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DU DANUBE À L'ORIENT ET DE RETOUR. LES CAS DES SOLDATS PROVENANT DU MILIEU RURAL DE MÉSIE INFÉRIEURE (OU DE THRACE) RECRUTÉS POUR LES ARMÉES DE SYRIE (ET SYRIE-PALESTINE)

Lucreţiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba[*]

Abstract. *The author presents the epigraphic file of soldiers recruited from the rural areas of Moesia Inferior (or Thrace) in the units which stayed in Syria (and Syria-Palaestina). He connects the moments of enlistment with historical events, explaining also the reasons for their home return. The possibility that some soldiers could originate from Thrace is due to the fact that the finding spots are unknown, but the soldiers are bearing Thracian or Dacian names.*

Keywords: *Moesia Inferior, Thracia, rural areas, Syria, Roman army.*

INTRODUCTION

J'ai déjà abordé le problème des militaires recrutés du milieu rural de Mésie Inférieure à deux reprises: 1. lorsque nous avons mentionné quatre militaires originaires des villages situés dans les territoires de Nicopolis ad Istrum et de Novae rentrant chez eux après la fin de leur service; 2. en effectuant une étude préliminaire sur ce problème, sans entrer toutefois dans les détails ni discuter toutes les sources disponibles[1]. Les soldats sont certainement plus nombreux. J'ai expliqué qu'une des raisons pour laquelle nous n'avons abordé ce problème qu'à travers les vétérans était due à

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[1] Lucreţiu MIHAILESCU BÎRLIBA, Violeta-Maria RĂILEANU, *Les territoires ruraux comme source de recrutement pour la flotte. Le cas de Nicopolis ad Istrum (Mésie Inférieure) et une nouvelle hypothèse à propos de la politique de recrutement sous Septime Sévère*, dans «Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne», 40/2, 2014, pp. 193-205; Lucreţiu MIHAILESCU BÎRLIBA, *Soldats du milieu rural de la Mésie Inférieure recrutés dans l'armée romaine*, dans *Limes, Economy and Society in the Lower Danubian Provinces*, Lucreţiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba (éd.), Peeters, Leuven, 2019, pp. 19-30.

l'incertitude concernant le lieu de provenance des diplômes militaires, sources principales de cette question. Bien que ces diplômes aient fort probablement été trouvés sur le territoire des anciennes provinces de Mésie Inférieure et de Thrace, il est encore difficile de faire une distinction nette. Les bénéficiaires sont des Thraces et des Daces. Si en ce qui concerne les Daces, on peut acquérir une certaine certitude quant à leur provenance de Mésie Inférieure – même si, après 102, la Dacie ne peut pas être exclue – il n'en va pas de même pour les Thraces sauf dans les cas où est mentionné leur habitat d'origine. Même la dénomination des *Bessi*, qui ont habité surtout la Mésie Inférieure à partir de la fin du I^er^ siècle, ne peut pas constituer un indicateur pour la province, car une partie des *Bessi* a continué de résider en Thrace. Pourtant, la liste des soldats d'origines thrace et dace est immense. Les Daces du sud du Danube ont constitué une ressource importante pour le recrutement même après les guerres daciques, comme l'ont montré D. Dana et F. Matei-Popescu[2]. Bien que dans la plupart des diplômes le lieu d'origine ne soit pas mentionné, il est permis de supposer leur provenance rurale car c'est là où sont mentionnés les indigènes. Je considère comme certaine l'origine villageoise des soldats dès que les inscriptions le mentionnent – s'il s'agit d'un *vicus*, d'un *pagus* ou d'une *regio* – et que les situations où les inscriptions sont traçables sur le territoire de la Mésie Inférieure. Mais la possibilité que les soldats mentionnés dans les diplômes dont le lieu de découverte n'est pas connu rentrent chez eux après la fin de leur service ne doit pas être exclue. Je vais examiner quelques textes qui attestant des soldats originaires de Mésie Inférieure ou de Thrace qui sont recrutés dans les armées de Syrie: je suivrai les raisons de leur recrutement et j'analyserai aspects de leur mobilité.

ÉVIDENCE DES SOURCES

Un premier document a été trouvé dans le territoire de Durostorum: c'est un diplôme militaire de Sarsânlar en Bulgarie, à 45 km sud-ouest de Silistra, datant du 18 juin 54[3]. Il s'agit d'un soldat, Romaesta, fils de Rescens, *eques* de l'*ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana* qui stationnait en Syrie[4]. Le vétéran est originaire du village de Spiurus, à l'est de la future cité de Nicopolis ad Istrum[5]. Il est resté dans cette même zone où il a probablement acquis une

[2] Dan DANA, Florian MATEI-POPESCU, *Soldats d'origine dace dans les diplômes militaires*, dans «Chiron», 39, 2009, p.238.

[3] CIL XVI 3; ISM IV, 1. Voir aussi Florian MATEI-POPESCU, *The Roman Military Diploma Discovered at Atmageaua Tătărască – Sarsânlar (Zafirovo, Bulgaria)*, dans «Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica», 22, 1, 2016, pp. 137-148.

[4] Voir plus récemment Florian MATEI-POPESCU, *The Roman Military Diploma* cit., p. 144, avec bibliographie.

[5] Voir ISM IV, 1, *sub numero*, avec la bibliographie. Sur la mention de Spiurus en tant que l'*origo* du soldat, voir surtout Dan DANA, *Les Thraces dans les diplômes*

propriété. Le soldat a été recruté sous Tibère. Il faut aussi remarquer que quatre témoins sont aussi d'origine thrace (*Bessi*) mais il est difficile de dire s'ils sont originaires de Mésie ou des régions situées en son sud. Il s'agit de Sex. Magius Rufus (*nauarchus*), C. Cassius Longinus, L. Numerius Lupus tous trois tribuns, et de L. Valerius Volsenus, vétéran de la flotte. Tous ont été militaires d'une flotte impériale, probablement celle de Misène. Un C. Cassius Longinus apparaît comme témoin dans une *constitutio* de 70, en tant que vétéran[6]. Une même identité entre les personnages n'est pas exclue[7] mais il faut demeurer prudent à ce propos.

Un diplôme de 88 pour les *auxilia* de Syrie note un Gorius Stibi f., *Dacus*, soldat de la *cohors Musulamiorum*[8]. La cohorte a fait partie de l'armée de Syrie puis de celles de la Lycie et de Pamphilie[9]. Le texte a été trouvé dans le territoire de Nicopolis ad Istrum; c'est pourquoi nous pensons que le soldat est retourné dans son village d'origine. Le soldat a été recruté environ de 62 à 63, probablement lors de la campagne de Gn. Domitius Corbulo en Orient[10]. Trois copies d'une *constitutio* accordée en 88 pour les *auxilia Syriae* mentionnent trois soldats d'origine thrace ayant servi dans l'*ala praetoria singularium*: Gisusetes Heptasae f.[11] (**Fig. 2.2**), Bithus Soi[--]ae f.[12] plus un anonyme qui porte l'ethnonyme de *Thrax*[13]. Il y a eu au moins deux *alae praetoriae*, celle mentionnée ci-dessus portant seule le nom de *singularium*[14]. Elle a été fondée probablement par Vespasien. Après avoir stationné en Syrie jusqu'en 91 ou peu après, elle a été transferée en Mésie Supérieure[15].

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militaires. Onomastique et statut des personnes, dans *Thrakika Zetemata 2. Aspects of the Roman Province of Thrace*, Maria-Gabriella Parissak (éd.), De Boccard, Athènes, 2013, p. 252, Florian MATEI-POPESCU, *The Roman Military Diploma* cit., p. 142.

[6] RMD IV, 203.

[7] Regula FREI-STOLBA, *Les témoins dans les premiers diplômes militaires: reflet de la pratique d'information administrative à Rome*, dans «Electrum», 5, 2001, pp. 87-109, 99.

[8] AE 1939, 126.

[9] CIL XVI 35; RMD III, 151; IV, 214 etc.

[10] Peter WEIß, *Die Auxilien des syrischen Heeres von Domitian bis Antoninus Pius. Eine Zwischenbilanz nech den neuen Militärdiplome*, dans «Chiron», 38, 2006, pp. 257-261, 285.

[11] RMD V, 329.

[12] RMD V, 330.

[13] RMD V, 331.

[14] L'autre est attestée en Pannonie, sous le nom d'*ala praetoria c. R.* (CIL XVI, 31) transférée de Germanie (CIL XIII 8310).

[15] Voir John SPAUL, *Ala²*. *The Auxiliary Cavalry Units of the Pre-Diocletianic Imperial Roman Army*, Nectoreca Press, Andover. 1994, pp. 187-188, Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Traians Heer in Partherkrieg. Zu einem neuen Diplom aus dem Jahr 115*, dans «Chiron», 35, 2005, pp. 56-58; IIDEM, *Syria unter Domitian und*

Un diplôme militaire trouvé probablement en Roumanie ou en Bulgarie, mentionne Cardentes, fils de Biticenthus, originaire de Disdiu-[16]. Le personnage fait partie de l'*ala ueterana Gallica*, stationnée en Syrie au moment de l'émission du diplôme le 12 mai 91. De la même unité est libéré le même jour Bruzenus, fils de Delsasi, d'ethnie thrace[17]. En ce qui concerne Cardentes, ce nom apparaît aussi dans l'épigraphie de la Mésie Inférieure, toujours en milieu thrace. Il s'agit de Zia, fille de Carcenius, fils de Cardentes, évoquée dans une épitaphe à Karaisen dans le territoire rural de Novae[18]. Selon le lieu supposé de la découverte, Cardentes semble retourner dans son village d'origine. On ne sait pas si ce village se trouve en Mésie Inférieure ou en Thrace mais la première variante nous semble plus probable. La première mention de l'aile en Syrie est de 54[19]. L'unité est attestée dans cette province et en Egypte[20]. Le soldat a été recruté environ en 66 lors du début de la guerre de Judée.

Une autre copie de la même *constitutio* a été trouvée à Gradište au nord-ouest de Shumen en Bulgarie et a été accordée à Seuthes, soldat de l'*ala ueterana Gallica*, originaire d'un village nommé Scaeno ?[---][21].

Un anonyme, fils d'un certain Genimolus, thrace d'origine, est mentionné dans le diplôme de 91 accordé par Domitien aux *auxilia* de Syrie[22]. Ce diplôme consiste en la copie d'une série de documents de libération pour d'autres soldats, recrutés probablement en 66 lors du début de la guerre de Judée[23]. La cohorte était la *III Thracum Syriaca*. Cette unité a stationné en Syrie[24]. Le lieu de découverte étant inconnu, on peut supposer comme étant son milieu d'origine celui rural de Mésie Inférieure étant donné son

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Hadrian. Neue Diplome für die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz, dans «Chiron», 36, 2006, pp. 219-221; Peter WEIß, *Die Auxilien* cit., pp. 262-264 et surtout Florian MATEI-POPESCU, Ovidiu ŢENTEA, *Auxilia Moesiae Superioris*, Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2018, pp. 27-28.

[16] Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Trajans Heer* cit., pp. 215-218.

[17] *Ibidem*, pp. 205-214.

[18] ILB 349.

[19] CIL XVI 3.

[20] CIL XVI, 35, 184; RMD I, 5; III, 185; Werner ECK, *Septimius Severus und die Soldaten. Das Problem der Soldatenehe und ein neues Auxiliardiplom*, *In omni historia curiosus. Studien zur Geschichte von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, B. Onken, D. Rohde (éds.), Harrassowitz,Wiesbaden, 2011, 63-77. Voir aussi John SPAUL, *op. cit.* (voir note 15), pp. 126-129.

