rê, le maître des couronnes, César Domitien (Domitianus) Auguste (Sebastos = <i>Augustus</i>)</p>
	<p>Dieux assis (Isis à coiffe hathorique et Ptah) = 3st Pth</p> <p>Signe  mr = mr(y)</p> <p>Signe  mi = mi</p> <p>Signe  R^c + trait = R^c</p> <p>Signes  nh = ^cnh.(w)</p> <p>Trans. : mr(y) 3st Pth, ^cnh.(w) mi R^c !</p> <p>Trad. : aimé d'Isis et de Ptah, vivant (soit-il) comme Rê !</p>

⁵⁵ Wb., I, 425.

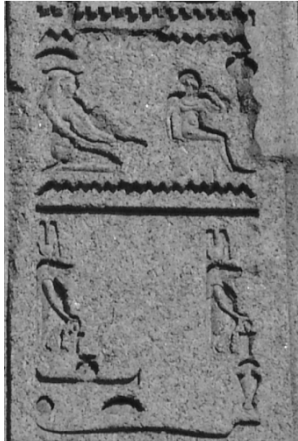




























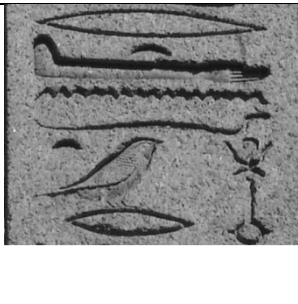























Face ouest actuelle (Grenier, face IV)

	<p>Faucon à double couronne  + soleil à uraeus  = <i>Hr</i></p> <p>Le nom d'Horus est inscrit dans un sérekḥ figurant le palais royal</p> <p>Signes  <i>k3</i> +  superflu +  <i>nḥt</i> = <i>k3 nḥt</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>M3t</i> +  <i>mr</i> +  <i>t</i> = <i>mr(y) M3t</i> (antéposition respect.)</p> <p>Trans. : <i>Hr k3 nḥt, mr(y) M3t</i>, Trad. : L'Horus « taureau victorieux aimé de Maât »,</p>
	<p>Signes  <i>sw</i> +  <i>t</i> +  <i>bit</i> +  <i>t</i> = <i>nsw-bity</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>nb</i> = <i>nb</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>t3</i> +  + trois traits + deux déterm.  = <i>t3wy</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>nbw</i> mis pour  <i>nb</i> = <i>nb</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>ir</i> = <i>ir(t)</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>h</i> +  <i>t</i> + déterm.  + traits du pluriel  = <i>ḥt</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>nsw-bity nb t3wy nb ir(t) ḥt</i>, Trad. : le roi de Haute et de Basse Égypte, le maître des deux terres, le maître du rituel (litt. : de faire les choses),</p>
	<p>Signes  <i>R</i>^c +  <i>s3</i> = <i>s3 R</i>^c</p> <p>Signe  <i>nb</i> = <i>nb</i></p> <p>Trois signes  <i>h'w</i> = <i>h'w</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>s3 R^c nb h'w</i> Trad. : le fils Rê, le maître des couronnes</p>
	<p>Nom dans un cartouche  :</p> <p>Signes  <i>3</i> +  <i>iwt</i> pour <i>WT</i>⁵⁶ +  <i>k</i> +  <i>r</i> +  <i>t</i> +  <i>rw</i> = <i>3WTKRTR</i> (titre grec)</p> <p>Signes  <i>k</i> +  <i>s</i> +  <i>s</i> +  <i>r</i> +  <i>s</i> = <i>K^cSRS</i> (titre romain)</p> <p>Signes  <i>t</i> +  <i>m</i> +  <i>y</i> +  <i>t</i> +  <i>y</i> +  <i>s</i> +  <i>n</i> +  <i>s</i> = <i>TMYDINS</i> (nom étranger)</p> <p>Signes  <i>mr</i> +  <i>s</i> = <i>mr(y)</i>⁵⁰</p> <p>Signes  <i>t</i> + déterm.  <i>I</i> +  Isis à coiffe hathorique = <i>3st</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>mr</i> = <i>mr(y)</i></p>

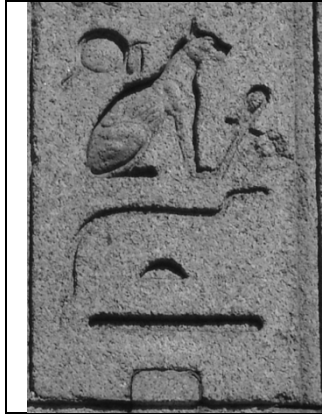
⁵⁶ GRENIER 1987, p. 943.


	<p>Trans. : 𓂏WTḲRTR Ḳ^cSRS TMYD^tNS, <i>mr(y) 'Ist,</i> Trad. : l'empereur (Autocrator = <i>imperator</i>) César (<i>Caesaros</i>) Domitien (<i>Domitianus</i>), l'aimé d'Isis,</p>
	<p>Signe 𓂏 <i>ntr</i> = <i>ntr</i> Signe 𓂏 <i>nfr</i> (<i>Vph</i> I, p.248) = <i>nfr</i> Signes 𓂏 + 𓂏 + cercle = ^c<i>nh(w)</i>⁵⁰ Signes 𓂏 <i>hn</i> + 𓂏 <i>ti</i> + 𓂏 = <i>hnty</i> Signe 𓂏 <i>n</i> = <i>n(y)</i> Signe 𓂏 à valeur <i>r^c</i> (<i>VPh</i> I, 232) = <i>r^c</i> Trans. : <i>ntr nfr hnty ^cnh(w) n(y) R^c,</i> Trad. : le dieu parfait, image vivante de Rê,⁵⁷</p>
	<p>-----début du passage corrompu----- Trois signes 𓂏 <i>šn</i> + 𓂏 <i>mr</i> = ??? Signe 𓂏 <i>R^c</i> Signe 𓂏 <i>f</i> Signes 𓂏 <i>n</i> + 𓂏 <i>p</i> (?) + 𓂏 <i>rk</i> (?) = ??? Signe 𓂏 <i>mnḥ</i> horizontal et allongé = <i>mnḥ</i> Signe 𓂏 <i>n</i> = <i>n</i> négatif Signe 𓂏 (<i>pr</i>: <i>VPh</i> II, 357) = <i>pr</i> Signe 𓂏 <i>m</i> = <i>m</i> ? (construction en miroir) <à l'extérieur> Signes S29 𓂏 <i>s</i> + 𓂏 <i>ntr</i> (?) + 𓂏 <i>t</i> + 𓂏 <i>p</i> <au centre> Signes 𓂏 <i>Pth</i> + 𓂏 <i>w</i> + 𓂏 <i>Tnn</i> = <i>Pth-Tnn</i> Signe 𓂏 <i>f</i> = <i>f</i> ? --- fin du passage corrompu -----</p>
	<p>Signes 𓂏 <i>r</i> + 𓂏 <i>t</i> superflu + 𓂏 pour 𓂏 <i>di</i> = <i>rdi</i> Signe 𓂏 <i>nbw</i> pour 𓂏 <i>nb</i> + deux 𓂏 <i>t</i> + deux déesses = <i>Nbty</i> Trois signes 𓂏 <i>mnḍw</i> + 𓂏 <i>s</i> + 𓂏 <i>n</i> = <i>mnḍw.sn</i> Signe 𓂏 <i>m</i> = <i>m</i> Signe 𓂏 <i>r</i>(^β) (omission du trait) + 𓂏 <i>f</i> = <i>r</i>(^β).<i>f</i> Trans. : <i>Rdi Nbty mnḍw.sn m r</i>(^β).<i>f</i> Trad. : Les deux maîtresses ont placé leurs seins dans sa bouche</p>

⁵⁷ ERMAN 1917, p. 27.




	<p>Signes  <i>mn</i> +  <i>n</i> +  <i>nw</i> +  <i>t</i> + déterm.  et  = <i>mn</i>^(°)<i>t</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>n</i> +  <i>t³</i> + deux déterm.  (<i>VPh</i> I, 139) = signes redondants et marque du duel</p> <p>Signe  <i>tpy</i> = <i>tp</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>nw</i> +  <i>dw</i> +  <i>t</i> + cercle +  <i>f</i> = <i>nwdt.f</i></p> <p>Trans. : (<i>rdi sw</i>) <i>mn</i>^(°)<i>ty tp nwdt.f</i> Trad. : (et) les deux nourrices (l'ont déposé) sur ses langes</p>
	<p>Signes  (forme  : <i>VPh</i> I, 220) +  <i>t</i> + déterm.  +  + traits du pluriel  = <i>Hwt-hr</i></p> <p>Signe  (<i>VPh</i>. I, 90) = <i>tbn</i>⁵⁸</p> <p>Signe  <i>m</i> = <i>m</i></p> <p>Signes  pour  <i>phr</i> +  <i>r</i> + dét.  +  <i>f</i> = <i>phr.f</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>Hwt-hr</i> (<i>hr</i>) <i>tbn m phr.f</i> Trad. : Les vaches Hathor jouaient du tambour autour de lui.</p>
	<p>Signe  <i>r</i> +  <i>t</i> +  <i>di</i> = <i>rdi.t(w)</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>n</i> +  <i>f</i> = <i>n.f</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>i³t</i> = <i>i³t</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>wr</i> posé sur  <i>r</i> +  <i>t</i> = <i>wrt</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>Rdi.t(w) n.f i³wt wrt</i>, Trad. : La grande fonction lui est donnée,</p>
	<p>Signe  <i>km³</i> +  <i>n</i> = <i>km³.n</i></p> <p>Titre  <i>Nbty</i> +  <i>rhyt</i> (en adoration) +  = <i>Nbty rhyt</i></p> <p>Signes  <i>mh</i> (forme  : <i>VPh</i> IV, 753) +  <i>nw</i> +  +  <i>s</i> = <i>mhn(yt).s(n)</i></p> <p>Signe  <i>hr</i> +  <i>tp</i> + idéogramme  <i>fi</i> (mis pour <i>f</i>) = <i>hr tp.f</i></p> <p>Trans. : <i>km³.n Nbty rhyt mhn(yt).s(n) hr tp.f</i>, Trad. : après que les deux Maîtres des rékhyt ont établi (litt. : créé) leur uraeus (litt. : leur torsadée) sur sa tête,</p>

⁵⁸ *Wb.*, V, p. 262.



Signe  'nh (associé au chat) = 'nh.(w)

Signes  miw pour  mi +  R^c = $mi R^c$

Signes  d +  t + déterm.  = dt

Trans. : 'nh.(w) mi R^c dt !

Trad. : vivant (soit-il) comme Rê éternellement ! ⁵⁹

⁵⁹ GRENIER 1987, p. 945.

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RÉSUMÉ

L'obélisque situé aujourd'hui au centre de la piazza Navona est le seul vestige architectural inscrit au nom de Domitien à avoir échappé à la *damnatio memoriae*. Compris tantôt comme une démonstration de l'étendue du culte isiaque sous les Flaviens, tantôt comme un objet de propagande de l'avènement de Domitien, l'obélisque a été dressé dans un contexte archéologique qui reste inconnu (d'aucuns ont proposé l'*Iseum Campense*). Cette étude revient sur les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de l'obélisque, afin d'actualiser celle qu'avaient proposée Erman et Grenier, en vue de présenter l'interprétation historique qui peut en être donnée.

ABSTRACT

The obelisk located today in the center of Piazza Navona is the only architectural vestige inscribed with Domitian's name to have escaped *damnatio memoriae*. Understood sometimes as a demonstration of the extent of the Isiac cult under the Flavians, sometimes as an object of propaganda for the advent of Domitian, the obelisk was erected in an archaeological context which remains unknown, even if some have proposed the *Iseum Campense*. This study returns to the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the obelisk, in order to update that proposed by Erman and Grenier, with a view to presenting the historical interpretation that can be given.

MOTS-CLEFS

1. Obélisque
2. Domitien
3. Piazza Navona
4. Flaviens
5. Isis

KEYWORDS

1. obelisk
2. Domitian
3. Piazza navona
4. Flavians
5. Isis

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La carte de référence de l'empire romain et son outil de travail moderne : étude de géographie historique de la *Table de Peutinger* et de la *Carte de redressement* d'Ernest Desjardins

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Les cartes d'avant le XVIII^e siècle, si elles nous apparaissent déformées, voire "naïves et fantaisistes" (Alinhac 1965 p. 26) ne le sont que parce que nous y cherchons ce pour quoi elles n'ont pas été faites : ici la représentation géométrique du territoire. De ce point de vue, ce qui fait que les cartes et plans du XVIII^e siècle nous sont si proches vient du fait que c'est justement au tournant des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle (sic) que la carte bascule du côté d'un nouveau mode de représentation qui n'a depuis quasiment pas changé¹.

Il faut avoir en tête cette citation de Nicolas Verdier lorsqu'on se penche sur la *Table de Peutinger* (TP), cette représentation cartographique ne faisant aucunement preuve de convention. En effet, les codes de la cartographie ne se sont développés qu'à partir du XVI^e siècle et, si l'importance de constituer des cartes et plans à partir de méthodes modernes et surtout pérennes et précises s'impose avec les cartes des XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles, c'est avant tout pour des raisons économique (cadastre pour les impôts) et politique (contrôle et administration du territoire ainsi

¹ VERDIER 2008, p. 7.

que guerre)². Bien plus récemment, l'ouvrage de Jacques Bertin en 1976 vint reprendre, clarifier et définir clairement ces conventions grâce au développement de la sémiologie graphique. Ce « père de la sémiologie » constitua ainsi les théories du langage cartographique³ visuel, clair, cohérent et universel⁴. Néanmoins, en remontant jusqu'au premier millénaire de notre ère avec la *TP* comme source quasi-directe de l'Antiquité, des accointances sont perceptibles avec les premières prescriptions graphiques des géographes et cartographes des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles ainsi qu'avec celles de Jacques Bertin. Néanmoins, les cartes issues de la période antique n'étant pas légion, travailler sur la période romaine dans le domaine de la géographie historique signifie choisir des sources particulières avec lesquelles confronter la *TP* dans le but d'une analyse complète et pertinente :

- des reconstructions contemporaines de cartes à partir des textes de Ptolémée⁵, Agrippa⁶ et Strabon⁷, sources directement liées à la *TP* ;
- une carte (dont la datation remonte à 1843 d'après la mention manuscrite du tome 1 des *Annales Archéologiques de Belgique*) présentant les voies romaines et prenant pour sources la *TP* et l'*Itinéraire d'Antonin*, texte de la fin du III^e siècle⁸ ;
- une carte archéologique établie en 2011 par Marie-Thérèse et Georges Raepsaet-Charlier, qui reprend non seulement le système de voies romaines mais aussi celui des fleuves en usage sur base des travaux en archéologie depuis une quarantaine d'années⁹ ;
- ou une carte de redressement composée par Ernest Desjardins dans son ouvrage *Géographie de la Gaule d'après la table de Peutinger* de 1868 (réédition de 1969¹⁰) et dont l'usage était fait pour la bonne compréhension de la *TP*.

Nous avons choisi de procéder à une comparaison avec la carte de redressement du géographe français Ernest Desjardins en raison de sa source, la *TP*, et son but, la compréhension de celle-ci. Pour offrir une analyse pertinente et complète, cette étude présente d'abord un commentaire cartographique des deux témoins pour poursuivre ensuite avec un commentaire de géographie historique.

1. Commentaire cartographique

La Table de Peutinger

Actuellement conservée à la bibliothèque de Vienne, la *Tabula Peutingeriana* est un document cartographique du XIII^e siècle sur vélin¹¹, le *codex Vindobonensis*, d'une taille

² VERDIER 2008, p. 7-9 ; BLUMENFELD 2008, p. 31-35 ; LACOSTE 2014, p. 56-57.

³ Les éléments présentés se trouvent selon le type de données et le type d'implantation sur le *continuum* des sept variables visuelles : forme, texture-structure, taille, couleur, valeur, grain et orientation (*cf.* note 4).

⁴ BÉGUIN, PUMAIN 2017, p. 61-100.

⁵ ACOLAT 2014.

⁶ Notons que la carte (p. 154) s'apparente davantage à un cartogramme qu'à une carte : TROUSSET 1993.

⁷ THOLLARD 2009.

⁸ X. *s.d.*

⁹ RAEPSAET-CHARLIER, RAEPSAET, BLOCH 2011.

¹⁰ DESJARDINS 1969.

¹¹ DESJARDINS 1969.



Fig. 1 : Extrait la Table de Peutinger centré sur la Gaule Belgique d'après la reproduction par Ernest Desjardins (1969)¹²



Fig. 2 : Partie de l'extrait occidental du fac-simile de la Table de Peutinger par Rathmann (2018)¹³

¹² DESJARDINS 1969, cartes annexes 2-3 (échelle : / ; taille : 63,7x42 centimètres selon le même rapport que la Table du XII^e siècle). Pour une vue d'ensemble de la carte, les cartes annexes 2 et 3 qui sont séparées. Pour la carte complète d'une pièce, PRONTERA 2003 propose (en fin de l'ouvrage collectif) un *fac-simile* d'une dimension de 740x29 centimètres de la carte de K. Miller de 1916 (Miller 1916) construite sur l'original de Vienne.

¹³ RATHMANN 2018, p. 35 (échelle : / ; taille : 682 centimètres sectionnés en onze feuillets, eux-mêmes coupés en trois fragments allant jusqu'à 30x21 centimètres). Dans sa brève introduction à la partie représentant la carte, l'auteur la présente comme un *fac-simile* réduit.

initiale de 740 sur 34 centimètres mais dont le feuillet externe a été endommagé si bien que la table n'est maintenant plus composée que de onze feuillets (au lieu de douze) pour une longueur de 682 centimètres¹⁴. Elle tire son nom de Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547), légataire de Konrad Celtis (1459-1508), qui avait acquis le manuscrit dans le monastère allemand de Reichenau (à la frontière sud de l'Allemagne, sur le lac de Constance)¹⁵ ou bien à Spire (Rhénanie-Palatinat)¹⁶.

De manière générale, la *TP* pourrait être qualifiée de carte de flux à variable qualitative nominale (en raison de sa qualité de « carte routière », chaque route représentant un flux sans qu'il y ait de distinction quantitative) et de carte symbole d'inventaire (en raison de sa qualité de représentation de différents symboles : thermes, relais, cités, etc.). Elle appartient effectivement à la typologie des cartes en ce qu'elle communique grâce au langage cartographique : elle emploie des éléments de sémiologie (par l'utilisation de six couleurs différentes pour exprimer des classes différentes d'éléments) et des principes de généralisation¹⁷ tant conceptuelle (utilisation de symboles particuliers et identiques pour exprimer des réalités respectivement distinctes et identiques : schématisation des montagnes, forêts, rivières ; utilisation de capitales et minuscules qui permet de distinguer des éléments mis sur le même niveau d'importance) que synthétique (suppression des éléments excédents pour la bonne compréhension de la carte).

Néanmoins, même si cette carte ne présente aucune notion de projection comme nous les connaissons, il est envisageable de caractériser celle-ci comme une surface cylindrique de perspective oblique (non parallèle à l'équateur ou à un méridien). La déformation des surfaces étant telle (dans le cas qui nous occupe, la Gaule a une forme de rectangle), il est impossible et probablement totalement non pertinent de déterminer avec exactitude la position sécante ou tangente de la surface de projection. Quant à l'échelle, il est impossible de la déterminer : en effet, si on remarque un effort particulier de situation de villes sur des méridiens¹⁸, la prise en compte d'espaces inégaux par feuillet¹⁹ et la différence d'orientation²⁰ empêchent de travailler selon des distances équivalentes au niveau de la représentation.

¹⁴ MAGINI 2003, p. 7. Pourtant, le douzième feuillet perdu a pu être reconstitué grâce à Konrad Miller en 1887, une reconstitution que RATHMANN 2018, p. 8, trouve assez convaincante ; cette restitution est maintenant généralement présentée comme premier feuillet (TALBERT 2010, p. 62).

¹⁵ RATHMANN 2018, p. 6 et 8, rapporte l'existence dans le catalogue de la bibliothèque de Reichenau d'une mention de deux rouleaux avec une *mappa mundi*. DALCHÉ 2003, p. 46-47, préfère cette hypothèse à celle du moine dominicain de Colmar qu'il encourage à abandonner d'après un témoignage des *Annales Colmarienses* du XVI^e s. qui présentent une description de la carte qui y fut copiée attestant des éléments qui ne sont pas sur la *TP*.

¹⁶ DALCHÉ 2003, p. 48-50.

¹⁷ Action de diminuer le niveau de détail d'une carte tout en conservant les patrons géométriques des phénomènes représentés et en conservant la facilité de lecture de la carte (THOMAS, MEYFROIDT 2021-2022).

¹⁸ RATHMANN 2018, p. 27 (cf. Figure 3).

¹⁹ IBID., p. 34 (cf. Figure 4).

²⁰ IBID., p. 27 (cf. Figure 5).



Fig. 3 : Identification de villes placées sur un méridien sur la Table de Peutinger et leur correspondant sur une carte moderne²¹

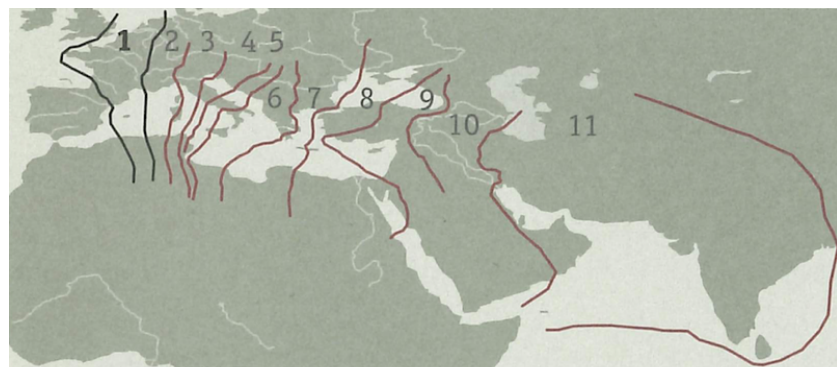


Fig. 4 : Correspondance de chaque feuillet de la Table de Peutinger avec une carte moderne²²

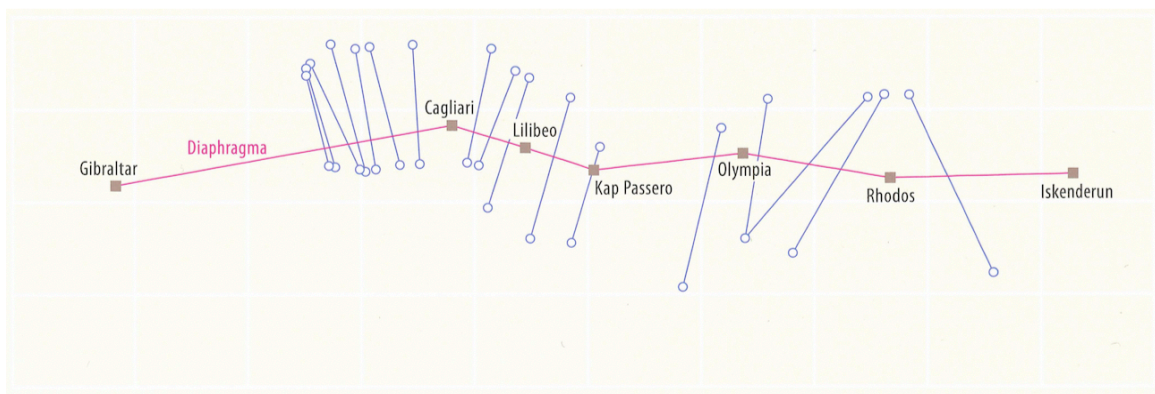


Fig. 5 : Axe est-ouest ou diaphragme et axes nord-sud ou méridiens de la Table de Peutinger replacés sur un plan moderne²³

²¹ RATHMANN 2018, fig. 31-32, p. 27.

²² IBID., p. 34.

²³ RATHMANN 2018, fig. 33, p. 27.

En outre, la *TP* ne répond presque en rien aux caractéristiques d’habillage de carte²⁴ :

ÉLÉMENTS D’HABILLAGE DE LA CARTE	PRESENCE ?	ÉLÉMENTS D’HABILLAGE DE LA CARTE	PRESENCE ?
Titre	NON	Numéro de figure	NON
Légende	NON	Auteur	NON
Source	NON	Éditeur	NON
Flèche du Nord	NON	Imprimeur	NON
Barre d’échelle	NON	Date	NON
Bordure/cadre	OUI		

Tableau 1 : présence d’éléments d’habillage de carte pour la *TP*

Les questions des sources, de la datation et du but restent encore actuellement en suspens. De nombreuses théories ont été soumises si bien qu’il en existe presque autant qu’il y a de chercheurs travaillant sur l’histoire et l’analyse de cette carte. Pour ne citer que les hypothèses les plus récentes :

- Arnaud (1990)²⁵ estime que l’archétype remonte à la période entre la mort de Caracalla (217) et la fondation de Constantinople (330) et aurait été créé à partir des informations dont disposait le pouvoir impérial romain ; le but selon lui consiste à présenter l’ensemble du monde connu ;
- Magini (2003)²⁶ suggère que l’archétype a été composé au IV^e siècle et se fonde sur l’*Orbis pictus* d’Agrippa²⁷ ; selon cette théorie, la carte servait à l’armée et aux marchands ;
- Prontera (2003)²⁸ propose que l’archétype a été composé (a) soit sous le règne de Septime Sévère au III^e siècle (dans la même verve que les réformes du *cursus publicus*), (b) soit entre la moitié du IV^e et le début du V^e siècle (sur base des inventaires propres au Bas-Empire) ; dans les deux cas, la carte aurait servi comme feuille de route pour l’administration ou les militaires durant l’Empire ;
- Albu (2005)²⁹ considère que l’archétype remonte au IX^e siècle et aurait été établi à partir des nombreuses sources des bibliothèques carolingiennes ; le but selon elle était de renouer des liens avec Byzance dans l’idée de restaurer un empire romain³⁰ ;

²⁴ THOMAS, MEYFROIDT 2021-2022 et DEBRUYNE 2022-2023.

²⁵ ARNAUD 1990, p. 309-310.

²⁶ MAGINI 2003, p. 7-16.

²⁷ Carte du monde connu attestée par le témoignage de Pline l’Ancien (Pline, *HN*, III, 17) : *Agrippam quidem in tanta uiri diligentia praeterque in hoc opere cura, cum orbem terrarum orbi spectandum propositurus esset, errasse quis credat et cum eo Diuum Augustum? Is namque conplaxam eum porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippae a sorore eius inchoatam peregit.* « Mais un homme comme Agrippa, fit preuve d’une telle exactitude et aussi d’un tel soin dans l’accomplissement de sa tâche, quand il s’apprêtait à offrir le monde entier au regard du monde, qui peut croire qu’il se soit trompé, et que se soit trompé avec lui le divin Auguste ? Car ce dernier acheva le portique qui abritait le tableau en question, et qui avait été commencé par la sœur de M. Agrippa en s’inspirant des projet et des notes de celui-ci. » (trad. ZENHACKER 1998, p. 42-43). Pour une contextualisation : Annexe 4 de DANNEAU 2021.

²⁸ PRONTERA 2003, p. 37-41.

²⁹ ALBU 2005, p. 138-139.

³⁰ Théorie aussi reprise dans l’ouvrage ALBU 2014.

- Talbert (2010)³¹ tranche difficilement pour dater l'archétype aux alentours du III^e siècle et pour en établir les récits de voyages (*itinerarii*³²) comme sources ; le but aurait potentiellement été de soutenir l'idéologie triémarque de sécurité et de paix ;
- Weber (2012)³³ fait remonter l'archétype à l'époque augustéenne et estime que l'*Orbis pictus* d'Agrippa aurait pu être sa source ; cette carte serait empreinte de l'idéologie de paix et stabilité que se vanta d'instaurer le premier *princeps* ;
- Rathmann (2018)³⁴ soumet la théorie selon laquelle l'archétype de la *Table* remonte au II^e siècle avant notre ère et aurait été constitué à partir des savoirs grecs alexandrins ; le but de celle-ci aurait été une forme de vulgarisation des savoirs mathématiques et de la physique des savants.

Deux tendances sont toutefois notables : certaines théories se fondent sur la diachronie du document (Arnaud, Weber et Rathman) et d'autres sur le caractère ponctuel (Albu, Magini, Prontera et Talbert). Les premiers mettent l'accent sur le fait que l'archétype a été constitué au début de l'Empire – voire avant, à l'époque hellénistique, selon Rathmann – et qu'il aurait connu des copies successives durant la période antique avant d'arriver à Peutinger, tandis que les autres estiment que l'archétype a été établi à une période assez tardive – voire médiévale selon Albu³⁵. Néanmoins, les « diachroniciens » reconnaissent que des copies doivent avoir été faites durant la période que les « synchroniciens » ont établie, soit du III^e au V^e siècle.

La théorie la plus convaincante semble être celle de Weber qui remonte davantage sur les sources. Celui-ci propose de concevoir la carte comme une construction diachronique en trois phases durant l'Antiquité :

- l'archétype remonte à la période augustéenne et se base notamment sur les recherches d'Agrippa, l'*Orbis pictus* étant la représentation la plus caractéristique ;
- une première copie a pu avoir lieu durant la période des Sévère sous les règnes desquels un plan de Rome en marbre avait été établi (la *forma urbis*) et une réforme du *cursus publicus* eut lieu ;
- une seconde copie arriva finalement sous Théodose II dont nous savons que deux *famuli* de l'empereur se sont attelés à la rédaction d'une carte d'Empire.

Néanmoins, cela ne signifie pas que l'archétype de la *TP* ressemblait à s'y méprendre à la copie médiévale. En effet, comme le soulignent Arnaud³⁶, Magini³⁷ et Talbert³⁸ dans leurs analyses iconographiques et toponymiques, la représentation pourrait être typiquement dans le

³¹ TALBERT 2010, p. 155-156.

³² Les *itinerarii* étaient soit *picta* (peints), soit *adnotata* (sous forme de notes) et décrivaient le système routier avec les *stationes* (relais) et les distances entre ceux-ci (BURIAN 2005, col. 1024-1025.). Weber cite comme sources potentielles l'*Itinerarium Antoni Augusti* et l'*Itinéraire de Bordeaux à Jérusalem* pour nos régions et les textes d'Isidore de Charax (I^{er} siècle a.C.n.) et de Seleucos I Nicator (IV^e siècle a.C.n.), le général d'Alexandre le Grand (356-323 a.C.n.), pour les parties les plus occidentales de la carte (TALBERT 2010, p. 139-142).

³³ WEBER 2012, p. 209-216

³⁴ RATHMANN 2018, p. 12-14.

³⁵ Les arguments principaux de la chercheuse sont la quasi-impossibilité de constituer une copie sans faute à travers le temps à l'image des manuscrits et la volonté des Carolingiens de « faire du Romain » (ALBU 2005, p. 138-139.) ; la question de la copie est traitée dans DALCHÉ 2003, p. 44-46.

³⁶ Analyse des petites et grandes vignettes allégoriques et explications des anachronismes majeurs (ARNAUD 1988, p. 304-306).

³⁷ Analyse des noms de lieu et iconographie mêlant éléments chrétiens et païens (MAGINI 2003, p. 7-8).

³⁸ Rappel des caractéristiques iconographiques typiques du IV^e s. (TALBERT 2010, p. 153.)

style des III^e et IV^e siècles, la seconde phase de Weber en somme. La première phase de ce dernier aurait pu être, comme l'affirme le chercheur, bien plus schématique et sans le système routier qui aurait été ajouté à l'époque sévérienne. Ce peut aussi être le reflet de l'évolution vers une période où la géographie mathématique-physique se fit progressivement détrôner par la géographie descriptive avec les nombreux itinéraires³⁹.

En outre, comme le soulignent Rathmann⁴⁰ et Prontera⁴¹, l'importance de la tradition cartographique grecque remontant à Anaximandre de Milet (VI^e s. a.C.n.) et qui fut ravivée par Ératosthène de Cyrène à Alexandrie durant le III^e siècle a.C.n., ne peut pas être oubliée. En effet, la ville d'Alexandre le Grand eut de nombreuses influences sur Rome au niveau politique mais aussi au niveau scientifique, comme l'atteste le recours par Jules César au savant Sosigène d'Alexandrie pour sa réforme du calendrier en 46 avant notre ère. Néanmoins, faut-il faire remonter l'archétype jusqu'au II^e siècle avant notre ère ? C'est plausible mais pas certain.

Enfin, comme le rappelle Prontera⁴², l'Italie formant un tiers de la carte, ne pourrait-il pas s'agir d'une représentation qui initialement avait pour but de figurer l'Italie et qui s'est étendue à l'œcoumène ? Si l'*Orbis pictus* d'Agrippa figurait l'ensemble du monde connu, la « version papier » aurait-elle pu d'abord avoir eu une phase initiale de représentation uniquement de l'Italie, puis dans l'idéal augustéen s'être agrandie au monde connu ? D'autre part, si l'archétype de la *TP* est antérieur au *porticus*, pourrait-on imaginer qu'il s'agirait du brouillon dudit portique qui aurait été recopié ? Le problème reste insoluble dans l'état de nos connaissances⁴³.

Au terme de cet exposé, la remarque de Weber reste essentielle⁴⁴ : tout dépend de ce que l'on veut dater, l'archétype et/ou brouillon ou une copie selon son degré de coïncidence avec la *Table* du XIII^e siècle dans l'optique diachronique évolutive du document ? Aussi, le choix à opérer pourrait être celui de la copie de Théodose II du V^e siècle qui doit se rapprocher le plus de ce qui est figuré sur la *TP* d'après les estimations de Weber. Quant au but, la carte doit avoir été confectionnée à la suite de la fonction administrative sévérienne dans l'idée d'instaurer une version figurée du monde connu dans une paix et sécurité à l'instar des aspirations initiales d'Auguste⁴⁵. Comme le souligne Talbert, la carte reprend la bande tempérée de l'hémisphère Nord, théorie qui remonte à Parménide (V^e s. a.C.n.) et qui était encore discutée notamment par Macrobe (IV^e-V^e s. p.C.n.) dans ses *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*⁴⁶. Dans ce cadre temporel déterminé, les auteurs sont donc les deux *famuli* (esclaves) de l'empereur Théodose II⁴⁷.

³⁹ PRONTERA 2003, p. 37-41.

⁴⁰ RATHMANN 2018, p. 12-13.

⁴¹ PRONTERA 2003, p. 19-30.

⁴² IBID., p. 37-41.

⁴³ En effet, selon les arguments de TROUSSET 1993, p. 155, il se pourrait que l'*Orbis pictus* ait été dépeint de la même manière que la *TP*, en ce qu'elle conserve également une division tripartite T-O (bien que l'Asie soit orientée vers le Nord).

⁴⁴ WEBER 2012, p. 216.

⁴⁵ IBID., p. 215-216.

⁴⁶ TALBERT 2010, p. 147-148 (cf. Figure 4).

⁴⁷ WEBER 2012, p. 215-216.

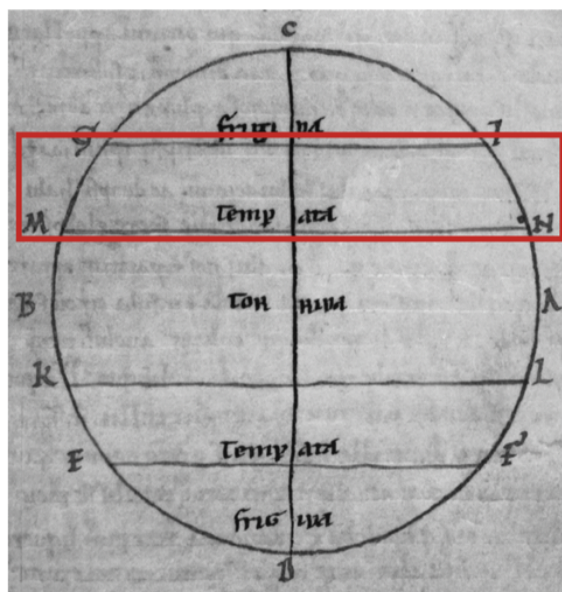


Fig. 4 : Illustration des zones grecques (κλίματα) dans un manuscrit du XI^e siècle avec un encadré sur la zone tempérée⁴⁸

Notons finalement que la reproduction est celle que propose Ernest Desjardins dans son ouvrage. Celle-ci a été établie dans les ateliers d'Erhard (Paris) en 1868 sous sa direction, puis le chercheur est allé les comparer aux originales à Vienne pour une ultime correction⁴⁹. Néanmoins, il ne s'agit pas d'un *fac-simile* comme Desjardins l'indique lui-même (« [...] je me suis affranchi de la puérile conformité qu'eût entraînée le calque servile du document original »⁵⁰) afin que la carte fût plus compréhensible pour le lecteur ; en effet, le passage dans son rapport au ministre explicitant les raisons pour lesquelles il a renoncé à faire des photographies de la Table justifie cette dernière citation qui peut sembler sacrilège pour l'historien : « [...] l'emploi fait par le moine du XII^e siècle des couleurs surtout du vert et du bleu ; l'état du manuscrit, les nombreuses maculatures qui le couvrent ; les lettres, dépourvues souvent de la matière colorante de l'encre, et dont les contours indécis sont fondus pour ainsi dire dans le ton général du vélin ; les défauts naturels du parchemin qui acquièrent, dans la reproduction photographique, une valeur inopportune en nous dérobant les portions intéressantes de l'original ; le miroitement des eaux obtenu par une teinte verte gommée, qui tourne au blanc dans l'appareil dagerrien (note : type de photographie) ; le trait fugitif du pinceau qui accuse, toujours en vert et si faiblement, certains fleuves que la loupe seule peut nous en révéler l'existence ; les noms biffés avec intention par le moine et qu'il importe de reproduire tels qu'ils nous apparaissent, c'est-à-dire reconnaissables encore sous le lavis intentionnel qui les obscurcit ; toutes ces causes réunies rendent si difficile l'emploi de la photographie que j'ai dû y renoncer. »⁵¹

⁴⁸ TALBERT 2010, p. 148, photo : Macrobe, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, MS Harley 2772, f. 67v., British Library (Londres).

⁴⁹ DESJARDINS 1969, p. XIX.

⁵⁰ IBID., p. XIII.

⁵¹ IBID., p. XII.

La carte de redressement d'Ernest Desjardins

La *Géographie de la Gaule d'après la table de Peutinger* d'Ernest Desjardins⁵² présente en fin d'ouvrage une « carte de redressement construite d'après les procédés modernes »⁵³. En d'autres mots, il s'agit d'une carte avec une projection moderne sur laquelle ont été reportés les éléments de la carte antique pour la région de la Gaule.



Fig. 6 : Carte de redressement de la Gaule pour l'intelligence de la Table de Peutinger par Ernest Desjardins (1969)⁵⁴

Tout comme la *TP* et pour les mêmes raisons, il s'agit d'une carte de flux à variable qualitative et carte symbole d'inventaire. La petite échelle graphique de la carte se rapproche des

⁵² DESJARDINS 1969.

⁵³ *IBID.*, p. XIX.

⁵⁴ DESJARDINS 1969, carte annexe 1 (échelle graphique : 4,2 cm = 200 km ; taille : 35x35,7 centimètres).

1/5.000.000⁵⁵. L'auteur indique également deux échelles graphiques avec les mesures anciennes en milles romaines⁵⁶ et lieues gauloises⁵⁷.

La détermination de la projection n'est aidée par aucun méridien ou parallèle ni même par une mention de degrés. Après avoir effectué des mesures et calculs de distances, angles et surfaces⁵⁸, il apparaît que les distances et angles sont conservés (avec une marge d'erreur relative en raison de la relative imprécision de la carte due à sa petite échelle) mais pas les surfaces⁵⁹ : les attributs de conforme et équidistante semblent applicables à cette carte.

Contrairement à la carte du XII^e siècle, les caractéristiques d'habillage de carte⁶⁰ sont majoritairement respectées :

ÉLÉMENTS D'HABILLAGE DE LA CARTE	PRESENCE ?	ÉLÉMENTS D'HABILLAGE DE LA CARTE	PRESENCE ?
Titre	OUI	Auteur	« Gravé par Erhard, 12, (rue) Duguay-Trouin »
Légende	OUI		
Source	OUI	Éditeur	NON (mais c'est une carte dans un ouvrage où est mentionné l'auteur)
Flèche du Nord	NON		
Barre d'échelle	OUI		
Bordure/cadre	OUI	Imprimeur	« Imp(ression) Janson, r(ue) Ant(oine)-Dubois, 6, Paris »
Numéro de figure	NON		
		Date	NON (mais c'est une carte dans un ouvrage daté de 1969 ⁶¹)

Tableau 2 : présence d'éléments d'habillage de carte pour la carte de redressement d'Ernest Desjardins

Le but de la carte est la correction de la carte de Mannert que Desjardins juge erronée. Dans un extrait d'un rapport envoyé au ministre de l'instruction publique⁶² présent dans l'édition de 1969⁶³, Desjardins explique ses motivations pour la création d'une nouvelle carte : après que l'écrivain Alfred Maury eut fait remarquer à Ernest Desjardins en 1862 que les reproductions de la *Table* dans l'édition de 1777 de Konrad Mannert comportaient des erreurs en raison des fautes présentes sur les cuivres de Franz Christoph von Scheyb de 1753 sur lesquels ladite édition avait été basée, le renommé géographe français entreprit un voyage personnel à Vienne en 1867 pour le vérifier et, le cas échéant, en établir une édition correcte ; il repéra effectivement

⁵⁵ Échelle graphique présentant 200 kilomètres pour 4,2 centimètres ce qui équivaut à une échelle numérique de 1/4 761 904 ; l'échelle de la carte de la première édition était de 1/4 545 500 (TALBERT 2010, p. 61).

⁵⁶ Échelle graphique présentant 120 milles romains pour 3,9 centimètres.

⁵⁷ Échelle graphique présentant 80 lieues gauloises pour 3,8 centimètres.

⁵⁸ Utilisation des sites <https://fr.distance.to/> pour les distances et <https://www.calcmaps.com/fr/map-area/> pour les surfaces, pages consultées le 08/04/2024.

⁵⁹ Cf. Annexe.

⁶⁰ Cf. note 24.

⁶¹ L'illustration de Talbert prouve que plusieurs éditions de cette carte existent, la légende n'étant pas disposée à la même place sur la carte de 1874 et celle de 1969 (TALBERT 2010, p. 61).

⁶² Il s'agissait alors de Victor Duruy dont le mandat de ministre de l'instruction publique s'étendit de 1863 à 1869 (GESLOT 2009, p. 147-276). Celui-ci fut un fervent instigateur pour l'établissement de cette nouvelle édition (X., Juillet-décembre 1868, p. 301).

⁶³ Extrait d'un rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique sur la nouvelle édition de la *TP* (DESJARDINS 1969, p. III-XIX).

un total de 387 fautes sur les onze segments (omission de routes ou tracés inexacts ; omission de limites ; erreurs dans les mesures itinéraires ; noms inexacts ou mal écrits)⁶⁴. Parmi les 387 erreurs, 89 étaient présentes sur les deux premiers segments représentant la Gaule⁶⁵ ; aussi décida-t-il de refaire l'édition de la carte⁶⁶.

Notons finalement qu'Ernest Desjardins avait également sa propre théorie concernant l'archétype de la *TP* : il envisageait que l'archétype devait remonter à la période augustéenne, soit entre 27 a.C.n. et 14 p.C.n. (se fondant sur l'*Orbis pictus* d'Agrippa et les connaissances acquises par ce dernier)⁶⁷ et avait été établi au fil du temps avec notamment une phase à la période des fils de Constantin au IV^e siècle (conception diachronique⁶⁸) ; il estimait que le but de la carte était la représentation du monde davantage que la fonction carte routière comme on pourrait le croire à première vue⁶⁹.

L'auteur de la carte, le géographe historique⁷⁰ impliqué dans l'étude de la Gaule et de l'Italie, Ernest Desjardins, indique qu'il a supervisé la reproduction.

2. *Leurs apports dans le contexte de la géographie historique*

Caractéristiques de la géographie historique

Les écrits d'Alan Baker et d'autres géographes historiques après les grands questionnements méthodologiques des années 60 et 70 permettent de présenter le tableau 3 figurant à la page suivante.

Il apparaît que la dissociation de l'histoire et de la géographie contribue à constituer un filtre pour leur coopération interdisciplinaire⁷¹ et à créer une barrière incohérente entre l'histoire de l'homme et les actions de l'homme sur son milieu⁷². D'autre part, chacune se prête à l'interdisciplinarité, tant l'une vis-à-vis de l'autre que chacune vis-à-vis d'autres disciplines⁷³, quoique le réflexe semble plus naturel pour l'histoire⁷⁴.

⁶⁴ C'est pourquoi Desjardins affirme la supériorité des cuivres d'Anvers (1598-1653), de Nuremberg (1682) et de Bruxelles (1728) par rapport à ceux de Scheyb (DESJARDINS 1969, p. XVI).

⁶⁵ Parmi celles-ci, il insiste sur 39 routes négligées dont 10 pour la France/Gaule (IBID., p. XV).

⁶⁶ IBID., p. VII-XVII.

⁶⁷ IBID., p. XXVIII-XLVI.

⁶⁸ « Je ne crains pas d'affirmer que les apparentes contradictions remarquées par Scheyb et Mannert, aussi bien que cette prétendue confusion de temps qui les a si fort embarrassés, se dissiperont tout naturellement dès que l'on ne verra plus dans la *Table* l'œuvre d'un homme ou d'une époque ; je crois, au contraire, que l'on doit distinguer les éléments divers qui, dans le cours des siècles, y sont successivement entrés [...] » (IBID., p. VI).

⁶⁹ IBID., p. V-VI.

⁷⁰ JULLIAN C., MONOD 1887, p. 101-105.

⁷¹ BAKER 2003, p. 83.

⁷² IBID., p. 72-73. Le géographe français Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918) encouragea d'ailleurs à se rendre sur le terrain et défendit cette idée (cf. DEBRUYNE 2022-2023).

⁷³ BAKER 2003, p. 72-73.

⁷⁴ MATHIEU 1991, p. 10.

	GEOGRAPHIE	GEOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE	HISTOIRE
SOURCES ⁷⁵	- Officielles documentaires ⁷⁶	- Officielles (tous types) - Non officielles (tous types)	- Officielles (tous types ⁷⁷) - Non officielles (tous types)
METHODE ⁷⁸	- Empirisme scientifique - Modèles mathématiques et statistiques	- Empirisme scientifique - Modèles mathématiques et statistiques - Interprétation selon des lois psychologiques implicites	- Empirisme scientifique - Interprétation selon des lois psychologiques implicites
SUJET ⁷⁹	- L'espace - L'homme	- Étude diachronique - Espace délimité précis - L'homme	- Le temps - L'homme
BIAIS PRINCIPAUX	- Erreur écologique ou atomistique - MAUP ⁸⁰ - La représentation des données est forcément biaisée car le chercheur tient compte de la distribution et du sujet étudié pour former les catégories statistiques et pour indiquer les lieux importants pour l'étude ⁸¹	- Interprétation de sources selon les codes de la période étudiée ⁸² - Cumul de sources officielles et non officielles (parfois limitées ou fragmentaires) pour obtenir le spectre le plus complet de la réalité - Erreur écologique ou atomistique - MAUP - Terrain étudié actuellement différent	- Interprétation de sources selon les codes de la période étudiée - Cumul de sources officielles et non officielles (parfois limitées ou fragmentaires) pour obtenir le spectre le plus complet de la réalité ⁸³

Tableau 3 : Géographie historique, entre géographie et histoire
d'après les écrits en géographie historique

Les critères en contexte

Au regard des critères de géographie historique classés ci-dessus, il semble approprié d'analyser les cartes à la fois comme un document historique (critique externe et interne en tentant par l'empirisme scientifique de combler les biais que constitue l'interprétation) et comme un

⁷⁵ HALL 1982, p. 274-275.

⁷⁶ Données statistiques, cartographiques, photographiques aériennes et données de terrain.

⁷⁷ Sources écrites, archéologiques et iconographiques (notes, correspondance, comptes, inventaires, cartes et plans comme non officielles selon HALL 1982, p. 275-276).

⁷⁸ NORTON 1982, p. 253-255 ; HARLEY 1982, p. 262-264.

⁷⁹ BAKER 2003, p. 57 ; BAKER 1982, p. 237-238.

⁸⁰ Les erreurs écologique et atomistique sont un amalgame de niveau (systémique ou individuel) dans l'analyse des données qui fut discuté par le sociologue Robinson en 1950 (ROBINSON 1950, p. 351-357.) et la *Modifiable Areal Unit Problem* (MAUP) consiste en le problème de résultats parfois totalement contraires selon la manière de découper la surface étudiée qui fut discuté par OPENSHAW 1984. Ces concepts furent développés comme biais majeurs en cartographie dans le cours THOMAS, MEYFROIDT 2021-2022.

⁸¹ BAKER 2003, p. 37-38.

⁸² BAKER 1982, p. 233-237. HARLEY 1982, p. 261-273 cite d'ailleurs partiellement le commentaire de Daiches sur le sujet (citation d'après l'édition de DAICHES 1956, p. 132) : « The key to the proper critical method is the psychological processes that take place in both writer and reader when a work is produced and appreciated. »

⁸³ HALL 1982, p. 279-280.

document géographique (explicitation des données présentes sur chaque carte et analyse qualitative et quantitative de celles-ci, la carte étant une modélisation de ces données). Pour un travail plus exhaustif sur ces cartes, un appel à d'autres domaines s'impose.

Les données nécessaires à la critique externe se retrouvent dans l'analyse cartographique, preuve indéniable de l'interdisciplinarité entre histoire et géographie. Quant à l'analyse interne, pour la *TP*, il nous faut répondre à la question de l'utilité des données présentées à la fois pour l'individu antique du V^e siècle (*cf.* analyses *supra*), l'individu du XIII^e siècle (la principale étant le *kollektives Gedächtnis der Antike* dans les termes de Rathmann et sa sauvegarde, voire son utilisation⁸⁴) mais aussi de celle du chercheur moderne (la connaissance de savoirs géographiques par l'établissement de méridiens à l'Antiquité) ; l'étude de la transmission de ces savoirs ; la capacité de comprendre les éléments mis en place pour l'administration et pour la propagande ; l'avancée de l'écrit dans cette société de transition de l'oralité à l'écrit ; l'initiation progressive de concepts cartographiques en sémiologie ; l'inventaire de cités et leur probable situation grâce aux rapports inter-cités et aux distances inscrites ; l'étude diachronique des écritures, la lombarde n'étant plus d'application au XIII^e siècle, les vignettes donnant un aperçu architectural ou une image de l'architecture antique, etc.). D'autre part, en ce qui concerne la carte de redressement de Desjardins, l'utilité en 1868 était la compréhension de la *TP* ; dans son contexte, elle suit la même perspective que l'ouvrage d'Auguste Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule au VI^e siècle* (1879), ancree dans une histoire régionale et locale du territoire français⁸⁵, d'autant plus qu'elle a été demandée par l'empereur et le ministre de l'instruction⁸⁶ ; on retrouve toutefois une volonté de mobilisation des connaissances qui s'imposèrent plus clairement quelques décennies plus tard dans l'histoire de la géographie historique⁸⁷. Cependant, elle permet d'apprendre d'autres thèses au chercheur moderne (la conception de projection et les conventions du troisième quart du XIX^e siècle, les noms anciens correspondant aux noms modernes, la transition sémiologique, base d'une étude toponymique sur le substrat gallo-romain pour l'étude en réseau de noms, etc.).

Une fois cette étape accomplie, il faut procéder à l'analyse des données en elles-mêmes et de leur représentation dans l'optique géographique ; dans le cas présent, au niveau des données, il s'agit davantage de listes en raison du caractère qualitatif de la variable : une liste de chaque cité (98 cités en Gaule Belgique selon la liste constituée par Desjardins⁸⁸), un report de chaque position pour une analyse à partir des coordonnées modernes (assez bonnes d'après les reports en coordonnées pour la carte de redressement de Desjardins), une comparaison entre les listes de chaque carte, une étude des composantes de la sémiologie (les vignettes de la table apportant de l'importance), une étude des composantes de l'habillage de la carte, une étude des distances et commentaires sur la *TP*.

Notons également que selon l'analyse géographique historique, le rapport de Desjardins au ministre de l'instruction⁸⁹ représente une source complémentaire mobilisable pour nous en apprendre davantage. Par exemple, Desjardins mentionne la matérialité de la *TP*, le vélin.

Au terme de ces deux types d'analyse, l'analyse de géographie historique est accomplie. Néanmoins, chaque document demande un effort de travail important afin de produire une

⁸⁴ RATHMANN 2018, p. 30.

⁸⁵ DEBRUYNE 2022-2023.

⁸⁶ X., 1868, p. 301.

⁸⁷ DEBRUYNE 2022-2023.

⁸⁸ DESJARDINS 1969, Tableau IV, p. LXXXIV-LXXXV.

⁸⁹ *Cf.* extrait cité *supra*.

analyse correcte en évitant les biais au maximum. À partir de là, il est possible d'utiliser chaque carte comme source et de les confronter à d'autres qu'elles soient documentaires ou non, officielles ou non, dans la perspective de géographie historique.

3. Conclusion

Les deux analyses accomplies, il apparaît que l'utilisation de la *TP* doit se faire avec prudence et que la carte de redressement en est un bon outil de travail, quoique des outils plus récents existent. D'une part, pour la *TP*, l'analyse historique indique que les questions de datation, d'attribution et de but de la *TP* sont encore sujettes à de nombreuses interprétations ; quant à l'analyse géographique, la carte est très utile par son caractère de témoin de nombreuses villes et les images de représentation de celles-ci. L'utilisation complémentaire du témoignage écrit de Desjardins éclaire également l'analyse. De nombreuses informations peuvent être tirées de cette carte pour des études diverses en géographie historique. D'autre part, pour la carte de redressement, l'analyse historique présente la compétence de l'auteur et la qualité du travail (notamment grâce au rapport) ; l'analyse géographique indique une qualité de la projection et du placement des cités.

Dans le cadre spécifique de la géographie historique, l'interdisciplinarité qui constitue cette discipline demande une analyse tant historique que géographique. Chaque carte étant une représentation de la réalité d'après les volontés de son auteur et sous le prisme des acquis de son époque, il est essentiel pour tout chercheur moderne qui construit ou utilise une représentation géographique de garder à l'esprit que celle-ci requiert une analyse propre.

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ANNEXE

Calculs de distances, angles et surfaces sur la Carte de redressement d'Ernest Desjardins⁹⁰

Distances

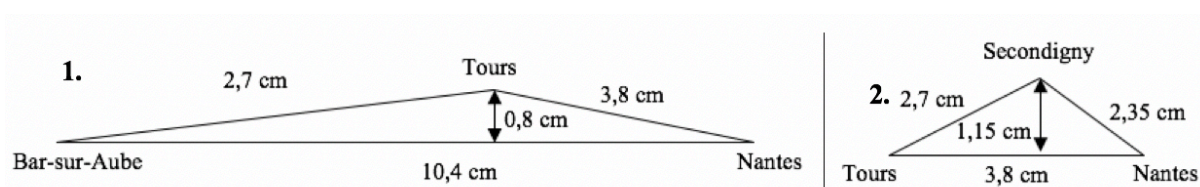
LIEU	DISTANCE SUR ET D'APRÈS LA CARTE	DISTANCE SELON LES MESURES ACTUELLES
Tournai - <u>Escautpont</u>	0,6 cm = 28 km	23 km
Tours - Nantes	3,8 cm = 181 km	170 km
Aulnay - Secondigny	1,4 cm = 66 km	66 km
Rom - Brioux	0,7 cm = 33 km	31 km
Tours - Bar-sur-Aube	6,7 cm = 319 km	314 km
Moirans - <u>Aoust</u>	1,7 cm = 81 km	79 km

Angles

LIEU	ANGLE SUR ET D'APRÈS LA CARTE	ANGLE SELON LES MESURES ACTUELLES
<u>Tours - Nantes - Bar-sur-Aube</u>	166°	168°
<u>Escautpont - Tournai - Sens</u>	30°	30°
Carcassonne - Auch - <u>Villitelle</u>	159°	159°

Surfaces (les triangles ont été placés indépendamment de l'orientation vers le nord)

	DISTANCE CALCUL DE LA SURFACE D'APRÈS LES DONNÉES DE LA CARTE	SURFACE SELON LES MESURES ACTUELLES
1.	$\frac{10,4 \text{ cm} = 495 \text{ km} \cdot 0,8 \text{ cm} = 38 \text{ km}}{2} = 9\,405 \text{ km}^2$	5 117 km ²
2.	$\frac{3,8 \text{ cm} = 181 \text{ km} \cdot 1,15 \text{ cm} = 55 \text{ km}}{2} = 4\,977 \text{ km}^2$	6 558 km ²



⁹⁰ Les distances ont été arrondies à l'unité pour les kilomètres. Pour rappel, l'échelle graphique indique 4,2 centimètres équivalant à 200 kilomètres.

RÉSUMÉ

La Table de Peutinger est considérée comme une référence pour la représentation de l'Empire romain et figure dans de nombreuses publications et communications comme support visuel « d'époque ». Néanmoins, comme toute carte ancienne, elle est un témoin du passé qui mérite d'être analysé avec précision selon des critères spécifiques (historiques et géographiques). Aussi, le but de cet article est justement une analyse de ladite carte. En second lieu, afin de juger de la pertinence de sa modernisation durant la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle, nous avons procédé à une étude de la carte de redressement par le géographe et historien français Ernest Desjardins à la fin des années 1960. Leurs analyses respectives furent réalisées sur le plan historique et le plan géographique avant d'être confrontées l'une à l'autre selon les règles de la discipline de la géographie historique.

ABSTRACT

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is considered to be a benchmark for the representation of the Roman Empire and is used in numerous publications and communications as visual medium from Antiquity. Nevertheless, like any ancient map, it is a witness to the past that deserves to be analysed with precision according to specific criteria (historical and geographical). The aim of this article is therefore to analyse the map itself. Secondly, in order to assess the relevance of its modernisation in the second half of the 20th century, we carried out a study of the adjustment map by the French geographer and historian Ernest Desjardins in the late 1960s. Their respective analyses were carried out historically and geographically before being compared according to the rules of the discipline of historical geography⁹¹.

MOTS-CLEFS

1. *Tabula Peutingeriana*
2. Carte de redressement
3. Ernest Desjardins
4. Géographie historique
5. Interdisciplinarité

KEYWORDS

1. *Tabula Peutingeriana*
2. Adjustment map
3. Ernest Desjardins
4. Historical Geography
5. Interdisciplinary

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⁹¹ Translated with the help of DeepL.com (free version: <https://www.deepl.com/fr/translator>)

Évagre, Marc le Moine, Ps.-Macaire, Sergius de Reš'ayna, Ps.-Denys l'Aréopagite : le manuscrit ascétique retrouvé Mossoul 708 (*olim* Mossoul Scher 92)

Par

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La collection des manuscrits syriaques ayant appartenu au Patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul, cataloguée pour la première fois par Addai Scher en 1907, a connu une histoire très tourmentée au cours du dernier siècle, du moins jusqu'en 2014². L'histoire de cette

¹ Questo contributo è stato reso possibile grazie all'aiuto di diversi colleghi: Paolo Bettolo, Emiliano Fiori, Charles-Antoine Fogielman, Grigory Kessel, Matteo Poiani (che ringrazio in particolare per la sua disponibilità e competenza), Giorgia Nicosia, Margherita Matera. Voglio ringraziare in particolare Paul Géhin, che mi ha inviato diversi materiali inediti e in corso di pubblicazione, permettendomi di comprendere e risolvere dei problemi di organizzazione del testo che altrimenti sarebbero stati insormontabili. Senza la possibilità di accedere ai suoi materiali non pubblicati, in particolare del prossimo *Repertorium Evagrianum Syriacum*, non sarebbe stato possibile fornire una descrizione chiara dei molteplici problemi testuali legati alla trasmissione dei testi evagriani in siriano. Ringrazio inoltre l'amico e collega Nicolas Atas, le cui puntuali correzioni sono state necessarie per giungere alla forma finale del presente contributo. La forma scelta per fornire la descrizione del manoscritto è modellata sulla serie di articoli di Grigory Kessel pubblicati su Hugoye e intitolati *Fields Notes on Syriac Manuscripts*. La presente ricerca, presso l'Università di Gent, è stata supportata dall'*FWO* con una borsa di dottorato iniziata nel Novembre 2022 (PhD Grant n. 1196025N; titolo del progetto: "Thomas of Marga and the *Book of Superiors*: texts, formation and socio-cultural context of an East-Syrian bishop in the mid-ninth century", con la supervisione di Peter Van Nuffelen e Vittorio Berti).

² SCHER 1907. Pour une présentation générale, voir aussi DESREUMAUX, BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 1991, p. 193-195.

collection, souvent associée à celle de l'autre grande collection syro-orientale irakienne (celle d'Alqosh) et désormais conservée à Erbil-Ankawa³, a été décrite en détail par Grigory Kessel dans deux contributions récentes, l'une concernant un manuscrit de Mossoul⁴, l'autre six manuscrits philosophiques de la collection d'Alqosh⁵. Malheureusement, de nombreux manuscrits de Mossoul ont été perdus ou détruits ; dans certains cas, ils n'ont survécu que sous une forme fragmentaire et endommagée. L'exemple le plus évident en ce sens est le manuscrit connu sous le nom *olim* Mossoul Scher 94, qui se trouve numérisé, dans son état actuel fragmentaire et lacunaire, dans la base de données vHMML avec le code CPB 464. Il s'agit du plus ancien manuscrit du *Paradis des Pères*, datant de 794, gravement endommagé au cours des 70 dernières années⁶. Cependant, grâce à la collection de microfilms conservée à Louvain-la-Neuve et ayant appartenu à René Draguet, nous avons récemment identifié et décrit la version complète et entièrement lisible du manuscrit, photographiée dans les années 1950, avant sa détérioration⁷.

Le manuscrit autrefois connu sous les cotes Mossoul 708⁸ et Mossoul Scher 92 joue un rôle encore plus important, car il ne subsiste aucune trace de lui dans les collections actuellement connues. De plus, les tentatives infructueuses d'y accéder au cours du dernier siècle ont toujours échoué⁹ ; le seul qui semble avoir vu le manuscrit a été Jean-Michel Hornus, mais il n'a pas fourni beaucoup plus de détails que la notice de Scher. Par conséquent, nous avons dû nous contenter d'une description sommaire – pour ne pas dire énigmatique – de Scher, avec quelques ajouts de Hornus¹⁰. Nous avons récemment identifié le manuscrit dans le fonds Draguet, conservé à Louvain-la-Neuve, en permettant, pour la première fois, de fournir une description complète d'un manuscrit retrouvé et accessible¹¹. Nous ne connaissons ni les circonstances ni les raisons pour lesquelles Draguet a fait faire un microfilm du manuscrit entier, qu'il n'a jamais utilisé dans ses travaux.

L'importance de ce manuscrit ascétique deviendra évidente grâce à la description du manuscrit lui-même, aux conclusions auxquelles la recherche aboutira, ainsi qu'à l'appendice final. Ce nouveau témoin permettra non seulement d'ajouter une pièce au puzzle de l'étude des collections de textes ascétiques dans les manuscrits du monachisme syro-oriental, mais aussi d'ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives sur les trois *corpora* qu'il contient (Évagre, Marc le Moine, Ps.-Denys l'Aréopagite). En ce qui concerne le *corpus* attribué à Évagre le Pontique,

³ KESSEL 2023.

⁴ KESSEL, BAMBALLI 2018.

⁵ KESSEL 2023.

⁶ Lien: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/503258>.

⁷ GOMIERO 2024 à paraître.

⁸ Cote du catalogue Bidawid, malheureusement disparu, voir DESREUMAUX, BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 1991, p. 193.

⁹ Voir SHERWOOD 1960-61.

¹⁰ HORNUS 1970, p. 77-78. Il n'a pas reconnu que la version du *corpus Dionysiacum* préservée dans ce manuscrit n'est pas la plus récente, attribuée à Phocas (VIII^e siècle), mais la plus ancienne, attribuée à Sergius de Reš'ayna (VI^e siècle).

¹¹ Nous tenons à remercier Andrea B. Schmidt, Nicolas Atas et Carlo E. Biuzzi, qui préparent avec moi l'inventaire complet de la collection, ce qui permettra à tous d'accéder à cette mine de microfilms de manuscrits importants. Je remercie également le personnel de la bibliothèque des arts et des lettres de l'UCLouvain, à Louvain-la-Neuve, qui a soutenu et permis notre projet d'inventaire et de description des manuscrits. Voir à la fin de cet article quelques photos de l'archive et du manuscrit, faites au bibliopôle de l'UCLouvain.

ce manuscrit n'est pas unique seulement pour la quantité de textes évagriens qu'il contient, mais aussi pour la façon dont ces textes sont présentés, la structure de la collection et les variantes qu'il fournit. Le *corpus* de Marc le Moine, toujours dépourvu d'études spécifiques sur sa réception syriaque, reçoit une description détaillée et se révèle par exemple, comme dans divers cas à partir du VIII^e siècle, avoir été complété par un texte qui appartiendrait plutôt au *corpus* attribué au Ps.-Macaire. La cinquième homélie pseudo-macarienne, présentée comme le quatrième traité de Marc le Moine, est actuellement inédite en syriaque, bien qu'elle circule largement sous un autre nom. Enfin, les *Noms Divins* du Ps.-Denys l'Aréopagite, jusqu'à présent connus uniquement dans leur traduction par Sergius de Reš'ayna grâce à un manuscrit, ont fait l'objet des études et de l'édition d'Emiliano Fiori en 2014 ; le même *corpus* est maintenant attesté par ce deuxième témoin très frappant, séparé de plus de mille ans du manuscrit utilisé par Fiori, et inscrit dans un contexte géographique et ecclésiologique très distinct. L'étude spécifique des manuscrits individuels, qui s'intensifie ces dernières années grâce aux importantes campagnes de catalogage et de numérisation, peut, comme dans ce cas, fournir des pistes et des hypothèses de travail, en particulier pour les historiens des textes et de la circulation des matériaux littéraires.

1. Mossoul 708 (olim Mossoul Scher 92)

Ce manuscrit, parfaitement intégré dans la tradition monastique et ascétique syro-orientale, se distingue de tous les manuscrits comparables par la présence d'une partie du *Corpus Dionysiacum*, normalement absent dans cette tradition. Malheureusement, il ne présente pas de colophon, et nous n'avons pas pu trouver d'indications précises dans les travaux de Draguet sur la raison pour laquelle il a fait réaliser le microfilm. Cependant, nous pouvons imaginer que les photos ont été prises après 1960-61, car Sherwood atteste une ignorance totale du contenu précis du manuscrit. En 1969, la bibliothèque de Mossoul a été transférée à Bagdad, et ce ne fut que le premier des mouvements qui ont eu lieu jusqu'à l'occupation de Mossoul par l'État islamique en 2014. Les manuscrits survivants ont été transférés, peu après, au Centre Numérique des Manuscrits Orientaux (Erbil-Ankawa). Tous les manuscrits y auraient été numérisés, et l'absence du Mossoul 708 nous permet de considérer l'original comme perdu.

Papier ; 30 × 25 cm (selon le catalogue de Scher) – 272 pages (numérotées grâce aux numéros des clichés photographiques, apposés sur chaque page paire, de 2 à 272) – 2 cols., 37-38 lignes.

Pas de foliotation ou de signatures de cahiers, sans annotations ni au début et à la fin, ni dans les marges.

État de conservation : le manuscrit est presque entièrement lisible et en bon état de conservation, à l'exception de quelques lacunes (par exemple, les pages 101-102, 188-190) probablement dues à des taches d'eau et traces de saleté et à des déchirures sur le papier. Le premier folio est sévèrement endommagé et difficile à lire (la première colonne est presque entièrement effacée). L'ordre des folios et des cahiers est souvent incorrect en raison du manque de foliotation et de réclames incomplètes. Étant donné que le manuscrit ne survit que sous forme numérique, la description du contenu suit l'ordre original du manuscrit, différent de l'ordre des folios visible sur le microfilm. Nous ne savons pas si les parties où les folios et les cahiers sont mélangés dépendent du copiste lui-même, des restaurateurs éventuels ou des photographes qui ont réalisé le microfilm.

Date : le manuscrit ne présente pas de colophon ou d'indications permettant une datation précise. Dans son catalogue, Scher propose de dater le manuscrit autour du XVIII^e siècle. En principe, nous estimons la datation de Scher correcte, bien que les planches CLXXXI et CLXXXIII dans l'*Album* de Hatch, concernant des manuscrits syro-orientaux du XVI^e siècle, présentent de nombreuses si-

- *Explicit* :

16. ܠܠܗ ܩܘܕܫܘܢܝܗ ܡܩܪܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ.

- Édition : inédit, voir l'édition du texte grec, avec la discussion des versions syriaques, dans GÉHIN, GUILLAUMONT, GUILLAUMONT 1998¹⁷.
- Traduction : pas de traduction, voir la traduction du grec dans l'édition (1998).
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 34-38 et p. 96-98¹⁸ ; KP2011 n. 18, p. 84¹⁹.

Le texte, comme dans le manuscrit BAV Vat. syr. 126 et Ming. syr. 68 (voir le tableau final pour les concordances)²⁰, est divisé en 26 chapitres (voir la traduction des titres syriaques par GÉHIN dans l'édition du grec (1998), p. 307-309). Voir l'explication de ce recueil dans l'édition du texte grec et dans le nouveau *Répertoire* de Paul Géhin à paraître, surtout pour la description du Ming. syr. 68.

2. Pages 11-13

Évagre le Pontique, *Sententiae de cogitationibus* (CPG 2433).

- Titre :

ܠܠܗ ܩܘܕܫܘܢܝܗ ܡܩܪܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ

- *Incipit* :

ܡܨܘܚܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ.

- *Desinit* :

ܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ.

¹⁶ Parfois, dans cette description, il y aura des textes sans *explicit* marqué, en suivant l'absence de *desinit* dans le manuscrit.

¹⁷ Toutes les références bibliographiques complètes des textes mentionnés dans la description du manuscrit sont disponibles dans la bibliographie finale. Des citations brèves (nom de l'auteur et année de publication) ont été préférées dans la description du manuscrit.

¹⁸ Tous les textes d'Évagre le Pontique contenus dans ce manuscrit renvoient aux descriptions plus ou moins détaillées faites par Muyldermans dans son ouvrage essentiel *Evagriana Syriaca* (1952). Bien que ce travail soit daté, il reste la référence pour comprendre la transmission des textes d'Évagre le Pontique en syriaque. Ce travail est maintenant à comparer avec les éditions publiées dans la collection *Sources Chrétiennes* par Antoine Guillaume, Claire Guillaume, Paul Géhin et Charles-Antoine Fogielman. L'abréviation ES1952 fait référence précisément au volume *Evagriana Syriaca*.

¹⁹ Tous les textes contenus dans le manuscrit Mossoul 708 sont de nature ascétique, ce qui permet un renvoi constant à la *Bibliography of Syriac Ascetic and Mystical Literature* publiée en 2011 par Grigory KESSEL et Karl PINGGERA. Toutes les abréviations KP2011 se réfèrent à ce volume, en indiquant le numéro attribué à l'œuvre et la page où l'information bibliographique peut être trouvée. Il faut noter que Grigory Kessel a publié une mise à jour de ce volume (2017), qui élargit et actualise les informations bibliographiques, en gardant la numérotation du volume de 2011. Ces deux travaux sont les œuvres de référence pour les textes ascétiques syriaques ou traduits du grec en syriaque ; pour Évagre, voir la nouvelle CPG (2023) et le *Répertoire* de Paul Géhin (*à paraître*).

²⁰ Dans le cas de certains textes qui présentent une forme particulière ou qui ont été peu étudiés, nous faisons référence au même texte accessible dans deux importants manuscrits évagriens, qui ont fait l'objet d'une étude approfondie par Muyldermans : le BL Add. syr. 14578 (WRIGHT 1870, n. 567, à compléter par GÉHIN 2010, p. 296-299) et le BAV Vat. syr. 126 (ASSEMBANI, ASSEMBANI 1759, n. 126, p. 156-178 ; nous avons utilisé aussi une description récente faite par Paul Géhin). Nous avons aussi utilisé dans la description un manuscrit plus récent, mais pas moins intéressant, le Mingana syr. 68 (MINGANA 1933, n. 68, p. 170-173), aussi grâce à la description récente de Paul Géhin.