[21] RMD I, 5. Voir aussi Agnieszka TOMAS, *Inter Moesos et Thraces. The Rural Hinterland of Novae in Lower Moesia (1st – 6th Centuries AD)*, Archaeopress, Oxford, 2016, p. 171.

[22] RMD IV, 214.

[23] RMD I, 5; Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Ala²* cit., pp. 206-214; 218 sqq.

[24] CIL XVI 35; RGZM 6 etc.

appartenance ethnique. Une copie de ce document comporte un anonyme d'origine thrace, fils de Mocazenus, militaire de la *cohors I Thracum milliaria*[25]. La cohorte campe en Syrie puis en Syrie-Palestine et en Arabie[26]. En Syrie, elle est mentionnée à partir de 88[27]. Le lieu de découverte étant inconnu, il est donc possible que notre soldat provienne de la Mésie Inférieure. Il semble qu'en 66 il y ait eu plusieurs recrutements dans l'expédition judéenne des provinces habitées par les Thraces.

Un militaire de l'*ala II Pannoniorum* stationnée en Mésie Supérieure, Ciagitsa Sitae, *Bessus*, est libéré en 101[28]. Si le lieu de découverte n'est pas indiqué, nous ne pouvons pas exclure la Mésie Inférieure (ou la province de Thrace) comme *origo*. L'aile a stationné en Syrie[29] puis en Mésie Supérieure peu avant 93[30]. Elle a participé aux guerres daciques et ensuite été transférée en Dacie[31]. Le militaire a été recruté en 75-76.

Un anonyme de l'*ala Antiana Gallorum Thracum*, fils d'un certain Decebalus, reçoit la *honesta missio* en 151-154 par une *constitutio* accordée aux troupes de Syrie-Palestine[32]. Le soldat a été recruté en 126-129 après que les soldats daces du sud du Danube ont été libérés en 101-102. Comme le lieu de découverte n'est pas connu, il est ainsi possible que ce militaire soit originaire de Mésie Inférieure.

Un autre soldat d'origine thrace, venu probablement du milieu rural d'une province danubienne, Mésie Inférieure ou Thrace, est un anonyme, fils d'un

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[25] Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Syria* cit., pp. 219-221.

[26] Voir John SPAUL, *Cohors*^{2}*. The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry Units of the Imperial Roman Army*, BAR Archaeopress Oxford, 2000, pp. 353-354, 359-360, avec la bibliographie.

[27] CIL XVI 35; RMD I, 4.

[28] Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Moesia und seine Truppen. Neue Diplome für Moesia und Moesia Superior*, dans «Chiron», 38, 2008, pp. 329-330.

[29] CIL XVI 35.

[30] CIL XVI 39, 46, 54; RMD III, 143; V, 335 etc. Voir aussi Florian MATEI-POPESCU, Ovidiu ȚENTEA, *Auxilia Moesiae Superioris* cit., pp. 24-27.

[31] CIL XVI 163; RMD I, 21-22; III, 148; IV, 226, 233 etc. Voir aussi Radu ARDEVAN, *The Ala II Pannoniorum in Dacia*, dans «Apulum» 44, 2007, pp. 139-155; Idem, *Die kulturelle Entwicklung in zwei Militärsiedlungen Norddakiens, Gherla und Ilișua. Ein vergleichender Überblick*, dans *Pax Romana. Kulturaustausch und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen in den Donauprovinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs. Akten der Tagung in Varna und Tulcea 1.–7. September 2008*. D. Boteva-Boyanova, L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, O. Bounegru (éds.), Parthenon, Kaiserslautern, 2012, pp. 23-32.

[32] Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Eine Konstitution für das Heer von Syria Palaestina aus der Mitte der antoninischen Herrschaftszeit mit einem Auxiliarpräfekten Cn. Domitius Corbulo*, dans «Scripta Classica Israelica», 35, 2016, pp. 85-95.

Bithus ou d'un Seuthes ayant fait son service dans l'*ala VII Phrygum* (**Fig. 2.7**)[33]. La *constitutio* est promulguée par Antonin en 157-158 pour les troupes de Syrie-Palestine. Il s'agit sans doute des soldats recrutés à l'occasion de la guerre contre Bar-Kochba. De la même aile, un texte de 158 atteste Aulutralis Rebocenthi f., recruté probablement au sein du milieu rural du sud du Danube[34]. Une autre copie, indiquant un soldat de la même aile, mentionne un anonyme dont le patronyme est thrace: Densela[35]. L'aile a fait partie de l'armée de Syrie, puis de celle de la Syrie-Palestine[36]. Enfin, un dernier texte atteste Bringa Basusei f., *Thrax*, libéré en même temps de l'aile ci-dessus[37].

DISCUSSION

La situation des militaires recrutés du milieu rural de Mésie Inférieure ou de Thrace pour les arméees de la Syrie (et puis de la Syrie-Palestine) est présenté d'une manière synthétique dans le tableau ci-dessous.

Nom du militaire	Unité	Datation du texte	Source
Romaesta Rescentis f.	*ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana*	54	ISM IV, 1
Gorius Stibi f., *Dacus*	*cohors Musulamiorum*	88	AE 1939, 126
Gisusetes Heptasae f.	*ala praetoria singularium*	88	RMD V, 329
Bithus Soi[---]ae f.	*ala praetoria singularium*	88	RMD V, 330
Ignotus, Thrax	*ala praetoria singularium*	88	RMD V, 331

[33] RMD V, 421.

[34] Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Eine Konstitution fuer die Hilfstruppen von Syria Palaestina vom 6. Februar 158 n. Chr.*, dans «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik», 159, 2007, pp. 283-290.

[35] AE 2006, 1835.

[36] RMD I, 3; V, 329-331; CIL XVI 97, 103; RMD III, 160. Voir aussi John SPAUL, *op. cit.* (voir note 15), pp. 183-184; David KENNEDY, *Ala Phrygum and Ala VII Phrygum*, dans «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik», 118, 1997, pp. 300-304; Julian BENNETT, *The Regular Roman Auxiliary Regiments Formed from the Provinces of Asia Minor,* dans «Anatolica», 37, 2011, pp. 259-261.

[37] Nikolay SHARANKOV, *Three Roman Documents on Bronze*, dans «Archaeologia Bulgarica», 13 (2), 2009, pp. 53-57.

Cardentes Bithicenti f.	*ala veterana Gallica*	91	Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Syria* cit., pp. 215-218
Bruzenus Delsasi f.	*ala veterana Gallica*	91	Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Syria* cit., pp. 205-214
Seuthes	*ala veterana Gallica*	91	RMD I, 5
[---] Genimoli f.	*cohors III Thracum Syriaca*	91	RMD IV, 214
[---] Mocazeni f.	*cohors I Thracum milliaria*	91	Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Syria* cit., pp. 219-221
Ciagitsa Sitae f, *Bessus*	*ala II Pannoniorum*	101	RMD I, 4
[---] Decebali f.	*ala Antiana Gallorum Thracum*	151-54	ECK, PANGERL, *Eine Konstitution für das Heer* cit., pp. 85-95
[---] Bithi f.	*ala VII Phrygum*	157-158	RMD V, 421
Aulutralis Reboncenthi f.	*ala VII Phrygum*	158	ECK, PANGERL, *Eine Konstitution für die Hilfstruppen* cit., pp. 283-290
[---] Denselae f.	*ala VII Phrygum*	158	AE 2006, 1835
Bringa Basusei f., *Thrax*	*ala VII Phrygum*	158	N. SHARANKOV, *Three Roman Documents* cit., pp. 53-57

Tableau no 1

On remarque que les 15 militaires ont fait leur service dans cinq ailes et cinq cohortes. Trois ailes ont fourni plusieurs copies en tant que documents de liberation (*ala praetoria singularium* – 3 cas, *ala veterana Gallica* – 2 cas,

ala VII Phrygum – 4 cas). Plus d'une moitié des sources date du temps de Domitien, mais un diplôme a été trouvé en trois copies et l'autre en quatre copies. De la période d'Antonin proviennent quatre diplômes. Les moments de recrutement sont synthétisés dans le tableau suivant.

Moment de recrutement	Nombre de diplômes militaires
63	4
66	4
76	1
126-129	1
132-135	4

Tableau no 2

Les moments de recrutement ont certainement une explication historique, comme je l'ai déjà mentionné. Sous Domitien, les *constitutiones* promulguées de 88 à 91 renvoyent aux recrutements faits pour l'armée de Syrie dans le contexte de l'expédition en Arménie et du conflit avec les Parthes de 62-66[38].

En 76, il y a eu probablement lieu un recrutement régulier, tout à fait comme en 126-129. Ce moment, identifié aussi par Dan Dana et Florian Matei-Popescu chez les Daces[39], est noté dans par eux les années 126-128. Cette période doit être mise en relation avec la libération des soldats recrutés en 101-102. Dan Dana et Florian Matei-Popescu estiment que dans le cas des Daces, les recrutements semblent "avoir affecté plutôt le sud du Danube car, pour le moment, on ignore la situation dans la province de Dacie"[40]. Le moment suivant est constitué des recrutements au cours des années 132-135 lors de la guerre d'Hadrien contre Bar-Kochba. Les historiens sont pour la plupart d'accord que cette révolte a coûté aux Romains des pertes importantes: ainsi, des recrutements massifs eurent lieu en 132-133, les provinces du Bas-Danube n'en faisant pas exception. Ces recrutements sont patents à l'étude

[38] Voir surtout Frederik J. VERVAET, *Tacitus, Domitius Corbulo and Traianus' Bellum Parthicum*, dans « L'Antiquité Classique», 68, 1999, pp. 289-297; IDEM, *CIL IX 3426: A New Light on Corbulo's Career, with Special Reference to his Official Mandate in the East, from AD 55 to AD 63*, dans «Latomus», 58, 1999, pp. 574-599; IDEM, *Domitius Corbulo and the Rise of the Flavian Dynasty*, dans «Historia», 52, 2003, pp. 436-464; plus récemment Leonardo GREGORATTI, *Corbulo versus Vologases: A Game of Chess for Armenia*, dans «Electrum», 24, 2017, pp. 107-121. Voir aussi Peter WEIß, *Die Auxilien* cit., pp. 257-261.

[39] Dan DANA, Florian MATEI-POPESCU, *Soldats d'origine dace* cit., p. 238.

[40] IBIDEM, p. 238.

des diplômes ci-dessus évoqués; un papyrus indique le transfert des militaires de la flotte de Misène dans la *legio X Fretensis* sous Hadrien, évidemment dans le but de combattre contre les Juifs[41]. De plus, des sous-unités des légions *V Macedonica*[42] et *XI Claudia*[43] ont participé à cette guerre. Par conséquent, la révolte de Bar- Kochba a obligé directement ou indirectement à des recrutements massifs dans le milieu rural de la Mésie Inférieure pour les unités auxiliaires et les flottes prétoriennes.