- *Desinit* :

לחלקה השנייה של חלקה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה.

- Édition : édition partielle ÇIÇEK 1985, p. 43-46.
- Traduction : pas de traduction du texte.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 31-32 ; KP2011 n. 12, p. 83.

12. Page 69

Évagre le Pontique, *De silentio* (CPG 2468).

- Titre :

חלקה השנייה והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה *

- *Incipit* :

עליו והוא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה.

- *Desinit* :

והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה.

- Édition : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 118-119.
- Traduction : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 153-154.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 84 ; KP2011 n. 29, p. 87.

Dans le manuscrit Mossoul 708 le texte n'est pas attribué à Évagre, mais simplement aux *saints Pères*.

13. Pages 69-70

Évagre le Pontique, *Admonitio de signiis quietis* (CPG 2469).

- Titre :

חלקה השנייה והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה *

- *Incipit* :

כחלק מהשנייה והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה.

- *Desinit* :

והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה.

- Édition : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 120-122.
- Traduction : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 154-155.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 84-86 ; KP2011 n. 30, p. 87.

14. Pages 70-71

Évagre le Pontique, *Admonitio paraenetica* (CPG 2472).

- Titre :

היא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה.

- *Incipit* :

לחלקה השנייה והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה: והיא תהיה כחלק מהשנייה.

- *Desinit* : pas visible.
- Édition : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 125-128.
- Traduction : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 157-159.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 87-88 ; KP2011 n. 33, p. 88

15. Page 71

Évagre le Pontique, *De ieiunio* (CPG 2467).

- Titre :

ܘܢܠܡܢ ܘܡܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ .

- *Incipit* :

ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ .

- *Desinit* :

ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ .

- Édition : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 115-117.
- Traduction : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 150-153.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 83-84 ; KP2011 n. 28, p. 86.

Le texte dans ce manuscrit correspond, comme dans le BAV Vat. syr. 126 (f. 245r), à la *recensio* A éditée par MUYLDERMANS, de la sentence 7 à la fin. La partie manquante du texte, les sentences 1-6, se trouve déplacée à l'intérieur de la collection des lettres (voir n. 24 dans cette description du manuscrit), et intitulée *Lettre 64*. Nous avons pu identifier ce texte grâce aux informations fournies par Paul Géhin, que nous remercions.

16. Pages 71-72

Pseudo-Évagre le Pontique = Nil d'Ancyre, *De magistris et discipulis* (CPG 2449 = 6053).

- Titre :

ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ .

- *Incipit* :

ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ .

- *Desinit* :

ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ .

- *Explicit* :

ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ .

- Édition : MUYLDERMANS 1943, p. 86-90.
- Traduction : MUYLDERMANS 1943, p. 86-90.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 60-61 ; KP2011 n. 17, p. 84.

17. Pages 72-74

Évagre le Pontique, Trois extraits du *De malignis cogitationibus* (CPG 2450 B-C).

- Titre :

ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ .

- *Incipit* :

ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ .

- *Desinit* :
 ܕܟܘܢܗ ܕܚܠܝܩܗ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ . ܠܗ ܗܝܗ ܟܘܠܗ ܕܗܘܘܥ ܗܘܠܗ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ : ܡܫ ܗܘܘܥ ܡܠܗ ܚܘܕܢ .²⁴ [ܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ : ܕܠܗ ܚܘܕܢ ܡܠܗ ܗܘܠܗ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ .

- Édition : inédit, voir l'édition du texte grec, avec la discussion des versions syriaques, dans GÉHIN, GUILLAUMONT, GUILLAUMONT 1998.
- Traduction : pas de traduction, voir la traduction du grec dans l'édition (1998).
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 98-99 ; KP2011 n. 18, p. 84.

Cette petite collection extraite du *De malignis cogitationibus* est divisée en trois sous-sections, comme dans la description de ES1952 et dans le manuscrit BAV Vat. syr. 126 (ff. 245v-246v). Pour les correspondances avec le grec, voir l'édition du grec (1998), p. 309.

18. Pages 74-75

Évagre le Pontique, *Institutio seu Paraenesis ad monachos I* (CPG 2454).

- Titre :
 ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ .
- *Incipit* :
 ܠܚܒܘܗ ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ [ܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ] [ܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ]

- *Desinit* :
 ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ , ܡܫ ܚܠܩܗ , ܡܫ ܚܠܩܗ , ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ : ܟܘܠܗ ܕܗܘܘܥ ܗܘܠܗ ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ . ܡܫ ܗܘܘܥ ܗܘܠܗ ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ .

- Édition : inédit.
- Traduction : pas de traduction du texte syriaque.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 61-62 ; KP2011 n. 22, p. 85.

19. Pages 75-77

Évagre le Pontique, *Institutio seu Paraenesis ad monachos II* (CPG 2454).

- Titre :
 ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ .
- *Incipit* :
 ܟܘܠܗ ܕܗܘܘܥ ܗܘܠܗ ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ , ܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ .

- *Desinit* :
 ܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ [ܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ] [ܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ] [ܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ] , ܠܗ ܕܡܫܘܚܡܗ ܗܘܘܥ ܕܡܫܗܘܝܗ :
- Édition : inédit.
- Traduction : pas de traduction du texte syriaque.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 61-62 ; KP2011 n. 22, p. 85.

20. Pages 77-101 (77-78. 101)²⁵

Évagre le Pontique, *Sententiae* (CPG 2443-2445).

²⁴ Les parenthèses dans le syriaque indiquent une partie de texte qui est illisible sur la microfiche.
²⁵ Voir *supra* pour la perturbation des folios et l'ordre correct du manuscrit.

124 ; 30 [28] : p. 124 ; 31 [29] : p. 124-125 ; 32 [30] : p. 125 ; 33 [31] : p. 125 ; 34 [32] : p. 125-126 ; 35 [33] : p. 126 ; 36 [34] : p. 126-127 ; 37 [35] : p. 127 ; 38 [36] : p. 127 ; 39 [37] : p. 127-128 ; 40 [38] : p. 128-129 ; 41 [39] : p. 129 ; 42 [40] : p. 129-130 ; 43 [41] : p. 130 ; 44 [42] : p. 130-131 ; 45 [43] : p. 131 ; 46 [44] : p. 131 ; 47 [45] : p. 131 ; 48 [46] : p. 131-132 ; 49 [47] : p. 132 ; 50 [48] : p. 132 ; 51 [49] : p. 132 ; 52 [50] : p. 132-133 ; 53 [51] : p. 133-134 ; 54 [52] : p. 134 ; 55 [53] : p. 134-135 ; 56 [54] : p. 135-136 ; 57 [55] : p. 136-137 ; 58 [56] : p. 137-138 ; 59 [57] : p. 138-139 ; 60 [58] : p. 139 ; 61 [59] : p. 139-140 ; 62 [60] : p. 140 ; 63 [61] : p. 140-141 ; **64 [CPG 2467]** : p. 141.

La collection des lettres du manuscrit Mossoul 708 comporte donc deux numéros supplémentaires, par rapport à l'édition de FRANKENBERG : la « lettre 21 » et la « lettre 64 ». Sans les documents en cours de publication fournis par Paul Géhin, que nous remercions beaucoup, il n'aurait pas été possible d'identifier les deux lettres apparemment nouvelles avec deux textes évagriens connus : *Ad virginem* (CPG 2436)²⁷ [Lettre 21] et un extrait du *De ieiunio* (CPG 2467 recensio A, sentences 1-6, voir *supra*) [Lettre 64].

25. Pages 141-142

Évagre le Pontique, *De seraphim* (CPG 2459).

• Titre :

ⲉⲃⲉ ⲛⲁ ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ

• Incipit :

ⲁϥⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ

• Desinit :

ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ

- Édition : MUYLDERMANS 1946, p. 370-371.
- Traduction : MUYLDERMANS 1946, p. 372-374.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 81 ; KP2011 n. 24, p. 86

26. Page 142

Évagre le Pontique, *De cherubim* (CPG 2460).

• Titre :

ⲛⲁ ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ

• Incipit :

ⲁϥⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ

• Desinit :

ⲁϥⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ

• Explicit :

ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲓⲛⲧⲉ

- Édition : MUYLDERMANS 1946, p. 371-372.

²⁷ ES1952, p. 30 ; KP2011 n. 8, p. 81. Grâce à la nouvelle édition de POIANI 2023, nous avons constaté qu'il s'agit de la recensio S1, pour le moment inédite. Comme indiqué dans le document inédit fourni par Paul Géhin, cette version réduite aux cinquante premières sentences diffère de la recensio S2 éditée par FRANKENBERG 1912, p. 562-564.

- Traduction : MUYLDERMANS 1946, p. 374-375.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 81 ; KP2011 n. 25, p. 86.

27. Pages 142-144

Évagre le Pontique, *De oratione* (CPG 2452).

- Titre :

ܐܘܒܬ ܘܢܘܨܐ, ܐܘܒܬ ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.

- *Incipit* :

ܐܘܒܬ ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.

- *Desinit* :

ܐܘܒܬ ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.

- Édition : HAUSHERR 1939, p. 11-16 ; voir l'édition du grec dans GÉHIN 2017a, p. 218-247.
- Traduction : STADEL 2019, p. 355-359, traduction anglaise du syriaque de HAUSHERR.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 39-46 ; KP2011 n. 20, p. 84.

L'édition de HAUSHERR compte les 35 chapitres qui ont survécu en syriaque ; le ms. Mossoul 708 est un témoin de la même version, mais la numérotation des chapitres est différente ; les numéros de l'édition sont entre crochets : 1-5 = [1-5], 6 = [6a], 7 = [6b-7a], 8 = [7b], 9-19 = [8-18], 20 = [19-20], 21 = [21-22], 22-30 = [23-31], 31 = [32-33], 32-33 = [34-35]. Les 33 chapitres préservés dans le Mossoul 708 sont les chapitres 1-32 du grec (voir GÉHIN 2017a).

28. Page 144

Évagre le Pontique, *Colloquium magistri cum discipulo eius* (CPG 2470).

- Titre :

ܐܘܒܬ ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.

- *Incipit* :

ܐܘܒܬ ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.

- *Desinit* :

ܐܘܒܬ ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.

- *Explicit* :

ܐܘܒܬ ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.

- Édition : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 123-124.
- Traduction : MUYLDERMANS 1952, p. 156-157.
- Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 86 ; KP2011 n. 31, p. 87.

29. Pages 145-152

Marc le Moine, *De lege spirituali [acephalus]* (CPG 6090).

- Titre : *acephalus*.

- *Incipit* : *inc. mut.* au chapitre 43 :

ܐܘܒܬ ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.

41. Pages 209-211

Évagre le Pontique, *Σκέμματα* (CPG 2433, sélection des *Σκέμματα* sans les *Sententiae de cogitationibus*).

• Titre : sans titre, à la suite.

• Incipit :

ܘܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ

• Desinit :

ܘܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ

• Édition : FRANKENBERG 1912, p. 422-458 (dans le complément syriaque de 60 chapitres aux *Képhalaia Gnostica*, avec le commentaire de Babai) ; voir l'édition du grec dans MUYLDERMANS 1931.

• Traduction : FRANKENBERG 1912, p. 423-459 (rétroversion grecque).

• Bibliographie : ES1952, p. 79-80 ; KP2011 n. 5, p. 79.

Le texte n'est pas dans sa forme complète de 42 (= 39 en grec) chapitres, éditée par FRANKENBERG et l'ordre est mélangé : il s'agit de 20 chapitres, correspondant aux chapitres 18-22, 24-25, 1-13 de l'édition FRANKENBERG (p. 436-450 et 422-432). Les ch. 24 et 25 sont absents de la série grecque des *Σκέμματα*, mais apparaissent dans le *De malignis cogitationibus* comme chapitres numérotés 38 et 39 (voir GÉHIN, GUILLAUMONT, GUILLAUMONT 1998). Paul Géhin prépare l'édition de ce texte, l'un des plus compliqués de la littérature évagrienne. La page 211 n'a que deux lignes et demie d'écriture et les p. 212-214 sont blanches.

42. Pages 215-238

Sergius de Reš'ayna, *Memra sur la vie spirituelle*.

• Titre :

ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ

• Incipit :

ܘܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ

• Desinit :

ܘܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ

• Explicit :

ܘܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܪܘܢܢܘܘܪܐ

• Édition : SHERWOOD 1960-61.

• Traduction : SHERWOOD 1960-61 ; FIORI 2008.

• Bibliographie : KP2011, p. 68-71.

les hypothèses déjà avancées par Muyltermans, Guillaumont et Géhin, de s'attarder sur la structure selon laquelle les différentes collections sont organisées. La succession des textes pourrait révéler, par exemple, des critères thématiques, des relations entre les différentes branches de la tradition manuscrite, des relations internes à la collection entre les textes évagriens. Comme le montre le tableau comparatif inclus en appendice, qui compare quelques sections du Mingana syr. 68 (1902) et du BAV Vat. syr. 126 (1253) à celle du Mossoul 708, il y a beaucoup des problèmes de structure de la collection : par exemple, une section de sept textes, CPG 2472 - CPG 2443-2445 (*Admonitio Paraenetica – Sententiae*), se reproduit à l'identique ; mais d'autres sections sont dans un ordre complètement différent. Une étude comparative des différentes collections dans les manuscrits syriaques révélera beaucoup d'informations supplémentaires sur la circulation des textes évagriens.

b. Marc le Moine :
une zone grise et inexplorée de la tradition ascétique syriaque

Malheureusement, malgré l'utilisation massive attestée par tous les auteurs de l'Antiquité tardive, Marc le Moine et le *corpus* de textes qui lui est attribué ont reçu peu d'attention. La seule édition complète du *corpus* en grec est due à Georges-Mathieu de Durand mais l'édition a été publiée après sa mort et contient de nombreuses fautes en raison du fait que le matériel était encore en cours de traitement par l'auteur. L'ensemble du *corpus* grec de Marc le Moine a fait l'objet d'une étude très récente par d'Ayala Valva, en 2023, qui comprend une nouvelle traduction, des annotations et un commentaire complet en italien, et corrige également plusieurs erreurs et coquilles du texte grec. Un article consacré à la tradition manuscrite de Marc le Moine par de Durand a été publié en 1999, également à titre posthume. Dans la section consacrée aux manuscrits syriaques (les plus anciens du *corpus* de Marc), il distingue les manuscrits d'un *corpus brevior* et ceux d'un *corpus longior*. Le manuscrit Mossoul 708, selon la description fournie, se situe dans un sous-groupe *longior*, caractérisé par la présence de la cinquième homélie pseudo-macarienne en tant que quatrième traité du *corpus* de Marc. Les manuscrits examinés par de Durand qui représentent un échantillon de la tradition manuscrite sont les suivants : BAV Vat. syr. 122 (769 AD), BL Add. syr. 17168 (IX^e siècle), BL Add. syr. 12163 (X-XI^e siècle), BAV Vat. syr. 121 (1576 AD)³¹. Un travail futur d'édition ou d'analyse de la tradition syriaque des manuscrits de Marc le Moine devra également prendre en compte le témoin Mossoul 708.

c. Ps.-Denys l'Aréopagite :
un deuxième témoin ajouté au codex unicus Sinaï syr. 52.

La tradition manuscrite du *corpus Dionysiacum* en syriaque a été analysée en détail par Hornus en 1970, puis reprise et mise à jour par Fiori en 2014, dans son édition et sa traduction de la plus ancienne traduction syriaque du *corpus*, réalisée par Sergius de Reš'ayna (mort en 536). De cette version, il ne subsiste qu'un seul manuscrit, le Sinaï syr. 52 (daté entre le VII^e et le VIII^e siècle), dont les *membra disiecta* ont été repérés dans différentes bibliothèques européennes grâce aux études de Brock en 1995, Briquel-Chatonnet en 1997 (voir ms. BnF syr. 378) et en particulier Géhin en 2017³². Il convient également de mentionner l'étude de Sherwood sur le *Memra spirituel* écrit par Sergius de Reš'ayna, qui introduisait habituellement le

³¹ DE DURAND 1999b, p. 19-20

³² BROCK 1995 ; BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 1997 ; GÉHIN 2017b.

corpus dionysien³³. Sherwood désignait le manuscrit Mossoul Scher 92 comme l'archétype perdu des manuscrits C², C³ et C⁴, utilisés pour son édition du texte syriaque (et Hornus a soutenu la même thèse, en observant le manuscrit pour son étude du 1970). Désormais, la redécouverte de ce manuscrit peut entraîner une réévaluation des témoins du *Memra* et des hypothèses de Sherwood³⁴. Le manuscrit Mossoul 708 ne serait pas seulement un nouveau témoin central du *Memra*, mais deviendrait un second témoin de l'œuvre dionysienne des *Noms Divins*. En effet, le Mossoul 708 s'arrête au milieu du cinquième chapitre du traité *Noms Divins*, et le texte correspond à celui édité et traduit par FIORI. La question qui se pose maintenant, avec ce nouveau manuscrit, est de savoir quelle pourrait être la relation entre le Sināi syr. 52 et le Mossoul 708, séparés d'environ mille ans et nés dans deux contextes géographiques (et probablement ecclésiastiques) très différents.

4. APPENDICE

La structure des collections évagriennes syriaques, essai de comparaison

Tableau comparatif du *Livre d'Évagre le Pontique* entre le manuscrit Mossoul 708 et certaines sections du Mingana syr. 68 (copié en partie d'après le Mossoul 708) et BAV Vat. syr. 126, qui comporte une section (en rouge dans le tableau) dans le même ordre que les deux manuscrits mossouliotes.

Mossoul 708 (p. 1-144 et 185-211)	Mingana syr. 68 (sections) ³⁵	BAV Vat. syr. 126 (ff. 241r-249r, voir ES1952, p. 15-17)
CPG 2450 (A)	30. ff. 91-102v	
CPG 2433	31. ff. 101-102	
CPG 2433	32. f. 102v	
CPG 2471	33. f. 102v	
CPG 2473	34. f. 102v	
CPG 2430	35. ff. 102v-104	
CPG 2434	36. ff. 104-143	
CPG 2477	23-24. ff. 59v-60v	
CPG 2447	12. ff. 33v-50	
CPG 2435	10. ff. 24-29	
CPG 2441	11. ff. 29-33v	
CPG 2468 (7-fin)	15. ff. 51v-52	CPG 2468 (7-fin) (ff. 241r-v)
CPG 2469	8. ff. 22v-23	
CPG 2472	16. f. 52r-v	CPG 2472 (f. 244v)
CPG 2467	17. ff. 52v-53	CPG 2467 (ff. 244v-245r)
CPG (2449) = 6053	18. f. 53r-v	CPG (2449) = 6053 (f. 245v)
CPG 2450 (B-C)	19. ff. 54-55v	CPG 2450 (B-C, ff. 245v-246v)
CPG 2454 (I)	20. f. 56r-v	CPG 2454 (I-II, ff. 246v-247r)

³³ SHERWOOD 1960-61.

³⁴ L'hypothèse de Sherwood est corroborée par le fait que *Mattai Bar Paulos*, qui a complété les manuscrits C² et C³ contenant le *Memra spirituel*, a également copié le Mingana syr. 68 (voir *supra*) en utilisant précisément le Mossoul 708 comme modèle ancien. Je voudrais remercier encore Paul Géhin pour les éclaircissements qu'il m'a donnés au cours de la rédaction de cet article, notamment sur le Ming. syr. 68 et sur la circulation des collections évagriennes. Sur *Mattai bar Paulos* et son activité de copiste, voir BAARDA 2016.

³⁵ Signalé par Paul Géhin, avec les numéros assignés à chaque texte par Géhin lui-même.

CPG 2454 (II)	21. ff. 56v-58	CPG 2454 (I-II, ff. 247r-248r)
CPG 2443-2445	22. ff. 58-59v	CPG 2443-2445 (ff. 248r-249r)
CPG 2457	13. f. 50r-v	
CPG 2442	14. ff. 50v-51	
CPG 2451	3. ff. 14v-20v	
CPG 2436 (et 2437, n. 21)	25. ff. 60v-88	
CPG 2459	26. f. 88r-v	
CPG 2460	27. f. 88v	
CPG 2452	28. ff. 88v-90v	
CPG 2470	29. ff. 90v-91	
<i>Souscription de fin de volume</i>	<i>Souscription de fin de volume</i>	
<i>Extraits</i>	<i>Extraits</i>	
CPG 2432	38. ff. 143v-155	
CPG 2432a	39. f. 155r-v	
CPG 2432a	40. ff. 155v-156	
CPG 2433	41. f. 156	
CPG 2476	42. ff. 156-157	
CPG 2430	43. ff. 157-164v	
CPG 2431	44. ff. 164v-166v	
CPG 2433	45. ff. 166v-167v	

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Exemple d'une des boîtes à cigares (en bois) ayant appartenu à Draguet et contenant les microfilms des manuscrits (photo Giovanni Gomiero)



Fig. 2. Exemple de l'organisation des microfilms à l'intérieur de la boîte de cigares (les cotes sur la photo se réfèrent à des manuscrits syriaques de la British Library) (photo Giovanni Gomiero)

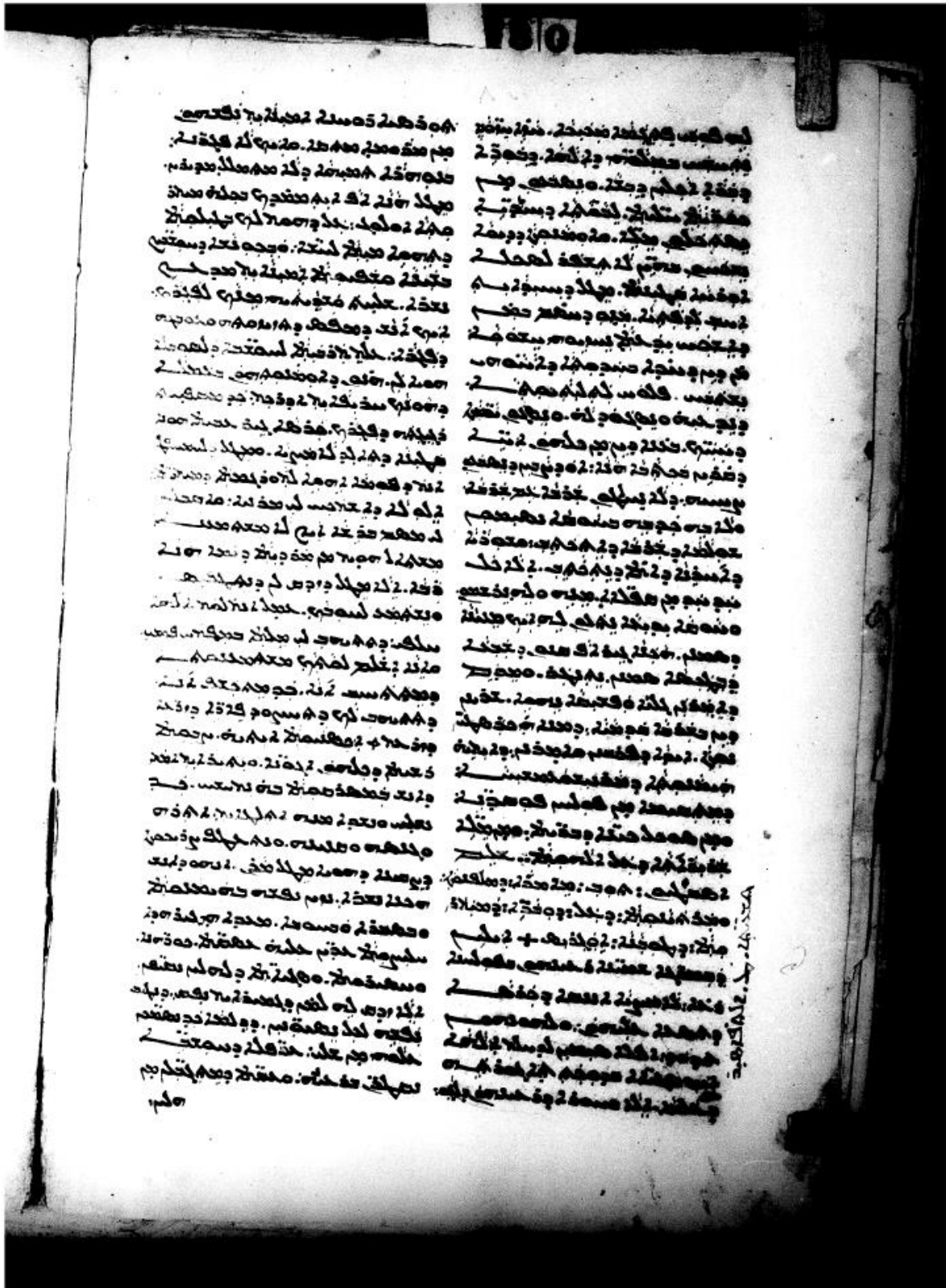


Fig. 3. Exemple d'une page (p. 80) du manuscrit Mossoul 708, avec le début du traite Ad Eulogium (photo Giovanni Gomiero)

RÉSUMÉ

Le manuscrit Mossoul Scher 92 a attiré à plusieurs reprises l'attention des chercheurs travaillant sur les manuscrits syriaques. La brève description donnée par Scher est énigmatique et permet seulement d'identifier le manuscrit comme une collection ascétique-monastique basée sur trois corpus renommés : le *Livre d'Évagre*, le *Livre de Marc le Moine* et le *Corpus Dionysiacum*. Le manuscrit physique a été perdu après 1907 et n'a été retrouvé qu'en août 2023, lorsque j'ai identifié un microfilm dans les archives du René Draguet, conservé aujourd'hui à l'Université Catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve). Le microfilm, de haute qualité et dans un état de conservation parfait, a permis la description et l'analyse présentées ici. Il éclairera des nouveaux aspects de la circulation des textes d'Évagre, Marc, Ps.-Macaire, Serge et Ps.-Denys au sein du milieu monastique syro-oriental. Les trois corpus présentent plusieurs particularités et caractéristiques nous permettant de tracer une ligne entre les textes que l'on trouve dans les manuscrits des VI^e, VII^e et VIII^e siècles et ce témoin tardif du XVIII^e siècle, en examinant comment, pourquoi et quand un "manuel monastique" peut être organisé, même s'il ne survit que dans un microfilm privé, oublié dans l'une des boîtes à cigares de Draguet.

ABSTRACT

The manuscript Mosul Scher 92 has attracted repeatedly the attention of scholars working on Syriac manuscripts. The brief description given by Scher is puzzling and allows only to identify the manuscript as an ascetical-monastic collection based on three renowned corpora: the *Book of Evagrius*, the *Book of Mark the Monk*, and the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. The physical manuscript got lost after 1907, and was found only in August 2023, when I identified one microfilm inside the archives of the late René Draguet, hosted by Université Catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve). The microfilm, of high quality and in a perfect state of preservation, permitted the description and analysis presented here. It will shed new light on the circulation of the texts of Evagrius, Mark, Ps.-Macarius, Sergius and Ps.-Dionysius inside the East-Syrian monastic milieu. All the three corpora present several peculiarities and features permitting us to trace a line between the texts we find in 6-7-8th c. manuscripts and this late 18th witness, looking at how, why and when a "monastic handbook" can be organized, even if survived only in a private microfilm, forgotten in one of Draguet's cigar boxes.

MOTS-CLEFS

1. Littérature syriaque
2. Manuscrits syriaques
3. Littérature monastique
4. Pères égyptiens
5. Littérature ascétique

KEYWORDS

1. Syriac Literature
2. Syriac Manuscripts
3. Monastic Literature
4. Egyptian Fathers
5. Ascetical Literature

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Le Paradis retrouvé à Louvain-la-Neuve

Inventaire préliminaire des microfilms de manuscrits du *Fonds René Draguet-CSCO*, suivi d'un *Appendice* sur les manuscrits syriaques du *Centre d'Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze*

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René Draguet (1896–1980) était un théologien et syriacisant belge de renommée internationale. Sa figure, à la fois académique et humaine, fut sans aucun doute l'une des plus importantes de l'orientalisme européen du siècle dernier¹. Né à Gosselies en 1896 dans une famille de condition modeste et profondément religieuse, Draguet étudia la théologie au séminaire de Tournai et fut ordonné prêtre en 1919. Il fut ensuite envoyé par ses supérieurs

* Ce travail conjoint s'est déroulé d'août à novembre 2023. Les auteurs remercient chaleureusement David Phillips, qui a permis le premier accès aux matériaux, soutenant ensuite la poursuite des travaux. Grigory Kessel a aidé les auteurs grâce à plusieurs corrections, en particulier pour l'identification de nombreux manuscrits. Nous remercions aussi André Binggeli et Matthieu Cassin, qui en particulier ont corrigé le brouillon final de l'inventaire. Nous remercions aussi Margherita Matera et Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana. Enfin, un dernier remerciement est dû au personnel du bibliopôle de l'UCLouvain, qui a soutenu et permis la réalisation de la recherche sur place. Le travail a été fait dans le cadre de trois projets doctoraux financés par le FWO : le projet de Nicolas Atas (FWO Grant 11PEW24N), Carlo Emilio Biuzzi (FWO Grant 11P5C24N) et Giovanni Gomiero (FWO Grant 1196023N).

¹ Cf. GARITTE 1982 et BROCK 2011 GEDSH (en ligne <https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Draguet-Rene>).

pour étudier à la Faculté de Théologie de Louvain, où il se spécialisa dans le domaine de la patrologie orientale sous la direction du syriacisant Joseph Lebon. Il obtint une maîtrise en théologie en 1924 grâce à son étude sur Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ². Il donna par la suite divers cours à la Faculté de Théologie de Louvain et on lui assigna la chaire de théologie dogmatique. Son projet de renouveau théologique et sa théorie sur les sources de la foi lui valut d'être exclu de l'enseignement à la Faculté de Théologie de Louvain en 1942, sur décision du Saint-Office. Il continua à enseigner les langues orientales mais cette fois à la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres. Il fut réhabilité partiellement en 1947-1948. En revanche, sa réhabilitation complète et définitive ne fut effective qu'en 1964-1965 dans le courant du Concile Vatican II³. À la suite du décès de Jean-Baptiste Chabot en 1948, Draguet fut chargé de la direction de la prestigieuse collection d'éditions et de traductions de textes de l'Orient chrétien, le *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (CSCO), auquel son nom est rattaché. Il accepta cette charge, y voyant peut-être l'opportunité de réparer le scandale qu'il avait causé à l'Université et l'outrage de la condamnation injuste qu'il avait subie. Il en fut le secrétaire général et responsable scientifique pour les sections *Scriptores Syri* et *Subsidia* de 1948 à 1980⁴. André de Halleux, son disciple, qui l'assistait déjà depuis 1973, lui succéda en refusant que le nom de son maître soit remplacé par le sien. Ainsi, Draguet, dont le nom était accompagné d'un obèle, demeura secrétaire général à titre posthume jusqu'au décès de son disciple en 1993⁵.

Dans le cadre de son travail éditorial, Draguet a rassemblé sous forme de microfilms des centaines de manuscrits. Ceux-ci provenaient des principales bibliothèques de manuscrits orientaux en Europe et au Moyen-Orient. À cette collection personnelle, il a ajouté, au fil des ans, les microfilms utilisés par d'autres éditeurs de textes, notamment Edmund Beck, Polycarp Sherwood et Robert Hespel. À sa mort en 1980, cette collection de microfilms fut léguée avec une partie de sa correspondance à la maison d'édition Peeters à Louvain, avec laquelle il avait collaboré pour la publication de plus de 300 numéros du *Corpus* au cours de ses 32 ans de direction de la collection. À la fin des années 1990, quatre boîtes en carton numérotées de 7 à 10 furent données par la maison d'édition Peeters à l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain-la-Neuve, où David Phillips était alors bibliothécaire. Les raisons pour lesquelles Draguet ne légua pas ses archives lui-même par testament à l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain-la-Neuve sont probablement liées à la trahison qu'il a ressentie à la suite de la division de l'Université catholique de Louvain en deux universités distinctes, à laquelle il s'était toujours opposé⁶. Bien que le fonds Draguet fût consulté occasionnellement, au moins par Grigory Kessel (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna), il tomba dans l'oubli, sans inventaire ni catalogue, pendant près de trente ans⁷.

² DRAGUET 1924.

³ DE PRIL 2016, cf. p. 302-318 à propos de sa réhabilitation.

⁴ Plus de détails sur sa vie et sa succession à Jean-Baptiste Chabot en 1948 à la tête du CSCO ainsi que sur ses recherches dans le domaine des études syriaques, cf. SCHMIDT, VAN ROMPAY 2021, p. 141-146.

⁵ SCHMIDT 2021, p. 438.

⁶ DE HALLEUX 1990.

⁷ Les archives d'André de Halleux sont, quant à elles, bien cataloguées, mais ne contiennent que peu de microfilms, selon un catalogue récent en ligne : <https://archives.uclouvain.be/atom/index.php/archives-de-andre-de-halleux> Les microfilms conservés dans ces archives reproduisent les manuscrits suivants : Londres, British Library, Add. 12154, Add. 12167, Add. 14582, Add. 14597, Add. 14601, Add. 14604, Add. 14613, Add. 14621, Add. 14628, Add. 14649, Add. 14670, Add. 14726, Add. 14727, Add. 17181, Add. 17193, Add. 17262, Add. 17267 ; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, syr. 16, syr. 62, syr. 76, syr. 111, syr. 112, syr. 165, syr. 178,

En 2020, Andrea B. Schmidt avait dressé un relevé synthétique du contenu des quatre boîtes, mettant en évidence l'importance et la complexité de ce fonds. En août 2023, une recherche sur les manuscrits syriaques du *Paradis des Pères*, menée par Giovanni Gomiero (dans le cadre de son projet de doctorat à l'Université de Gand), a conduit à une réouverture du fonds et à une analyse de son contenu. Réunis à Louvain-la-Neuve pour les cours d'été organisés par l'ABÉLAO, Nicolas Atas, Carlo Emilio Biuzzi et Giovanni Gomiero, avec le soutien de David Phillips, ont commencé à lister les microfilms, en développant des tables de concordance et une collection complète de photos d'inventaire du contenu des boîtes du fonds Draguet. L'urgence de rendre ce fonds important accessible à un large public de chercheurs nous a amenés à produire et à publier l'inventaire suivant avec l'approbation de la secrétaire générale actuelle du CSCO, Andrea B. Schmidt.

Le fonds est divisé en quatre boîtes en carton numérotées de 7 à 10⁸. Chaque boîte contient un nombre variable de conteneurs (boîtes à cigares en bois, boîtes en carton brut, conteneurs métalliques, enveloppes postales, etc.), tous contenant des microfilms de manuscrits (certains avec un seul microfilm, d'autres avec près d'une cinquantaine). Au total, le fonds se compose de 1322 microfilms (environ 517 manuscrits) produits entre les années 1950 et 1980.

Toutes les données de l'inventaire dépendent des informations présentes dans les boîtes ou dans les images d'introduction des microfilms, à savoir la cote, les sections de folios et le contenu (voir photos 1-2 pour la forme des informations présentes dans les boîtes). Une analyse détaillée de chaque microfilm pourrait cependant révéler d'éventuelles erreurs d'inventaire et de classification de Draguet ou de ceux qui ont commandé ces microfilms pour lui. Cette analyse est toutefois au-delà de l'objectif de cette liste préliminaire.

La plupart des microfilms sont des reproductions, partielles ou intégrales, de manuscrits nécessaires aux recherches de Draguet lui-même et d'autres chercheurs ayant publié pour la série CSCO. On y retrouve de nombreux manuscrits des Apophtegmes des Pères du désert, de l'*Historia Lausiaca*, des textes ascétiques dans toutes les langues de l'Orient chrétien, sur lesquels Draguet a travaillé. Dans notre inventaire, les microfilms qui ne contiennent pas de reproductions de manuscrits ont été isolés dans une catégorie à part, tandis que les reproductions de manuscrits ont été divisées en fonction de leur lieu de conservation actuelle. Pour chaque manuscrit, lorsqu'il existe une reproduction numérique accessible en ligne, nous l'avons indiqué⁹. Dans le cas des manuscrits grecs, une note indique le numéro Diktyon correspondant dans la base de données *Pinakes* (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>).

syr. 180, syr. 377 ; Oxford, Bodleian Library, divers mss ; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Peterman I 25, Sachau 79, Sachau 165, Sachau 202, Sachau 203, Sachau 218, Sachau 238, Sachau 335, Sachau 348; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana : Borg. sir. 10, Vat. sir. 58, Vat. sir. 94, Vat. sir. 96, Vat. sir. 98, Vat. sir. 100, Vat. sir. 108, Vat. sir. 135, Vat. sir. 136, Vat. sir. 154, Vat. sir. 155, Vat. sir. 159, Vat. sir. 169, Vat. sir. 225, Vat. sir. 261, Vat. sir. 409, Vat. sir. 531, Vat. sir. 543, Vat. sir. 545. La référence générale pour les manuscrits syriaques est DESREUMAUX, BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 1991 (pour une liste des bibliothèques, bases de données, catalogues et études sur les manuscrits syriaques). En ce qui concerne les 22 copies de manuscrits syriaques hérités de J.B. Chabot provenant des bibliothèques du Proche-Orient et répertoriées par DE HALLEUX 1987, elles n'ont jamais été retrouvées : cf. SCHMIDT 2021, n. 158.

⁸ Les boîtes 1 à 6 ne sont pas recensées aux Archives de l'UCLouvain. Elles pourraient être conservées par la maison d'édition Peeters ou par l'Académie Royale de Belgique à qui René Draguet a légué sa bibliothèque.

⁹ Les cotes des manuscrits sont indiquées suivant le système d'abréviations utilisés dans les répertoires de manuscrits de certains volumes récents de la collection Études Syriaques, cf. FARINA 2018 et GOMIERO, BIUZZI 2023.

1. *Manuscrits « retrouvés »*

Le fonds Draguet a, dans certains cas, sauvé de la destruction certains manuscrits, en particulier irakiens. Par « sauvé », nous entendons que le microfilm conservé à l'UCLouvain est la seule reproduction existant aujourd'hui d'un manuscrit autrement détruit entièrement ou en partie. Certains d'entre eux sont des manuscrits d'une grande importance, comme cela sera mis en évidence dans la liste suivante :

- CPB 464 [vHMML] (= Mossoul 801 = Mossoul Scher 94) : le manuscrit daté de 794 est le plus ancien témoin de l'œuvre *Paradis des Pères*, qui s'est répandue dans le monachisme syro-oriental à partir du VII^e siècle. La reproduction du manuscrit accessible dans la bibliothèque virtuelle du *Hill Museum & Manuscript Library* (vHMML¹⁰) offre un état fragmentaire et désordonné, tandis que le microfilm du fonds Draguet présente un état plus complet (environ 20 folios de plus) et mieux préservé¹¹.
- Mossoul, Archevêché syriaque orthodoxe, *Jean de Dara* : nous n'avons pas d'indications de cotes pour ce manuscrit, mais il a été décrit par BARSOUM 2003, MACOMBER 1969 et SADER 1970 comme l'un des manuscrits les plus anciens et les plus complets de l'œuvre de Jean de Dara. Le manuscrit original, absent sur HMML, a peut-être été détruit.
- Mossoul, Patriarcat Chaldéen 218 (= Diyarbakir Scher 21) : manuscrit du *Livre des Scolies* de Théodore Bar Koni (rec. Séert) copié en 1608 ; selon KESSEL 2023, il convient de considérer que le manuscrit original est perdu, car il ne fait pas partie des collections de Diyarbakir et de Mossoul disponibles sur vHMML.
- Mossoul, Patriarcat Chaldéen 405 : manuscrit récent contenant le *Livre de la Loi des Chrétiens* d'Ibn al-Ṭayyib, utilisé et décrit par HOENERBACH, SPIES 1956. Nous n'avons pas pu retrouver d'indications sur l'état du manuscrit original.
- Mossoul, Patriarcat Chaldéen 708 (= Mossoul Scher 92) : manuscrit des XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles contenant diverses œuvres ascétiques (Évagre, Marc le Moine, Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite). Le manuscrit ne se trouve pas sur vHMML. Parmi les nombreux textes intéressants conservés, le manuscrit est un nouveau témoin des *Noms Divins* du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite dans la version de Serge de Rēsh'aynā, texte édité par FIORI 2014¹².
- Mossoul, Patriarcat Chaldéen 809 (= Mossoul Scher 95) : manuscrit des XVI^e-XVII^e siècles contenant le *Paradis des Pères*. Draguet a décrit ce manuscrit, aujourd'hui considéré comme perdu, dans ses études sur l'*Histoire Lausiaque*, le qualifiant comme le possible archétype de la version éditée par BUDGE 1904¹³.

2. *Microfilms particuliers*

Au sein de la collection, une série de microfilms, souvent contenus dans des boîtes spécifiques, présentent des caractéristiques particulières. Beaucoup d'entre eux ne sont pas liés au

¹⁰ <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/503258>

¹¹ GOMIERO 2024a.

¹² GOMIERO 2024b.

¹³ Giovanni Gomiero est également en train de faire un catalogue de ce manuscrit.

travail académique de Draguet, comme les reproductions de manuscrits, mais ils restent néanmoins un matériau d'archives qui pourra s'avérer utile à l'avenir :

- Boîte 10, Cassette X7 : cette petite boîte en bois, contenant 17 microfilms, a malheureusement été endommagée par l'humidité, ce qui a irrémédiablement endommagé les microfilms qu'elle contenait (qui ne peuvent même pas être ouverts).
- Boîte 10, Cassettes X10 et X11 : deux petites boîtes contenant respectivement 9 et 10 microfilms, contenant des photos personnelles de Draguet, de ses voyages, de livres de sa collection, en général du matériel privé non nécessairement lié à sa recherche.
- Boîte 10, Cassette X12 : une des boîtes les plus intrigantes de la collection, contenant 15 microfilms encore à développer, sans aucune indication précise sur leur contenu (qui pourrait varier, à ce stade, entre les photos personnelles de Draguet et les manuscrits perdus).
- Boîte 10, Cassette X3 : boîte contenant une série de diapositives utilisées par Draguet pour l'un de ses cours de syriaque (indiqué comme étant de la deuxième année). Certains des manuscrits dont le professeur montrait les images (quelques feuillets) sont répertoriés dans la boîte (Città del Vaticano, BAV Vat. sir. 126, Londres, BL Add. syr. 12175, un manuscrit Paris, BnF syriaque et un Città del Vaticano, BAV Borg. sir.).

Malheureusement, il faut rappeler qu'au fil des ans, certains microfilms qui étaient contenus dans les archives ont été perdus et sont actuellement manquants. Les manuscrits sont les suivants : London, British Library Add. 11281 (ff. 246-274), Add. 14578, Add. 14618, Or. 763, Or. 768, Città del Vaticano, BAV Vat. sir. 216, Vat. sir. 494 (section *Gannat Bussame*), Vat. sir. 623 (section *Martyrius*).

FONDS DRAGUET-CSCO**Ankawa (Erbil, Irak) : Scriptorium Syriacum, O. A. O. C. [8 manuscrits]**

1. Erbil-Ankawa, O.A.O.C., syr. 80 (= Alqosh Vosté 50) (cf. HESPEL & DRAGUET 1981) ;
2. Erbil-Ankawa, O.A.O.C., syr. 628 (extraits) (= Alqosh Vosté 211) ;
3. Erbil-Ankawa, O.A.O.C., syr. 635 (extraits) (= Alqosh Vosté 214) ;
4. Erbil-Ankawa, O.A.O.C., syr. 682 (= Alqosh Vosté 239) ;
5. Erbil-Ankawa, O.A.O.C., syr. 683 (= Alqosh Vosté 240) ;
6. Erbil-Ankawa, O.A.O.C., syr. 695 (= Alqosh Vosté 248) ;
7. Erbil-Ankawa, O.A.O.C., syr. 697 (= Alqosh Vosté 249) ;
8. Erbil-Ankawa, O.A.O.C., syr. 698 (= Alqosh Vosté 250).

Athènes : EBE (Ethniki Bibliothiki tes Ellados) [24 manuscrits]

1. Athènes 228 [Diktyon 2524] ;
2. Athènes 281 [Diktyon 2577] ;
3. Athènes 346 (ff. 116-139) [Diktyon 2642] ;
4. Athènes 355 (ff. 130-147) [Diktyon 2651] ;
5. Athènes 455 (ff. 1-63) [Diktyon 2751] ;
6. Athènes 494 [Diktyon 2790] ;
7. Athènes 495 [Diktyon 2791] ;
8. Athènes 499 [Diktyon 2795] ;
9. Athènes 500 [Diktyon 2796] (GUY 1962, p. 235)¹⁴ ;
10. Athènes 501 [Diktyon 2797] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
11. Athènes 502 [Diktyon 2798] ;
12. Athènes 503 (section finale) [Diktyon 2799] ;
13. Athènes 504 [Diktyon 2800] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
14. Athènes 508 [Diktyon 2804] ;
15. Athènes 515 [Diktyon 2811] ;
16. Athènes 516 [Diktyon 2812] ;
17. Athènes 523 [Diktyon 2819] ;
18. Athènes 525 [Diktyon 2821] ;
19. Athènes 526 [Diktyon 2822] ;
20. Athènes 576 [Diktyon 2872] ;
21. Athènes 838 [Diktyon 3134] ;
22. Athènes 2533 [Diktyon 4565] ;
23. Athènes 2536 [Diktyon 4568] ;
24. Athènes 2638 [Diktyon 4670].

Athos [39 manuscrits]

1. Athos Docheiariou 33 [Diktyon 21206] ;
2. Athos Esphigmenou 18 (ff. 1-111) [Diktyon 21649] ;

¹⁴ Le fonds Draguet contient tout le matériel préparatoire de son édition en cours des *Apophtegmes* en syriaque. Le travail du chanoine a commencé avec les manuscrits grecs, suivant les recherches précédentes de Bousset et Guy. Nous avons indiqué, sur les manuscrits les plus importants pour l'étude des *Apophtegmes* grecs, la référence à leur discussion dans les études de BOUSSET 1923 et GUY 1962.

3. Athos Esphigmenou 47 (section *Lausiaque*) [Diktyon 21678] ;
4. Athos Esphigmenou 48 [Diktyon 21679] ;
5. Athos Esphigmenou 50 [Diktyon 21681] ;
6. Athos Esphigmenou 82 (section *Lausiaque*) [Diktyon 21713] ;
7. Athos Esphigmenou 83 [Diktyon 21714] ;
8. Athos Karakallou 38, 1957 [Diktyon 25607] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
9. Athos Karakallou 251 [Diktyon 25820] ;
10. Athos Koutloumousiou 98 (ff. 1-1289) [Diktyon 26127] ;
11. Athos Koutloumousiou 99 [Diktyon 26128] ;
12. Athos Panteleêmonos 121 [Diktyon 22259] ;
13. Athos Pantokratoros 42 [Diktyon 29061] ;
14. Athos Pantokratoros 54 (ff. 121-fin) [Diktyon 29703] ;
15. Athos Pantokratoros 129 [Diktyon 29418] ;
16. Athos Protaton 86 [Diktyon 18115] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
17. Athos Megistes Lauras B 37 [Diktyon 27089] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
18. Athos Megistes Lauras B 78 (ff. 1-320) [Diktyon 27130] ;
19. Athos Megistes Lauras Γ 31 (ff. 1-40) [Diktyon 27203] ;
20. Athos Megistes Lauras Γ 33 (ff. 1-10 et ff. 89-131) [Diktyon 27205] ;
21. Athos Megistes Lauras Γ 93 [Diktyon 27265] ;
22. Athos Megistes Lauras Γ 103 [Diktyon 27275] ;
23. Athos Megistes Lauras Γ 109 [Diktyon 27281] ;
24. Athos Megistes Lauras H 55 (ff. 1-182) [Diktyon 27727] ;
25. Athos Megistes Lauras H 176 (ff. 1-196) [Diktyon 27850] ;
26. Athos Megistes Lauras H 189 (ff. 1-87 et ff. 113-120) [Diktyon 27863] ;
27. Athos Megistes Lauras Λ 75a (ff. 1-129) [Diktyon 28586] ;
28. Athos Megistes Lauras M 53 (ff. 1-184) [Diktyon 28766] ;
29. Athos S. Anna 2 (ff. 1-300) [Diktyon 31270] ;
30. Athos S. Anna 10 (ff. 1-215) [Diktyon 31278] ;
31. Athos Batopediou 3 [Diktyon 18150] ;
32. Athos Batopediou 171 [Diktyon 18315] ;
33. Athos Batopediou 409 [Diktyon 18553] ;
34. Athos Batopediou 420 [Diktyon 18564] ;
35. Athos Batopediou 604 [Diktyon 18748] ;
36. Athos Batopediou 606 [Diktyon 18750] ;
37. Athos Batopediou 608 [Diktyon 18752] ;
38. Athos Xeropotamou 227 [Diktyon 30780] ;
39. Athos Zographou 7 (ff. 1-148) [Diktyon 31141].

Berlin : Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SzB) [10 manuscrits]

1. Berlin (Marburg) Or. ar. 1108 ;
2. SzB Phillips 1624 [Diktyon 9526] (GUY 1962, 235) ;
3. SzB Ricci eth. 343 ;
4. SzB Sachau 92 (extraits demandés par Beck)
[https://qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00010136] ;
5. SzB Sachau 113 (extraits demandés par Beck)
[https://qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00010156] ;
6. SzB Sachau 161 [https://qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00010204] ;
7. SzB Sachau 202 (extraits demandés par Beck)
[https://qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00010241] ;

8. SzB Sachau 203 (extraits demandés par Beck)
[https://qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00010242] ;
9. SzB Sachau 220 [https://qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00010261] ;
10. SzB Sachau 329 [https://qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00010366].

Birmingham : Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection [26 manuscrits]

1. Ming. ar. 76 (section *Apophtegmes*) ;
2. Ming. ar. 82 (ff. 36-62) ;
3. Ming. syr. 14 (ff. 94-98) ;
4. Ming. syr. 47 (ff. 247-248) ;
5. Ming. syr. 49 (ff. 1-12, 14-17, 35-44, 54-64, 68-72, et ff. 151-175) ;
6. Ming. syr. 56 (section) ;
7. Ming. syr. 58 (ff. 122-158) ;
8. Ming. syr. 68 ;
9. Ming. syr. 69 ;
10. Ming. syr. 85 (ff. 30-35, 59-61, et ff. 113-117) ;
11. Ming. syr. 86 (ff. 184-190, 201-232, et ff. 264-275) ;
12. Ming. syr. 147 (ff. 1-91) ;
13. Ming. syr. 174 (ff. 44-115) ;
14. Ming. syr. 215 (ff. 302-305) ;
15. Ming. syr. 330 (ff. 1-78) ;
16. Ming. syr. 331 (ff. 119-123) ;
17. Ming. syr. 342 (ff. 16-37) ;
18. Ming. syr. 370 (ff. 72-141) ;
19. Ming. syr. 403 (section *début-cahier 6*) ;
20. Ming. syr. 410 (ff. 1-57) ;
21. Ming. syr. 541 (ff. 285-287) ;
22. Ming. syr. 553 ;
23. Ming. syr. 569 (ff. 146-166) ;
24. Ming. syr. 577 (ff. 50-57) ;
25. Ming. syr. 593 (ff. 26-28, 49-51, et ff. 89-92) ;
26. Ming. syr. 601 (ff. 127-141).

Cambridge : University Library [5 manuscrits]

1. Cambr. Add. 1973 (ff. 1-13) ;
2. Cambr. Add. 2016 (ff. 1-20, 44-77, 123-125, et 177-213) ;
3. Cambr. Add. 2017 (ff. 1-109) ;
4. Cambr. Add. 2019 (ff. 1-109) ;
5. Cambr. Dd. 15.2 (ff. 227-269).

Città del Vaticano : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV) [43 manuscrits]

1. BAV Barb. lat. 702 (section) [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.702] ;
2. BAV Borg. sir. 39 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.sir.39] ;
3. BAV Ott. gr. 377 [Diktyon 65620] ;
4. BAV Ott. gr. 436 (section) [Diktyon 65679] ;
5. BAV Pal. gr. 41 [Diktyon 65774] ;

6. BAV Urb. lat. 396 (section) ;
7. BAV Vat. ar. (sans cote, *Vie d'Ephrem*) ;
8. BAV Vat. ar. 126 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ar.126] ;
9. BAV Vat. ar. 153 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ar.153] ;
10. BAV Vat. ar. 491 ;
11. BAV Vat. ar. 645 ;
12. BAV Vat. Cerulli et. 61 ;
13. BAV Vat. Cerulli et. 220 ;
14. BAV Vat. Cerulli et. 233 ;
15. BAV Vat. Cerulli et. 250 ;
16. BAV Vat. gr. 174 [Diktyon 66805] ;
17. BAV Vat. gr. 732 [Diktyon 67363] ;
18. BAV Vat. gr. 858 [Diktyon 67489] ;
19. BAV Vat. gr. 863 [Diktyon 67494] ;
20. BAV Vat. gr. 864 [Diktyon 67495] ;
21. BAV Vat. gr. 865 [Diktyon 67496] ;
22. BAV Vat. gr. 1589 [Diktyon 68220] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
23. BAV Vat. gr. 1599 [Diktyon 68230] ;
24. BAV Vat. gr. 1632 [Diktyon 68263] ;
25. BAV Vat. gr. 1984 [Diktyon 68613] ;
26. BAV Vat. gr. 2081 [Diktyon 68711] ;
27. BAV Vat. gr. 2091 [Diktyon 68721] ;
28. BAV Vat. gr. 2092 [Diktyon 68722] ;
29. BAV Vat. sir. 92 (section *Ephrem* demandé par Beck) [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.92] ;
30. BAV Vat. sir. 93 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.93] ;
31. BAV Vat. sir. 113 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.113] ;
32. BAV Vat. sir. 117 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.117] ;
33. BAV Vat. sir. 121 ;
34. BAV Vat. sir. 122 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.122] ;
35. BAV Vat. sir. 123 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.123] ;
36. BAV Vat. sir. 126 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.126.pt.1 et https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.126.pt.2] ;
37. BAV Vat. sir. 139 (section *Philalèthe*) [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.139] ;
38. BAV Vat. sir. 140 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.140] ;
39. BAV Vat. sir. 255 (section *Antijulianiste*) [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.255] ;
40. BAV Vat. sir. 371 ;
41. BAV Vat. sir. 457 (section *Išo 'dad*) ;
42. BAV Vat. sir. 496 ;
43. BAV Vat. sir. 581 (section) [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.581].

Jérusalem : Monastère syriaque orthodoxe de Saint Marc [5 manuscrits]

1. Jérusalem St. Marc syr. 8 (section *Apophtegmes*) ;
2. Jérusalem St. Marc syr. 11 (section *Paradis*) ;
3. Jérusalem St. Marc syr. 37 (section *Ephrem*) ;
4. Jérusalem St. Marc syr. 196 (ff. 1-6) ;
5. Jérusalem St. Marc syr. 250 (ff. 1-9, section *Paradis*).

Jérusalem : Patriarcat grec orthodoxe [16 manuscrits]

1. Jérusalem Hagiou Saba gr. 78 [Diktyon 34335] ;
2. Jérusalem Hagiou Saba gr. 151 [Diktyon 34408] ;
3. Jérusalem Hagiou Saba gr. 180 [Diktyon 34437] (GUY 1962, 235) ;
4. Jérusalem Hagiou Saba gr. 574 [Diktyon 34831] ;
5. Jérusalem Hagiou Saba gr. 633 [Diktyon 34890] ;
6. Jérusalem Hagiou Saba gr. 675 [Diktyon 34932] ;
7. Jérusalem Nea Sullogê (*olim* Photiou) gr. 24 [Diktyon 35140] ;
8. Jérusalem Panaghiou Taphou gr. 77 [Diktyon 35314] ;
9. Jérusalem Panaghiou Taphou gr. 112 [Diktyon 35349] ;
10. Jérusalem Panaghiou Taphou gr. 255 [Diktyon 35492] ;
11. Jérusalem Panaghiou Taphou gr. 368 [Diktyon 35601] ;
12. Jérusalem Panaghiou Taphou gr. 369 [Diktyon 35602] ;
13. Jérusalem Panaghiou Taphou gr. 137 [Diktyon 35374] ;
14. Jérusalem Panaghiou Taphou gr. 255 [Diktyon 35492] ;
15. Jérusalem, Séminaire Sainte Anne ar. 33¹⁵ ;
16. Jérusalem Timiou Staurou gr. 77 [Diktyon 35973].

Londres : British Library (BL) [155 manuscrits]

1. BL Add. 7192 (section *Julien l'Apostat*) ;
2. BL Add. 10073 (section *Lausiasque*) [Diktyon 38841] ;
3. BL Add. 12144 (sections, par ex. ff. 6-7 et ff. 11-12) ;
4. BL Add. 12146 (demandé par Beck) ;
5. BL Add. 12147 (ff. 1-359) ;
6. BL Add. 12154 (sections) ;
7. BL Add. 12155 (sections, par ex. ff. 66-67, 265-266, *Contre les Hérétiques*) ;
8. BL Add. 12156 ;
9. BL Add. 12158 ;
10. BL Add. 12160 (ff. 116-128) ;
11. BL Add. 12162 (f. 230) ;
12. BL Add. 12163 (ff. 127-128 et ff. 151-225) ;
13. BL Add. 12164 (ff. 129-141) ;
14. BL Add. 12165 (section *Cyrille in Lucam*) ;
15. BL Add. 12166 (demandé par Beck) ;
16. BL Add. 12167 (ff. 248-275) ;
17. BL Add. 12168 (sections, par ex. ff. 160-161) ;
18. BL Add. 12169 (ff. 202-?) ;
19. BL Add. 12170 (section *Isaïe*) ;
20. BL Add. 12172 (ff. 1-11) ;
21. BL Add. 12173 (ff. 2-181) ;
22. BL Add. 12174 (ff. 88- ?, 188-190, 259-276, 282-285, 303-306 et *Vie Basile Amphiloque*) ;
23. BL Add. 12175 (ff. 2-28, 35-56, et 145-225) ;
24. BL Add. 12176 (demandé par Beck) ;

¹⁵ Le seul manuscrit de ce groupe qui ne se trouve pas au Patriarcat grec, mais dans la collection du Séminaire Ste. Anne.

25. BL Add. 14066 (section *Lausiaque*) [Diktyon 38892] ;
26. BL Add. 14174 ;
27. BL Add. 14438 (demandé par Beck) ;
28. BL Add. 14466 (sections, par ex. 49-59) ;
29. BL Add. 14501 (ff. 1-14 et ff. 39-45) ;
30. BL Add. 14502 ;
31. BL Add. 14509 (demandé par Beck) ;
32. BL Add. 14511 (demandé par Beck) ;
33. BL Add. 14512 (demandé par Beck) ;
34. BL Add. 14515 (demandé par Beck) ;
35. BL Add. 14520 (demandé par Sherwood) ;
36. BL Add. 14529 (demandé par Hespel) ;
37. BL Add. 14532 (sections, par ex. ff. 44-48 et *Contre les Hérétiques*) ;
38. BL Add. 14533 (sections, par ex. ff. 32-84) ;
39. BL Add. 14538 (sections, par ex. 25-26 et 79-120) ;
40. BL Add. 14551 (section de 138 folios, *Cyrille in Lucam*) ;
41. BL Add. 14552 (section de 150 folios, *Cyrille in Lucam*) ;
42. BL Add. 14566 (section) ;
43. BL Add. 14570 (demandé par Beck) ;
44. BL Add. 14571 (demandé par Beck) ;
45. BL Add. 14572 (ff. 1-118) ;
46. BL Add. 14573 (section au début) ;
47. BL Add. 14574 (sections demandées par Sherwood et Beck) ;
48. BL Add. 14575 (section *Isaïe*) ;
49. BL Add. 14576 (section *Isaïe*) ;
50. BL Add. 14577 (sections, par ex. ff. 1-60) ;
51. BL Add. 14578 (section) ;
52. BL Add. 14579 (ff. 65-67 et 79-190) ;
53. BL Add. 14580 (ff. 148-149) ;
54. BL Add. 14581 (section) ;
55. BL Add. 14582 (ff. 2-255, 80-91, 90-125, et ff. 182-187) ;
56. BL Add. 14583 (sections, par ex. ff. 1-153) ;
57. BL Add. 14586 (ff. 33-87, 108-118, 128-156, et 168-183) ;
58. BL Add. 14589 (section) ;
59. BL Add. 14592 (sections, par ex. ff. 56-88) ;
60. BL Add. 14593 (section) ;
61. BL Add. 14597 (ff. 136-140 et ?-190) ;
62. BL Add. 14598 (ff. 283-296) ;
63. BL Add. 14605 (section) ;
64. BL Add. 14606 (ff. 95-146) ;
65. BL Add. 14608 (ff. 118-122) ;
66. BL Add. 14609 (ff. 9-16, 44-120, *Vie de Jacques de Nisibe*) ;
67. BL Add. 14611 (ff. 1-2) ;
68. BL Add. 14612 (ff. 91-93, ?-139, 168-179, 178-194, *Vie de Jacques de Nisibe*) ;
69. BL Add. 14613 (section) ;
70. BL Add. 14614 (sections, par ex. ff. 7-32) ;
71. BL Add. 14615 (sections, par ex. ff. 81-90) ;
72. BL Add. 14616 (ff. 97-106) ;
73. BL Add. 14617 (ff. 62-67 et 71-75) ;
74. BL Add. 14623 (ff. 87-89) ;

75. BL Add. 14626 (ff. 1-26) ;
76. BL Add. 14627 (ff. 1-27) ;
77. BL Add. 14629 (sections, par ex. ff. 5-24) ;
78. BL Add. 14630 (section) ;
79. BL Add. 14635 (sections) ;
80. BL Add. 14637 (section) ;
81. BL Add. 14644 (ff. 52-64) ;
82. BL Add. 14645 (ff. 188-198 et 364-370) ;
83. BL Add. 14646 (ff. 84-179) ;
84. BL Add. 14647 (ff. 139-158) ;
85. BL Add. 14648 (ff. 1-125) ;
86. BL Add. 14649 (sections, par ex. ff. 147-162) ;
87. BL Add. 14650 (ff. 1-71 et 134-142) ;
88. BL Add. 14651 (ff. 48-71) ;
89. BL Add. 14653 (ff. 1-48) ;
90. BL Add. 14654 (demandé par Beck) ;
91. BL Add. 14656 (ff. 7-61 et 60-82) ;
92. BL Add. 14665 (ff. 17-20) ;
93. BL Add. 14666 (ff. 43-59) ;
94. BL Add. 14668 (ff. 39-44) ;
95. BL Add. 14670 (ff. 7-15) ;
96. BL Add. 14676 (section) ;
97. BL Add. 14725 (ff. 34-37) ;
98. BL Add. 14727 (ff. 21-26 et ff. 174-177) ;
99. BL Add. 14728 (ff. 49-53, 53-55, 71-75, 126-167 et 140-177) ;
100. BL Add. 14729 (sections, par ex. ff. 124-131) ;
101. BL Add. 14730 (ff. 1-91/153-155) ;
102. BL Add. 14732 (ff. 52-169) ;
103. BL Add. 14735 (ff. 1-23 et 24-50) ;
104. BL Add. 14736 (demandé par Sherwood) ;
105. BL Add. 14738 (section *Vie d'Awgin*) ;
106. BL Add. 17125 (ff. 78-79) ;
107. BL Add. 17130 ;
108. BL Add. 17141 ;
109. BL Add. 17145 (ff. 27-28) ;
110. BL Add. 17164 (demandé par Sherwood) ;
111. BL Add. 17166 (ff. 1-2 et 53-58) ;
112. BL Add. 17168 (ff. 32-76, 100-110 et ff. 109-113) ;
113. BL Add. 17172 (sections, par ex. 16-154, Histoire *Lausique*) ;
114. BL Add. 17173 (ff. 43-140 et Histoire *Lausique*) ;
115. BL Add. 17174 (ff. 1-184) ;
116. BL Add. 17175 (ff. 1-66) ;
117. BL Add. 17176 (ff. 1-98) ;
118. BL Add. 17177 (ff. 1-130) ;
119. BL Add. 17178 (ff. 1-71 et 90-146) ;
120. BL Add. 17179 (sections, par ex. ff. 31-38) ;
121. BL Add. 17180 (ff. 32-34) ;
122. BL Add. 17183 (sections, par ex. ff. 48-51 et ff. 128-160) ;
123. BL Add. 17185 (sections, par ex. ff. 72-89) ;
124. BL Add. 17189 (demandé par Beck) ;

125. BL Add. 17191 (sections, par ex. ff. 29-32) ;
126. BL Add. 17193 (ff. 11-46, ff. 95-96, *Commentaire sur Qohélet*) ;
127. BL Add. 17194 (section) ;
128. BL Add. 17200 ;
129. BL Add. 17207 (demandé par Sherwood) ;
130. BL Add. 17213 (ff. 18-20) ;
131. BL Add. 17214 (demandé par Beck) ;
132. BL Add. 17215 (section) ;
133. BL Add. 17218 ;
134. BL Add. 17221 (ff. 84-90) ;
135. BL Add. 17262 (sections, par ex. ff. 71-98) ;
136. BL Add. 17263 (ff. 1-230) ;
137. BL Add. 17264 (ff. 1-142) ;
138. BL Add. 17272 (section *Vie de Basile*) ;
139. BL Add. 17273 (demandé par Beck) ;
140. BL Add. 18813 (ff. 94-96) ;
141. BL Add. 18814 (sections, par ex. ff. 90-95) ;
142. BL Add. 18817 (sections, par ex. ff. 70-72) ;
143. BL Add. 22508 (ff. 1-137) [Diktyon 39001] ;
144. BL Add. 25875 (section *Martyre de Mamas à Césarée*) ;
145. BL Add. 33518 (section) ;
146. BL Add. 40655 (section *Lausiaque et Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*) [Diktyon 39204] ;
147. BL Arundel 519 [Diktyon 39270] ;
148. BL Arundel 546 [Diktyon 39297] ;
149. BL Burney 50 [Diktyon 39320] ;
150. BL Or. 712 ;
151. BL Or. 2084 ;
152. BL Or. 2311 ;
153. BL Or. 2312 (section *Isaïe et Évagre*) ;
154. BL Or. 4950 (section *Abu Qurra*) ;
155. BL Or. 9369.

Moscou : Musée historique d'État (Gosudarstvennyi Istoričeskij Musej) [11 manuscrits]

1. Moscou Sinod. gr. 163 (= Vladimir 345) (BOUSSET 1923, p. 183-184) [Diktyon 43788] ;
2. Moscou Sinod. gr. 165 (= Vladimir 340) (BOUSSET 1923, p. 183-184) [Diktyon 43790] ;
3. Moscou Sinod. gr. 189 (= Vladimir 343) (BOUSSET 1923, p. 183-184) [Diktyon 43814] ;
4. Moscou Sinod. gr. 190 (= Vladimir 346) (BOUSSET 1923, p. 183-184) [Diktyon 43815] ;
5. Moscou Sinod. gr. 191 (= Vladimir 341) [Diktyon 43816] ;
6. Moscou Sinod. gr. 320 (= Vladimir 177) (section *Macaire et Isaïe*) [Diktyon 43945] ;
7. Moscou Sinod. gr. 345 (= Vladimir 342) (BOUSSET 1923, p. 183-184) [Diktyon 43970] ;
8. Moscou Sinod. gr. 409 (= Vladimir 350) (section *Apophtegmes*) [Diktyon 44034] ;
9. Moscou Sinod. gr. 416 (= Vladimir 351) (section *Apophtegmes*) (BOUSSET 1923, p. 183-184) [Diktyon 44041] ;
10. Moscou Sinod. gr. 452 (= Vladimir 344) (BOUSSET 1923, p. 183-184) [Diktyon 44077] ;
11. Moscou Sinod. gr. 490 (= Vladimir 347) [Diktyon 44115].

Mossoul : Patriarcat Chaldéen (olim Mossoul et olim Diyarbakir) : vHMML CPB [6 manuscrits]¹⁶

1. CPB 199 [vHMML] (= Mossoul Scher 86, section *Vie d'Ephrem I* + colophon) [<https://w3id.org/vhmm/readingRoom/view/139299>] ;
2. CPB 464 [vHMML] (= Mossoul 801 = Mossoul Scher 94) [<https://w3id.org/vhmm/readingRoom/view/503258>] ;
3. Mossoul 218 (= Diyarbakir Scher 21) (cf. HESPEL & DRAGUET 1981, p. 9) [l'original est perdu] ;
4. Mossoul 405 (cf. HOENERBACH & SPIES 1956, l'original est perdu) ;
5. Mossoul 708 (= Mossoul Scher 92, l'original est perdu) ;
6. Mossoul 809 (= Mossoul Scher 95, l'original est perdu).

Munich : Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB) [5 manuscrits]

1. Munich, BSB, cod. gr. 493 (section *Lausiasque*) [Diktyon 44946] ;
2. Munich, BSB, cod. lat. 3056 (section) ;
3. Munich, BSB, cod. lat. 5823 (section) ;
4. Munich, BSB, cod. lat. 18553a (section) ;
5. Munich, BSB, cod. lat. 23757 (section).

Oxford : Bodleian Library (Bod) et alii [9 manuscrits]

1. Oxford Bod. 84 (section *Lausiasque*) [Diktyon 48306] ;
2. Oxford Bod. Cromwell 14 [Diktyon 47804] ;
3. Oxford Bod. Cromwell 18 [Diktyon 47808] ;
4. Oxford Bod. eth. E 4 ;
5. Oxford Bod. Marshall syr. 711 (section, demandé par Beck) ;
6. Oxford Christ Church Wake 67 [Diktyon 48589] ;
7. Oxford Christ Church Wake 70 (sections) [Diktyon 48592] ;
8. Oxford Christ Church Wake 78 [Diktyon 48600] ;
9. Oxford Christ Church Wake 79 [Diktyon 48601].

Paris : Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF) [82 manuscrits]

1. BnF ar. 113 (section) [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc893833>] ;
2. BnF arm. 110 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc108310g>] ;
3. BnF eth. 110 (section) [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1055870>] ;
4. BnF eth. 111 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1055888>] ;
5. BnF eth. 113 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc105589j>] ;
6. BnF eth. 170 (section) [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc94961n>] ;
7. BnF Abbadie eth. 23 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc99480n>] ;
8. BnF Abbadie eth. 31 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc99488k>] ;
9. BnF Abbadie eth. 60 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1090365>] ;
10. BnF Abbadie eth. 102 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc949584>] ;
11. BnF gr. 108 (section) [Diktyon 49676] ;

¹⁶ Les manuscrits de la collection du Patriarcat Chaldéen de Mossoul ont été catalogués par SCHER en 1907 et vers 1950, par Bidawid dont le catalogue est malheureusement disparu.