En ce qui concerne la mobilité des soldats, j'ai calculé les distances parcourues en utilisant les données fournies par l'application ORBIS[44]. L'application permet la simulation de différentes mobilités dans l'Antiquité environ 200 ap. J.-C. entre 632 cités, au long de voies terrestres, des routes fluviales et maritimes dans la Méditerranée, la Mer Noire et les zones côtières de l'Atlantique. ORBIS tient compte des variations de saison et de la multitude de moyens et les possibilités de transport. Les routes obtenues représentent les itinéraires les plus rapides de Mésie Inférieure vers la Syrie. La simulation n'est pas destinée de refléter l'expérience d'un certain voyageur, mais essaye d'exprimer une moyenne des résultats obtenus par des statistiques. Les inconvénients principaux consistent en la chronologie (la datation du Ier ou du IIe siècles manque) en l'absence de beaucoup de lieu de découverte des textes. C'est pourquoi sur la carte se trouve la cité considérée la plus proche du lieu de trouvaille et ainsi, le calcul a un caractère d'approximation, mais il utile afin d'avoir une image sur les distances parcourues et sur le temps de mobilité. On remarque que la mobilité n'a pas

[41] CPL 117. Sur l'importance de la guerre judaïque et les forces romaines qui ont combattu dans ce conflit, voir Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Die Konstitution für classis Misenensis aus dem Jahr 160 und der Krieg gegen Bar Kochba unter Hadrian*, dans «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik», 155, 2006, pp. 239-252; Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Eine Konstitution fuer die Hilfstruppen* cit., pp. 283-290; Werner ECK, *Rom und Judäa. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2007, pp. 125-127; IDEM, dans *Iudaea socia-Iudaea capta. Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 settembre 2011 (I Convegni della Fondazione Niccolò Canussio)*, G. Urso (éd.), ETS, Pisa, 2012, pp. 249-265; IDEM, *Judäa – Syria Palästina. Die Auseinandersetzung einer Provinz mit römischer Politik und Kultur*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2014, p. 235.

[42] Florian MATEI-POPESCU, *Castellum Abritanorum*, dans «Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica», 16, 2010, p. 52; Lucreţiu MIHAILESCU-BIRLIBA, *Epigraphik, Mobilität und die Politik der Rekrutierung in der römischen Armee. Der Fall der Soldaten und Veteranen in Moesia Inferior, dans Altertum und Gegenwart. 125 Jahre Alte Geschichte in Innsbruck:Vorträge der Ringvorlesung Innsbruck 2010*, R. Rollinger, G. Schwinghammer, B. Truschnegg, K. Schnegg (éds.), Innsbruck, 2012, pp. 164-166.

[43] L. MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, *Epigraphik* cit., p. 177.

[44] Je remercie dr. Ana Odochiciuc pour avoir réalisé les cartes.

seulement la Syrie (voir **Fig. 1**) en tant que direction, mais aussi en autres province, voir leurs missions ultérieures. Par exemple, Ciagitsa Sitae f. a été recruté environ 76 dans *l'ala II Pannoniorum* et son premier service a été en Syrie. Puis, en 94 l'aile est attestée en Mésie Supérieure[45]. Elle participe à la guerre dacique et puis est restée en Dacie[46]. On remarque ainsi dans son cas une mobilité en probablement quatre directions (Syrie–Mésie Supérieur–Dacie–probablement Mésie Inférieure) **(Fig. 2**). En ce qui concerne les distances, la plus rapide route de Novae á Palmyre est de 2894 km, durant 22,1 jours. Une autre estimation, qui vise un voyage plus long, montre une distance de 3025 km, qui peuvent être parcourus en 26,7 jours. En ce qui concerne la mobilité de Ciagitsa, on dispose déjà de l'estimation Mésie Inférieure – Syrie. De Palmyre l'estimation est de 3349 km et 34,3 jours de voyage, de Singidum en Dacie (Dierna) de 217 km et approximativement 2 jours de voyage et de Dacie en Mésie Inférieure (Novae) de 373 km et 4,4 jours de voyage.Certes, ce ne sont que d'estimations, mais on peut se rendre compte du temps utilisé pour y arriver.

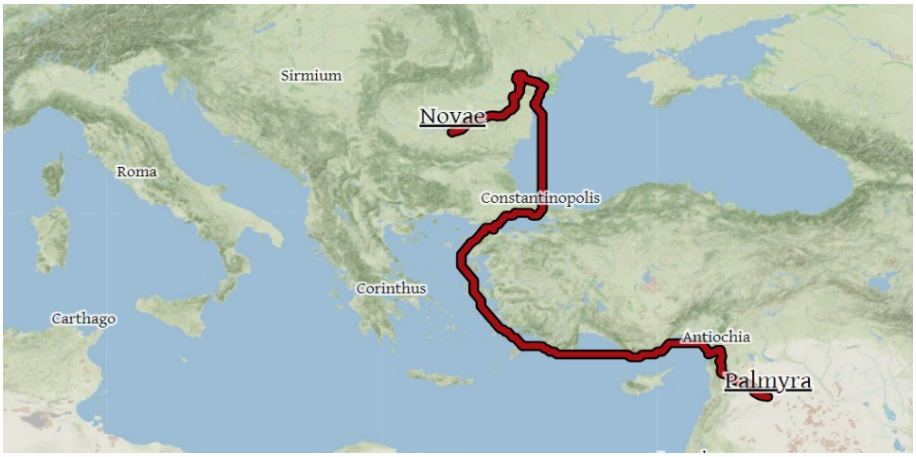

Fig. 1. La mobilité de Mésie Inférieure (ou de Thrace) vers la Syrie (approximation ORBIS) ©Ana Odochiciuc

[45] CIL XVI 39.
[46] RMD III, 148.

Fig. 2. La mobilité de Ciagitsa Sitae f.: Mésie Inférieure (Thrace)-Syrie-Mésie Supérieure- Dacie-Mésie Inférieure (Thrace) (approximation ORBIS) © Ana Odochiciuc

En ce qui concerne le problème de leur retour, seulement trois cas témoignent leur le lieu de leur rentrée à la maison. Il s'agit de Gorius Stibi f.[47], Cardenthes Bithicenthi f.[48] et Seuthes[49]. Dans les autres cas, le lieu de provenance est inconnu, puisque les diplômes proviennent du marché d'antiquités. Il est fort probable qu'ils ont été trouvés dans l'espace danubien, donc que les vétérans soient rentrés chez eux.

Quelles sont les raisons qui ont poussé les vétérans à parcourir de si grandes distances? Les sources sont muettes. La ré-intégration des vétérans dans la vie de la province d'origine consiste certainement en un motif de leur retour. Il est difficile de savoir s'ils sont rentrés exactement dans leur village ou ils ont préféré avoir une maison dans un autre. Le droit de cité est très important dans ces décisions: même si les anciens militaires ont conscience de la longue distance, ils pensent que revenir dans la province d'origine en tant que citoyen constitue un avantage par rapport au fait de rester dans les régions où ils avaient effectué leur service. La distance entre la Syrie et la Mésie Inférieure peut surprendre mais dans ces cas, il s'agit de provinces fondamentalement différentes du milieu rural originaire – la Syrie n'est pas même une province latinophone. De plus, les conflits dans ces régions correspondant avec leur période de service constituent un autre facteur important dans leur décision de retour.

On remarque ainsi que les retours dans la province d'origine sont plus nombreux chez les militaires de Mésie Inférieure que les décisions de

[47] AE 1939, 126.
[48] Werner ECK, Andreas PANGERL, *Trajans Heer* cit., pp. 215-218.
[49] RMD I, 5.

demeurer là où ils ont servi en ne comptant pas les vétérans dans les inscriptions collectives de Rome. Effectivement, en raison justement de ces inscriptions, on ne peut pas établir de véritables comparaisons. Le retour est fréquent également dans d'autres provinces même si dans certaines, les Germanie(s) par exemple, les recrutements locaux furent bien plus importants. D'un autre côté, nous avons noté à d'autres occasions que beaucoup de vétérans originaires d'autres provinces se sont installés en Mésie Inférieure, surtout des anciens soldats de légions[50].

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ABREVIATIONS

AE. L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.
CIL. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
CPL. Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum, Wiesbaden.
ILB. Inscriptiones latinae in Bulgaria repertae, Sofia.
ISM. Inscriptiones Scyhtiae Minoris, Bucarest-Paris.
RGZM. Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz.
RMD. Roman Military Diplomas, London.

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[50] Lucreţiu MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, Rure vivere in Moesia inferiore. *La population dans le milieu rural d'une province péripherique de l'Empire romain*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2018; IDEM, *Le témoignage épigraphique des villae en Mésie Inférieure: remarques sur les propriétaires et sur le personnel administratif*, dans «Dacia» N. S. 60, 2016, 223-226, 229-230; IDEM, *Les vétérans dans les campagnes de Mésie Inférieure: les propriétaires ruraux*, dans «Dialogues d'histoire ancienne», 45/1, 2019, pp. 136-145. Voir aussi Annamaria-Izábella PÁZSINT, *Life after Honesta Missio: A Demographic ans Social Perspective on the Veterans from Moesia Inferior*, dans *Roman Army and Local Societies in the Limes Provinces of the Roman Empire*, L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, W. Spickermann (éds.), Rahden (Westf.), 2019, pp. 5-6.

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DRESSED FOR (MILITARY) SUCCESS: TEXTILE SUPPLIERS FOR THE ROMAN ARMY

Iulia Dumitrache[*]

Abstract. *This study explores the intricate system of textile provisioning for the Roman army through a multidisciplinary analysis of papyrological, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence. It examines the mechanisms behind the production, commissioning, delivery, and financing of military clothing, focusing on who managed these processes, how contracts were structured, and how products were distributed. The research identifies official actors—such as military officers and provincial governors—as key initiators of orders, while also revealing the significant roles of civilian guilds, merchants, and veterans in the textile supply chain. Case studies from Egypt, Cappadocia, and Judea illustrate the diversity of procurement models and logistical challenges involved in supplying garments to troops stationed across the empire. The article also distinguishes between state-organised supply systems and parallel private markets that emerged to meet unmet or specialised demands. Ultimately, it highlights the Roman army as a powerful economic force that shaped production and trade networks, particularly in the textile industry, across the provinces.*

Keywords: *Roman army; clothes; textile production; official contracts.*

The supply of the Roman army is a subject as interesting and complex as it is difficult to reconstruct, given, on the one hand, the lack of consistent mentions in the written sources, and, on the other hand, the difficult corroboration of different types of available evidence. Various types and patterns of provision of what is needed for the Roman military personnel have been identified, that may vary according to the nature of the troops, their stationing place, but also the to nature of the context (e.g. peace vs. war).

Without a shadow of a doubt, the *annona militaris* – the food supply of the army – represents the most important aspect of the problem, and therefore the attention given to it over time in historical research is fully justified. Food

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was followed, in the pyramid of needs, by equipment, mainly weapons[1]. Although the clothing is another determining element in the endowment of the troops, still too few studies have been dedicated to the subject[2].

The knowledge of the general system of supplying the troops is ensured mainly by the rather rare mentions of ancient authors, military records, preserved on papyri or ostraca (especially from Egypt)[3] and wooden or waxed tablets, in forts such as at Vindolanda[4]. Such private documents issued by

[1] For discussions on army supplies, particularly with regard to food and equipment, see David J. BREEZE, *Demand and Supply on the Northern Frontier*, in *Rural Settlement in the Roman North*, P. Clack and S. Hazelgrove (eds.), Durham, 1982, pp. 148-165; Idem, *Supplying the Army*, in *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit: Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*, G. Alföldy, B. Dobson and W. Eck (eds.), Stuttgart, 2000, pp. 59-64; Lothar WIERSCHOWSKI, *Heer und Wirtschaft:das römische Heer der Prinzipatszeit als Wirtschaftsfaktor*, Bonn, 1984; M. C. BISHOP (ed.), *The Production and Distribution of Roman Military Equipment*, British Archaeological Reports 275, Oxford, 1985; J. D. ANDERSON, *Roman Military Supply in North-East England: An Analysis of and an Alternative to the Piercebridge Formula*, British Archaeological Reports British series 224, Oxford, 1992; C. E. P. ADAMS, *Feeding the Wolf. Logistics and the Roman Army*, in «Journal of Roman Archaeology», 14, 1999, pp. 465-472; J. P. ROTH, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 bc–ad 235)*, Leiden, 1999; C. R. WHITTAKER, *Supplying the Army. Evidence from Vindolanda*, in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, P. Erdkamp (ed.), Malden, 2007, pp. 111, 217-25; L. de BLOIS and E. Lo CASCIO, *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 bc–ad 476): Economic, Social, Political, Religious and Cultural Aspects*, Impact of Empire 6, Leiden and Boston, 2007; D. RATHBONE, *Military Finance and Supply*, in *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, Ph. Sabin, H. van Wees and M. Whitby (eds.), vol. II, part I, 2007, pp. 158-176; P. KEHNE, *War- and Peacetime Logistics: Supplying Imperial Armies in East and West*, in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, P. Erdkamp (ed.), Malden, 2007, pp. 337-338.