12. BnF gr. 464 [Diktyon 50038] ;
13. BnF gr. 513 (section) [Diktyon 50088] ;
14. BnF gr. 548 (section) [Diktyon 50124] ;
15. BnF gr. 594 [Diktyon 50174] ;
16. BnF gr. 635 [Diktyon 50216] ;
17. BnF gr. 853 [Diktyon 50440] ;
18. BnF gr. 881 [Diktyon 50469] ;
19. BnF gr. 890 [Diktyon 50478] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
20. BnF gr. 914 [Diktyon 50502] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
21. BnF gr. 916 (section) [Diktyon 50504] ;
22. BnF gr. 917 (section) [Diktyon 50505] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
23. BnF gr. 918 [Diktyon 50507] ;
24. BnF gr. 919 [Diktyon 50508] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
25. BnF gr. 1056 (section) [Diktyon 50650] ;
26. BnF gr. 1066 (section) [Diktyon 50661] ;
27. BnF gr. 1093 (section) [Diktyon 50689] ;
28. BnF gr. 1098 (section) [Diktyon 50694] ;
29. BnF gr. 1173 (section) [Diktyon 50774-50775] ;
30. BnF gr. 1174 (section) [Diktyon 50776] ;
31. BnF gr. 1179 (section) [Diktyon 50781] ;
32. BnF gr. 1217 (section) [Diktyon 50822] ;
33. BnF gr. 1446 (section) [Diktyon 51063] ;
34. BnF gr. 1453 (section) [Diktyon 51070] ;
35. BnF gr. 1467 (section) [Diktyon 51084] ;
36. BnF gr. 1474 (section) [Diktyon 51091] ;
37. BnF gr. 1478 (section) [Diktyon 51095] ;
38. BnF gr. 1508 (section) [Diktyon 51126] ;
39. BnF gr. 1527 (section) [Diktyon 51145] ;
40. BnF gr. 1528 (section) [Diktyon 51146] ;
41. BnF gr. 1532 [Diktyon 51150] ;
42. BnF gr. 1547 (section) [Diktyon 51165] ;
43. BnF gr. 1548 (section) [Diktyon 51166] ;
44. BnF gr. 1596 [Diktyon 51216] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
45. BnF gr. 1597 [Diktyon 51217] ;
46. BnF gr. 1598 [Diktyon 51218] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
47. BnF gr. 1599 [Diktyon 51219] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
48. BnF gr. 1600 [Diktyon 51220] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
49. BnF gr. 1605 [Diktyon 51226] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
50. BnF gr. 1626 [Diktyon 51248] ;
51. BnF gr. 1627 [Diktyon 51249] ;
52. BnF gr. 1628 [Diktyon 51250] ;
53. BnF gr. 1629 [Diktyon 51251] ;
54. BnF gr. 1698 (section) [Diktyon 51322] ;
55. BnF Coisl. 83 [Diktyon 49227] ;
56. BnF Coisl. 108 [Diktyon 49252] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
57. BnF Coisl. 124 [Diktyon 49268] ;
58. BnF Coisl. 126 [Diktyon 49270] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
59. BnF Coisl. 127 [Diktyon 49271] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
60. BnF Coisl. 193 (section) [Diktyon 49332] ;
61. BnF Coisl. 232 [Diktyon 49373] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;

62. BnF Coisl. 257 [Diktyon 49398] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
63. BnF Coisl. 268 (section) [Diktyon 49409] ;
64. BnF Coisl. 282 [Diktyon 49423] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
65. BnF Coisl. 283 [Diktyon 49424] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
66. BnF Coisl. 286 (section) [Diktyon 49427] ;
67. BnF Coisl. 295 [Diktyon 49436] ;
68. BnF Coisl. 296 (section) [Diktyon 49437] ;
69. BnF Coisl. 303 (section) [Diktyon 49444] ;
70. BnF Coisl. 369 [Diktyon 49510] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
71. BnF Coisl. 370 [Diktyon 49511] ;
72. BnF Coisl. 378 [Diktyon 49519] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
73. BnF syr. 13 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc102861z>] ;
74. BnF syr. 196 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1094271>] ;
75. BnF syr. 234 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1025670>] ;
76. BnF syr. 235 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc101802m>] ;
77. BnF syr. 236 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc101803w>] ;
78. BnF syr. 238 (section) [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1094581>] ;
79. BnF syr. 239 (ff. 266-281) [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc101264c>] ;
80. BnF syr. 317 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc109528h>] ;
81. BnF syr. 366 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc102017r>] ;
82. BnF syr. 410 (appelé dans le boîte MS Guillaumont Dadišo´) [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc109599g>].

Sinaï : Monastère de Sainte-Catherine [33 manuscrits]

1. Sinaï ar. 72 [<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1cn8nmt>] ;
2. Sinaï ar. 74 [<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1cn8nn8>] ;
3. Sinaï ar. 75 [<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1hx2gzz>] ;
4. Sinaï ar. 155 (section *Siracide et Epîtres de Paul*) [<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1bs09w9>] ;
5. Sinaï georg. 8 (section *Apophtegmes*) [<https://www.loc.gov/item/00279388409-ms/>] ;
6. Sinaï gr. 431 (section *Pallade et Jean Chrysostome*) [Diktyon 58806] ;
7. Sinaï gr. 432 (section *Pallade et Jean Chrysostome*) [Diktyon 58807] ;
8. Sinaï gr. 433 (section *Pallade*) [Diktyon 58808] ;
9. Sinaï gr. 435 (section *Pallade*) [Diktyon 58810] ;
10. Sinaï gr. 444 (demandé par Benešević) [Diktyon 58300] (Guy 1962, p. 235) ;
11. Sinaï gr. 447 (section) [Diktyon 58822] ;
12. Sinaï gr. 448 (section *Apophtegmes*) [Diktyon 58823] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
13. Sinaï gr. 449 [Diktyon 58824] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
14. Sinaï gr. 450 [Diktyon 58825] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
15. Sinaï gr. 451 [Diktyon 58826] ;
16. Sinaï gr. 452 [Diktyon 58827] ;
17. Sinaï gr. 453 [Diktyon 58828] ;
18. Sinaï gr. 458 [Diktyon 58833] ;

19. Sinaï gr. 469 [Diktyon 58844] ;
20. Sinaï gr. 1608 [Diktyon 59983] ;
21. Sinaï gr. 1629 [Diktyon 60004] ;
22. Sinaï gr. 1690 [Diktyon 60065] ;
23. Sinaï syr. 9 (section *Hexameron de Basile*)
[<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz18k8ttz>] ;
24. Sinaï syr. 10
[<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1p57n0b>] ;
25. Sinaï syr. 16 [<https://www.loc.gov/item/00279386292-ms/>] ;
26. Sinaï syr. 23
[<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1ww92dj>] ;
27. Sinaï syr. 24
[<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz14f3d5z>] ;
28. Sinaï syr. 26 [<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1r51d8c>] ;
29. Sinaï syr. 29 [<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1mg9bzd>];
30. Sinaï syr. 33
[<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1r51d8c>] ;
31. Sinaï syr. 38 (section *Isaïe*) [<https://www.loc.gov/item/00279386516-ms/>] ;
32. Sinaï syr. 46 (section *Apophtegmes*)
[<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1b29cyr>] ;
33. Sinaï syr. 52 (section *Ps.-Denys*)
[<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1tf1ph6>].

Venise : Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (BNM) [8 manuscrits]

1. Venise BNM gr. II. 21 (ff. 102r-208v) [Diktyon 70243] ;
2. Venise BNM gr. II. 70 (*olim* Nanianus gr. 92) [Diktyon 70232] ;
3. Venise BNM gr. Z. 132 (section *Isaïe*) [Diktyon 69603] ;
4. Venise BNM gr. Z. 165 [Diktyon 69636] ;
5. Venise BNM gr. Z. 338 (ff. 217r-fin) [Diktyon 69809] ;
6. Venise BNM gr. Z. 345 (ff. 89-fin) [Diktyon 69816] ;
7. Venise BNM gr. Z. 346 [Diktyon 69817] ;
8. Venise BNM gr. Z. 347 [Diktyon 69818].

Variae [32 manuscrits]

1. Amorgos, Mone Choziobiotisses 15 [Diktyon 64] ;
2. Andros, Mon. Hagias 59 [Diktyon 303] ;
3. Anḡel CET 76 [vHMML] (cf. Draguet CSCO 389, p. *93, section *Paradis*)
[<https://w3id.org/vhmm/readingRoom/view/137247>] ;
4. Beyrouth, Université Saint Joseph, ar. 552 (sections ff. 2-47, 169-171 et 97-99) ;
5. Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er} 11381 (*olim* Van der Gheyn-Lyna 983; *olim* Omont 34) [Diktyon 9975] ;
6. Cambridge (USA), Harvard, Houghton University Library MS syr. 48 (= Harvard 3974)
[[https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:498095204\\$4i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:498095204$4i)] ;
7. Cambridge (USA), Harvard, Houghton University Library MS syr. 79 (= Harvard 4007)
[[https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:498095204\\$4i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:498095204$4i)] ;

8. Damas, Patriarcat syro-orthodoxe, syr. 12/17 (section *Vie d'Ephrem II*, manuscrit D dans l'édition de AMAR 2011, daté 1184-85) ;
9. Dublin, Trinity College Library syr. B. 5. 18 = 1506 (section, demandé par Beck) ;
10. Dublin, Trinity College Library syr. B. 5. 19 = 1508 (section, demandé par Beck) ;
11. Escorial, Real Biblioteca, R.II.1 [Diktyon 15293] (GUY 1962, p. 235) ;
12. Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Φ.III.4 [Diktyon 15177] ;
13. Ethiopien EMMML 1884 (voir vHMML) ;
14. Ethiopien EMMML 141 (voir vHMML) ;
15. Florence, BML plut. 10.3 Raithu [Diktyon 16126] ;
16. Florence, BML San Marco 684 [Diktyon 16902] ;
17. Grottaferrata B.β.1 (section *Lausiasque*) [Diktyon 17598] ;
18. Leiden, BU Voss. Gr. F° 46 [Diktyon 38056] ;
19. Mardin CFMM nr. 129 [vHMML] (cf. SCHMIDT, QUASCHNING 2000, ms. E, p. 90-91) [<https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/124210>] ;
20. Mardin CFMM nr. 255 [vHMML] (section Paradis) [<https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/502143>] ;
21. Météores, Monè Metamophoseos 394 [Diktyon 41804]¹⁷ ;
22. Midyat *Syro-Hexapla* (édition facsimile par VÖÖBUS 1975) ;
23. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, syr. fragm. A 296 Inf. (1-6) (GÉHIN 2017, p. 216-218) ;
24. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, syr. garde 22 (section) ;
25. Mossoul, Archevêché syriaque orthodoxe, *Jean de Dara* (cf. MACOMBER 1969, p. 477, SADER 1970 et BARSOU 2003, p. 391) [l'original est probablement perdu] ;
26. Patmos 176 [Diktyon 54420] ;
27. QACCT 106 [vHMML] (= Tell Kef 4, section *Paradis*, cf. DRAGUET 1978, p. *100) [<https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/136570>] ;
28. Rome Cassinensis lat. 348 (section *Lausiasque*) ;
29. Rome Sessorianus lat. 41 (ff. 9-83) ;
30. Vienne, ÖNB, Hist. gr. 9 (cod. 45) [Diktyon 70886] ;
31. Vienne, ÖNB, Hist. gr. 84 (cod. 41) [Diktyon 70961] ;
32. Section d'un microfilm sans cote, manuscrit en écriture nestorienne récente.

Livres imprimés, matériaux didactiques et éditoriaux de Draguet

1. De Lagarde (1867) *Der Pentateuch Koptisch* ;
2. Worrell (1931) *The Proverbs of Salomon in Sahidic Coptic* ;
3. Ceriani (1876) *Syro-Hexaplaire* (section 1-193) ;
4. Dillmann (1865) *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* ;
5. Chubinashvili (1901) *Dictionnaire Géorgien* (en deux microfilms) ;
6. Tullberg (1851) *Libri qui inscribitur Paradisus Patrum* ;
7. Calfa (1861) *Dictionnaire Arménien* (microfilms mélangés) ;
8. Pitra (1883) *Analecta Sacra* (microfilms mélangés) ;
9. Mingana (1905) *Grammaire Syriaque* ;
10. Patrologia Graeca 2 *Ps. Denys* ;

¹⁷ La signature de Draguet mentionne le mont Athos mais en référence avec Meteora, qui normalement fait penser aux monastères de la Thessalie. Dans les manuscrits conservés aux Météores, la seule collection qui possède un manuscrit avec une signature 394 est le Grand Monastère, ou de la Transfiguration (μονή της Μεταμόρφωσης του Σωτήρος). Étant donné le contenu (notamment le *Pratum spiriturale* de Jean Moschus ou l'*Histoire Lausiasque* de Pallade), on peut supposer que le manuscrit doit être le Météores, Monastère de la Transfiguration 394.

11. Patrologia Graeca 40 *Évagre* ;
12. Patrologia Graeca 40 *Isaïe de Scété* ;
13. *Historia Lausiaca* en latine (éd. Meursius) ;
14. *Praktikós d'Évagre* en arménienne (éd. Mechitaristes à Venise) ;
15. *Mémoire Ephrem Draguet* (plusieurs microfilms) ;
16. Article sur *Ephrem Grec* dans *Revue biblique* (Coleiro) ;
17. Notices sur le Patriarche Barsoum (+ photos d'un manuscrit de *Philoxène* sur l'Annonciation) ;
18. Article sur le *Fond de Charfet* dans *L'Orient Syrien* ;
19. Article sur *Basile et Ephrem* ;
20. Guillaumont DAM *Littérature spirituelle copte* ;
21. *Catalogus manuscriptorum Casinense* ;
22. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Paris (1950) ;
23. *Bodmer Papyri* : Proverbes, Exode copte, Deutéronome copte, Jérémie-Baruch copte, Matthieu copte, Jonas copte, Cantique copte, Actes Paul-Thècle copte, Isaïe copte ;
24. René Draguet : cours de syriaque, vieux-slave et histoire des littératures orientales ;
25. Abréviations dans les mss. grecs ;
26. Police de Draguet sur l'éthiopien ;
27. Alphabet géorgien ;
28. Abréviations dans les mss. géorgiens ;
29. Règle pour l'impression de l'arabe ;
30. Réforme alphabet éthiopien ;
31. Caractères orientaux - BnF Paris ;
32. Dossier Éthiopien Monotype ;
33. 7 microfilms de livres imprimés ;
34. Microfilm d'un livre imprimé (en russe) en 1930 ;
35. Livres imprimés en format microfilms.

APPENDICE

Microfilms des 54 manuscrits syriaques du Centre d'Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze

La plupart des microfilms syriaques du Centre d'Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze ont été acquis dans les années 1980 par André de Halleux. Quelques autres ont été acquis par A.B. Schmidt après 1997. Les microfilms contenant des œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze sont décrits plus en détail dans les publications référencées dans les notes de bas de page. Sur les manuscrits utilisés pour les éditions syriaques des Discours de Grégoire, voir les publications de J.-Cl. Haelewyck et de A.B. Schmidt dans le *Corpus Christianorum ; Corpus Nazianzenum*¹⁸. Pour les microfilms contenant des auteurs et des contenus syriaques autres que les discours de Grégoire de Nazianze (par ex. : BL Add. 14538), voir les catalogues de manuscrits indiqués dans DESREUMAUX, BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 1991.

Berlin : Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SzB)

1. SzB Sachau 220 [https://qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00010261]¹⁹.

Birmingham : Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection

1. Ming. syr. 545²⁰ ;
2. Ming. syr. 662.

Cambridge (USA) : Harvard, Houghton University Library

1. Cambridge, USA : Harvard, Houghton University Library MS syr. 46
– [[https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45443521\\$5i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45443521$5i)]²¹ ;
2. Cambridge, USA : Harvard, Houghton University Library MS syr. 106
– [[https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45612756\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45612756$1i)].

Città del Vaticano : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)

1. Vat. sir. 96 ;
2. Vat. sir. 105 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.105] ;
3. Vat. sir. 253 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.253]²² ;
4. Vat. sir. 368 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.368]²³ ;
5. Vat. sir. 369 [<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.sir.369>]²⁴ ;
6. Vat. sir. 378.

Damas : Patriarcat syriaque orthodoxe

1. syr. 3/1 (ff. 1-8) ;

¹⁸ Cf. [<https://www.corpuschristianorum.org/ccsg-cccn>].

¹⁹ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 123.

²⁰ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 123-124 ; SCHMIDT, QUASCHNING-KIRSH 2000, p. 105-106.

²¹ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 113-114.

²² VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 121-123.

²³ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 121.

²⁴ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 121-123.

2. syr. 3/2 (ff. 1-28) ;
3. syr. 3/19 (ff. 14r-82r)²⁵ ;
4. syr. 12/19²⁶ ;
5. syr. 12/20²⁷.

Londres : British Library (BL)

1. BL Add. 10967²⁸ ;
2. BL Add. 12153²⁹ ;
3. BL Add. 12165³⁰ ;
4. BL Add. 14515³¹ ;
5. BL Add. 14516³² ;
6. BL Add. 14538 ;
7. BL Add. 14542 ;
8. BL Add. 14546³³ ;
9. BL Add. 14547³⁴ ;
10. BL Add. 14548³⁵ ;
11. BL Add. 14549³⁶ ;
12. BL Add. 14550 ;
13. BL Add. 14601³⁷ ;
14. BL Add. 14612 ;
15. BL Add. 14617 (ff. 40-42) ;
16. BL Add. 14618 ;
17. BL Add. 14725³⁸ ;
18. BL Add. 14726 ;
19. BL Add. 17144 ;
20. BL Add. 17145 ;
21. BL Add. 17146³⁹ ;
22. BL Add. 17147 ;
23. BL Add. 17191 ;
24. BL Add. 17197 ;
25. BL Add. 17209 ;

²⁵ SCHMIDT, QUASCHNING-KIRSH 2000, p. 91-95.

²⁶ SCHMIDT, QUASCHNING-KIRSH 2000, p. 109-110.

²⁷ SCHMIDT, QUASCHNING-KIRSH 2000, p. 108-109.

²⁸ SCHMIDT, QUASCHNING-KIRSH 2000, 104-105.

²⁹ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 87-89 et 107.

³⁰ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 119-120.

³¹ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 115.

³² VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 115-116.

³³ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 126-127.

³⁴ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 91-92 et 107.

³⁵ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 84-87 et 107.

³⁶ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 108-113.

³⁷ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 116-118.

³⁸ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 118-119.

³⁹ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1973, p. 122-126.

26. BL Add. 17185 (ff. 45-49) ;
27. BL Add. 18813⁴⁰ ;
28. BL Add. 18815⁴¹ ;
29. BL Add. 18821 ;
30. BL Or. 8730⁴² ;
31. BL Or. 8731⁴³ ;
32. BL Richianus 7181 ;
33. BL Richianus 7187⁴⁴.

Mardin : Église des Quarante Martyrs

1. Mardin, CFMM nr. 129 [vHMML] (photos du manuscrit imprimés en papier)⁴⁵
[<https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/124210>].

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1. BnF syr. 62 [<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531152203>] ;
2. BnF syr. 376 [<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10088762x>]⁴⁶ ;
3. BnF syr. 378 [<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100913396>]⁴⁷.

Saint-Pétersbourg : Bibliothèque Nationale

1. Bibl. Publ. Nouv. Sér. syr. 12⁴⁸.

⁴⁰ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1973, p. 126-127.

⁴¹ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1973, p. 127-130.

⁴² VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 89-90 et 107.

⁴³ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 80-84 et 107.

⁴⁴ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 92 et 107.

⁴⁵ SCHMIDT, QUASCHNING-KIRSCH 2000, 90-91.

⁴⁶ SCHMIDT, QUASCHNING-KIRSCH 2000, p. 95-104.

⁴⁷ SCHMIDT, QUASCHNING-KIRSCH 2000, p. 105-106.

⁴⁸ VAN ROEY, MOORS 1974, p. 92-93.

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RÉSUMÉ

René Draguet, orientaliste renommé du siècle dernier, fut secrétaire général du CSCO (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*) de 1948 à 1980. À la suite de son décès en 1980, ses archives furent en partie léguées à la maison d'édition du CSCO, Peeters, à Louvain (Belgique). Parmi ces archives, quatre boîtes en carton contenant des microfilms de manuscrits furent léguées par la maison d'édition Peeters à l'Institut Orientaliste de l'UCLouvain (Louvain-la-Neuve) à la fin des années 1990. Le fonds Draguet, qui n'était auparavant connu que d'un nombre restreint de chercheurs, fut inventorié de manière systématique entre août et décembre 2023. Il conserve des reproductions de plus de 500 manuscrits (répartis sur environ 1300 microfilms), principalement en grec et en syriaque, mais également en latin, arménien, éthiopien, copte, géorgien et arabe. Cet inventaire préliminaire vise à mettre en lumière la richesse et l'importance de ce fonds qui nécessitera des analyses et des études supplémentaires dans les années à venir. Cet inventaire est suivi d'un *Appendice* inventoriant les microfilms de manuscrits du *Centre d'Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze*, également conservés par l'UCLouvain à Louvain-la-Neuve.

ABSTRACT

René Draguet, renowned orientalist of the last century, was General Secretary of the CSCO (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*) from 1948 to 1980. Following his death in 1980, part of his archive was bequeathed to the CSCO publishing house, Peeters, in Leuven (Belgium). Among these archives, four cardboard boxes containing microfilms of manuscripts were bequeathed by Peeters Publishers to the Institut Orientaliste of UCLouvain (Louvain-la-Neuve) in the late 1990s. The "Fonds Draguet", previously known only to a small number of researchers, was systematically inventoried between August and December 2023. It contains reproductions of over 500 manuscripts (spread over some 1,300 microfilms), mainly in Greek and Syriac, but also in Latin, Armenian, Ethiopian, Coptic, Georgian and Arabic. This preliminary inventory aims to highlight the richness and importance of this collection, which will require further analysis and study in the years to come. This inventory is followed by an *Appendix* listing the microfilms of manuscripts from the *Centre d'Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze*, also held by UCLouvain in Louvain-la-Neuve.

MOTS-CLEFS

1. René Draguet
2. Manuscrits syriaques
3. Manuscrits grecs
4. CSCO
5. Archive des manuscrits

KEYWORDS

1. René Draguet
2. Syriac Manuscripts
3. Greek Manuscripts
4. CSCO
5. Manuscripts Archive

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Witchcraft Accusations in the Tarim Basin: Cases from the Kharoṣṭhī Documents Discovered at Caḍota (the Niya Ruins)

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Many documents written in the South Asian Kharoṣṭhī script were discovered in the early twentieth century at sites along the southern edge of the Tarim Basin¹, now a part of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. The majority come from the settlement identified as Caḍota, also known as the Niya Ruins or the Niya Site. Subsequent discoveries have increased the number of documents and document fragments to a total collection of 901 at the time of writing². These can be found transliterated in the online *Catalog of Kharoṣṭhī Documents* (CKD), part of the larger *Corpus of Gāndhārī Texts*³. The documents

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¹ See STEIN 1907, 1921, 1928 for archaeological reports of the sites and discoveries of most of the documents over three expeditions. See also STEIN 1904, 1912 for his personal accounts of the first two expeditions. The fourth expedition was unpublished.

² SALOMON 2007, p. 183, states that the total is over 1000, including unpublished documents.

³ BAUMS, GLASS 2012-Present. The catalogue includes Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, documents, manuscripts, and coins from Central and South Asia, a dictionary of vocabulary, references to publications, and photographs where available. Transliterations and the numbering of documents 1 to 427 found at the 'Niya Site', and numbers 428 to 708, including documents from the sites of Endere and Lou-lan, are based on BOYER, RAPSON, SENART 1920, 1927; and numbers 709 to 757, including Lou-lan, numbers 758 to 763 acquired by Ellsworth Huntington in 1907,

comprise of administrative correspondence and transactional lists, with some related to religion. Many summarise complaints made by members of different settlements against other people, which were heard by the ruling king at the royal court. He then had them relayed in letters to local officials for investigation according to *dharma*, ‘the law’, and to make a decision on. This article focuses on four such documents that mention accusations of witchcraft, the punishing of witches, and the killing of women suspected of being witches⁴. It examines the key vocabulary used to describe witches and witchcraft, and who the people involved in these cases were, to understand which practices could have constituted witchcraft and what the possible motivations for accusing someone of practicing witchcraft were. A key aim is to find out if gender was a factor behind the accusations. The documents are contextualised and interpreted using textual sources from other parts of the ancient world, including Iran, South Asia, Greece, and Rome. Because witchcraft is usually placed in opposition to religion and has long been associated with benign or malign magic and spell-work, depending on the intentions of the user or practitioner⁵, religious life in the Tarim Basin is explored first.

1. *Religious Life in the Tarim Basin*

“*The religious texts and paintings found in East Turkestan (or Xinjiang, as it is now called in Chinese), together with archaeological and written evidence from elsewhere in Central Asia, attest to a bizarre amalgamation of religious ideas drawn from Christianity and Judaism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. Often this mixture is expressed in the deliberate, peculiar syncretism of Manichaeism. It would seem, in fact, that eastern Central Asia in the premodern period became a melting pot of religious traditions because it served as a remote refuge for heterodox beliefs, and that well into the Mongol period it was one of the most religiously diverse places on the globe*”⁶. From the first millennia BCE to CE, religious life in the Tarim Basin was based around shamanism, solar and lunar worship, worship of ancestors, sacrificial practices, and religious gatherings⁷. Horse-jumping, camel-racing, music, and dance were a part of festivities, with material culture showing the presence of diverse communities and cultural influences⁸. Beliefs, practices, and myths, which were expressed through rituals of daily life, reflected the Iranian and Turkic cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the Eurasian Steppe inhabitants⁹, later supplemented by Chinese, Mediterranean, and South Asian religions and cultures¹⁰. The dual nomadic and sedentary way of living in Central Asia dictated which types of religions were practiced or followed. Nomads are thought to have focussed on worship or honour of ancestors, heroes, and the ethnic group, with a belief in divine kingship and divine laws, whereas sedentary populations in city-states preferred to follow a universal religion, such as Buddhism, Mani-

and an addendum of number 764 to go with number 31 can be found in RAPSON, NOBLE 1929. These three volumes were subsequently collated in one volume: see BOYER ET ALII 1997. Documents 765 to 782, which were discovered by Stein on an unpublished fourth expedition, were transliterated and translated by BURROW 1937a. Translations of most of the documents were subsequently made by BURROW 1940.

⁴ CKD 58, 63, 248, 880.

⁵ GOSDEN 2021, pp. 19-24.

⁶ FOLTZ 2010, pp. 7-8.

⁷ ISHJAMTS 1994, p. 160.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

⁹ FOLTZ 2010, p. 24. Steppe beliefs and practices included shamanism, animism, spirits inhabiting the landscape, burial mounds for people and horses, and carved stones. See GOSDEN 2021, pp. 146-187, for a summary.

¹⁰ See GOSDEN 2021, pp. 109-145, for a consideration of funerary traditions, ancestor worship, human and animal sacrifices, divination, magic, and science in ancient China.

chaeism, Nestorian Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and later Islam, with a focus on the individual rather than the tribe¹¹. This duality of urban life in the oases, and nomadism in the deserts and steppes created suspicion between peoples. Outside the safety of the oases were the dangers of thieves, robbers and, more nefariously, demons, reflecting the dichotomies of order and chaos, and life and death. This was exemplified by the presence or absence of water in settlements, and the establishment of cemeteries outside of habitational areas¹². The wish to avoid dangers and disasters when travelling through the deserts or mountains of Central Asia can be seen in the donations travellers made to religious institutions established along the Silk Road¹³. Thus, the natural environment, and the different lifestyles and communities present, created conditions where identities, hierarchies, and social and spatial boundaries had to be established. These boundaries are reflected in the religious duality of popular or folk religions, consisting of “*an unorganized system of beliefs held by the common people*”, and an aristocratic, imperial religion, which was seemingly more organised and based on ancestor cults, with divinity invested in the tribal leader¹⁴. The belief in divine kingship or leadership is found within the Niya documents in the variety of titles used for kings and officials¹⁵. This indicates that some aspects of indigenous or nomadic beliefs were retained and that beliefs could overlap. Tribal religions, encompassing shamanism, totemism, polytheism, animism, ritual sacrifices, and cults based on the natural world, came to be influenced by ‘foreign’ religions as and when encountered (and vice-versa), until they became less important over time¹⁶. Therefore, “*in traditional societies, religions, like people, are generally considered as being attached to a particular locality or region, and by extension to their own local culture*”¹⁷, but “*subtle influences must have penetrated in both directions through everyday encounters and conversation*”¹⁸. This localisation of and change over time in beliefs can be seen in the rich funerary tradition of grave goods found at burial sites, with suggested evidence for the belief in ancestors and human sacrifice¹⁹. Some grave sites are also thought to be related to beliefs in fertility cults, guardian deities, and the afterlife²⁰.

Following the increase in contact with India and China from the third to fourth centuries CE, the people of the kingdom of Kroraïna (also known as Lou-lan and Shanshan in different periods), of which Caḍota was a part, placed goods from these regions in their tombs²¹. Furthermore, the contacts with people from South Asia led to the spread of Buddhism and South Asian cultures, which came to have a dominant presence in the settlements around the Taklamakan

¹¹ KLIMKEIT 2000a, p. 63.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹³ FOLTZ 2010, p. 11.

¹⁴ MESERVE 2000, p. 67.

¹⁵ MEICUN 1990, p. 286; ISHIJAMTS 1994, p. 154. See also PURI 1994 for divine kingship amongst the Kuṣāṇa dynasty; KAUR 2022, pp. 411-412 and KAUR 2024 (forthcoming) for divine kingship in South Asia and Iran.

¹⁶ MESERVE 2000, pp. 67-68.

¹⁷ FOLTZ 2010, p. 34.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁹ YONG, BINGHUA 1994 describe the burial methods that existed across Central Asia from the seventh to first centuries BCE, including cremation and inhumation. The ‘Tarim Mummies’, found in and around the settlement of Lou-lan, are a famous example of the latter. Few funerary objects were deposited, but could include metal items, clothing, pottery, bones, and botanical remains, such as wheat grains and ephedra branches. The graves also indicate social stratification, with multiple burials in earlier phases. Over time, grave goods became more ornate, indicating trade contacts and the change from nomadism to a sedentary, agricultural lifestyle.

²⁰ HANSEN 2004, pp. 281-282.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

Desert. Different literary traditions and theories exist as to when and how Buddhism was introduced to Central Asia²². Documents and religious texts in the Gāndhārī, Sanskrit, and Khotanese-Saka languages attest to the presence of several Buddhist schools. A localised literary tradition developed with an indigenous form of Buddhism²³. The archaeological site of Niya includes the remains of a *stūpa*, and furniture and textiles had Gandhāran and Indian-style ornamentation. Chinese documents were also discovered here, which helped date the Niya documents²⁴, and Greek, Roman, Chinese, and perhaps Scythian or animistic deities, motifs or writing were depicted on seals²⁵. A small, detached structure, N.xvi, in the orchard of building N.V. was identified as a Buddhist temple or shrine²⁶, with a cemetery beyond the settlement possibly for the Buddhist community²⁷. The Chinese-Buddhist monk and pilgrim Faxian visited Krorāina in 400 CE and noted that there were more than four thousand monks who followed the Hīnayāna school of Buddhism. The king, the *śramaṇas* (Buddhist monks), and the local people were all said to have followed or worshipped the *dharma* of India to different degrees²⁸, although in northern China from c. 250 CE onwards, monks only practiced tonsure: they still practiced non-Buddhist rites²⁹.

Thus, even after the introduction of Buddhism, Pre-Zoroastrian, Old Iranian beliefs continued, with remnants of the Old Indo-European religion amongst the Tocharian-speaking people, and Taoism amongst the Chinese³⁰. Missionaries would join caravans to spread their religions³¹, but sometimes communities would convert to religions as a means of acquiring prestige and to be connected to a more ‘civilised’ world. There may also have been a financial incentive to do so, such as for merchants³². The role of the Sogdians from the Transoxiana region (modern Uzbekistan and neighbouring parts) in transmitting culture and ideas was particularly important, not just as merchants but as scribes and translators³³: “*Sogdian and Bactrian texts and inscriptions indicate the worship of a range of Iranian and non-Iranian deities, including the Greek goddess Demeter and the Indian god Shiva*”³⁴. Religious life in the Tarim Basin was therefore extremely diverse, with the possibility of religious syncretism, even as one or more religions were favoured. Buddhism was clearly dominant, but it is not known which, if any, of these beliefs or practices were deemed to be witchcraft. Some religions, however, did have an element of supernatural and magical beliefs, including Buddhism³⁵.

²² See YONG, BINGHUA 1994; PURI 1994.

²³ KLIMKEIT 2000b, pp. 80-81.

²⁴ STEIN 1907, pp. 315, 334, 339, 343, 358.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-357.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 374-375; STEIN 1920, p. 236.

²⁷ STEIN 1920, p. 236. This may have been a Buddhist cemetery because of the discovery of red and dark brown textile fragments amongst the skeletal remains.

²⁸ HANSEN 2004, p. 306.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 307, citing *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, note 47.

³⁰ GUANG-DA 1996, pp. 292-293.

³¹ FOLTZ 2010, p. 12.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁵ HENNING 1947 examines Manichaean Middle Persian spells against fever and evil spirits, and a Manichaean Parthian amulet mentioning Jesus Christ, the archangels, and Iranian and Indian demons and ‘witches’, but which catalogues *yakṣas*, follows Buddhist texts, and refers to the northwest region of Gandhāra in South Asia.

2. Religion in the Niya Documents

The Niya documents corroborate some of the archaeological findings and reconstructions made from literary accounts about life in the Tarim Basin, such as that diverse communities of people resided in Caḍota, either permanently or temporarily, and inhabited the surrounding desert and mountain areas. These people consisted of Chinese merchants and visitors, who were not year-round residents; Chinese landowners; Khotanese slaves or fugitives; “*people of the mountains*” who mined gold; and the “*mixed population of indigenous peoples*”. Antagonistic relationships existed between different cities and communities, such as Khotan, the Sacas, and the Supis, which led to battles³⁶. Names of people in the documents indicate that they belonged to or followed diverse cultures and religions, such as South Asian, Buddhist, Hindu, Iranian, and Chinese, although these are not a marker of ethnicity or origins. Apart from the presence of fragments or portions of Sanskrit Buddhist texts and the Indian epics³⁷, one document describes Buddhist worship practices, including ritual bathing³⁸, and another has a list of rules for the Buddhist monastic community overseen by the king³⁹. Buddhist monks were named in several documents in various roles, and salutations to local officials included Buddhist divine titles⁴⁰. Therefore, Buddhism had a strong presence at Caḍota, which translated into it being politically influential.

Nevertheless, sacrificial and presumably local religions also had a presence⁴¹. One document provides evidence for animal sacrifices to a specific deity named as Bhatro⁴². In this document, a finance officer or tax collector (*ṣoṭhamṅha*) named Lyipeya offered greetings to an official or governor (*cozbo*), a scribe (*tivira*) and an agent (*caraka*) to inform them that his ill wife was now better due to their favour. What this illness and favour entailed is not known⁴³. He further described how he had heard that the water had been dammed by the official and was pleased about it, and that he would send the people as requested. He continued to say that a cow was sacrificed at the bridge to the god, but apparently it was not accepted as seen in a dream by another man, Kungeya. And so, another cow had to be sacrificed from Opimta’s enclosure at Motgeya’s farm⁴⁴. Lyipeya requested that this cow be sent. The document further describes another (or perhaps the same?) dream of Kungeya, this time of the sacrifice of sheep and other livestock in other areas. These animals were to come from different men. Why Kungeya was demanding these sacrifices from other people and why Lyipeya was supporting him is not

³⁶ HANSEN 2004, pp. 289-290.

³⁷ For example, CKD 390, 510, 523.

³⁸ CKD 511. See HEIRMAN, TORCK 2012 for consideration of bodily purity and bathing practices in ancient Indian and Chinese Buddhism.

³⁹ CKD 489. See VOYCE 2008 for discussion on the violation of rules by Buddhist monks.

⁴⁰ For example, CKD 69, 83, 86, 106, 107, 127, 130, 140, 160, 162, 164, 197, 203, 247, 288, 305, 307, 317, 370, 378, 385, 390, 392, 399, 475, 476, 515, 585, 612, 644, 646, 696, 722.

⁴¹ CKD 109 mentions a sacrifice, and CKD 195, 383 and 637 mention sacrificing camels or the presence of camels at sacrifices.

⁴² CKD 157, transl. by BURROW 1940.

⁴³ The use of the term *gilani*, from Sanskrit *glāna*, could indicate a sickness involving fatigue, exhaustion, emaciation, or depression. BAILEY 1970 notes the discovery of medical treatises from Khotan.

⁴⁴ In CKD 518, there was a complaint to Samasena and Pugo that Opimta from Nina (= Niya) was being made a frontier-guard in place of others. In CKD 152, addressed to Lyipeya, Motgeya had a Buddhist monk as a slave and was perhaps the son of Masdhige. The slave was sold and gifted to Lyipeya. Lyipeya and Masdhige will be encountered below. These documents suggest antagonism towards one person and favouring of another.

known⁴⁵, and there could well have been other intentions behind this. Although sacrifices were common to many religions across Eurasia, and a Buddhist document mentions the lord of sacrifice being the god Indra⁴⁶, the mention of dreams, dream interpretations and using dreams as guides indicate the presence of other beliefs that had a magical or mystical element⁴⁷. Dream divination was therefore another aspect of religious life in Caḍota⁴⁸. This document, in connection to others, suggests that there were tensions over resources, personal problems between inhabitants, and possibly abuse of status and power, which will become more relevant when examining the cases involving witchcraft.

3. *Witchcraft Accusations in the Documents*

The documents used specific vocabulary to describe witches and witchcraft. Witchcraft was referred to as *khakhorta* or *khakhorna* in the four documents under consideration, but was only termed as *adhama*, ‘unlawful’, in one. Two of the documents, possibly referring to the same case, describe the killing of a ‘witch woman’: in CKD 53, the term *stri*, ‘woman’, is associated with *khakhorni*, ‘witch’; in CKD 63, this is found collectively as *khakhorni stri*. In CKD 248, there was an order by the king for the punishment of *khakhorna striyana*, ‘witch women’⁴⁹. CKD 880 summarises accusations against a woman and three men, one of whom was a Buddhist monk, of practicing *adhamena khakhorti*, ‘unlawful witchcraft’. This document can be connected to CKD 879, in which some of the same people were accused by the same complainant of administering *viṣa*, ‘poison’. Thus, there was a separation between identifying a person as a witch and the practice of witchcraft. In these cases, the complainants were all men. They presented their cases to a nameless king, which were then summarised in a letter written by a scribe with orders to local officials to investigate. The men accused nameless people of stealing property from and killing a nameless woman for allegedly being a witch; nameless people of taking three nameless witch-women, but only killing one of them; and named men and a woman with their household, who were accused of practicing witchcraft and administering poison. There were also predominantly male witnesses to any oaths taken by the accused. Nothing, however, was explicitly stated in the documents to clarify what the women did to be accused of being witches and then being punished or killed for this, why people took the law into their own hands to kill the women, what people did to warrant accusations of practicing witchcraft, and what made witchcraft unlawful. The mention of poison, though, suggests that this was one possible witchcraft-related activity. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the religious basis

⁴⁵ In CKD 11, Lyipeya and Kungeya had a dispute over the adoption and payment of a girl. There may have been other financial relationships between the two, or perhaps coercion.

⁴⁶ CKD 511. Indra is the king of the gods in Indic religions. His association with sacrificial rituals begins in the hymns of the *Rgveda*, in which he is connected to the sacrificial drink of *soma* and its personified deity Soma, and with the fire god Agni in which and to whom sacrifices were offered.

⁴⁷ The Magi, according to Classical writers, practiced divination and dream interpretation. See MENDOZA FORREST 2011, p. 22.

⁴⁸ Protection against bad dreams, dream interpretations and dream divination (oneiromancy) were part of many ancient cultures and religions, including Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Han, Greek, Roman, Jewish, Christian, and Hindu. Dreams could contain messages from the dead or from the gods as oracles, be used as predictions, or be induced to send messages in love spells or as revelations. See GOSDEN 2021, pp. 85, 102, 139-140, 254, 278, 365.

⁴⁹ The order by the king consisted of the terms *śiṭha* (Skt. *śiṣṭa*, remaining, escaped, residual, directed, taught, ordered, commanded, disciplined, precept, rule), *nigraha* (restraining, binding, suppression, defeat, seizing, destruction, arrest, confinement, reprimand), and *kartavya* (to be done, accomplished, a duty or obligation). See MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899 for definitions.

for identifying a witch, before exploring the possible reasons behind antagonisms, and motivations for accusations and unlawful behaviours.

4. *Khakhorna and its Derivatives*

Based on documents CKD 53, 63 and 248, Burrow stated: “*It appears from the contexts that to be a khakhorna was a grave offence, punishable with death*”⁵⁰. Yet, these documents only mention women as witches. Burrow also stated that “*witch*” is “*obviously suitable*” to translate this term⁵¹, although Hansen proposed the use of “*holy women*” instead⁵². Thus, there was a religious basis to identifying a person (woman) as a witch. *Khakhorna* is a loan word from Iranian⁵³, but the meaning of ‘witch’ is construed by reading *khakhorna* as a variation of *kha-khorda*⁵⁴. The earliest use of *khārkoda* or *khārkoṭa* has been found in Buddhist sources from the region of Gandhāra, where the Kharoṣṭhī script originated and was later used in a Buddhist context from the first century BCE onwards, and in the Tarim Basin⁵⁵. Of note is that the Armenian term *kaxard* is associated with the Greek *pharmakos*, which is related to any drugs, medicines, or poisons. It therefore describes someone who uses potions in sorcery⁵⁶. *Khakhorna* thus has associations with negative, harmful, and deadly activities that aim to cause harm to others, with an esoteric or occult basis. The context of its use in Iranian and Buddhist sources can be explored further to see which other practices constituted witchcraft.

Witches in the Avesta

The main texts in the Avestan literature that deal with harmful sorcerers, witches, magicians, diseases, and pollution are the *Gatha*, the *Yasna*, the *Yasht* (Yt) and the *Vendidad* (Vd). They

⁵⁰ BURROW 1935, p. 780.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 781.

⁵² HANSEN 2004, p. 292, note 27.

⁵³ BURROW 1937b, p. 86; SALOMON 2007, p. 183. The term may be a loan word from Old Iranian via Pahlavi and used to refer to a person. See WHITE 2021, p. 80. Babylonian incantations referred to witches and warlocks as *kūr.kūr* and a form of witchcraft as *zikurrudû*. See ABUSCH 1987, p. 104-105, fn. 34 II.1c & 2.

⁵⁴ BURROW 1935, p. 781, states: “If *khakhorda* is read it can be connected with Av. [Avestan] *kaxvarəda-* “magician” (fem. *kaxvarədi-*), Arm. lw. [Armenian loanword] *kaxard*. In Skt. [Sanskrit] we have *kākhorda* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* ed. Idzumi, pp. 3 and 97, used side by side with *vetāla*) *kakkhorda* (Bower MS., see Index) *Kharkoda* “a kind of magic” *Rājatarāṅginī*, v, 238 ; *Khārkoṭa*, *Caraka S.*, vi, 23. The variety of forms in Skt. as well as the lateness of their appearance, suggest borrowing on the part of Skt. from Iranian” (square brackets added to explain abbreviations). WHITE 2021 further elaborates that *kākhorda* is found in Kṣemarāja’s commentary on the *Netra Tantra* (NT 18.1-4), but as *khārkoda*, “a device (yantra) causing death, expulsion (uccāṭana), and so forth.” It is linked to spells, sorcery, and female zombies (*krtyā*, also referred to as *vetālī*), which have their roots in the *Atharvaveda*. These spells could be destroyed by a spell-goddess, *Pratyāṅgirā* or *Mahāpratisarā*, whose *dhāraṇī* are found in Buddhist texts and also have their roots in the *Atharvaveda*. The *khārkodas* are further identified as demons associated with spells, chanting, fire offerings, powders, pastes, unguents, and tricks (*kuhakāni*), suggestive of witchcraft (citing NT 18.87-90). The term *khārkoda* or *khārkoṭa* is found in later Kashmiri sources in conjunction with the afflictions of time and regicide. See WHITE 2021, pp. 75-78. A connection could be made with the Sanskrit *khakholka*, the sun or a sky-meteor, which suggests an association with solar worshippers, or *khakkhara*, a beggar’s staff associated with Buddhist monks. See MONIER WILLIAMS 1899, p. 334, for definitions and other possible derivatives.

⁵⁵ WHITE 2021, pp. 78-79.

⁵⁶ MENDOZA FORREST 2011, p. 67. Other associations of *kākhorda* are with sorcery, spells, inflicting physical damage or death on ‘enemies’, poisons, toxins, demons, and a person who practiced, used, or conjured such things. See WHITE 2021, pp. 80-81.

contain curses, spells, exorcisms, and magical rituals to deal with ‘evil’⁵⁷. *Yasna* 61 is one example of a prayer for the displacement of Angra Mainyu⁵⁸ and his evil creatures, amongst which are the male *kax^warəda* and female *kax^warəidī* (*kahvaredhas*), the *kayadhas*, thieves, robbers, *zandas*, *yatumatam* (sorcerers), covenant breakers, and those who tamper with covenants. The prayer aims to dispel the murderers of saints, those who torment and hate the reciter for their faith, and those who persecute them for ritual practices. *Khakhornas* in this context are therefore agents of Angra Mainyu working against goodness and hence the faith. In the *Vendidad*, witchcraft and sorcery were associated with territories now found in Afghanistan, some of which had Brahmanical and Buddhist influences. The people in these regions were believed to have been killers, worshipped demons, controlled the elements and different creatures, and had knowledge of astrology⁵⁹. Ritual outsiders were therefore thought of as being witches or sorcerers who were opposed to the faith. Furthermore, the term *kakhwazhi* (or *kaxuzhi*) is referred to as being constrained or chased away, and suggestive of being Ahriman⁶⁰. It is placed in conjunction with sterility and other witches or sorcerers known as *jahi* and *yatu*⁶¹, which are connected to seductive *pairika*⁶². Thus, witches were linked to sexuality and fertility, or a lack of them. Several other ‘evil’ entities, especially female ones of the class of witches, fairies, jinn, and the like, made their way from the Persian world to South and Central Asia⁶³. But apotropaic and exorcistic spells and rituals were a part of early Zoroastrianism too⁶⁴. The authors of the *Avesta* used ‘good’ or ‘creative magic’ to counter the ‘evil magic’ of their enemies, who were people later labelled as sorcerers, witches, and demon worshippers. The same methods were used but with different intentions⁶⁵. The retaliation or defence against such evil attacks included returning them back to the sender; what happened to them after that was their own fault⁶⁶. This has an element of karmic justice. Ritual and social outsiders were the ones accused of evil magic, and the enemies “could have included herbal healers, female health specialists, common magicians, and anyone who prayed to a different god or in a different language”⁶⁷.

Witches in Buddhism

Kākhorda made its way into Buddhist literature, such as the *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñīsūtra* (MMVS, ‘The Teaching of the Great Pea-Hen, the Queen of the Science [of Spells]’). This text contains protective verses known as *dhāraṇī*⁶⁸, dating from the first centuries BCE to CE. The MMVS provides key details on demons from Gandhāra and has also been discovered in the

⁵⁷ MENDOZA FORREST 2011, pp. 20, 24.

⁵⁸ Angra Mainyu, also known as Ahriman, is the evil and disruptive entity against the highest god of Zoroastrianism, Ahura Mazda, and his good creations.

⁵⁹ See Vd 1.9, 1.13-14; see also Vd 7.36-37.

⁶⁰ Synonymous with Angra Mainyu.

⁶¹ Vd 21.17.

⁶² Vd 20.10. *Pairika* were also associated with ‘falling stars’, perhaps meteors, in the *Yasht*. These ‘witches’ were tossed into the sky to disrupt the rains, leading to drought, and were nonhuman, demonic beings connected to infertility. See MENDOZA FORREST 2011, p. 57-61. See also SCHWARTZ 2008.

⁶³ WHITE 2021, p. 81.

⁶⁴ MENDOZA FORREST 2011, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26, citing *Yasna* 65.8. This can be seen in many earlier Babylonian rituals that removed the effects of witchcraft, which were then used to reverse the spell back on to the witch. See SCHWEMER 2010.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶⁸ COBLIN 1990, p. 196.

Tarim Basin region⁶⁹. One version of the text states that *kākhordas* were amongst several demonic beings slain, and the term was apparently “not found in earlier Sanskrit sources”⁷⁰. Along with these entities, fears, deadly philtres, poisons, evil intentions, and consumption and other illnesses were slain. They are summarised as “a heterogeneous catalog of pathologies, toxins, and acts of sorcery”⁷¹. Translations of this text date to the fourth century CE⁷², and a Chinese version contains protective *mantra* to invoke *Mahāmāyūrī* and dispel ill effects, such as snake bites, illnesses, witchcraft, ghosts, punishments from the gods, and death⁷³. In a collection of Buddhist precepts in the MMVS, translated during the Liang dynasty (502-557 CE), a powerful spell invoked the deity to “dispel the effects of poison”⁷⁴. Another Chinese version refers to *homa* rituals⁷⁵, which, along with the inclusion of Vedic gods and sages, suggests that Buddhism continued to adapt and incorporate other religious beliefs as a reflection of what was popular at the time. Moreover, the ritual invocations are like those found in first century CE Buddhist donatory inscriptions from Gandhāra, whereby the words, along with the physical donation, served to provide the donor with spiritual rewards and protected the donation from harm⁷⁶. The early Mahāyāna tradition placed importance on the written word and in these early Buddhist manuscripts, healing, apotropaic and death rituals were prominent. The manuscripts themselves were also an object of worship⁷⁷: small fragments of birch-bark manuscripts found with reliquary deposits, such as at Haḍḍa and Jalalabad in Afghanistan, could have been mantras or charms similar to apotropaic amulets. They contained texts belonging to the *Pratītyasamutpāda* or *dhāraṇī*⁷⁸.

Witches and sorcerers also feature in the *Jātaka* (Ja), which detail the past life or ‘birth stories’ of the Buddha. Some female characters labelled as witches include a minor goddess, an older woman, a young nun, and a merchant’s daughter⁷⁹. These stories associated witches with heresy or esoteric practices, and with diverting support from Buddhism. They also highlight domestic tensions and rivalries between women, and false accusations of being a witch or engaging in sexual misconduct, which are associated with female marital status, beauty, seduction, and sexuality. Accusations in these stories involved witnesses, and punishments could include exile and mob justice. They marked a contrast between *dharma* and *adharma*. As in the Avesta, Buddhism emphasised that social and ritual outsiders, such as *brāhmaṇas* and other ascetics, were associated with sorcery, fortune-telling, and divination⁸⁰. Buddhist nuns were

⁶⁹ WHITE 2021, pp. 45, 48.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² ORZECH 2002, p. 77, fn. 70.

⁷³ CHUNG 2012. The male counterpart, *Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārāja*, is a Chinese-Buddhist deity who prevents and cures injuries caused by poison and fights evil. See LITTLE 2004, p. 36, for a description of this deity.

⁷⁴ LITTLE 2004, p. 36.

⁷⁵ ORZECH 2002, p. 78. *Homa* is the Iranian cognate of the Vedic *soma*; these are ritual and sacrificial drinks offered to the gods.

⁷⁶ See KAUR 2022 for a study of Buddhist donatory inscriptions and their purpose.

⁷⁷ STRAUCH 2014, p. 799.

⁷⁸ *IBID.*, pp. 803-804. See also KAUR 2022, p. 225.

⁷⁹ See, for example, Ja 40, *Khadiraṅgarajātaka*; Ja 417, *Kaccānijātaka*; Ja 472, *Mahāpadumajātaka*; Ja 527, *Ummādanījātaka*. The term translated as ‘witch’, *kālakaṇṇiyā*, refers to a black female demon.

⁸⁰ Ja 527. See SALETRE 1981, pp. 1-2. In the *Brahmajālasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (DN), the section entitled *Mahāsīla* narrates how ascetics and *brāhmaṇas* earn a living through alternative practices. These are referred to

also said to practice arts and use *mantra* that were not in accordance with the *śramaṇadharmā* (ascetic law) or *brahmacarya* (the conduct of Brahma)⁸¹. In Buddhism, therefore, witches, witchcraft and, by extension, sorcerers and sorcery were connected to poisons, demons, illnesses, bodily fluids and clippings, and other negative and harmful practices. To combat the harmful effects, rituals and mantras were required. Although there could have been an ambivalent attitude towards magic in some Buddhist circles, it was not condemned outright unless it threatened a Buddhist sect or power. Magic, spells, incantations, and other supernatural practices were not negatively viewed when it was for the benefit or protection of Buddhism and Buddhists, and it was important for religious advisers to support their leaders, whether royal or spiritual⁸².

Having established some of the characteristics of witches and practices associated with witchcraft, according to the vocabulary used, the cases in the Niya documents can be examined further. Other documents that may have named some of the people involved are investigated to establish their characters, which in turn can provide an insight into possible motivations for accusing or targeting people.

5. *CKD 58 and CKD 63: The Killing of a Witch Woman*

Archaeological Context

The documents catalogued as CKD 58 (originally labelled as N.i.85) and CKD 63 (composed of two parts labelled N.i.108+27) were discovered in the ruins of building ‘Niya I’, identified as a house⁸³, and in room ‘i’, identified as an office for a subordinate clerk. Stein noted that wedge-shaped documents, like these two, only held brief notices to corroborate orders rather than lengthier, permanent orders, as found on oblong or rectangular tablets. This justified the identification of the room as not being the main office of the building⁸⁴. The documents were therefore likely part of an archive of ongoing disputes under investigation, and people named in them were still alive at the time the building was abandoned. Thus, the documents would have been available for reference⁸⁵.

as ‘low lore’ and a means of ‘wrong livelihood’, which the Buddha did not engage with. They include different activities that can be classed as fortune-telling, divination, predictions, prophecies, astrology, oracles, dream interpretation, sacrifices and offerings, exorcisms, spells, the use of poison, administering medicines, surgery, and rituals associated with marriage or worshipping certain deities. See DN 1.2.3; 2.4.3.1.3. However, ascetics could use their meditative powers to create other bodies and access psychic power that gave them supernatural powers. See DN 2.4.3.3.

⁸¹ DAVIDSON 2017, pp. 9-10, citing the *Dharmaguptakavinayavibhaṅga*, *Taishō* 1428.22.774c21-775a3. Davidson also discusses the inclusion of pre-existing practices of ‘magicians’ and ‘sorcerers’, who were part of non-literate and non-organised forms of religions, in formal religions and especially in tantrism.

⁸² See ESLER 2022 for a consideration of Tibetan Buddhist masters and their use of sorcery, who could be imprisoned by the Dalai Lama if they threatened his authority.

⁸³ STEIN 1907, p. 317.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁸⁵ Stein noted that many of the one hundred or so wooden tablets discovered in the building were found in this room by a guide named Ibrahim. The documents were arranged horizontally on a platform in a recess in the room, but some had been discarded by the guide and exposed to the elements. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

Content of the Documents

The complaints were first taken to an unnamed king⁸⁶, who subsequently had these documents written to bring matters to the attention of an official, the *cozbo* Somjaka. Both documents describe the killing of an alleged witch, either as two separate cases with two different women killed or a singular case presented twice. In CKD 58, it is mentioned that a *stri*⁸⁷ had been killed by some people. It is not known who the woman and her killers were, and why they killed her. The message from the king to the *cozbo* was “*that they have killed (her). There is no further statement a second time. If she has not been seen or heard from and if [.....] is not a witch, by these people that woman is to be made recompense for to her full value and (this recompense) is to be taken by Pugo and Lyipeya. A decision is to be made according to law. The gift of property they seized from her, Pugo and Lyipeya are to receive along with her person*”⁸⁸. Both Lyipeya and Pugo were either the direct or indirect complainants in this document and were to receive compensation of both the woman and the property taken from her⁸⁹. How the woman was related to the two men is not known, nor is who gifted the property and what it consisted of⁹⁰. But this theft provides a clue as to why she may have been killed. The use of the verb *maritaṃti*, ‘they have killed’, from the Sanskrit or Prakrit *mārita*, ‘to be killed, slain or destroyed’ and from the root *mṛ*, is interesting to note since words derived from the verbal noun *māra* are associated with evil and demonic entities⁹¹. The form *māraṇa*, for example, not only meant killing or slaying but also denoted a magical ceremony having as its object the destruction of an enemy, or a poison or mystical weapon⁹². To kill someone is an inherently evil act and there is a deeper symbolism to the choice of vocabulary used to describe certain acts, to emphasise their negative connotations. The king stated clearly that he would not send another instruction, which suggests that the *cozbo* was to take the matter seriously and act upon it immediately.

In CKD 63, the king wrote to inform the *cozbo* that “*Lyipeya reports that they took out three witch-women. They killed only the woman belonging to him, the remaining women they released. About this matter you received a command from Apgeya that recompense was to be made to Lyipeya for this woman. When this sealed wedge-tablet goes from here, you must inquire there, and according as you the cozbo received oral instructions here at the king's court, in such manner recompense must be made to Lyipeya for this woman*”⁹³. Again, it is not known who the women were and who took them. The verb used for ‘they took out’ is *nikhalitaṃti*, from the Sanskrit prefix *nis*, ‘out, away, free from’, combined with the verbal root *-kal*, to create

⁸⁶ This was likely Jituga Mayiri, based on other documents dated to his reign naming Somjaka and Lyipeya.

⁸⁷ Sanskrit *strī*, which refers to any female creature, but more usually for a woman or a wife. See MONIER WILLIAMS 1899, pp. 1260-1261.

⁸⁸ Translation adapted from BURROW 1940, p. 13.

⁸⁹ The word for recompense, *patena*, is identified from the Torwali language used in the Swāt District of Pakistan, thought to be a close relative of the Niya Gāndhārī Prakrit language. See BURROW 1936.

⁹⁰ The property, referred to as *arthadāna*, may have been a donation of money, a gift, or a gift made for a selfish reason, which suggests a payment in exchange for something. See MONIER WILLIAMS 1899, p. 90.

⁹¹ Note that *Māra* is the name of the god or demon who attempted to distract the Buddha from enlightenment by sending his daughters to seduce him. See *Saṃyutta Nikāya* 4.25, *Māradhītusutta*.

⁹² MONIER WILLIAMS 1899, p. 811.

⁹³ BURROW 1940, pp. 13-14.

a verb of driving out or expelling⁹⁴. The dispute was not about if the woman was a witch or not, but why only Lyipeya's woman was killed and not the other two. The *cozbo* had already been given a verbal order in person at the king's court to provide compensation, but had to be asked a second time in writing to make good on this order. It appears that the *cozbo* did not investigate the complaint according to instructions and was not providing the agreed compensation. The two documents summarised are connected through the male complainant, Lyipeya. This name is found in several other documents from around the Niya site and likely referred to the same person in some. To understand why Lyipeya, Pugo and the woman or women were targeted, it is necessary to examine their roles in these and other documents, which will shed some light on possible motivations.

The Victims

The women should have been viewed as the victims, but the situation was complicated by their status (as women), their relationship to the complainants (potentially as property), and the allegation (of being witches). Nevertheless, the king was concerned with having justice delivered to Lyipeya and Pugo, and thus they were considered the legal 'victims' because they were the ones who made the complaint and suffered a loss. The compensation all hinged on proving that the women were not witches. In CKD 58, the king asked about the woman's whereabouts, if she was alive or dead, and if she could be proven to be a witch. If it could be proved that she was a witch, she would have been guilty and therefore deserved to be killed. But whether it was correct for other people to do so without official sanction is not known, nor if she was not viewed as the victim. If she was found to not have been a witch, she was innocent and not deserving of death, and so she was a victim of murder. Because the woman was missing and presumed dead, it was up to Lyipeya and Pugo to make the complaint on her behalf and to argue for a wrongful accusation and killing. Added to this was the crime of theft of the woman's property. The woman herself may have been the property of the men or under their guardianship in some capacity, and therefore had an unknown value attached to her as if she were a commodity that could be recompensed. Thus, although the woman was the physical victim, the complainants were the injured parties who had suffered a loss. They sought justice for themselves. Regardless of whether she was alive or not, what is key is that if she was not a witch only then she would be compensated for. If she was a witch, presumably that would be a bigger crime than her being killed. Indeed, the killing could have been justified in some way and deemed lawful. The two men would then not be deserving of any compensation. Indirectly, the complainants too would have been associated with a witch and needed to have their names cleared of this. In CKD 63 though, Lyipeya questioned why only his woman had been killed when the two others had been released, but without denying that the woman was a witch. It was perhaps implicit in the questioning that the woman was killed for other reasons and not because she was a witch.

The cases suggest that the two men, and perhaps Lyipeya in particular, were the intended targets and the women were a means to inflict damage on them. This is supported by other cases involving Lyipeya. It is known from three documents about a singular case, also addressed to the *cozbo* Somjaka, that Lyipeya complained about two other women of his being violently,

⁹⁴ The prefix *nis* and variant *niṣ* when used with the verbal roots *-kas* and *-kram*, amongst others, provides the same meaning of driving out, so that a *niṣkāsin* is someone or something that drives out or expels, and a *niṣkāsinī* is a female slave not restrained by her master. Of note is that *niṣkali* is a spell against weapons, so that the act of restraining could be a form of countering magical weapons in the form of spells. See MONIER WILLIAMS 1899, pp. 542, 543, 562.

and possibly sexually, assaulted. The *cozbo* was asked to investigate due to a lack of witnesses at court, but if he could not make a decision the king would do so⁹⁵. The outcome is not known. In another case, Somjaka received an oral command from the king to investigate a case where a male slave belonging to Lyipeya was beaten by another man and had died as a result. Somjaka had not done so and again the king put it in writing, with a reprimand, to investigate and give compensation if the allegation was proved⁹⁶. These cases, along with the two under consideration, suggest that Lyipeya garnered hostility and was targeted through vulnerable members of his household. Somjaka was perhaps complicit in some way because he had a habit of ignoring the king's orders, which can be supported by further examples⁹⁷. His issue with Lyipeya, and with the king too, can be gleaned from another document in which the king explicitly stated that he showed favour to Lyipeya. This came at the financial expense of Somjaka⁹⁸. Somjaka may therefore have been antagonistic to both men and abused his position to target Lyipeya using the command and permission given by the king in CKD 248, to restrain and punish witches. On the other hand, the king had supported Somjaka when he learnt that Somjaka was being disobeyed by the 'serviceable well-born people'. He stated clearly that he had entrusted Somjaka with the state affairs; Somjaka, in turn, was required to display zeal in his work, even at the expense of his life, inform the king of any issues, stop well-to-do people harassing debt collectors, and ensure that taxes were collected and paid on time⁹⁹. It appears, though, that Somjaka was also not collecting and sending the taxes¹⁰⁰. There may have been a difference in social status between Somjaka and other people, such as Lyipeya, and political rivalries could also have contributed to the killing of the women.

Other documents show that Lyipeya had a clear career progression and was appointed to official positions. As a result, he too heard cases and presented them to the king or had to investigate complaints and make decisions himself. He was, however, involved in other troubles where he was targeted with theft. In one document, Lyipeya as an individual had some cows stolen from him by soldiers from Saca¹⁰¹. In another document, he was to be awarded calves but had not received all of them¹⁰². Furthermore, a cow and sheep were stolen from him on two separate occasions by two other men¹⁰³. This document also mentions the case of a woman, Cimga, who belonged to a man named Sagapeya, being beaten and taken without payment. Lyipeya as *vasu* (a category of official) reported that Opave (Opge?) took in marriage this woman, who was Sagapeya's daughter, and promised to give Sagapeya his sister in exchange, also named Cimga. But, instead, he gave the sister to someone else, possibly Sugnuta¹⁰⁴. The case provides an example of how Lyipeya could have created animosity by hearing and presenting someone's complaint against another member of the community. If the case involved

⁹⁵ CKD 20, 29, 53.

⁹⁶ CKD 144.

⁹⁷ See, for example, CKD 262, 310, 359, 542.

⁹⁸ CKD 52.

⁹⁹ CKD 272. In CKD 371 and 396, the king again supported Somjaka when he was being disobeyed.

¹⁰⁰ In CKD 307, the king's son reminded Somjaka about collecting taxes; in CKD 309, the king stated that the previous people in charge sent taxes on time, but Somjaka did not. He had to purchase the food/cereal and send it through Lyipana. Tax collection was raised again in CKD 373 and 374.

¹⁰¹ CKD 1.

¹⁰² CKD 7.

¹⁰³ CKD 56.

¹⁰⁴ CKD 32. A Suguta and Cimgeya are mentioned together in CKD 82 and Lyipeya sold a man to Suguta in CKD 575.

Opge, there is evidence of further hostilities between the men. In one case, Opgeya (or Apgeya) allegedly flooded Lyipeya's farm and house¹⁰⁵. In another, Lyipeya complained against Opgeya after his and Kake's mares were stolen from Opgeya's fields, when Opgeya perhaps had not given permission to use the fields in the first place¹⁰⁶. Lyipeya, Kake and another man further had an issue with the *cozbo* Samasena, who wished to make a quarrel with them¹⁰⁷, and Lyipeya and another *cozbo* ordered Opgeya and others to send some men to them, but with the threat of punishment if they did not¹⁰⁸. Lyipeya thus appears to have been disliked and not well respected by other men. He was the victim of theft in several cases, and so wealth and access to resources may have been another reason for accusing and killing the women of being witches, with theft of property being the prime motive.

The two motivations of political rivalry and access to resources is supported by other documents. Lyipeya had royal favour and was given privileged jobs or excused from doing other jobs. For example, he was to take some camels as ordered by the king¹⁰⁹, but was excused by the king from looking after the herds in the autumn¹¹⁰. Lyipeya claimed a different hereditary occupation to the one that was assigned to him, and so the king asked for this to be investigated and to remove him from the position if the claim was true¹¹¹. The king on another occasion requested for water and seed to be given to Lyipeya after he was given land to cultivate¹¹², and it appears that Lyipeya was able to cultivate many arable lands after paying the rent¹¹³. This too could have been an issue for others, where he was monopolising and profiting from his access to the best land in a harsh terrain. Lyipeya also engaged in questionable behaviours. A man complained that Lyipeya had sold him unlawfully when he belonged to the king¹¹⁴, and so he perhaps overreached his status at times. As an official in different positions, he took the opportunity to present his own complaints, including not receiving payments for transactions made by his slaves¹¹⁵. He abused his position like Somjaka, as seen in cases where he was potentially involved in tax embezzlement, and so he was likely not viewed favourably as a result¹¹⁶. Corruption and abuse of power were likely another motivation for accusations.

Pugo, too, benefitted or suffered from his association with Lyipeya. Together, they were accused of a land encroachment after they made a ditch to mark out a boundary with the people of another settlement¹¹⁷. Pugo accused some people, including Opgeya, of hunting his horses and mares¹¹⁸. In another case, Pugo, Opgeya and Lyimo divided their property, but Opgeya carried off some people. The document also shows that, along with Lyipeya, Opgeya caused

¹⁰⁵ CKD 47.

¹⁰⁶ CKD 212.

¹⁰⁷ CKD 399.

¹⁰⁸ CKD 554.

¹⁰⁹ CKD 4.

¹¹⁰ CKD 5.

¹¹¹ CKD 10.

¹¹² CKD 160.

¹¹³ CKD 496, 498.

¹¹⁴ CKD 106.

¹¹⁵ CKD 33, 39, 45.

¹¹⁶ CKD 42, 165.

¹¹⁷ CKD 37.

¹¹⁸ CKD 13.

problems for others in farming¹¹⁹. Opgeya further had an issue with Pugo over a woman¹²⁰, and Lyimo and Pugo had an issue with each other over a payment¹²¹. Thus, from these cases, it can be questioned to what extent Lyipeya and Pugo were victims. It appears that they antagonised other people in the settlement and hence became targets for revenge. In Lyipeya's case, his official status and being favoured by the king meant that he could abuse his position because he received some protection. But he suffered for this because Somjaka did not take matters seriously and the king had to intervene on multiple occasions. Opgeya may well have been involved in causing problems because he may have been the one to relay the king's instructions for Somjaka to give the agreed compensation. Perhaps he did not do so, or he was complicit with Somjaka in denying Lyipeya justice. It can be suggested that the intended targets were indeed the men, but it was easier to hurt them through arguably more vulnerable and easier-to-target people: women.

6. CKD 248, CKD 879, CKD 880: A Buddhist Monk, Witchcraft and Poison

Archaeological Context

CKD 248 (corresponding to N.xv.43) was found written on a fragmentary piece of leather at the badly decayed building labelled 'Niya V', which was described as modest but had a large orchard of fruit trees¹²². A rubbish heap discovered in room N.xv contained several discarded documents on wood and leather¹²³, amongst broken pottery, matting, straw, wood, felt and other organic materials¹²⁴. Twenty-three other sheepskin leather documents were discovered here, some complete and others fragmentary¹²⁵. From this, it can be surmised that these documents had likely fulfilled their use and were no longer needed for reference purposes. The documents CKD 879 and 880 were found in a museum collection, but apparently came from N.xiii, along with the related CKD 881 and 882¹²⁶. These five documents are connected to each other by the name of Budhasena, a Buddhist monk.

Content of the Documents

CKD 248 is a fragmentary text addressed to the *cozbo* Somjaka, in which the king requested several things and gave different commands. Following a request for any information about the cities of Khotan and Khema, the king gave a direction for the punishment and restraining of witch-women, as had or should have been done in other cases. He continued with a request to send fugitives or refugees to him. There was mention of a man named Marega, probably an official, who was going on a mission to Khotan. Budhasena was mentioned as having received something. There are other unclear details of giving or exchanging items. What can be understood, though, is that the king gave his permission to the same *cozbo*, as in the cases involving Lyipeya, to punish witches, and that the monk was in a position of some responsibility. In CKD

¹¹⁹ CKD 18.

¹²⁰ CKD 742.

¹²¹ CKD 31, 764. In these documents, detailing one case, Opgeya also had an issue with Lyimo adopting his son but the son not being treated with respect after Lyimo died.

¹²² STEIN 1907, p. 340.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 340-341.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 344-345.

¹²⁶ DUÂN, TSHELOTHAR 2016.

880¹²⁷, Budhasena was accused of witchcraft by his younger brother, Lyimira, who ‘arose’ against his elder brother, a Buddhist monk (*śramaṇa*). The accusation was then directed towards the household of Budhasena, the members of which pledged an oath. The document names other people who also pledged an oath that they did not practice witchcraft: a woman named Masdha, possibly the wife (*bharya*) of Budhasena¹²⁸; and two other men, Spaga and Masdhiga. Masdhiga, because of the similarity of his name, could have been a son or brother of Masdha. The witnesses were named and there appears to have been some form of compensation: two slaves took an oath and Budhasena received it (them?). There was also a threat of punishment if the matter was raised again: fifty lashes and a fine of a three-year-old horse. In the related document of CKD 879, Lyimira accused three of these people, namely Budhasena, Masspaa (most likely Masdha), and Spaga, of administering poison (*viṣa*). The three again took an oath that they did not buy any poison or give it to one another and denied having heard anything about it. Other people were further named in the accusation and took an oath too: Khirnaga from Nina; Hurzama; and Savami, a cowherd from Khema. They also took an oath in front of official witnesses. The case therefore involved additional people other than the main accused and different settlements. Although the poison was allegedly purchased in Caḍota, the decision was to be made in Nina (Niya) where the witnesses were present who could confirm the contents of the document and that oaths had been taken. The document concluded with a threat of future punishment for ‘arising’ (accusing) a second time: one hundred beatings and castration. The two cases were most likely connected, and so the alleged use of poison fell within the broader accusation of witchcraft, but which accusation came first is difficult to determine. The threat of future punishment for making another complaint demonstrates that both cases were dismissed.

The Accused

Some of the main accused were named in other documents and in association with each other¹²⁹. For example, Spaga and Budhasena were named together in a document with a description that it bore the seal of Somjaka and another official named Samgila¹³⁰. In this, Budhasena appears to have been the son of a man named Marega¹³¹, who was mentioned in

¹²⁷ This document is dated to the year 25 of the king Aṃkvaga (Aṃgoka). The king had several titles: *maharayatiraya mahata jayata dharmiya sacadharmastida mahajitumgha devaputra*, ‘the great king of kings, the great, the victorious, the righteous, firm in the true *dharma*, the great *jitumgha*, the son of the gods.’ These articulate the divinity of the king and his role as an upholder of *dharma*, which provides gravitas to the accusation of ‘unlawful witchcraft’ in the document.

¹²⁸ Some Buddhist monks in the Tarim Basin married and had children. Chinese histories also show that some monks kept concubines. See HANSEN 2004, p. 293. For a discussion on Buddhist monks and celibacy rules, see CLARKE 2009. VOYCE 2009 discusses the rules for Buddhist monks and property ownership.

¹²⁹ CKD 431, 432, 434, 436, 437, 440 and 881. Several of these documents were found at N.xiii.

¹³⁰ CKD 881. Spaga and Budhasena were also named together with Marega and Samca in CKD 431 and 432, which involved collecting wine, and in CKD 882, where they both received something.