[2] For the supply of textiles to the troops see J. P. ROTH, *The Logistics* cit., pp. 159, 224, 257, but his main concern refers to food, feed and wood. J. P. WILD, *The Gynaeceum at Venta and Its Context*, in «Latomus», 26, 1967, pp. 648-676 focuses on the situation after the 3rd century AD, while A. Sheridan, *Columbia Papyri IX: The Vestis Militaris*, Atlanta, 1998 is considering the situation of the troop's clothing supply in Egypt. The most applied analysis is in M.-L. NOSH (ed.), *Wearing the cloack Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times*, Oxford, 2012. See also J. LIU, Collegia Centonariorum*: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West*, Leiden and Boston, 2009; Chapter V. *Membership composition* discuss the possible links between *centonarii* and the supply of textile products to troops.

[3] The papyri were edited in a separate collection: R. O. FINK, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, The American Philological Association Monograph 26, Cleveland, Ohio, 1971 (from this point forward, refered as Rom.Mil.Rec.).

[4] The tablets from Vindolanda are available both in print: A. K. BOWMAN and D. J. THOMAS, *Vindolanda: The Latin writing tablets*, vol. I, London, 1983; *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets* (*Tabulae Vindolandenses II*), London, 1994; *The*

soldiers mentioned mainly the goods that supplemented, depending on the needs, options and not least the personal financial possibilities, the rations received, but also some traders with connections in the military milieu. Moreover, as we will see below, characters involved in such transactions can be intuited from the prosopographical analysis of the inscriptions that mention them in certain contexts. To these types of sources are added the results of archaeological research undertaken primarily within the military camps. In the case of textiles, which are a rarer and more difficult material to sample in situ, archaeological information is extremely sparse[5].

These materials serve as a foundation for examining the military influence on ancient society and economics. Military records from the imperial era indicate that a significant portion of the soldiers' stipend was allocated for clothing[6], representing substantial financial expenditures, particularly when considering armed units that may comprise between 250,000 and 450,000 personnel simultaneously[7]. A 1st-century AD papyrus records the salary of two soldiers from an unidentified unit, amounting to 247½ drachmae per stipendium for the years 80 and 81[8], equating to 742½ drachmae annually. In the annual assessment for Quintus Iulius Proculus, there are 240 drachmae allocated for sustenance, distributed in three instalments: 20 drachmae for the Saturnalia celebrations (*saturnalicium kastrense*), which is part of the first stipendium; a total of 30 drachmae for hay; three deductions of 12 drachmae each for footwear (*caligae*); 4 drachmae for miscellaneous expenses; and amounts for clothing included in the first stipendium (60 drachmae) and the third stipendium (165½ drachmae) – *in vestimentis*. The computations for Valerius Germanus Tyro are nearly identical, with the sole distinction being the addition of 100 drachmae received in clothing at the year's commencement. The crucial aspect is not the absolute figures, but the ratio

Vindolanda Writing Tablets (*Tabulae Vindolandenses* III), Londra, 2003, and online (http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/) (from this point forward, refered as Tab.Vindol.)

[5] H. GRANGER TAYLOR, *Fragments of Linen from Masada, Israel – the Remnants of Pteryges? – and Related Finds in Weft- and Warp-twining including several Slings*, in *Wearing the cloack* cit., pp. 56-84.

[6] Rom.Mil.Rec. 68 = P.Gen.Lat. 1 recto (ad 88-90); see also J. A. SHERIDAN, *Columbia Papyri IX* cit., p. 82; K. DROß- KRÜPE, *Purchase Orders of Military Garments from Papyri of Roman Egypt*, in *Wearing the cloack* cit., pp. 13-18.

[7] K. DROß-KRÜPE, *Purchase Orders* cit., p. 13.

[8] Rom.Mil.Rec. 68 = P.Gen.Lat. 1, col. I. (J. NICOLE (ed.), *Les Papyrus de Genève*, I, Geneva, 1896-1906). As a date, I opted for the version adopted by M. A. Speidel, *Roman Army Pay Scale*, in Idem, *Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart 2009, p. 351-352 and K. DROß-KRÜPE, *Purchase Orders* cit., p. 14.

derived from the allocation chapters, or more succinctly, the worth of the products in question.

The wages allocated to military troops fluctuated based on various criteria, including the time period, unit type and structure, inflation, and rank[9]. Conversely, such deductions may lead to abuses and corrupt practices. Upon revisiting Rom.Mil.Rec. 68, it is evident that the army, and consequently the Roman state, financed the equipment via salary deductions, which occurred biannually, with the amounts varying on a case-by-case basis. If the remaining expenses in the stated example are identical for both characters, Tyro's garment expenses are higher. The distinction may reside in the status of the beneficiaries or the paid article(s).

Who authorised the official orders? In certain instances, it was active officers – *optiones*. Claudius Germanus of legio III Cyrenaica acquired 55 latge Syrian cloaks he had commissioned in Oxyrhynchus, presumably for his unit, and completed the payment without disclosing the sum[10]. Another *optio*, from Legio II Traiana, pertains to the acquisition of blankets[11].

Theoretically, the provincial governor can also act as commissioner. A payment order from 138 AD details a directive issued by the prefect Avidius Heliodorus to a guild of weavers in Philadelphia[12]. The review of the document delineates the conditions and contracting parties – the commissioner, executor, beneficiary - the execution method, intermediaries, penalties for delays or substandard products, as well as the contract's subject matter and associated prices. The work's reception is overseen by a local committee including three ἱματιοπῶλαι: Ammonius, son of Polydeuces; Syrion, son of Heras; and Heracleides. The individual who established the execution circumstances and 'negotiated' the fee is likely a former agoranom, Hermes, who, by virtue of his role, had access to all pertinent information to identify the executors and facilitate the deal. Subsequent to the arrangement, the banker Heraclides – τραπεζίτης is empowered to extend a loan to the weavers responsible for supplying the products. Consequently, a definitive and explicit procedure is outlined for the execution of a contract with the Roman state.

The names of three individuals designated for payment are as follows: Heraclides, son of Horigas; Heron, freedman of Publius Maevius; and

[9] For the discussion on the amount of the soldier in the Roman army, see M. A. SPEIDEL, *Roman Army* cit., pp. 349-380.

[10] P.Oxy. 64, 4434 (= E.W. HANDLEY and U. WARTENBERG (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 64, Londra, 1994).

[11] PSI XIX, 2230 (= *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto*).

[12] BGU 7, 1564 (= P. Viereck and F. Zucker (eds.), *Papyri, Ostraka und Wachstafeln aus Philadelphia im Fayûm*, Berlin, 1926).

Dioscorus, freedman of the god Serapis. These likely represented the other weavers as well. Their exact total number and the distribution of work/payment among them remain unknown; nonetheless, it is probable that the 'anonymous' individuals operated workshops of lesser significance than those that were named. I find the relationship between Heron and Publius Maevius more intriguing. The former also serves as a witness in a deposition[13]. In 153, he was to assist, alongside six others (of whom five may be identified), in the whipping of Caius Maevius Apellas, a veteran of ala Apriana. Another Maevius, Sextus Maevius Domitius, *eques signifer* in the same Apriana unit, who perished at the age of 24, is commemorated with a bilingual epitaph in Syene, presently known as Aswan[14].

Let us examine however, what the prefect had ordered, for whom and at what price: "for the needs of the troops in Cappadocia, for a white tunic with belt (ζωστός), 3½ cubits long[15], 3 cubits and 4 fingers wide[16], weighing 3¾ minae[17], the sum of 24 drachmae, and for 4 white Syrian cloaks (συριῶν λευκῶν τεσσάρων), each 6 cubits long, 4 cubits wide, weighing 3¾ minae, the sum of 24 drachmae a piece, that is 96 drachmae – a total of 120 drachmae; and for the needs of the hospital in the imperial camp, for a plain white blanket (λῶδιξ), 6 cubits long, 4 cubits wide, weighing 4 minae, the sum of 28 drachmae, a total payment order of 148 drachmae of silver; but from the advance of 28 drachmae for blankets, 6 drachmae were deducted for the treasury (κυριακὸς λόγος)".

The final prices cannot be calculated. The Edict of Diocletian on prices provides insight into the economic value of products. In comparison, a woollen tunic from Alexandria, irrespective of its quality, was evaluated at around half the price of a comparable tunic from Scythopolis, 75% of what it cost one from Tarsus, 50% less than one from Byblos, and 25% less than one from Laodicea[18]. The same applies to military tunics[19].

The text concludes with a stipulation of the quality elements that the items must adhere to. They must consist of "high-quality, soft, white, pristine wool, devoid of any blemish". The products must be "acceptable, intact, and valued at no less than the amount paid in advance". The references to product dimensions and weight indicate, on one hand, the explicit criteria of the clients

[13] H. Kortenbeutel, *Ein Kaisereid*, in «Aegyptus», 12, 2/3, 1932, pp. 129-140.

[14] IGThSy 226 (= A. BERNAND, *De Thèbes à Syène* - s.l.).

[15] Aproximately 1,5 m.

[16] Aproximately 2 m.

[17] Aproximately 1,6 kg.

[18] Ed. 26, 120-140 (= M. GIACCHERO, *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium in integrum fere restitutum e Latinis Graecisque Fragmentis*, Genova, 1974).

[19] Ed. 26, 28-33.

and the establishment of relatively stringent constraints. Conversely, the necessity for such measures may suggest several deviations from the requirements.

Noncompliance with the contractual provisions incurs specific penalties: "If any products are absent upon delivery or deemed to be of substandard quality, the seller shall reimburse the cost of the missing items, including all taxes and expenses, as well as the shortfall for the inferior products, at their own expense". The contract mandates the timely delivery of the items, with no allowances for deviation, irrespective of any other public contracts awarded to the weavers.

This concluding stipulation is particularly intriguing as, less than a year later, on December 17, 139, the Philadelphia weavers' guild, presumably the same as referenced in BGU 7, 1564, implores the strateg Dion to cease dispatching weavers to Alexandria[20]; otherwise, they will be unable to fulfil the mandated textile quota. So, the weavers of Philadelphia supply the troops of Cappadocia. It is not a substantial order, but rather an infrequent one. It is important to note that, in certain instances, the army was not exclusively supplied with local foodstuffs; rather, these supplies could originate from several regions.

A separate document dated in 128 AD[21], though less comprehensive, corroborates the method by which supplies were procured for the army. This document constitutes a report of the receipt from the weavers of Socnopaei Nesus, compiled by a committee analogous to that in Philadelphia, detailing 19 tunics and 5 white cloaks designated for the warriors of Judea. Nevertheless, the compensation they received for them, as well as the number of instalments, remains unknown. We are unaware of the identity of any weaver.

None of the records reviewed thus far indicate or imply how the products, upon their acquisition by the local committee, came into the custody of the recipients. The Philadelphia contract seemingly involved transporting commodities from Philadelphia to Alexandria, followed by shipment to Antioch, a journey lasting around 8 to 10 days[22], after when the items travelled overland to their final destination (**Fig. 1a**). The order from Socnopaei Nesus may have traversed the maritime path from Alexandria to Caesarea, subsequently proceeding overland to the final destination (**Fig. 1b**).