¹³¹ HANSEN 2017 suggests that the movement of the Kharoṣṭhī script came with migrants or refugees (p. 38-47), that scribes like Budhasena had Sanskrit names as opposed to rulers who had local names (p. 63), and that many Buddhist devotees migrated to Niya and brought Buddhism with them (p. 71-72). It is equally possible that people could convert and adopt a Buddhist name, as HØISÆTER 2020 suggests: although Budhasena had an Indian name, it was likely related to him being a Buddhist monk rather than being from Gandhāra (p. 86-87). Høisæter further highlights that Budhasena was never a scribe. Moreover, his brother, Lyimira, had a local name and his father, Marega, had a Bactrian name (p. 87). Marega is a name found amongst Buddhist donatory inscriptions from Afghanistan (CKI 159, CKI 509) and China (CKI 170). The adoption of Buddhist or Vedic-Brahmanical names by people who self-identified as Saka (Scythian) or Yavana (Greek) is also evident from other South Asian Buddhist epigraphic sources.

CKD 248. Another man named Samca was also named; there was a Samca amongst the witnesses for CKD 880. Spaga was described as ‘my brother’, but it is not clear whose brother he was – possibly of the scribe or the person who narrated the document, although the document was to be given to Budhasena, so perhaps his brother. Masdhige, too, was named in other documents, although it cannot be said with certainty if this was the same person in all cases¹³². It is only because of connections with other people that it becomes a strong possibility he was the same person. For instance, in one document, Masdhige was accused of theft with someone else and this was reported by the victims to Lyipeya and Pugo¹³³. This further reinforces that these two had some authority within the settlement because they took the complaint to the king, which was then given to Somjaka to investigate, but they could have generated hostility by making complaints to the king. In another document from the reign of Amgoka, Masdhige and the monk Budhasena were sold a girl: Masdhige did not pay the full price, although the girl was to be his property¹³⁴. Thus, these men had influence in the settlement, but Masdhige may have been involved in other criminal activities.

The Witnesses

There were several witnesses to the oath taken by Budhasena and his co-accused in CKD 880. They were the *tomgha* Samca¹³⁵, the *ari* Kolasga, Kusamta, Lyimo, Opge¹³⁶, *catu* Bhi-maya, *yatma* Kuuna, and *korara* Samoya¹³⁷. In case of future disputes, the witnesses to the

¹³² In CKD 41, a Masdhige had to pay two camels in tax. In CKD 436, during the reign of Mahiri, Masdhige was accused of binding, kidnapping, and selling a man named Rutraya (who Lyipeya may have given a slave’s daughter to in adoption in CKD 45) but was apparently acquitted. In CKD 152, addressed to Lyipeya as an official with glorified titles, a man or woman named Masdhiga was the father or mother of a man who sold a portion of a *śramaṇa* as a slave.

¹³³ CKD 17. The thieves had to pay back whatever they had and not too much. In addition, a law was made that anything taken during wartime could not be recompensed. Perhaps this was a way of reducing the punishment for Masdhige and his accomplice.

¹³⁴ CKD 437.

¹³⁵ More than one person had the name of Samca. In CKD 419, a witness was *dasavida* Samca, but the seal was of the monk Samca. In CKD 506, the monk Samca had his slave stolen. In CKD 571, a witness was the *apsu* Samca, and the string was cut by the *tomgha* Samca, as he did in CKD 589 too. In CKD 572, 579 and 654, the *apsu* Samca was a witness. In CKD 587, one Samca made a sale of land, and the *tomgha* Samca was a witness. In CKD 590, Samca made a sale of a woman.

¹³⁶ Opge may have been the same as Opgeya, as in the documents associated with Lyipeya. Men named Opge(ya) are found in many documents. A *vasu* Opge was named with a secret agent Opge in CKD 330. The *vasu* was named in other documents, as was a *sothamgha*, an *apsu*, an *ageta*, and a detective by this name. There were also complaints from and accusations against an Opge(ya). Both Lyimo and Opge(ya) were mentioned together with Pugo in CKD 18, 31 and 764, and with Kusamta in CKD 592, where they acted as witnesses. They were included in lists of transactions or tax collections of food or animals. Lyimo and Kuuna were also mentioned in CKD 110, a list of women allocated as wives to different men. Lyimo was referred to as a *tomgha* in CKD 299.

¹³⁷ This may be Sagamoya, a name found in several documents. See CKD 152, where he was named with Masdhige; CKD 622, 625, 633 634, 637 and 841, where he was a *vasu*; CKD 635, where he received instructions to go to the mountains; and CKD 637, where two Sagamoyas are named who took wine to the mountains and possibly to the Sacas. A Sagamoya in CKD 840 was entrusted with care of camels and a debt, and in CKD 883 as being resident in the city by the Kuci king. There is also the variant Sagamovi, a potter’s son, who eloped with a monk’s married and widowed daughter and absconded to Kuci, thereby abandoning claims to any other wives and children he, as documented in CKD 621, 632 and 884. Marega is also named in CKD 884. Sagamovi was named as a complainant in CKD 842, a case heard by several people, including Masdhega. He was accused of fleeing Caḍota to the Kuci kingdom with others, and accused with his companions of killing other absconders, but there were no witnesses. They claimed that the others had died of thirst and not through violent means.

writing of the document would bear witness: *kala* Kara(m)tsa¹³⁸, *apsu* Sa(m)ca¹³⁹, and *ari* Kolasga. In the case involving poison, the witnesses were *cozbo* Mogata¹⁴⁰, *apsu* Yaja, *ageta* Kuuna¹⁴¹, *sramana* Jivasra, and Lyipatga¹⁴². The witnesses to the writing were Sirgova from Saca, *sadavida* Mogata¹⁴³, Suguta¹⁴⁴, and Sarpina¹⁴⁵. At the end of this list, a slave from Khema is named, Sadharmau. There was thus an oral aspect to the investigation of the case, whereby it was important to list all the people present so that, if the matter was raised again, they could be called upon to verify what had been said and ultimately decided.

The Victim

The complainant, Lyimira, viewed himself as a victim of witchcraft and attempted poison. His name is found in two other documents, a list of names and a list of people who gave grain¹⁴⁶. A variant may have been Lyimina or Lyimirna, but in some documents it does not appear to have been the same person as Lyimira¹⁴⁷. To summarise some of these documents, a Lyimina

¹³⁸ Karamtsa was also a witness in CKD 327, 495, 549, 571, 579, 590, 640, 654 and 715. He received instructions in CKD 295, acted as a witnessing magistrate in CKD 572, 580, 581, 582, 586, 587 and 589, and awarded compensation in CKD 524. He was named in CKD 882 with Budhasena and Spaga. Some of these documents mention an *apsu* Karamtsa, and the title of *kala* is what distinguishes the two. Either one of these men could have been the son of a scribe, as in CKD 598.

¹³⁹ See fn. 135 for possible documents mentioning this Samca.

¹⁴⁰ There were different people named Mogata, and there may have been two separate individuals acting as witnesses in CKD 879. In CKD 579, one was a secret agent and another a scribe. In CKD 586 and 587, the scribe was named with a *sadavida* Mogata as a witness, with a third Mogata named with these two in CKD 654. Mogata was also a witness in CKD 589, and possibly in CKD 648 as Samogata. See CKD 125, 187, 549 for Mogata without any identifiers; for the scribe, see CKD 571, 572, 580, 581, 582, 589, 590, 592; for an arrow-maker, see CKD 715. The name, like others, was included in receipt lists.

¹⁴¹ The *ageta* Kuuna was a witness in CKD 571, 587, 590 and 715. He had his own dispute over camels in CKD 583.

¹⁴² Lyipatga may have been a scribe, as in CKD 415 and 573, and probably CKD 640, whereby the document came from his office concerning a land sale and likely connected to CKD 652, in which the scribe was sold some land. He may also have been an *ageta*, as in CKD 571. For Lyipatga without any identifiers, see CKD 575, where he was named with Lyipeya; CKD 590, where Lyipeya and Pugo brought a case that Lyipatga was also involved in; and CKD 583 and 791.

¹⁴³ See fn. 140 for documents mentioning Mogata.

¹⁴⁴ Suguta, and the variants Sugita and Sugnuta, is a name found in several documents: CKD 3, 15, 18, 24, 35, 42, 60, 76, 82, 106, 109, 115, 140, 154, 162, 163, 164, 204, 222, 252, 255, 376, 507, 519, 524, 526, 527, 530, 538, 542, 547, 551, 568, 570, 572, 575, 576, 578, 584, 593, 636, 641, 659 and 735, in which he was a witness, a complainant, took oaths or acted as keeper of the document,. He may have been a scribe, as in CKD 577 and 765, a *sothamgha*, as in CKD 12, 43 and 816, or a *korari*, as in CKD 577. Most of these documents involve transactional, payment and debt disputes.

¹⁴⁵ Sarpina was likely a woman. The name is found in CKD 83, addressed from Kupsimta to ‘dear brother-in-law *sothamgha* Lyipeya’, where Sarpina was gifted something. CKD 140 was also addressed to ‘dear brother-in-law *sothamgha* Lyipeya’, with other titles, and ‘dear sister Sarpina’, who both received gifts; Sugita and Lyimsu were addressed too. CKD 164 was addressed from Lyimsu to ‘dear father *cozbo* Lyipeya’ and ‘dear mother Sarpina’, along with Sugita and others. Another Sarpina was named in CKD 279 as the wife of Camca and daughter of Pgena, and two women, a mother and daughter, of the same name were named in CKD 769, addressed to Lyipeya and concerning the adoption of daughters; the daughter Sarpina died.

¹⁴⁶ CKD 560, 774.

¹⁴⁷ For example, in CKD 187 Lyimina was named with Mogata, Cimola and Kuvaya as brothers who inherited land; Cimola assaulted Kuvaya. In this document, Lyipeya also had a dispute with Kuvaya over a camel. The name

was loaned a horse by Opgeya but, after Lyimina died, his dependent Suguyita (Suguta?) took it and did not return it¹⁴⁸. Lyimina was also mentioned in a case decided by the *cozbo* Somjaka regarding the abduction of a child from his house¹⁴⁹. In another case, Sagamoya and Pugo took a woman from Lyimina and raped her; he apparently owed these two men a debt. Importantly, the investigating official, *kitsaïtsa* Luthu, had been asked two or three times to investigate and had not done so¹⁵⁰. A Lyimira was moved from looking after the royal cows to looking after female camels, which he was not happy about. The king ensured that this was corrected and that the officials, one of whom was Lyipeya, did not listen to other people when making decisions¹⁵¹. Thus, if any of these documents do refer to Lyimira, there appears to have been some antagonism against him too, and, as in Lyipeya's case, he may have been targeted via vulnerable people. Officials did not support him, and some witnesses were involved in shady dealings themselves. They may have committed crimes against Lyimira and also supported people who had been accused of crimes. But why his own brother, a Buddhist monk, would be accused of targeting him with poison and witchcraft is less clear, unless Budhasena was implicated or used by others who wished to harm Lyimira.

The Use of Poison

The only activity connected to witchcraft that can be identified from the documents is the use of poison, *viṣa*. *Viṣa* comes from the Sanskrit root *viṣ*, from which are derived other words related to something that is active, quick, serves, overcomes, and subdues. *Viṣa* itself is associated with any poisonous, venomous, or impure substances, including plants, fungi, and bodily excrements, and it is something consumable that can cause problems¹⁵². A verse in the *Atharvaveda* dedicated to *tr̥ṣṭikādevatyam*¹⁵³ invokes *viṣa* and has been interpreted in different ways¹⁵⁴. A recent English translation takes it metaphorically as a verse invoking Desire as a god to attain freedom from desire, which acts as a poison on the mind and hinders self-realisation¹⁵⁵. Earlier English translations interpreted the verse as an incantation against a woman's

Kuvaya is found in other documents with official titles and as a witness, including with Karamtsa and Kuuna in CKD 590, Opgeya and Lyimo in CKD 592, and Mogata in CKD 654.

¹⁴⁸ CKD 62.

¹⁴⁹ CKD 625. In this, the Khotanese abducted a child from Lyimina's house. The child was sent to Saca by Camaka, a man named in other documents as being involved in sales, owning slaves, and being a middleman for exchanges, including of women. Lyimina had paid a camel to *vasu* Sagamoya for the child, as decided by Somjaka. This may have been recorded in CKD 94.

¹⁵⁰ CKD 719. Sagamoya, possibly one of the witnesses in CKD 880, was also mentioned with Lyipeya in CKD 152 and 637. He was referred to as a procrastinator and man of little merit after he delayed a summons by the king's son, documented in CKD 634 and 635. Luthu was associated with Somjaka in CKD 415, whereby the latter's mother was in the former's house and received an abducted woman as a gift from the Khotanese. Luthu further examined the case in CKD 437 involving Budhasena and Masdhige not paying for a girl they purchased.

¹⁵¹ CKD 134. In this, a distinction was made between the royal law and an oral law.

¹⁵² For definitions, see MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899, p. 965.

¹⁵³ This could be the god of desire, from root *tr̥ṣ*, from which words relating to thirst are derived, although *tr̥ṣṭikā* refers to a rough woman. See MONIER WILLIAMS 1899, p. 454.

¹⁵⁴ AV 7.113. It may be connected to verse following it, where the reciter states, "I take from your entrails, I take from your heart, from the aspect of your face, I take all your splendour," before invoking Agni to slay the female demons and Soma the female abusers. See AV 7.114. The *Atharvaveda* has many other verses dedicated to poison and venom, such as for curing snakebites, along with prayers or curses to protect against or destroy demons, sorcerers and rivals, and charms to fulfil wishes.

¹⁵⁵ SHARMA 2013, pp. 834-835.

rival, with the invocation of a rough plant that could cut. One translation suggested that, in the verse, a man is cut to remove his manly strength and the plant is to be despised, with the comparison of a “*lightly esteemed wife*” against a “*favourite wife*” who was to be cast off as a barren cow by a bull¹⁵⁶. The cutting could be allegorical to castration or rendering the man impotent, and therefore the plant is something that causes physical harm and sterility. In the authoritative English translation, the plant was to be invoked to cut the rival woman and make her hateful (undesirable) to the virile man. The plant is rough and poisonous, to be avoided, as a barren cow to a bull¹⁵⁷. Thus, the nature of the plant is such that it could be used in incantations to transfer its rough and undesirable characteristics on to someone, such as a woman who was a rival for affections or a man who was being unfaithful, rendering that person less desirable sexually. Impotency, sterility and removing the physical aspect of each gender that evoked or displayed desire, through disfigurement of beauty and castration, appear to have been the aim of using this poison. In other Indian literature, poison is also associated with eroticism in women, including the poison-maidens known as *viṣakanyā*¹⁵⁸.

The description of *viṣa* thus draws on gendered language related to fertility and sexuality, and *viṣa* can therefore be viewed as something invoked to remove desires, specifically sexual desires, through its connection to or derivation from a poisonous plant. This suggests that the poison allegedly bought and administered in CKD 879 was one that could harm a man sexually, such as through making him impotent, which was then reflected in the threat of future punishment in the form of castration for complaining a second time. If this was the case, it would suggest that there were attempts to restrict Lyimira from having a child who would become his heir and inherit his property, if the intention was not to kill him. But the complaint of witchcraft meant that poison was thought of as a tool of witchcraft. To accuse someone falsely of using it carried a heavy penalty, perhaps more than if it had been administered to harm or kill someone, in which case compensation was offered. Yet, the South Asian legal and political treatise of the *Arthaśāstra* (AS) prescribed heavy penalties for using poison. Anyone who used poison (mercury) to kill someone or used the *madana* plant could be banished¹⁵⁹, although there were lawful ways in which poison could be used¹⁶⁰. Several types of concoctions were listed made from different ingredients and administered in separate ways. They could be both harmful and helpful depending on the desired outcome, and there were remedies¹⁶¹. Many of the prescriptions involved animals, plants, or parts of human bodies, and some were extremely violent in how they were prepared. Ritual elements were involved before a remedy could be applied, either for beneficial reasons or to counteract nefarious uses of poison, and so there was a medical element to this.

Indian literature therefore has a contrast between ayurvedic texts dealing with practical healing, political treatises that described the legal and illegal uses of poisons, and spells and rituals in religious verses, although “*magico-ritual treatment of disease was not supplanted by the āyurveda*”¹⁶². The use of poison to harm someone could be identified through tests and post-

¹⁵⁶ GRIFFITH 1895-6.

¹⁵⁷ WHITNEY 1905, pp. 467-468. This translation draws on earlier English and German translations, including that of Griffith, and Sanskrit commentaries.

¹⁵⁸ O’FLAHERTY 1976, p. 54.

¹⁵⁹ AS 4.4. The *madana* plant could have been one that caused intoxication and may also have been linked to passion. See MONIER WILLIAMS 1899, p. 778.

¹⁶⁰ Spies and people in disguise were permitted to use poison. See AS 12.4; 14.1.

¹⁶¹ AS 14.1-3.

¹⁶² MENDOZA FORREST 2011, p. 113.

mortem descriptions¹⁶³, and there were specific punishments for the type of poisoning inflicted: any man who poisoned someone and any woman who poisoned a man should be drowned; a woman who used poison was to be torn apart by bulls, even if she was pregnant or had just had a baby; and a man who castrated another should also suffer the same¹⁶⁴. Thus, using poison was a crime that could result in capital punishment, but at Cađota it was the false accusation or future accusations of using poison that could have led to corporal punishment in the form of bodily mutilation. It is not evident that capital punishment was used widely, nor that it was a punishment used to deal with suspected witches, but men could be both the target or accused of witchcraft.

7. Discussion

The documents show that there were differences between accusations of being a witch and of using witchcraft, and punishments for being a witch and falsely accusing someone of either this or using witchcraft. Being a witch was viewed as something inherent to the nature of a person or the community they belonged to, with identifiable characteristics, but it is not clear what these were in the Niya documents. Conversely, it can be presumed that witchcraft was accessible to all and involved practices that sought to harm someone, such as poisoning. A person need not have been a witch to access practices associated with witchcraft: they only had need of paying a witch for their services or knowledge of the types of activities witches engaged in. Thus, being a witch or practicing witchcraft were deemed to be serious, criminal offences. This may have had a practical, legal basis because some aspects of witchcraft were physically harmful and threatening to people, and therefore it was necessary to protect communities from violent crimes. It may also have been based on ritual or religious differences, to control threats to religious and state power from social outsiders. Accusations and subsequent judgements, however, were influenced by community relationships and the socio-political statuses of the accused and the complainants. Both cases involving Lyipeya show that killing a person under someone else's guardianship required compensation. This was usually in the form of replacing like with like, as in cases involving theft of goods¹⁶⁵, including animals¹⁶⁶. In cases involving people, a replacement person was provided. For example, when a man was injured in an assault and could no longer work, another man was provided to do his job¹⁶⁷. In the case where Lyipeya's slave was killed, another person was to be provided as recompense¹⁶⁸. But the compensation for killing the women could only be offered if they were proven to be dead and to not have been witches. These cases also suggest that the *cozbo* Somjaka was not doing his job and not acting on instructions from the king. He withheld compensation and therefore justice from

¹⁶³ AS 4.7.

¹⁶⁴ AS 4.11. Compare these punishments to those described by Herodotus in the *Histories* (Hdt.) for the Enarees, a group of hereditary sorcerers or diviners amongst the Scythians described as hermaphrodites, if they swore false oaths: "And this is how they die. Men yoke oxen to a wagon laden with sticks and tie the diviners up in these, fettering their legs and binding their hands behind them and gagging them; then they set fire to the sticks and drive the oxen away, stampeding them. Often the oxen are burnt to death with the diviners, and often the yoke-pole of their wagon is burnt through, and the oxen escape with a scorching. They burn their diviners for other reasons, too, in the way described, calling them false prophets. When the king puts them to death, he does not leave the sons alive either, but kills all the males of the family; the females he does not harm." From HDT. 4.69.1-3. See also BEHRINGER 2004, p. 48.

¹⁶⁵ See CKD 345.

¹⁶⁶ See CKD 524 and 676.

¹⁶⁷ CKD 187.

¹⁶⁸ CKD 144.

Lyipeya. This in turn suggests that Lyipeya was viewed unfavourably by the *cozbo*. It further suggests that the *cozbo* was ignoring the actions of the people who took the women and killed them. The accusation of witchcraft could have been an excuse to harass Lyipeya and his associate Pugo, targeting them via the woman or women, with the additional humiliation of tarnishing their reputations and credibility for associating with witches and favouring them with financial gifts. This could have been connected to Lyipeya having access to resources and harassing others for his own benefit.

The association with a sacrificial, non-Buddhist religion may have been an excuse to target Lyipeya with accusations. In this way, men too could come under suspicion, no matter their status, which can be seen in the cases involving the monk Budhasena. His family, household and other associates also came under suspicion. Such accusations could be connected to their social and ritual status, their practicing an 'outsider' or 'unlawful' religion, and their ritual knowledge. It is not known what the reasons for the accusations were in either Lyipeya's or Budhasena's cases and if people were being truthful. Lyimira, the complainant, may have had contention with his brother, such as over property or inheritance, as seen in another case involving brothers¹⁶⁹. Monks could own and sell property and slaves, and so become financially influential. There may have been suspicion by the younger brother because of the religious affiliation of the elder or jealousy because of his status. There could have been an imbalance of power, with Budhasena and Spaga being prominent members of society, which gave them special privileges and made them above the law. Masdhige was potentially involved in other criminal activities, including theft and kidnapping. However, because he was acquitted in the cases involving witchcraft and kidnapping, it suggests that he too had some influence, either through his familial association with the others or his possible position as overseeing a particular territory¹⁷⁰. It is therefore likely that authority and status allowed cases to go in the favour of those accused of witchcraft, thereby leading to their exoneration. But whilst Buddhism clearly had state support, it was not above state control and the royal law, although monks could have administrative responsibilities and authority, as Budhasena did, and act as witnesses or scribes for different cases. This made them susceptible to targeting by people unhappy with a legal decision. Yet not all Buddhist monks had privileged positions or behaved according to *dharma*: they acted in violent ways against each other, were enslaved and mistreated, and one document shows that there was aggression towards a monk by a woman¹⁷¹.

The roles of the witnesses and their relationships with the complainant and accused could also have been a factor in how cases were decided. There may have been some conflict of interest because some witnesses were possibly known to the accused and in friendly ways, which meant that there was the potential to lie on their behalf and bear false witness. Furthermore, many witnesses were influential, and this could have been a way to intimidate the complainant. However, falsely accusing someone of witchcraft was a punishable offence, with fines and corporal punishment. Thus, social and religious 'outsiders' or 'others' may have been

¹⁶⁹ CKD 187. A younger brother beat his elder brother and received lashings in return.

¹⁷⁰ In CKD 46, again addressed to Somjaka, a few reports were made to the king by Lyipeya: that the officials were changing their minds about where a woman originated, and she was to be given to Lyipeya; that the men of another settlement were not performing their duties in the 'hundred' of Konita and Masdhiga, and this was not *dharma* because the previous *dharma* was that it was for the men to do this and not the women; and two daughters were to be handed to Lyipeya.

¹⁷¹ CKD 606. This involves a woman being accused by a monk of burning his robe, but it is not known why. The case has been interpreted as being taken "to the secular authorities, probably because it involved a woman outside the community", and Buddhists could appeal to either the Buddhist law or the king's law, particularly in cases involving lay people. See HANSEN 2004, pp. 294-295.

targeted with accusations for their unorthodox beliefs, but influential ‘insiders’ who were accused may have been subject to hostility because of their status yet treated more leniently by the state. Access to resources and resource distribution may have been a motivation for accusations in some cases, and this could have been related to perceptions of unfair or preferential treatment of individuals. Such treatments would have led to different emotions, including anger, resentment, envy, frustration, and outright hatred, resulting in violence or allegations of unlawful practices. There may also have been malicious intent behind accusations to damage reputations, due to feelings of entitlement to property or because of a breakdown in domestic or community relationships. The social control of women, whereby they had their own *dharma* and were expected to behave in certain ways, may have been another reason for specifically targeting women as witches. Examples from other contexts can help to consider intent, motivations, and the possible gendered component to hostile attitudes.

Ritual and Social ‘Othering’: The Threat to State Power

In the development of states, shared cultural characteristics were important to create a national identity. People who did not conform to cultural ideals were viewed as ‘other’ and could have been discriminated against, isolated, or persecuted¹⁷². Religion and ritual practices were one way to distinguish both within and between communities. For example, Achaemenid Persian inscriptions differentiated between communities of *Sakā* (Scythians) according to their geographical habitation, but one group was identified through its ritual practices as the *Sakā haumavargā*¹⁷³. In South Asia, the edicts of the Mauryan king Aśoka (c. third century BCE) directed people on how they should conduct themselves, and according to *dharma*. This was most likely inspired by the Buddhist *dharma*, but the king used the Greek εὐσεβεία¹⁷⁴ and the Aramaic *qsyt*¹⁷⁵ or *ksty*¹⁷⁶ in his edicts found in Afghanistan and Pakistan¹⁷⁷. Although the king stated he supported all sects, he nonetheless discouraged people from participating in sacrifices, especially animal sacrifices, and ‘useless’ ceremonies that were performed by women¹⁷⁸. These were domestic and life-cycle ceremonies related to sickness, marriage, the birth of a son, or setting out on a journey. Aśoka distinguished between *dharma* acts and other ‘auspicious’ acts connected with women, who were authoritative on domestic and folk customs¹⁷⁹. There were thus restrictions on popular rituals, including those of certain religious groups. The importance of animals as a resource and source of wealth was a given at Caḍota because of the environment,

¹⁷² STRATTON 2007, p. 44.

¹⁷³ See SCHMITT 2003 for etymological discussion.

¹⁷⁴ *Eusebeia* involved acts that invoked good merit, and included duty to the gods, duty to parents, civic duty, and the practice of restraint. See BURKERT, RAFFAN 1987, pp. 273-274. See also MIKALSON 2010, pp. 7, 9. The use of *eusebeia* reflects knowledge of different Greek writings and of the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophical schools. See HARMATTA 1994, p. 396.

¹⁷⁵ STRONG 1994, p. 142.

¹⁷⁶ MANISCALCO 2018, p. 247. This is translated as ‘truth’, referring to the Zoroastrian concept of final judgement when the good and evil deeds of a person are weighed. Additionally, in another Aramaic edict found at Taxila, the Old Iranian word *dāta* was used instead for *dhamma*. See GHOSH 2018, p. 158. It could mean religious or divine law, as mentioned in Zoroastrian texts and some Achaemenid inscriptions; the king’s law, as described by the Achaemenid king Darius I (c. sixth to fifth century BCE) in his inscriptions; or generally civic law. See SCHMITT 1994. The Iranian *hunistavan*, ‘good order, was also used in the Taxila inscription and became the equivalent of *dharmacaranam*, ‘walking in accordance with *dharma*’. See ITO 1976, pp. 63-64, fn. 46.

¹⁷⁷ See KAUR 2022, pp. 429-430 for further discussion.

¹⁷⁸ Aśoka’s Rock Edict IX. See LUBIN 2013, p. 29.

¹⁷⁹ LUBIN 2013, p. 37.

but the many documents referring to animal welfare further support the idea of a Buddhist and South Asian influence on defining *dharma* when considering the concept of *ahiṃsā* (non-violence), although the presence of corporal punishment suggests that this did not extend to criminals. Lyipeya engaged in alternative practices, including animal sacrifices and dream divination, which could have made it easier to target him via the accusation that his women were witches.

In the Biblical Hebrew tradition, certain practices were banned for their association with foreign religions and gods, but this may have been influenced by Hellenistic discourse on magic and women that developed at a time when democracy and citizenship laws were being defined. It was also a time when Persia was thought to be the source of magic and the Persian religion used to define what it meant to be Greek¹⁸⁰. Restrictions on rituals and the development of a state identity as defined against other religions or communities may have been a reason witchcraft was unlawful at Caḍota. The Buddhist *dharma* would have had an influence on ritually lawful and unlawful practices, but the king oversaw the rules and regulations regarding the behaviours of monks to manage dissent within the community. This may have been to protect his own position by ensuring that Buddhist elders, who managed the monastery and had ritual power, were treated with respect so that they did not turn on him. Buddhism thus formed an alternative power to the state and anything that threatened it, such as accusing a monk of witchcraft, could threaten state power. In other contexts, people who accepted foreign customs may have threatened state power because people had gatherings and gatherings could lead to conspiracies¹⁸¹. For example, in the Roman world, a Latin senatorial decree, the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, tried to contain Bacchic rites by limiting the number of people who could gather, and restricting power so that men could not be priests and there could be no masters, nor could they hold money¹⁸². In this way, there was an attempt to contain a foreign and potentially subversive religion from having any meaningful power. South Asian texts also detail how certain religious practitioners could pose a threat to the throne. A Buddhist text narrates that a ‘charlatan renunciant’ (*kuhakatāpaso*), who was favoured by the king, was viewed negatively because he had decided to work as a gardener. The *kuhaka* then tried to have a prince executed¹⁸³.

These threats of ritually powerful people to the state are more evident in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (RT), a twelfth century CE chronicle of Kashmir by Kalhaṇa. Several sections describe how *brāhmaṇas*, who were ritually and socially at the top of the pyramid, engaged in sorcery and used this to harm people. In one narrative, a Brahman woman suspected a Brahman man, who knew sorcery, of killing her husband¹⁸⁴. She shamed the king for allowing her husband to die and went on a hunger strike, thereby showing agency and engaging in political dissent. She suggested indirectly that the reasons to injure someone were a lack of fame and merit, and

¹⁸⁰ STRATTON 2007, pp. 34-37, 40. PRISCO, LYON 2020, p. 8, point out that the King James Version of the Hebrew Bible published “at about the same time as the 1612 Lancashire witchcraft trials replaced the Hebrew words for idolaters, mediums, sorcerers, and ghost whisperers with the English word “witch”. In Hebrew, there was no such word as “witch”. Early Greek and Latin translations of the Hebrew also did not use the word “witch””.

¹⁸¹ DIO CASSIUS 49.43.5, 52.36.1-2. See OGDEN 2002, pp. 280-281, no. 286.

¹⁸² OGDEN 2002, p. 278, no. 282.

¹⁸³ *Somanassacarīya* in the *Cariyāpīṭaka* 22.2. See DAVIDSON 2017, pp. 23-24 for discussion on *kuhaka* and related terms.

¹⁸⁴ RT 4.82-109.

jealousy¹⁸⁵. The suspect was summoned and questioned, and the king asked what could be done if the guilt was not proven. He could not punish him, even if guilty, because he was a Brahman, but the woman threatened to fast until death for justice. The king used a ritual to identify that the man was guilty, sentenced him, but let him live. The king's younger brother then instigated the Brahman to use sorcery to kill the king so that he could take the throne¹⁸⁶. Therefore, women with ritual and social status could accuse men of murder and put pressure on kings by shaming them, yet the ritual and social status of the accused meant that he could be protected from more severe sentencing¹⁸⁷. In the same story, the new king used witchcraft and summoned demons, whilst punishing the Brahmans for using 'spells' to summon the gods. In turn, the Brahmans used sorcery against him and ended his life; he did not go to heaven as his brother had¹⁸⁸. Thus, it was better for a king to have ritually and socially powerful people on his side, but this meant powerful men. The Brahman woman did not receive the justice she wanted.

Although there was a need for the king to serve justice in cases where bad magic was used, and restore social, ritual, and religious order by stopping religious rivalries, heresy, and slander¹⁸⁹, the king could use this power for himself when needed. At Caḍota, this meant that, once Buddhism was more established and came under state control, non-Buddhist religions may have become a source of alternative power that threatened both the king and the monastic community. Monks may have been, like the *brāhmaṇas*, protected from accusations that could have given Buddhism a bad reputation, such as being associated with magic, sorcery, and witchcraft. Taking the example of the *Kaccāñijātaka*, a woman accused of being a witch by her daughter-in-law was described as a *mahāupāsikā* (a great lay Buddhist woman), but also as *dukkhappattam* (in a state of pain or suffering)¹⁹⁰. This highlighted that as a Buddhist she should have been above suspicion. But, because of the false accusation and the treatment and ostracisation she received, she declared that *dharma* was dead. This threatened Buddhism. She then made a sacrificial offering akin to a funerary ritual, complete with ritual bathing and offering of food items to a fire, to the dead *dharma*¹⁹¹. The ritual was not the norm because Śakra-Indra, disguised as a *brāhmaṇa*, informed her that food is not cooked in cemeteries. He then rectified the problem and cleared the woman's name. It may have been that ritual inversions, sacrificial offerings, and esoteric practices came to be viewed as ritually 'other', which could have led to suspicion. However, some practices may not have been viewed as magic in the first instance and only came to be done so after a change of power or the arrival of foreign practices: "*This includes not only rituals performed by people who understand their activities to be a form of magic but also accusations and persecutions that concretize magic in the form of social control*

¹⁸⁵ RT 4.89. The woman also described her husband as a man "*free from envy and arrogance, soft of speech and a lover of virtue; easy of address, free from greed, he was not hated by anyone.*" See RT 4.86-87.

¹⁸⁶ RT 4.93-113.

¹⁸⁷ In Kashmir in the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE, Brahmans were thought to be expert wizards who could not be punished for killing someone. See SALETORRE 1981, p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ RT 4.114-125.

¹⁸⁹ RT 6.1-11. However, OGDEN 2002, p. 276, notes that "*in the Greek world, the state takes measures against only harmful magic, not magic in general*". Magic could also be performed against towns and states in the Roman world. See also OGDEN 2002, pp. 130-135, no. 104; 216-217, no. 179-180.

¹⁹⁰ Ja 417. The English translation by FRANCIS, NEIL 1897 interprets these descriptions as 'good old lady' and 'poor old woman'.

¹⁹¹ The verse reads: "*So one day she took ground sesame and rice and a little pot and a spoon: she went to a cemetery of corpses and kindled a fire under an oven made with three human skulls: then she went down into the water, bathed herself head and all, washed her garment and coming back to her fireplace, she loosened her hair and began to wash the rice.*" Translation by FRANCIS, NEIL 1897.

or repression”¹⁹². Some people deliberately transgressed against ‘traditional’ practices as a form of ‘subversive discourse’, as the Buddhist lay woman did, and therefore magic should be examined as a form of ‘social discourse’¹⁹³.

Distances of places from ‘core’ areas could have contributed to ideas about their affiliation with unorthodox practices. Elite Greek writers in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE may have created the concept of magic as different from religion by associating it with barbarian and foreign practices and rituals, particularly those of the Persians, who they were engaged in war with, and the *magi*, from which the word magic is derived and who had social, political, and ritual power. This discourse came to include ‘dangerous women’, reflecting the misogynistic and xenophobic views circulating at that time¹⁹⁴. The Niya documents show that different settlements and communities came into conflict with each other, and this influenced how people were treated and identified, which could have extended to their ritual practices. Early Roman imperial writers, who argued for the conquest of India, were also the ones to write accounts of witches, connecting distant lands with magic: “*As is evident in globalization models, times of economic and border tensions often result in accusations of otherness*”¹⁹⁵. There were class differences too in who had knowledge of goods so that, while the elite were the primary consumers, merchants and possibly slaves had the cultural knowledge¹⁹⁶. Therefore, social hierarchies could have been reinforced through accusations. Religious ideas and rituals spread along exchange networks and became labelled as ‘other’ once they were detached from their original cultural cosmology¹⁹⁷, to associate them with specific communities or territories. In Persian literature, magicians were linked either to China or Zoroastrianism. Nurses were referred to as sorceresses who could make men impotent, and Indian women became synonymous with sorceresses. Racial tropes were conveyed, such as that black eyes were equated with seduction and the dark skin of Indians and Ethiopians¹⁹⁸. In Latin literature, magic, witchcraft, and poisons were also associated with far-off lands. The Roman ‘periphery’ and areas that the Roman centre traded with, such as India and Meroitic Kush, were thought of as mystical and thus exoticised, leading to a distrust of these regions. This was further compounded when trade relations declined, and ideas were no longer exchanged¹⁹⁹. For example, the use of spices for culinary, religious, or medicinal purposes gave way to magical uses when knowledge was restricted²⁰⁰. The same was true of gemstones that came to be used as magical amulets with engravings and undecipherable scripts²⁰¹. The use of specific herbs and poisons in magic therefore became connected to their origins further afield as a way for them to be deemed more potent and magical²⁰². This then extended to people²⁰³. Apart from ritual othering, having medical knowledge

¹⁹² STRATTON 2007, pp. 11-12.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17-18.