[20] BGU 7, 1572.

[21] P.Ryl. 2, 189 (= J. de JOHNSON, V. MARTIN and A.S. HUNT (eds.), *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, vol. II, *Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods*, Manchester, 1915).

[22] P. ARNAUD, *Les routes de la navigation antique. Itinéraires en Méditerranée*, Paris, 2005, pp. 130-131.

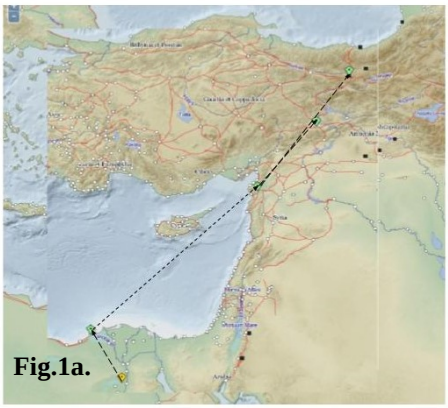

Fig.1a.

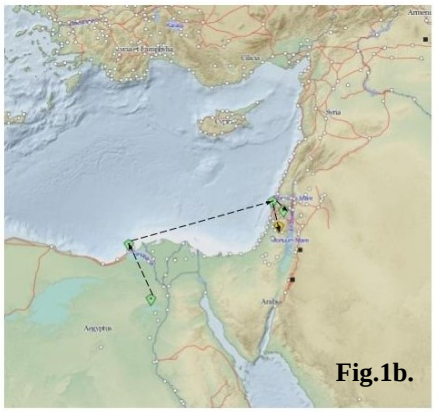

Fig.1b.

David Breeze delineates five modalities for the delivery of goods to the troops: direct delivery, transport arranged by the municipality from whence the goods originated, retrieval of the cargo by military personnel, civilian transport contracted by the military, and *cursus publicus*[23].

In 179/180, Dionysius Amyantius, a veteran of ala Apriana, authored a plea to the prefect[24]. The latter was assigned the responsibility of bringing 775 blankets, a significant order, from Oxyrinchos, likely to Alexandria, with legio II Traiana Fortis as the recipient of the goods. The veteran's discontent stemmed from the protracted delay in the transportation of commodities, exceeding 40 days, prompting him to seek permission to return to Oxyrinchos for the planting season. Consequently, the petitioner was not personally engaged in the execution of the order, since he cites agricultural activities as his sole source of income, nor in military issues. Thus, I propose a sixth delivery option, supplementing Breeze's five: utilising army veterans for the secure transportation of products. The former warriors were more accessible for communication, maintaining connections with the military milieu. They were reliable due to their familiarity with the cazona discipline, capable of defending the transport if required, and were operationally effective. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge the sluggishness with which the commodities were acquired.

A comprehensive historiographical controversy has emerged regarding the so-called *Pridianum*[25]. The record states that soldiers from the cohors

[23] D. BREEZE, *Supplying the Army* cit., p. 60.

[24] P.Oxy. 36, 2760.

[25] A. S. HUNT, *Register of a cohort in Moesia*, in «Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di como Lumbroso», Mailand, 1925, pp. 265-272; R. O. FINK, *Hunt's. Pridianum:*

Hispanorum Veterana, located in Moesia Superior at Stobi, are dispatched to acquire clothing (*ex eis apsentes* / in *Gal... vestitum*). Gal... was finalised by either Gallia or Galatia[26]. While it is accurate that certain troops of the legion can be traced to Asia Minor, a region known for its wool goods, the Gallia form appears more realistic to me[27]. Gallia, a province with significant wool industrial centres, is the origin of the most renowned military tunic: the *saga*.

Furthermore, epigraphically, *vestiarii* can be associated, in many ways, with the military milieu. Sextus Baebius[28], a textile merchant from Aquileia, indicates his status as a former member of the Roman navy (*veteranus ex classe*). While the inscription does not specify, he may have been involved with the *classis Venetum*, headquartered in Aquileia and functioning in the northern Adriatic Sea. Given the establishment of a stable and reliable market inside the military context, Herma appears to have gained advantages from the closeness of his peers.

Sextus Baebius is hardly an exceptional instance of a textile trader selecting military equipment for his enterprise. Julius Victor, who perished in Augsburg, Raetia, about 150-225 AD, had a sibling who served in the legio III Italica, stationed in that province. Could the latter's military contacts have enabled Victor to supply the unit with various clothing? He is likely from northern Italy, considering the recruitment region for this legion. An additional inscription[29] is established by a member of the auxiliary troops of Legion I Adiutrix in honour of Aemilianus, a textile merchant and agent in Gaul. Lucius Priminius Ingenuus[30] sold garments in Stockhum. His merchandise likely originated from hubs in Gaul, including Trier and Reims[31].

Ingenuus might have engaged in trade with military units stationed on the limes, similar to Sextus Baebius or Iulius Victor. He may have been associated with L. Priminius Provincialis, who dedicated an inscription to Mercury in

British Museum Papyrus 2851, in «The Journal of Roman Studies», 48, 1958, pp. 102-116.

[26] T. Kruse, *Eine römische Silberschale in den Staatlichen Antikensammlungen München*, in «Chiron», 35, 2005, pp. 113-136.

[27] For trade in wool products, see I. DUMITRACHE, *Occupational Titles in Roman Textile Trade*, in *Social Interactions and Status Markers in the Roman World*, G. Cupcea and R. Varga (eds.), Oxford, 2018, pp. 23-46; Eadem, *Negustori de produse din lână în inscripţiile latineşti*, in «Analele Ştiinţifice ale Universităţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza"», Iaşi, s.n., Istorie, LXVI, 2020, pp. 41-50.

[28] CIL V, 774.

[29] AE 2006, 1827.

[30] CIL XIII, 8545.

[31] L. WIERCHOWSKI, *Fremde in Gallien - Gallier in der Fremde: Die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.*, Stuttgart, 2001, p. 409; W. BROECKAERT, Navicularii et Negotiantes *A prosopographical study of Roman merchants and shippers*, St. Katharinen, 2013, p. 93.

proximity to Neuss. A woman of the Priminii wed a bread merchant from Cologne[32]. Ultimately, Maxsiminus[33] (sic!), who operated his shop in Marsal, Gallia Belgica, appears to have exported garments to the *limes*.

To ensure their commerce flourished, merchants needed to adapt to the availability of raw materials or a lucrative market. Publius Murrius Zetus hails from Placentia but engages in economic endeavours at Montecassino[34]. Victorius Regulus[35] is from a Germanic tribe situated along the Rhine and relocates to Reims, likely due to commercial pursuits[36]. He specialises in the purple commerce between Durocotorum and Lugudunum, where he meets his demise. His destiny may be intertwined with his brother's career. Vicrius Tetricus served as a soldier in the XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis legion, stationed in Lyon since 197 AD. As a veteran, Tetricus opted to reside in Lyon, thus providing a compelling rationale for his brother to expand his business in that location. Tetricus may have maintained advantageous contacts with his former brothers-in-arms, so facilitating a lucrative market for Regulus.

We can infer that they likely had economic and commercial connections to the military sector; however, the available data do not substantiate any advantages gained from formal contracts with officials. Instead, they are solely private providers, compensated directly by customers from their own funds. A correlation has been proposed between the provision of textile soldiers and the *centonarii* – "craftsmen and merchants of inferior wool products to the medium"[37], a professional classification prominently featured in the Latin inscriptions[38]. The majority of references to *centonarii* pertain to the presence of a *collegium*, which is then linked to various professional associations dedicated to different crafts, trades, modes of transport, or religious practices. We can discern distinct instances where prominent members of the local or provincial elite are affiliated with such associations: Attalus of Gallia Lugdunensis[39], who serves as sevir augustalis in Lyon, is a member of the *nautae Rhodanae* association and is *corporatus* in the *collegium centonariorum Luguduni*. Similarly, Publius Aelius Strenuo of Apulum[40], an *equus publicus, sacerdos arae Augusti*, augur, and duumvir of Sarmizegetusa, *augustalis* in the same city, decurio in Drobeta, concurrently

[32] CIL XIII, 4564.
[33] CIL XIII, 8568.
[34] AE 1972, 74.
[35] AE 1982, 709.
[36] W. BROEKAERT, Navicularii et Negotiantes cit., p. 119.
[37] J. LIU, Collegia Centonariorum cit., p. 295.
[38] I. DUMITRACHE, *Occupational Titles* cit., p. 34-35.
[39] AE 1982, 702.
[40] CIL III, 1209.

acts as patron for the *collegium fabrum, centariorum et nautarum*, and *conductor pascui et salinarum et commerciorum*.

A soldier prepared to act at any moment, loyal and self-assured, can only be a thoroughly equipped soldier. The endeavour to guarantee the functionality of this equipment was a persistent concern at both the troop level and within the agenda of the administrative authorities.

Contracts with the state necessitated the involvement of numerous enterprises from the Roman world; in fact, possessing regional industrial centres that were in proximity to military outposts sufficed. This concept will be predominantly implemented in Western provinces, where military forces were stationed at the borders, distant from the Mediterranean; conversely, in the East, these centres were linked to established cities capable of fulfilling the troops' requirements. The examined records reveal the state's contractual engagement via its representatives, the allocation of procurement projects conducted not only locally but also at greater distances, alongside certain logistical deficiencies.

Simultaneously, in instances where the state inadequately addressed demands or where individual preferences surpassed available possibilities, a parallel market may emerge, supplying enhanced items to regular soldiers or officers, and yielding substantial profits for the traders engaged.

ABBREVIATIONS

AE. L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.
CIL. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.

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PO[TA]TORIA POTTERY DISCOVERED AT ARGAMUM (JURILOVCA, TULCEA COUNTY)

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Abstract: *The sample of vassa po[ta]toria presented in this article was discovered in the Poarta Mica sector of the archaeological site Argamum – Jurilovca commune, Tulcea county, during the systematic research carried out between 2017-2023. Once the material was processed and selected, a sample of 38 ceramic fragments was outlined. They are chronologically dated between the 2nd-6th centuries BC.*

Keywords: *vassa po[ta]toria, west pontic area, Argamum*

Argamum is located about 30 km from the National Road No. 22 (Constanta-Tulcea), via "Două Cantoane" junction, on the county road that leads to Jurilovca. The fortress is located on the present Cape Doloșman, about 60 km south-west of the mouth of the Saint George arm; 20 km south of the former arm of the Dunovăț Danube Delta; 14 km east of "Gura Portiței"[1].

It is known as the city with the earliest documentary attestation in Romania. The name of the fortification founded by the Greeks at the beginning of the 7th century BC is mentioned in the *Periegesis* of Hekataios, in the second half of the 6th century BC. It also appears in Stephanus work - *Ethica* from the middle of the 6th century BC, under the following formulation: "Orgame: polis next to Istru".

Poarta Mică sector is identified on the south side of the Late Roman fortification. The ceramics presented in this article were collected by the person in charge of this sector (and his research team) Ștefan Honcu, between 2017-2023[2].

In 2017, excavation in this sector were resumed, having two main targets: the unveiling of the entrance to the fortress and the investigation of the E1 building. Although the functional levels fall within the 5th-6th centuries BC,

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[1] Mihaela MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU, *Orgame/Argamum*, Tulcea, 1992, p. 8.

[2] On this way we thank him for his kindness to put at our disposal, for research, this ceramic lot, through the site manager, Dr. Dorel Paraschiv.

the analysis of the ceramic drinking material includes a few fragments dated between 2nd-4th BC[3]. Since 2019 we have been trying to retrieve the stratigraphic information and identify some of the previously unidentified contexts[4]. Unfortunately, for us, the archaeological data is vague, owing to the incomplete recording of material. For this reason, we cannot precisely identify the context of the discovery. Nevertheless, between 2020 and 2022 excavations stopped. I had the opportunity to be part of the research team.