¹⁹⁵ POLLARD 2013, p. 11.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁹⁸ SEYED-GHORAB 1999, pp. 81-84.

¹⁹⁹ POLLARD 2013, pp. 1-2.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁰³ Pliny the Elder provided fantastical descriptions of different tribes amongst the Scythians, Indians and Ethiopians that practiced human sacrifice, cannibalism, had healing or contagious capabilities and powerful gazes, and who could kill cattle, trees, and children. See PLINY *Natural History*, 7.2.

may have been viewed suspiciously because of knowledge of poisons. Strabo, using descriptions by Megasthenes, mentioned that there were physicians amongst the *sarmanes* (*śramaṇa*)²⁰⁴. Although *śramaṇa* could refer to any non-Brahmanical ascetic, they were probably “*Buddhist mendicants, who were reputed for their medical services*”²⁰⁵. And so Budhasena may have fallen under suspicion because of his education and possible knowledge of medicine and by extension poisons. Banishment, deportation, exile, and capital punishment were given in the Roman world if medicines killed someone, as in South Asia, whilst acknowledging there were ‘nonevil drugs’ used for healing or as aphrodisiacs. Certain impious rituals could also lead to the death penalty, but punishments were given according to class²⁰⁶.

Witchcraft was defined against *dharma* as being *adharmā*. Whilst different categories of *dharma* were recognised, the royal law may very well have been defined by South Asian theological and legal treatises, such as the *Dharmasūtra*, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*, and influenced by the epic of the *Mahābhārata*, which deals with *dharma* and kingship and was known at Caḍota. From the perspective of *dharma*, the king fulfilled his duties and ensured others were doing so, but he enforced his view of what *dharma* was and reinforced ritual and societal divisions. Social hierarchies and divisions caused alienation. For example, in one narrative, when a king was afflicted with a disease and confined to a hut in a monastery, his servants plotted to poison him and succeeded in killing him²⁰⁷. Social and kinship relationships are therefore also a factor in accusations of witchcraft and retaliation, and suspicions could ruin these relations²⁰⁸. People with social and ritual power were either punished or used to fulfil ambitions. Furthermore, in reference to an example given by Pliny²⁰⁹, Ogden suggests that “*successful newcomers to communities were particularly likely to attract accusations of magic*” due to envy²¹⁰. Someone like Lyipeya, who was successful and shared this success with the woman who was killed, after which her gifted property was stolen, could have attracted envy and resentment, leading to false accusations. Budhasena, too, had ritual and political status that could have led to resentment from his brother or someone else who implicated him. Accusations reflected the status of the accused, their associations with other religions, their standing in the community, and their relationships with the community. Women were accused and killed to target influential men, but they may also have been accused and punished by the state for being social and ritual outsiders, or because they acquired social, economic, or ritual status within the community. Accusations of witchcraft had a gendered component and acted as a marginalising strategy, which can be considered further.

²⁰⁴ STRABO *Geography*, IV.1.59-60.

²⁰⁵ LUBIN 2013, p. 32.

²⁰⁶ See OGDEN 2002, pp. 279-280, for examples of some laws. Death penalties included throwing to the beasts, crucifixion, execution or burning alive.

²⁰⁷ RT 6.104-106. The narrative continues that the king punished a Brahman for some atrocious acts by branding his head with a dog’s foot. The Brahman’s maternal uncle was a minister and expert in yoga, and he sought revenge on the king (RT 6.108-114). After his death, the king’s mother took the throne because the heir was an infant. However, the minister had the grandmother and other ministers killed and took power for himself (RT 6.115-117). The minister then plotted to kill the boy using sorcery (RT 6.118, 121) but was advised by a spirit not to. Instead, he used military might to acquire the throne (RT 6.122-129).

²⁰⁸ BEHRINGER 2004, pp. 14, 16.

²⁰⁹ PLIN. NAT., 18.41-3.

²¹⁰ OGDEN 2002, p. 278.

Denigrating Women and Emasculating Men: A Consideration of Gender and Status

The connection of women to alternative religions could have threatened state power, which relied on the support of accepted religions²¹¹. This could have led to accusations of witchcraft. There were, however, differences between cultures in the characteristics of witches, but many drew on the trope of seduction²¹² or regarded witchcraft as a female art, although there are societies where men are or have been identified as and expected to be witches: “...therefore those accused and eventually killed were predominantly women”, because women as outsiders marry into families and so suspicion naturally falls on them²¹³. Older women were more frequently targeted²¹⁴, as seen in the example of the Buddhist *Jātaka* cited above, in which the daughter-in-law as a younger, married woman can be contrasted with the older, widowed mother-in-law according to age and marital status. This is reflected in the name of the mother-in-law, Kaccāni (or Kātiyāni), related to the word *kātyāyanī* or *kātyāyanikā*, denoting an elderly or middle-aged widow dressed in red clothes. She was thus expected to live an ascetic or celibate life. Post-funerary practices for widows in Brahmanism required them to sleep on the ground for six months, practice vows and abstain from certain foods in a form of ritual fasting. After this, they bathed and offered funeral oblations²¹⁵, which the widow presumably did when her husband died but also when she declared that *dharma* was dead. The woman had this ritual knowledge and was able to use it in a subversive way to make a statement about her mistreatment. She tried to turn the accusation back onto the daughter-in-law in her declaration to Śakra-Indra, that the barren daughter-in-law won a son after torturing her²¹⁶. It refers both to the widow’s son, who she loses to his wife, and to the grandson born, leading the daughter-in-law to replace her as the mother of a son. The daughter-in-law gained authority over the family in this way when she forced her mother-in-law out. In Buddhism, elders and parents are to be respected, but the daughter-in-law gaslighted the widow, accused her of being a witch, and then blamed her for her childless state. The ill-treatment ironically included behaviours that were associated with witchcraft, such as leaving phlegm, mucus, and grey hairs around the house. It can therefore be questioned how the daughter-in-law knew what to do to reinforce the accusation. Public and community shaming featured whereby the daughter-in-law made her mother-in-law seem ungrateful in front of the neighbours. Thus, where the older woman was accused of witchcraft to gain control over the house, the younger woman was also accused of using deception and violence to acquire the affections of her husband and domestic authority. The story of *Medea* by Euripides further reflects this dichotomy between a woman who fulfils her duties by becoming a wife and then a mother, and a woman scorned who uses poison to murder a rival, kills her brother and two sons, and alienates her father. *Medea* and Kaccāni became without male protection, rendering them vulnerable to mistreatment and accusations. Such domestic rivalries could very well have extended to men too, which may have been the case in the

²¹¹ See, for example, RT 5.230-252, where a king’s widow chose a new lover and eventually took royal authority for herself until she found a suitable king with the support of Tantrins, esoteric practitioners. The story involves sexuality, sorcery, and murder.

²¹² STRATTON 2007, p. 22.

²¹³ BEHRINGER 2004, p. 39.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

²¹⁵ RAY 1999, p. 135.

²¹⁶ Ja 417. The mother-in-law declares: *Suṇisā hi mayham vanjhā ahosi / Sā maṃ vadhitvāna vijāyi puttāṃ / Sā dāni sabbassa kulassa issarā / Ahaṃ pan’ amhi apavidhā ekikā ti* (“My daughter-in-law was barren / Having tortured (slain) me, she wins a son / She is given the rule of the entire clan / I acquired the stake of a neglected single woman (a dead single woman/mother)”).

accusation of witchcraft against Budhasena by his brother or in the use of poison by Budhasena. It was a means to gain control over domestic affairs and property, and to raise status within the community by denouncing others.

Gender tropes were inverted in the tragedy of *Medea*²¹⁷, which has been contrasted with the story of Deianeira²¹⁸, whose very name means ‘man-destroyer’. Deianeira unwittingly and out of love killed her husband, Herakles, with poison²¹⁹: “*The antisocial, barbaric, and subversive power of magic functions in these plays to dramatize the intense disorder and chaos that can result from male mis-actions and female reactions, attesting both to the dependence of women on male decisions and the consequent need for men to exercise good judgment and self-restraint. These plays represent women resorting to magic out of jealousy or competition. Women appear in these depictions to be motivated primarily by sex*”²²⁰. In the Buddhist story, the widow’s son believed the accusations against his mother in the past life account and so was complicit in throwing his mother out of the home, but this was not the case during the lifetime of the Buddha, where he treated his mother with respect. In this way, present *dharma* was contrasted with past *adharma*, and so earlier religions, rituals and social norms were also targeted as being *adharma*. The mis-actions of Lyipeya may also have contributed to the death of the women accused of being witches, whilst simultaneously emasculating him. In Greek tragedy, magic “*was associated with gender transgression—feminizing males and masculinizing females*”²²¹. Men who supported their wives or associated with women who dabbled in witchcraft were implicated and feminised. Stereotypes of women in Greek literature were also strengthened by describing them as having an irrational and hysterical nature, and being enslaved to their emotions and sexual nature, whereas men who practiced magic were portrayed as effeminate barbarians²²². Thus, gender disparities and stereotypes were a key reason for accusations, as seen in the Roman world: women were portrayed as primary magic users in literature but, in reality, men were the main users of magic²²³. The ‘feminising’ of magic was connected to the ‘feminising’ of luxury trade and conversely the ‘effeminacy’ of men who indulged in luxuries²²⁴, although women were accused of excess by Pliny, and some were “*tried on magic-related charges in the tumultuous first century C.E.*”²²⁵.

This ‘Othering discourse’, connected with “*effeminate treachery, subversion, and oriental barbarism*”, led to terms associated with magic practitioners being used as form of insult to describe someone who was deceptive or fraudulent²²⁶. An example of this is a case presented by Demosthenes²²⁷, whereby the accused, a man named Konon, humiliated the male complainant, Ariston, with both physical assault and an act of *hubris*. Ariston prayed to the gods that

²¹⁷ STRATTON 2007, pp. 49-54.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56.

²¹⁹ WALCOT 1984, pp. 42-43.

²²⁰ STRATTON 2007, p. 58.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²²³ POLLARD 2013, p. 12; STRATTON 2007, pp. 24-25. Archaeologically it has been found that in ancient Greece magic was practiced by men and spell books recommended men to be the active, dominant participant. See STRATTON 2007, pp. 79-81.

²²⁴ POLLARD 2013, p. 12.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²²⁶ STRATTON 2007, p. 44.

²²⁷ DEM. 54.

anything he was accused of would return to Konon and his ‘degenerate’ sons, thereby cursing him. He took legal redress instead of retaliating to show himself as truthful and that he was the injured party, but there was an element of public shaming to account for his own humiliation. Ariston suggested that Konon would swear falsely on his children that he had not done anything and accused him of consuming the sacred offerings left for Hecate, the witch goddess, to show that he did not care for sacred things. These accusations of lying and subversive practices were levelled against Konon to emphasise his immoral character. The outcome of the case is not known but, as may have been in the case of Lyipeya and Budhasena, humiliating men with accusations was a way to emasculate them. A false accusation of witchcraft was also a way to plant seeds of doubt about the integrity of the individual²²⁸. These are features of societies where ‘honour’ and ‘shame’ have an impact on status and reputation. In the case of Lyipeya though, “to accuse a woman meant attacking the honour of a family, foremost the head of the household, usually the father”²²⁹. Public shaming meant that accusations were announced publicly rather than asking the ‘witch’ to remove spells in private²³⁰.

In Athenian literature, because magic was associated with female sexual assertiveness and the curtailing of men’s sexual freedom by women, it challenged male honour and masculinity, which was tied up with his female relatives²³¹. As already noted, women were controlled at Caḍota. This female assertiveness and challenge to male honour can be illustrated with the example of the Sanskrit epic of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which the demon-king Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā to avenge his sister, who was humiliated and disfigured by Sītā’s brother-in-law after a failed seduction attempt, and his brothers, who were killed when they sought revenge. Rāvaṇa used shape-shifting and illusions to deceive the protagonists. Later, however, Sītā had to prove her chastity and faithfulness to her husband by undergoing humiliating trials, at the end of which she asserted her own agency. The increasing independence of (elite) Roman women may have led to women being associated with more aggressive magic in Roman literature. Women acquired wealth through inheriting property from their fathers and other male relatives, and they were involved in politics. This was (potentially) threatening to (some) Roman men because this wealth and influence challenged their own statuses and positions²³². A part of discrediting women was to smear their characters by accusing them of crimes, such as using poison, or of being prostitutes and seductresses; men who associated with such women were also targeted for their bad judgement, whereas male relatives were portrayed as weak and effeminate²³³. Thus, property disputes, female agency and threats to state power were again a key motivation for accusations to restrict the independence of women.

²²⁸ An example of false accusations can be seen in a Mesopotamian incantation, *Maqlû* I, translated by ABUSCH 1987. See fn. 240.

²²⁹ BEHRINGER 2004, p. 243.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

²³¹ STRATTON 2007, p. 63.

²³² *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.

²³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-78.

Men who practiced or were accused of witchcraft were not treated in the same way as women, which is evident from the cases from Caḍota. For example, in the late sixteenth century CE demonological treatise of the *Daemonolatria* by Nicolas Remy, the first witchcraft trial described was of Satan threatening a man that he would murder his wife and children. Fear, attached to defending his family, rather than temptation made the man follow the Devil²³⁴: “Crucially, however, his was not a feminized account of male seduction; if anything it was a highly masculine defence strategy, grounded in a gendered emotional regime of honour and protectiveness... Male witches could thus be understood as being both feminized and as performing ‘male’ roles of power and authority”²³⁵. Men could use this power and authority to use women to level false accusations, as seen in the *Mahāpadumajātaka*²³⁶. Heretics (non-Buddhists) used a beautiful Buddhist nun to falsely accuse the Buddha of sexual misconduct and impregnating her. Heresy and sexuality were brought together, and the nun labelled a *kālakaṇṇi*. Her lie was uncovered by the gods, as was her fake pregnancy through physical exposure, and she was publicly reviled. She was spat at and driven from the monastery, after which she fell into the flames of the lowest hell, Avici. Her body was enveloped as if wearing a garment to allude to her immodesty and exposure. The male heretics were no longer supported, and the woman paid the price for their machinations. Although beauty was associated with goodness, here it was used for wickedness. The nun had her toes cut off; feet could identify that a person was a witch. Being spat at was a physical way that the people reinforced their verbal curses against the nun, with saliva being personal but also used in witchcraft. Mob justice occurred here. In the past life section of this story, the element of seduction was brought more into focus²³⁷. Slandering women with false accusations can be seen in another Buddhist story, in which fortune-telling *brāhmaṇas* became stupid after seeing the celestial beauty of a merchant’s daughter. She had them thrown out, so they told the king who had sought her hand that she was a witch. She later took revenge for the rejection²³⁸. The *brāhmaṇas* behaved in an incorrect manner but, rather than admit this, they chose to accuse the woman instead. Similarly, magic in Persian literature was often associated with love and wishing to acquire someone who has bewitched the lover with their beauty, driving them mad with desire; magicians or physicians intervened to remove spells and prescribe a cure. Bewitchers were likened to the *parī*, a transformation of the *pairika* into a more benign ‘fairy’ renowned for their beauty, but nevertheless still carrying the connotations of magic and cruelty. Having become enchanted with her fairy-like beauty, the lover no longer slept or ate and became mad with the desire to possess her, when he in fact had already been possessed by her. The *parī* (woman) may have been fettered in iron to control her²³⁹, and this may have been a way to bind witches at Caḍota. The emphasis on female seduction through bewitchment and false accusations can also be seen in a Mesopotamian incantation²⁴⁰, and even in the story of Medusa²⁴¹, whereby women were mistreated and accused of bewitchment for spurning the attentions of men.

²³⁴ KOUNINE 2016, p. 64.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²³⁶ Ja 472.

²³⁷ In this section, the Buddha was born a prince. His stepmother became fixated on his beauty and told him to lie down with her to enjoy the bliss of love (*kilesaratīya ramissāma*, the desire of pleasure, which is also an impurity of the spirit causing suffering). She then feared he would tell his father what had happened and so falsely accused him. The king punished the prince to death, but he survived. He later learnt the truth and punished the queen. This story has echoes of the story of Kuṇāla, the son of Aśoka, whose stepmother also fell in love with him because of his beautiful eyes. He rejected her advances and she had him blinded. See STRONG 1989.

²³⁸ Ja 527, *Ummādantījātaka*.

The control of women and their emotions, sexuality, and femininity further found its expression in a fifteenth century CE European handbook for judges, the *Malleus maleficarum* (The Hammer of [Female] Witches), written by Heinrich Institoris (or Kramer). Institoris believed women to be more susceptible of witchcraft because of their lascivious nature²⁴²: “*Since deviance is at its core, fantasies of witchcraft are marked by similar attributes: deviant social and sexual behaviour, nudity and shamelessness, greed and intemperance, strange or ugly features, an affinity to darkness, to animals of the night, to unclean beings or objects, contact with spirits and demons, and secret nocturnal gatherings associated with horrible crimes, such as ritual infanticide or cannibalism*”²⁴³. Magic discourse therefore emerged in texts when women transgressed gender roles and threatened social structures, such as through infidelity or marrying outside of the community, to reaffirm social values and ideas of citizenship and parentage²⁴⁴. For example, “*Medea’s use of magic (pharmakois) functions here among many marginalizing strategies, including her barbarian origin, inversion of gender norms, violent emotion, and sexual jealousy. While subverting gender expectations in her quest for glory (kleos) and vengeance, Medea affirms stereotypes of women’s behavior, now linking them with women’s treacherous pharmakeia*”²⁴⁵. A ritually powerful woman in a Greek case was also accused of being a witch because she allegedly prepared poisons and incantations, taught slaves how to deceive, and was impious; she was executed along with her family. Two other women, a prostitute and someone accused of making love potions, were also said to be priestesses practicing an alternate, ‘foreign’ religion, but only the prostitute was acquitted²⁴⁶. It has been suggested that these cases could have been linked to political rivalry between men²⁴⁷, and that accusations of witchcraft and accompanying ‘supernatural violence’, which included the use of poisons and spells, “*tend to be made in situations of social tension, against individuals who have aroused the*

²³⁹ SEYED-GHORAB 1999, pp. 72-78.

²⁴⁰ *Maqlû* I is an invocation to the gods of the night sky to inform them that the reciter had been the victim of witchcraft, but that he himself had been accused of an unknown, yet serious crime by a woman. He felt shamed and despised by the gods and the public, which affected his mental state and physical health: he was no longer able to eat. He then turned on his accuser by accusing her of bewitching him as a witch and being deceitful in her denouncement of him. This was to assert his own innocence. It suggests seduction on the woman’s part, but the fact that she accused him first of something suggests the man perhaps tried to seduce her or outright assaulted her, leading to his own societal disgrace, which he then turned back on to her. Another man may have been involved in the ‘witchcraft’, possibly a relative of the woman. The accused man wished for her mouth and tongue to be destroyed, to silence her from making further accusations or denouncing him again. He took an oath to clear his name because the onus was on him to prove his innocence. The resolution of the conflict took place in two realms, that of magic and that of the law court. The gods acted as judges to deliver justice. See ABUSCH 1987 for translation and discussion.

²⁴¹ See BOWERS 1990 for a discussion on Medusa.

²⁴² HERZIG 2016.

²⁴³ BEHRINGER 2004, p. 2. This can be seen in the character of the enchantress Circe in Homer’s *Odyssey* (Od.), who lived in a forest, used *pharmaka* to bewitch wolves and lions (Od. 10.210-213) and transformed men into swine (Od. 10.233-244). Odysseus was warned by the god Hermes of how Circe operate and received an antidote to take before striking Circe and securing the release of the men. A key act was for him to first secure an oath from Circe before lying down with her (Od. 10.275-301). Thus, drugs related to women, men, power, and sex.

²⁴⁴ STRATTON 2007, pp. 61-64.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²⁴⁶ EIDINOW 2010, pp. 12-16.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

hostility of others, or are simply assumed to feel malice"²⁴⁸. These cases suggest further that female agency was being controlled.

Marginalised communities or people are particularly vulnerable to such accusations, as are people perceived as being different or other, but there is the potential for 'witchcraft' and alternative religions to be a means for them to be included in social and ritual activities. Women had to provide for their families in some way if they lost male support, and this could have been through religious activities or prostitution. Thus women, "*through their ritual activities*", overstepped "*the boundaries of their social status*", potentially becoming prominent and independent members of society who needed to be kept in check. This led to defining what it meant to be a witch and how they should be punished. Furthermore, "*these tensions were exacerbated by ongoing anxieties about, and peculiar sensitivity to, religious innovation and change... Through a social process that started with gossip and, in some cases, ended with an execution, the ideal social order was reaffirmed*"²⁴⁹. The attempt at controlling women is apparent in the Niya documents where they were treated as a commodity, and there were attempts communally to restrict women who asserted social agency or had some financial independence. The law, however, did support women in some cases, but this may not have extended to having ritual agency that could challenge state power. In medieval Kashmir, women were stopped from being religious preceptors and having disciples because of concerns over chastity and dignity, whereas the king's (male) staff had to be educated²⁵⁰. Women in many religions today still fight to be allowed to have ritual leadership. A recent report has highlighted the imprisonment in Xinjiang of Uyghur women, including elderly women and religious leaders, for historical religious 'crimes', such as wearing religious clothing, acquiring or spreading religious knowledge, attending religious gatherings, and owning and studying the Qur'an. This removes the agency of women and their ability to participate in education, oversee life rituals, share cultural traditions, or lead religious activities²⁵¹: "*These actions stem from a governmental approach to Uyghur women which takes their bodies as the property of the state, denies them voice and agency, and subjects them to organized violence in the name of national security and stability*"²⁵². It also leads to a destruction of knowledge²⁵³, be that cultural, religious, ritual, or social. In the Warli tribal (*Adivasi*) community of Maharashtra, India, women have suffered and been targeted as witches (*bhutali*) due to loss of access to forests with their medicinal plants, their limited participation in cultivation practices, and having no land rights. The change in subsistence practices has created gender inequalities in the political and ritual spheres, and women are not allowed to participate in 'magico-religious ceremonies', including conducting ceremonies for household gods or worshipping the protective deity of the village²⁵⁴. Colonial-era legislation means that Warli women are not allowed to own property, and childless widows would be "*accused of being a witch or having a love affair by her relatives, and chased out of the village in order to secure control over the land*"²⁵⁵. Widows who inherit the property of their late husbands, other single women, and women whose husbands have deserted them are also vulnerable to accusations made by male relatives. They can be subject to harassment, molestation, exile,

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-35.

²⁵⁰ RT 6.12-13.

²⁵¹ HARRIS, AYUP 2024; KOSTER 2024; LAU 2024.

²⁵² HARRIS, AYUP 2024, p. 31.

²⁵³ MUNSHI 2001, p. 181.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181.

and fines by their relatives, village chiefs, witch doctors, and even the police. In extreme cases they are beaten or killed, sometimes with their families²⁵⁶. In times of crises, women could be blamed too: women who are socially weak and vulnerable, or quarrelsome, are targeted by ritually powerful men. They are identified as witches in a parade, tortured, and beaten into making a confession. Nobody helps the woman because of fear of being condemned as accomplices. If a woman dies in the process, nobody speaks up to the authorities²⁵⁷. This fear of accusations and punishments via association can be seen in ancient Roman legislation, whereby anybody who used *pharmaka deleteria* (harmful spells or poisons) was to die with his family²⁵⁸. In medieval Europe, most suspicions of witchcraft were never brought to court because of the danger that complainants or witnesses could become more deeply involved in a case, and possibly end up as a suspect or be punished. Thus, self-regulation was a way to detect witchcraft, usually via diviners, oracles²⁵⁹, or, in the case of the Warli, a medicine man who had ritual power. This may be why there are few documents about witchcraft cases from Niya, although preservation is a further issue. The relationship between judges and suspects is another point of consideration: suspects endured “*prolonged imprisonment, intimate physical inspections, psychological stress and torture*”²⁶⁰, and a reason for “*the high proportion of female witches was that accusations of males within the trials were suppressed by male judges, either because they did not meet their expectations, or for political and social reasons*”²⁶¹. This can be inferred in the cases discussed from the Niya documents: women were easier to target because of their perceived social and physical inferiority and men could be targeted via association, but some powerful men escaped judgements because of their influential status. Control of land and resources therefore is often a key reason why people have been accused of being witches, and this could also extend to domestic control of resources. In times of resource scarcity, such as drought or war, as is evident in the Niya documents, conflicts could arise over resource distribution. In Benin and other parts of Africa in the 1970s, witchcraft was connected to suspicions of how people acquired wealth, which led to class struggles, and to the increase in infant mortality and epidemics²⁶². Evidence from Athenian contexts also “*suggests that such accusations occurred within local explanations of misfortune, and reveals the kinds of social dynamics that may have motivated or structured these accusations*”²⁶³. Disputes over property acquisition is evident in the case of a young philosopher who was tried in the Roman Court for using magic to marry an older woman. He was likely accused because the former in-laws of the widow he married wished to keep her property²⁶⁴.

In continental Europe, the British Isles, and the American colonies between c. 1450 and 1750 CE, it has been suggested that 75 to 80% of people tried and executed for witchcraft were women, but this has led to a limited consideration of the remaining 20 to 25% of accused witches who were men. Whilst patriarchy and misogyny may have been the motivation for women being accused, general interpretations of the presence of male witches can be distilled down to that they were related to female suspects or were accused at times of mass panic, or

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

²⁵⁸ OGDEN 2002, pp. 7, 275-299.

²⁵⁹ BEHRINGER 2004, pp. 36-37.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12, 14-15, 28.

²⁶³ EIDINOW 2010, p. 30.

²⁶⁴ SEYED-GHORAB 1999, pp. 71-72; STRATTON 2007, p. 32.

because of heresy and the attitudes towards peripheral areas and certain occupations²⁶⁵. The idea and threat of witches, magicians, sorcerers, wizards and the like changed over time, at least in the European world, and this then dictated how they were to be treated. At a more benign level, they were to be re-educated; more extremely, they were to be executed, particularly when they were deemed a threat to a dominant religion²⁶⁶. Anything could have led to an accusation, but there needed to be evidence to support this. The fact that oaths were used in the Niya documents suggests that people were taken at their word if there was no physical evidence and that there was a belief in the power of a higher entity to punish people for lying under oath (or that, if they were found to lie under oath, officials could punish them). This can be compared to ancient Greek curse tablets, in which people accused of crimes could deny them and request for themselves to be cursed if they had committed any crimes, and for people who believed themselves to be victims to curse their perpetrators²⁶⁷. These curse texts could then become sources of gossip, leading to further ostracisation of people accused of witchcraft, which in turn could have been rooted in envy²⁶⁸: “*Envy is, first of all, a popular explanation for attacks of witchcraft, deemed to be the cause of the majority of misfortunes and generally thought to be brought on people by their obvious success*”²⁶⁹. The clampdown on witchcraft at Caḍota may also have reflected ideas like those of Plato, that magical rituals could cause psychological harm to people who believed in their power²⁷⁰. People who believe in witchcraft in the modern period are suggested to be affected by anxiety and related psychosomatic problems²⁷¹: “*While curses or the evil eye might lead to a witchcraft victim’s sickness, the emotions of accusers and magistrates indubitably have led to the deaths of thousands of alleged witches*”²⁷². There is also the possibility that people were suffering from illnesses, including mental illnesses, that they then attributed to having been cursed or being the victim of witchcraft. For example, Libanius, the chair of rhetoric in fourth century CE Antioch, was both accused of witchcraft by rivals and himself became a victim psychologically, where he could not speak, read, or write for days in front of his students, and wished to die²⁷³. Thus, emotional aspects of witchcraft accusations are also important to consider: “*witches were identified by their negative emotions, but these negative emotions were themselves inspired by suspicions or allegations of witchcraft... Witch trials themselves unfold as dramas of emotional expression and repression, wherein the ‘unbridled passions’ on view belong to accusers, witnesses, and officers of the court... Witches were either all too emotionally human or inhumanly cool under pressure, and were damned either way*”²⁷⁴.

²⁶⁵ APPS, GOW 2003, pp. 25-29, 33-34.

²⁶⁶ BEHRINGER 2004, pp. 4-5.

²⁶⁷ EIDINOW 2010, pp. 19-22.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-27.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁷⁰ STRATTON 2007, p. 43.

²⁷¹ BEHRINGER 2004, p. 7.

²⁷² OSTLING, KOUNINE 2016, p. 3.

²⁷³ EIDINOW 2010, pp. 28-29. This can also be seen in the case of the accuser/accused in *Maqlū* I. See fn. 240.

²⁷⁴ OSTLING, KOUNINE 2016, pp. 2-3.

8. *Conclusion*

The Tarim Basin in the early first millennium CE was culturally diverse, with different languages, religions, and people. The establishment of oases settlements led to the demarcation of territorial boundaries and distinguishing between different communities. The Niya documents show that life in one settlement, Caḍota, was highly regulated, with control over land and resources through a taxation system, and over people through a legal system that investigated complaints about criminal activities that threatened to disrupt civil harmony. Witchcraft was one activity deemed to be unlawful and was likely defined according to the Avestan and Buddhist religions. Socio-cultural and ritual outsiders were identified as witches based on their geographic origins and the religions that they followed. Although men or women could be witches or sorcerers, literature from many parts of the ancient world associated magic and witchcraft mainly with women, with the key tropes of seduction, (in)fertility, poisons, and murder. At Caḍota, only women were labelled as witches, who required restraining and punishing according to the law, and only women were killed for being witches, but both men and women could be accused of witchcraft. It is not known how witches were identified and which practices constituted witchcraft, although poison was perhaps one tool associated with witchcraft. Execution may not have been a punishment for being a witch and therefore the killing of women, as found in the documents, may not have been state sanctioned because the law required proof of someone being a witch. Thus, alleged witches may have been murdered by community members, which was then overlooked by the local official, or instigated by the official through misuse of power, due to personal animosities against the main complainant. The murders thereby became tantamount to extrajudicial killings. Women may have been falsely accused to target and humiliate men, especially socially, politically, and economically influential men, because they represented male or household honour and were physically and socially more vulnerable. Women as a resource for marriage, children, and labour meant that they required controlling. Owning property and having social and ritual agency threatened social and gender hierarchies, which in turn could threaten state power. To accuse a woman of being a witch implied she had a certain type of character: different parts of the ancient world associated witches with seduction, deception, poisons, slander, and murder. Thus, there may have been attempts to restrict the social and ritual activities of women to ensure they were less independent. Falsely accusing someone of witchcraft or killing someone for being a witch led to punishments, including compensation, fines, and future threats of punishments for raising complaints again. Accusations against one person meant their household, friends and other associates also came under suspicion. Thus, shame and humiliation were key motivators for accusations. Oaths and witnesses were required to deny accusations and be exonerated, thereby restoring reputation.

Witches and witchcraft may have been associated with ‘other’ peoples and religions. People who engaged in certain practices, such as animal sacrifices, or who had knowledge of rituals, medicines, and poisons, such as Buddhist monks, could have come under suspicion. Some Buddhist monks had religious, social, or political status and influence at Caḍota; accusing a monk meant that Buddhism itself came under scrutiny, which also threatened state power and social harmony. Envy over status could have led to hostility against relatives and community members, especially when there was preferential treatment by officials or the king who provided people with property and resources. Personal problems between the complainants and the accused may well have led to accusations; some perhaps stemmed from past transgressions as a form of revenge or justice, and others may well have been ‘true’ accusations, especially when poison was involved. The men accused of witchcraft or associated with witches were not exactly ‘good citizens’. They benefitted from the king’s favour and escaped justice in other cases where they were accused of wrongdoings. Thus, an accusation need not have been false because

the characters of the men were questionable, but a false accusation served to show that these people did wrong things to shame them publicly. Reading between the lines, the accusations in the Niya cases discussed do appear to have been motivated by personal hostility against the men and most likely over property disputes, resource allocation, status, and influence. Corruption was also a reason why people were targeted and cases were mishandled. People associated with the accused also fell under suspicion or were targeted with accusations, thereby damaging the reputations of all involved.

Targeting women was a way in which men could be humiliated to be shown as weak and incapable of defending their household and their women. The punishment of future castration in the case involving poison directly inflicted damage on masculinity and manhood to emasculate men who challenged the king, his decisions, and those who he favoured. Community support from other influential people as witnesses meant that either people could escape accusations of witchcraft or have them stick. Consequently, witchcraft can be thought of as “*the anti-social crime par excellence*”²⁷⁵, but bad behaviour, false accusations, targeting women, and having justice denied were what was truly anti-social at Caḍota. “*In the ancient world accusations of magic could carry the death penalty or, at the very least, marginalize the person or group they targeted. Accusations, however, always arise from somewhere: they draw on and reinscribe fears of the Other, ideals about the Self, and conceptions of antisocial behavior*”²⁷⁶. Such accusations continue in the present day, as highlighted by the issues affecting the Warli, and in other forms of ‘witch-hunts’ against minority communities viewed as cultural outsiders, as in the case of the Uyghur in China and others across the world who have been deemed to be a threat by the state to law and order, social hierarchies, majority religions, belief systems, or political ideologies. A report prepared for a UN workshop summarises that witchcraft accusations could be rooted in needing to ascribe blame for or rationalise misfortunes, with middlemen and women, faith leaders and witch doctors facilitating in who to blame, carrying out abusive treatments to ‘cure’ people, mutilating or killing vulnerable people for ‘medicine’ or, in rare cases, offering human sacrifices for people to receive good fortune. A key motivator to peddle fears of witchcraft is to acquire money, property, and possessions. Women, children, the elderly and disabled people are most at risk for accusations, abuse, and killing²⁷⁷. Thus, gender is very much at the heart of witchcraft accusations, but is entwined with status, power, and influence. At Caḍota, powerful men and their families were targeted with accusations but had cases go in their favour, whereas vulnerable women were killed before it could be determined that they were indeed witches. Their male guardians had to get justice on their behalf, but arguably these men were seeking justice and compensation for themselves. It was less important to clear an accused woman’s name to restore her honour, and more important to deny the accusation to restore the loss of property, both material and in the person of the woman. To be a witch was a grave offence, but to be a woman meant that such accusations could be levelled in the first place.

²⁷⁵ BEHRINGER 2004, p. 2.

²⁷⁶ STRATTON 2007, p. ix.

²⁷⁷ FOXCROFT 2017.

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ABSTRACT

The Niya documents from the Tarim Basin include correspondence from a king to his officials to investigate complaints made by two men about the killing of women for being witches and theft of her property, and an allegation against a Buddhist monk and his household for using witchcraft and poison against the monk's younger brother. To be a witch and to practice witchcraft was unlawful and a punishable offence, but false accusations required compensation for the aggrieved party, with the threat of future punishments as a deterrent for raising complaints again. But it is not immediately clear why people were accused in the first place. How were witches identified? Which practices constituted witchcraft? Why did people make false accusations, kill women, or use 'witchcraft' against others? This article examines four documents that summarise the complaints made by the different men. It defines and contextualises the key vocabulary used to describe witches, witchcraft, and poison. Other documents are investigated that possibly name some of the complainants, the accused, and other people mentioned in the cases to understand their characters and why they may have attracted accusations or been targeted by members of the community. The article then explores texts, literature, legal cases, and studies from other parts of the ancient and modern world to suggest reasons for accusing people of being witches or using witchcraft, targeting people via association with accused witches, and why people may have used practices associated with witchcraft, such as poison, against other people. It further explores if accusations could be connected to gender and why. The cases suggest that ritual and social othering, envy, status, personal rivalries, domestic and community conflicts, and conflict over resources were some of the possible reasons for accusations. Shaming and emasculating influential men through false accusations and targeting women under their guardianship suggests that gender was an important factor in accusations. Likewise, attempts to restrict women socially, economically, and ritually could have been a key reason why only women were accused of being witches and subject to punishment, whereas men accused of using witchcraft escaped punishment due to their status. Corruption and abuse of power were behind some accusations and delayed justice.

KEYWORDS

1. Niya Documents
2. Tarim Basin
3. Witches and witchcraft
4. Legal cases
5. Gender

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