The first investigated *stratum* (in which there is a significant quantity of *vassa po[ta]toria*), US0001 represents a leveling, yellow, homogeneous, in mixture with limestone. This arrangement corresponds to the time when the E1 building was constructed 5th century BC[5].

The ceramic lot consists of 38 fragments, divided into four categories and no less than 16 typologies. The most numerous category of drinking pottery is that of jugs (55.36%) consisting of 21 fragments. The second largest category (23.68%) is that of cups, composed of 9 fragments. Mugs occupy 15.80% of the total ceramic lot, consisting of 6 fragments. Last but not least, glasses are represented by only fragments (5.26%).

The color of these vessels is brownish, beige-brown, brownish-brown, beige, grayish, beige-gray, beige-gray, beige-yellowish. The paste is composed of iron oxide, silvery crushed limestone; it shows (or not) impurities, calcareous deposits, and on some fragments there are also traces of burnt.

Pitchers. *(cat. nos.: 1-21)* A first typology *(cat. no.: 1)* from this category of drinking ceramics shows a three-lobed lip, short neck, lamellar or rounded handle and a slightly raised section. The body of these vessels is globular or ovoid with an annular base. The color of the paste, from which they are made, varies: scarlet, beige-brown, brownish-brown, beige, ash or brown. Our specimens also include jugs with a vertical lip *(cat. nos. 2-5)*, short neck, globular body, banded toothed rim and concave base. The color of the paste is beige or brick beige.

The pitchers, with a rounded lip slightly twisted upwards and with a palliform mouth are found in our catalog in two fragments *(cat. nos. 6-7)*. The

[3] Ș. HONCU, D. PARASCHIV, S. COSTEA, *Sector Poarta Mică*, in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2017*, F. M. Popescu *et alii* (eds.), București, 2018, p. 76.

[4] Ș. HONCU, D. PARASCHIV, L. MUNTEANU, G. GRUMĂZESCU, A. TOFAN, *Sector Poarta Mică*, in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2019*, I. Cândea *et alii* (eds.), București, 2020, p. 230.

[5] Ș. HONCU Ș., A. M. CORNEA, I. A. CHIRILĂ, B. A. CHIRILOAIE, *Sector Poarta Mică*, in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2023*, D. Aparaschivei *et alii* (eds.), București, 2024, p. 234.

body of the vessels can be globular or ovoid; grooves and annular base. The color of the paste is beige or grayish. We have identified a single specimen *(cat. no. 8)* of a pitcher with an outwardly widened lip, ovoid/globular body, grooves and annular base. The color of the paste is brown.

Another typology *(cat. no. 9-11)* found in our catalog is that of jugs with rounded lip, elongated neck, globular/ovoid body; they have grooves and the base is annular. The paste from which these vessels are made is brownish-brown or beige. We are also familiar with the slightly straight, thickened and flared lip type *(cat. nos. 12-14)*. These vessels have grooves on the outer surface, a short neck, a globular or ovoid body with a ringed base. The paste from which these vessels are made is scarlet or brick beige in color.

The type with rounded lip, slightly flared (if necessary), ovoid body, banded *torus* and annular base is found in our catalog in two specimens *(cat. nos. 15,16)*. The paste is brown or brick-brown in color. The last type of jugs *(cat. nos. 17-21)* has an outwardly widened lip with well-defined grooves; the body is globular or ovoid with a ring-base. The paste from which these vessels are made is scarlet or beige in color.

Cups. *(nr. nos. 22-30)* The first typology *(cat. nos. 22-23)* present in our catalog is that of the cups with upturned lip, globular body, grooves and annular base. The paste is brownish or grayish in color. The cups with inwardly tapering lip and cylindrical neck are found in our catalog in one specimen *(cat. no. 24)*. The body of these vessels is also globular and the base is annular. The paste from which they are made is grey. The last typology *(cat. nos. 25-26)* has a more flared lip than the other specimens, the body is ovoid with a lamellar handle. The paste from which these vessels are made is scarlet in color. In this category we have also included some bases which we consider to belong to the group of cups *(cat. nos. 27-30)*.

Mugs. *(nr. nos. 31-36)* The first typology *(cat. no. 31)* of this category is characterized by the flared lip, the globular body and the grooves, which are usually found on the upper part of the vessel. The base is annular. The paste is brownish beige in color. The mugs with a slightly flared lip, short neck, globular body and annular base are found in our catalogue in only one specimen *(cat. no. 32)*. The paste is brick-brown. The last typology identified in the investigated sample *(cat. no. 33)* is characterized by the flared lip, the grooves found on the surface of the vessel, the ovoid body and the annular base. The paste is scarlet in color. Three fragments of vessel bases are included in this category *(cat. nos. 34-36)*.

Glasses. *(nr. nos. 37-38)* The first type of glasses *(cat. no. 37)* is characterized by a straight lip, an ovoid or globular body (if necessary) and a ringed base. The paste is yellowish beige in color. The second type *(cat. no.*

38), which is the last fragment analysed in our catalogue, is characterized by an outwardly flared, slightly raised lip, globular or ovoid body, grooves on the upper surface and a ringed base.

The analogies proposed for the various typologies identified in our catalog come from multiple geographic and cultural areas. From *Moesia Inferior* we include sites such as *Ibida*, *Noviodunum*, *Histria*, *Ostrov*, *Durostorum*, *Tomis*, *Halmyris*, etc.; from the Italian peninsula, examples come from *Alife*, *Pompeii*, *Castelvenere*, *Bagno-Grande*, *Melfi-Pisciolo*, etc.; from *Dacia*, *Romula* and *Napoca* are mentioned, and from *Hispania*, the *Tarraconensis* region is included.

Chronologically, the sample falls between the 2nd-6th centuries BC. Thus, in view of the manufacturing technology and the typological criteria that guided the classification according to form and function of these fragments, we can make some considerations regarding the provenance of these vessels. Most of these vessels were used locally produced liquids, having characteristics already well known, both from the field and from specialized literature. In terms of commercial and cultural relations of the local community from *Argamum* with other neighboring regions we have identified a few fragments of North Pontic provenance. The current stage of research only allows us to guess which could be the centers of production (considering the characteristics of the paste and shape): *Chersonesos*, *Panticapaeum* or *Phanagoria*.

DRINKING POTTERY CATALOG[6]

A.Pitchers

A.1.Type I

Analogies: Rădulescu 1975, 343, Pl. 8/1-3; Pl. 9/1-2; Popilian 1976, 101, type 12/d, e, Pl. 49/529-530; Bogdan-Cătăniciu, Barnea 1979, 182, Fig, 146/4.7; Opaiț 1980, 333, Pl. 7/5; Morel 1981, Pl. 175, nr. 5610; Iker 1984, 205-216, fig. 118/8.; 274-281, fig. 156/4; Simion 1984, 85, type b, Pl. 13/7; Mușețeanu 2003, 106, Pl. 31/424-325; Bottini, Setari 2003, 52, nr. 225; Russo 2008, 74, fig. 79; 84, fig. 99; Mitro, Notarangelo 2016, 138, tav. XIII/1; 157, tav. XXII/1; 2.1; 2.2; 3; 167-168, tav. XXV/1; 2; Honcu 2014, 83, type 4, Pl. 24/184-185; Cornea 2023, 280-283, type XV, Pl. V-IX; Cornea 2024, 460-462, type VII, Pl. VIII, Nr. 83, 84.

[6] In the catalog we use the following abbreviations: **Hp.** - retained height; **Dg.** - diagonal of the mouth of the vessel; **Db.** - diagonal of the base; **C.** - core diagonal; **P.** - bag.

1. Description: composition of the paste: brownish color, iron oxide, mica silvery. It shows slight burn marks on the inner surface and lime deposits on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 4 cm; Dg. = 8 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2023, *Poarta Mică* Sector, Layer Filler 1;
Chronology: The second half of the 4th century BC and the first half of the 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 1/1)

A.2. Type II

Analogies: Cătăniciu, Barnea 1979, 187, fig. 162; Topoleanu 2000, 90, type II, var. B, pl. XXI/193; Cornea 2024, 454-455, type III, Pl. VII, Nr. 70.

2. Description: composition of the paste: beige-brownish color, iron oxide, slightly silvery. It shows limescale deposits on the inner surface and burn marks on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 3.50 cm; Dg. = 7 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2017, *Poarta Mică* Sector, C3, -0,50 m;
Chronology: late 4th century BC - early 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 1/2)

3. Description: composition of the paste: beige-brownish color, iron oxide, slightly silvery. Limestone deposits on the inner surface. The gate has grooves;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2 cm; Dg. = 5 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P7;
Chronology: second half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 1/3)

4. Description: composition of the paste: beige-brownish color, iron oxide, slightly silvery. Limestone deposits on the inner surface. The gate has grooves;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2 cm; Dg. = 4 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P47;
Chronology: second half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 2/4)

5. Description: composition of the paste: beige, iron oxide color, slightly silvery. It shows marked deposits of limestone, especially on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 4 cm; Dg. 7 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2023, *Poarta Mică* Sector, Layer Filler 1;

Chronology: second half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 2/5)

A.3. Type 3
Analogies: Popilian 1976, 96, type 2, Pl. XVIII/454; Chiaramonte Trere 1984, 170, tav. 105.2; Opaiț 1991B, 161, type IV, Pl. 39/229; Baumann 1995, 412, Pl. VI/7; Opaiț 1996, 119, type IV D, Pl. 50/1; Di Mauro 2022, 35, tav. VI/112; Cornea 2023, 276-277, type IX, Pl. IV; Cornea 2024, 459-460, type VII, Nr. 81.

6. Description: composition of the paste: beige, iron oxide color, slightly silvery. Limestone deposits on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 6.6 cm; Dg. 6 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P34;
Chronology: second half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 2/6)

7. Description: composition of the paste: gray, iron oxide. It shows lime deposits and slight burn marks on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2 cm; Dg. 6 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2023, *Poarta Mică* Sector, Layer Filler 1.
Chronology: The second half of the 4th century BC and the first half of the 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 2/7)

A.4. Type IV
Analogies: Opaiț 1991B, 126, type V, Pl. 38/8; Opaiț 1996, 188, type III, Pl. 48/3; Olcese 2016, 425, fig. 3, nr. 257; Di Mauro 2022, 35, tav. VI/109; Cornea 2023, 278-279, type XII, Pl. V.

8. Description: composition of the paste: brick-brown, iron oxide. It shows slight deposits of limestone on both surfaces and burn marks on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 3 cm; Dg. 6.5 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2017, *Poarta Mică* Sector, *passim*;
Chronology: Second half of the 4th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 3/8)

A.5. Type V
Analogies: Popilian 1976, 96, type 1, Pl. XLI/428; Simion 1984, 85, g, Pl. XIV/9; Chiaramonte Trere 1984, 173, tav. 106.24; Opaiț 1991A, 202, Fig.

37/5; 38/2; 39/228; Opaiț 1996, 119, type IV-B, Pl. 48/6; Olcese 2016, 427, fig. 7, nr. 261; Di Mauro 2022, 36, tav. VI/116-117; Cornea 2023, 275, type VII, Pl. III; Cornea 2024, 456-457, type V, Nr. 71-72.

9. Description: composition of the paste: beige color, iron oxide. Slight deposits of limestone on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 4.5 cm; Dg. 6cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2023, *Poarta Mică* Sector, Layer Filler 1;
Chronology: The second half of the 4th century BC and the first half of the 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 3/9)

10. Description: paste composition: beige in color, iron oxide. It shows pronounced limescale deposits on both surfaces and slight burn marks;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2.9 cm; Dg. 5 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2017, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P9, -0,70 m;
Chronology: the second half of the 2nd century BC, repsectiv the first half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 3/10)

11. Description: composition of the paste: brick-brown in color, iron oxide, mica silvery. Slight deposits of limestone;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2 cm; Dg. 4.7 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2023, *Poarta Mică* Sector, Layer Filler 1;
Chronology: The second half of the 4th century BC and the first half of the 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 3/11)

A.6. Type VI
Analogies: Rădulescu 1975, 346, pl. 9/1a-b; Popilian 1976, 96-97, type 2,Pl. XLI/ 433-435, Pl. XLII/439-441; Simion 1984, 85, g, Pl. XIII/2; Opaiț 1991A, 265, fig. 261-262; Arenella 2009, 28, tav. 49/3.4; Renda 2012, 155, fig. 21.2; Olcese 2016, 426, fig. 5, nr. 259; Di Mauro 2022, 34-35, tav. V/96-98; tav VI/99; 106; 107; Cornea 2023, 271-272, type III, Pl. I-II; Cornea 2024, 457-459, type VI, Pl. VII, Nr. 75, 77; Pl. VIII, Nr. 78.

12. Description: composition of the paste: brownish color, iron oxide, slightly silvery. It shows several rows of grooves and slight deposits of limestone especially on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 4 cm; Dg. = 5 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P20;

Chronology: the second half of the 2nd century BC, repsectiv the first half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 4/12)

13. Description: composition of the paste: beige color - scarlet, iron oxide, slightly silvery. It shows several rows of grooves and slight deposits of limestone especially on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2 cm; Dg. = 5 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2023, *Poarta Mică* Sector, Layer Filler 1;
Chronology: The second half of the 4th century BC and the first half of the 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 4/13)

14. Description: paste composition: brownish color, iron oxide, slightly silvery. There are two grooves; brown slip and limestone deposits on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 4 cm; Dg. = 5 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, C6;
Chronology: 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 4/14)

A.7. Type VII
Analogies: Scorpan 1976, 171, type E, Pl. XXIV/1; Scorpan 1977, 288, type D, Fig. 31/1; Opaiț 1996, 315, type I, Pl. 46/1; Opaiț 1991B,171, fig. 37; Bădescu, Cliante 2015, 215, type II.I, Fig.3/1; Olcese 2016, 427, fig. 6, nr. 260; Di Mauro 2022, 33, tav. V/93; Cornea 2023, 272-273, type IV, Pl. II; Cornea 2024, 454-455, type III, Pl. VII, Nr. 68.

15. Description: paste composition: brown, iron oxide. It shows brown-gray slip; limestone deposits on both surfaces and marked burn marks especially on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 4 cm; Dg. = 6 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2017, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P14;
Chronology: the second half of the 2nd century BC, repsectiv the first half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 4/15)

16. Description: composition of the paste: brownish-brown color - scarlet, iron oxide, slightly silvery. It shows deposits of limestone and marked burn marks on both surfaces;

Dimensions: Hp. = 3.2 cm; Dg. = 6 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 217, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P 40;
Chronology: the second half of the 2nd century BC, repsectiv the first half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 4/16)

A.8. Type VIII
Analogies: Rădulescu 1975, 346, Pl. 9/1b; Popilian 1976, 97, type 2-b, Pl. XLIII/433; Simion 1984, 85, type a, Pl. 13/2; Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 424, type 13G, Pl. 99/613; Arenella 2009, 28, tav. 49/3.5; Honcu 2014, 82, type 1, Pl. 24/178; Di Mauro 2022, 35, tav. VI, nr. 103; Cornea 2023, 278, type XI, Pl. IV; Cornea 2024, 452-453, type I, Pl. VI, Nr. 64.

17. Description: paste composition: brownish color, iron oxide. It shows marked traces of limestone deposits;
Dimensions: Hp. = 3.1 cm; Dg. = 4 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P8;
Chronology: the second half of the 2nd century BC, repsectiv the first half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 4/17)

18. Description: composition of the paste: beige color, iron oxide. It shows marked traces of limestone on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 3.3 cm; Dg. = 4.5 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CJ17, -0,40 m;
Chronology: 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 4/18)

19. Description: paste composition: brownish color, iron oxide, mica silvery. It shows beige-brownish colored slip and slight deposits of limestone;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2.3 cm; Dg. = 8 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CE8, - 1,00 m;
Chronology: 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished;
(Plate 5/19)

20. Description: paste composition: beige in color, iron oxide. There are impurities in the composition and lime deposits on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 1.6 cm; Dg. = 8 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CJ14, - 0,50 m;
Chronology: 5th century BC;

Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 5/20)

21. Description: paste composition: beige in color, iron oxide. It shows brown slip, impurities in the composition and lime deposits on both surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2.2 cm; Dg. = 8 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, *passim*;
Chronology: 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 5/21)

B.Cups
B.1. Type I
Analogies: Bogdan-Cătăniciu, Barnea 1979, 190, Fig. 169/6.2; Opaiț 1996, 113, type II, Pl. 45/1; Suceveanu 2000, 84, type XIII, Pl. 33/4; Opriș 2003, 133-134, type I, Pl. XLV/301;311; Opaiț 2004, 60, type III, Pl. 50/1; Mitro, Notarangelo 2016, 127, tav. IX/1; tav. XII/2,1; 1; Cornea 2023, 286-287, type VI, Pl. X; Cornea 2024, 437-438, type VIII, Pl. III, Nr. 21, 24.

22. Description: composition of the paste: brownish color, iron oxide. It has a brick-brown slip, limestone deposits and burn marks on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2.5 cm; Dg. = 9 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P47;
Chronology: the second half of the 2nd century BC, repsectiv the first half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 5/22)

23. Description: composition of the paste: gray, iron oxide. Slight deposits of limescale and burn on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 3 cm; Dg. = 8 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P53;
Chronology: the second half of the 2nd century BC, repsectiv the first half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 5/23)

B.2. Type II
Analogies: Opaiț 1996, 112, type I, Pl. 44/3; Opaiț 2004, 66, type I, Pl. 50/8; Cornea 2023, 285-286, type IV, Pl. X; Cornea 2024, 431-432, type. IV, Pl. I, Nr. 7,9.

24. Description: composition of the paste: grayish, iron oxide, slightly silvery. It shows marked deposits of limestone on both surfaces;

Dimensions: Hp. = 2 cm; Dg. = 10 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, *passim*;
Chronology: 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 6/24)

B.3. Type III
Analogies: Crowfoot 1957, fig. 82/1;3; Burakov 1976, pl. VIII/18; Suceveanu 2000, 90, type XXV, pl. 35, nr. 1; Cornea 2024, 430-431, type III, Pl. I, Nr. 4.

25. Description: composition of the paste: brownish color, iron oxide, slightly silvery. Slight deposits of limestone;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2.7 cm; Dg. = 8.2 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P21;
Chronology: the second half of the 2nd century BC, repsectiv the first half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished;
(Plate 6/25)

26. Description: composition of the paste: scarlet-colored, iron oxide, slightly silvery. It shows brownish-grayish slip; slight deposits of limestone on both surfaces and burn marks on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2.7 cm; Dg. = 8 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CJ7, - 0,80 m;
Chronology: Late 4th century BC - early 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 6/26)

B.4.Bases
27. Description: composition of the paste: grayish, iron oxide, slightly silvery. It shows a scarlet-colored angobium, limestone deposits and burn marks especially on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 1.5 cm; Db. = 8 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CA-E 12-17, - 1,00 m;
Chronology: Late 4th century BC - early 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 6/27)

28. Description: composition of the paste: beige-brownish color, iron oxide, slightly silvery. Limestone deposits on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 4 cm; Db. = 8 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CJ17, - 1,10 m;
Chronology: Late 4th century BC - early 5th century BC;

Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 6/28)

29. Description: composition of the paste: beige, iron oxide color, slightly silvery. Limestone deposits on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 1 cm; Db. = 6 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2017, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CA7;
Chronology: Late 4th century BC - early 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/29)

30. Description: composition of the paste: gray, iron oxide. Limestone deposits on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2 cm; Db. = 7 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P36;
Chronology: Late 4th century BC - early 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/30)

C.Mugs
C.1. Type I
Analogies: Popilian 1976, 110, type 3b, Pl. 59/710;711; Opaiț 1980, 336, Pl. 8/7; Hayes *et ali* 1985, 24, form 23, tav. III, nr. 14; Festucia 2003-2004, nr. 103; Opriș 2003, 135, type I, Pl. XLVII/321;324, type III, Pl. XLVIII/ 334; Grasso 2004, 22, tav. 1/e; Ricci 1985, 347, type I, nr. 23; Olcese *et alli* 2010, fig. 9; Olcese 2016, 269, fig. 23, nr. 26; Honcu 2014, 85, type III, Pl. 25/195;196.; Cornea 2023, 298-299, type IV, pl. XIX-XX; Cornea 2024, 447-449, type VIII, Pl. V, Nr. 49.

31. Description: composition of the paste: beige-brownish color, iron oxide, slightly silvery. It shows marked burn marks and limestone deposits;
Dimensions: Hp. = 1.5 cm; Dg. = 5 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CDE 11-12, -1,50 m;
Chronology: 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/31)

C.2. Type II
Analogies: Popilian 1976, 105, Pl. LIV; Hayes *et alli* 1985, form 5B, 17, tav. II, nr. 2; Comella 1986, 122-124, tav. 76/R4-9; Opaiț 1991B, 159, Pl. 37/219; Bonghi Javino, Chiaramonte Trere 1997, 68, tav. 226, nr. 18; Topoleanu 2000, 94, type II, Pl. XXIV/211; Opriș 2003, 136, type I, Pl. XLVIII/331; Grasso

2004, 21, tav. 1/c; Olcese 2016, 268, fig. 20, nr. 23; Cornea 2023, 301-302, type VIII, pl. XXII, nr. 116; Cornea 2024, 442, type II, Pl. IV, Nr. 35.

32. Description: paste composition: brick-brown, iron oxide. It shows dark brown slip and slight deposits of limestone on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2.4 cm; Dg. = 6 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2017, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CJ11, P3;
Chronology: Second half of the 4th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/32)

C.3. Type III
Analogies: Popilian 1976, 107, type 4, Pl. LVII/668; Hayes *et ali* 1985, 25, form 24, tav. IV, nr. 3; Topoleanu 2000, 94, type II, Pl. XXIV/212; Opaiț 2004, 66, type I, Pl. 50/19; Grasso 2004, 22, tav. 1/d; Cornea 2023, 300-301, type VI, Pl. XXI; Cornea 2024, 444, type V, Pl. IV, Nr. 38.

33. Description: composition of the paste: brownish color, iron oxide. Limestone deposits, especially on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 3 cm; Dg. = 6 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2017, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CA1-8, P9;
Chronology: Second half of the 4th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/33)

C.4. Bases

34. Description: composition of the paste: beige-gray, iron oxide color, slightly silvery. It shows grayish slip and limestone deposits, especially on the inner surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 3 cm; Db. = 4 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P46;
Chronology: Late 4th - early 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/34)

35. Description: composition of the paste: brownish color, iron oxide. Limestone deposits, especially on the outer surface;
Dimensions: Hp. = 4 cm; Db. = 2 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CF-G 7-11, - 1,10 m;
Chronology: Late 4th - early 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/35)

36. Description: paste composition: scarlet colored, iron oxide, mica silvery. It has a beige-brick-colored slip and slight limestone deposits on both surfaces;
Dimensions: Hp. = 1.7 cm; Db. = 3 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P46;
Chronology: Late 4th - early 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/36)

D.Glasses
D.1. Type I
Analogies: Opaiț 1996, 121, type I, Pl. 50/14; Mușețeanu, Elefterescu 2004, 102, type B2 a 1, pl.VI/4; Cornea 2023, 292-293, type I, Pl. XIV, nr. 73; Cornea 2024, 439-440, type II, Pl. III, Nr. 30.

37. Description: paste composition: yellowish beige, iron oxide. Contains impurities;
Dimensions: Hp. = 2 cm; Dg. = 4 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2020, *Poarta Mică* Sector, P9;
Chronology: the second half of the 2nd century BC, repsectiv the first half of the 3rd century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/37)

D.2.Type II
Analogies: Hayes *et alli* 1985, 22, form 18, tav. III, nr. 5; 23, form 22B, tav. III, nr. 13; Mușețeanu 2003, 70, type 2, pl. 35/375; Honcu 2014, 86, pl. 25/199; Cornea 2023, 292-293, type I, Pl. XIV, nr. 75.

38. Description: Composition of the paste: brownish color, iron oxide, slightly silvery. It shows grayish slip and slight lime deposits on both surfaces.
Dimensions: Hp. = 2.10 cm; Dg. = 5 cm;
Context of discovery: *Argamum* 2019, *Poarta Mică* Sector, CF-G 7-11, - 1,10 m;
Chronology: Early 5th century BC;
Bibliography: unpublished.
(Plate 7/38)

ABBREVIATIONS

BAR. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BiblThr. Bibliotheca Thracologica, Bucharest.
Dacia. Dacia. Revue d'archeologie et d'histoire ancienne, Bucharest.
J. Rom.Stud. Journal of Roman Studies, Cambridge

MCA. Materiale şi Cercetări Arheologice, Bucharest.
Ordona. Ordona. Rapports et études, Rome.
Peuce. Peuce. Studii şi comunicări de istorie veche, arheologie şi numismatică, Tulcea.
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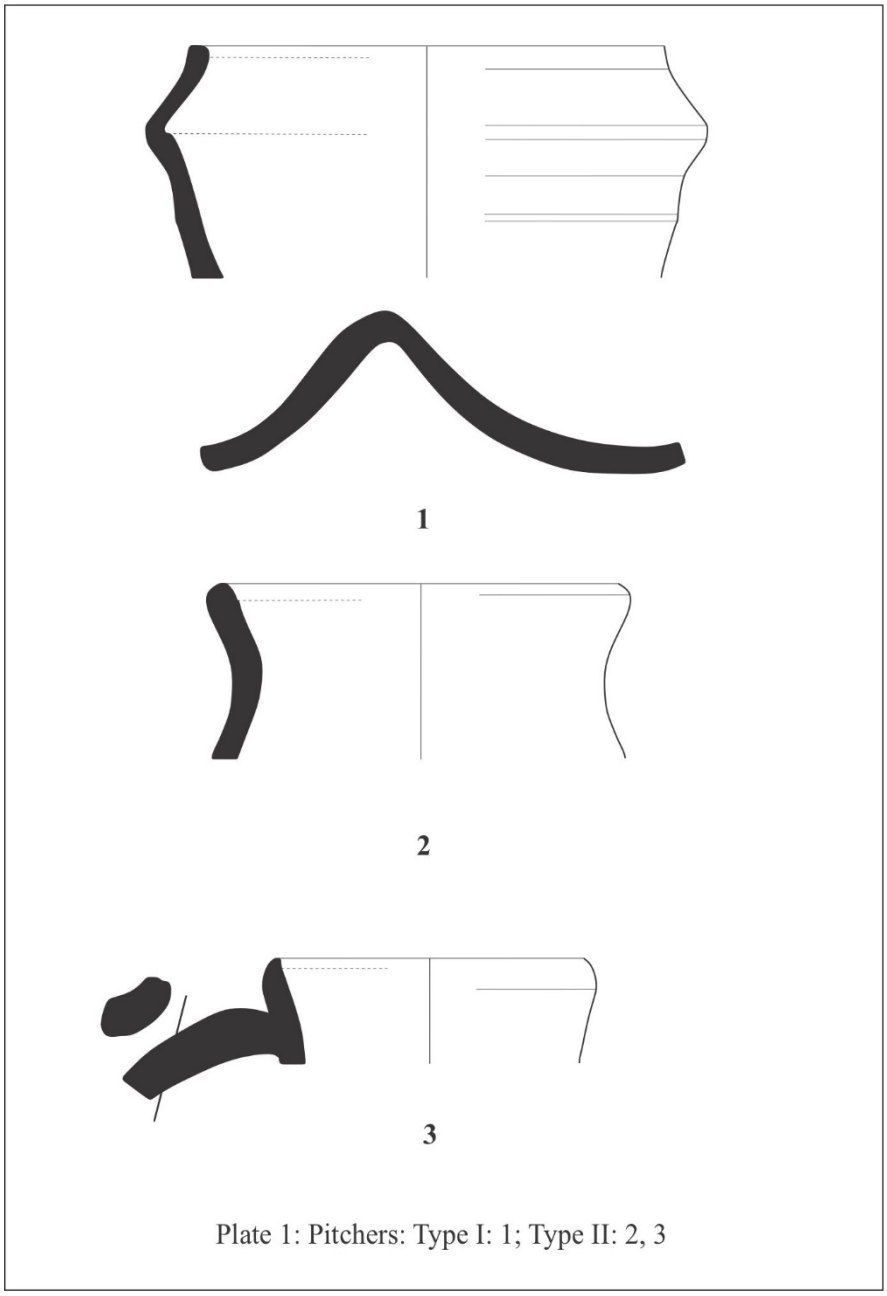

Plate 1: Pitchers: Type I: 1; Type II: 2, 3

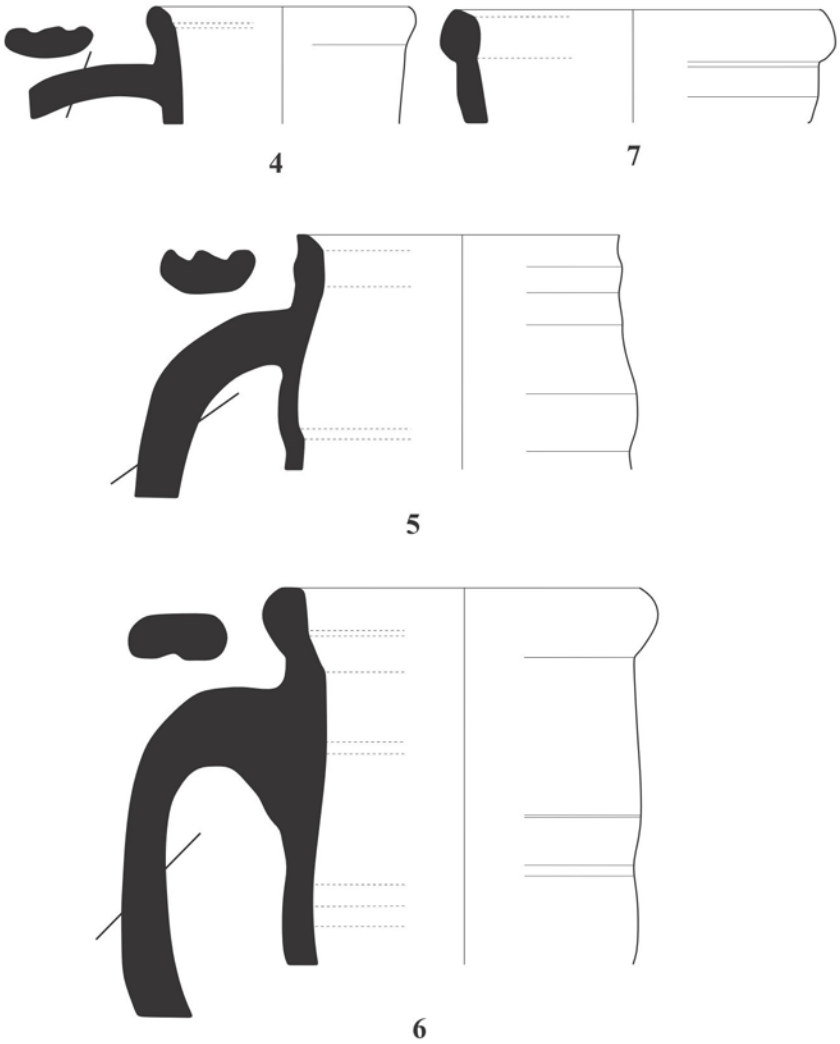

Plate 2: Pitchers: Type II: 4, 5; Type III: 6, 7

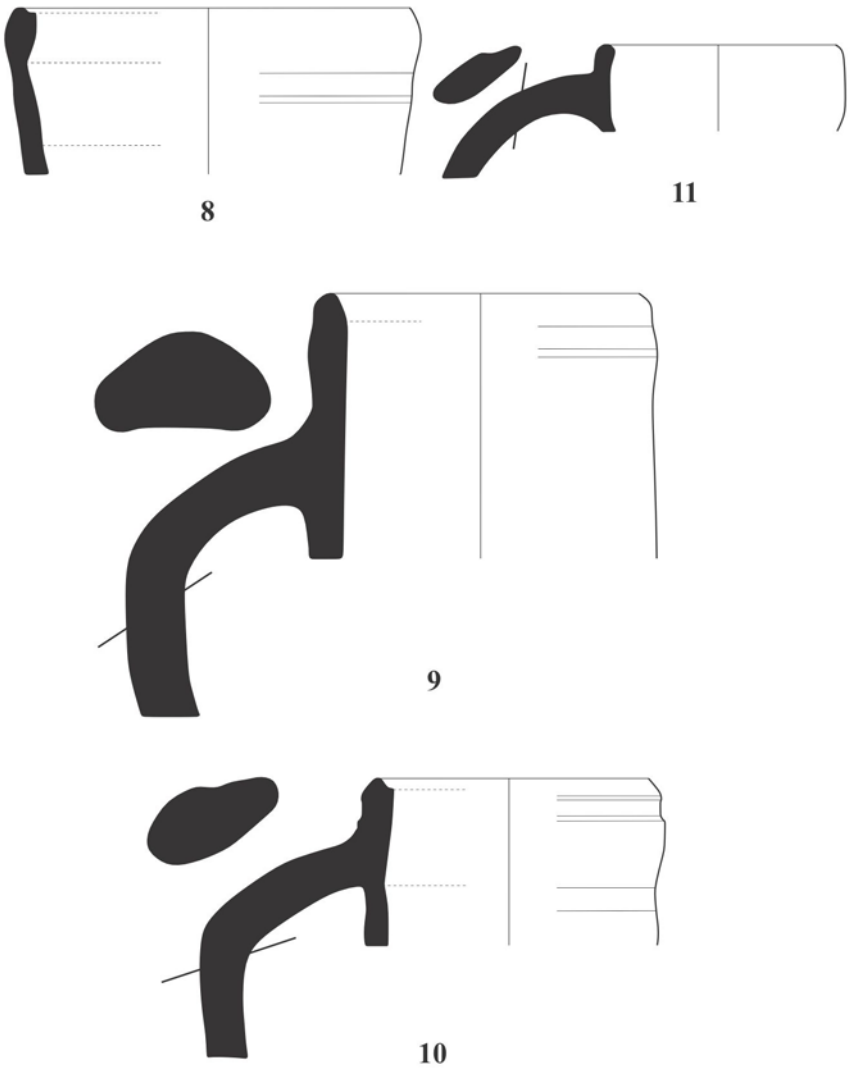

Plate 3: Pitchers: Type IV: 8; Type V: 9, 10, 11

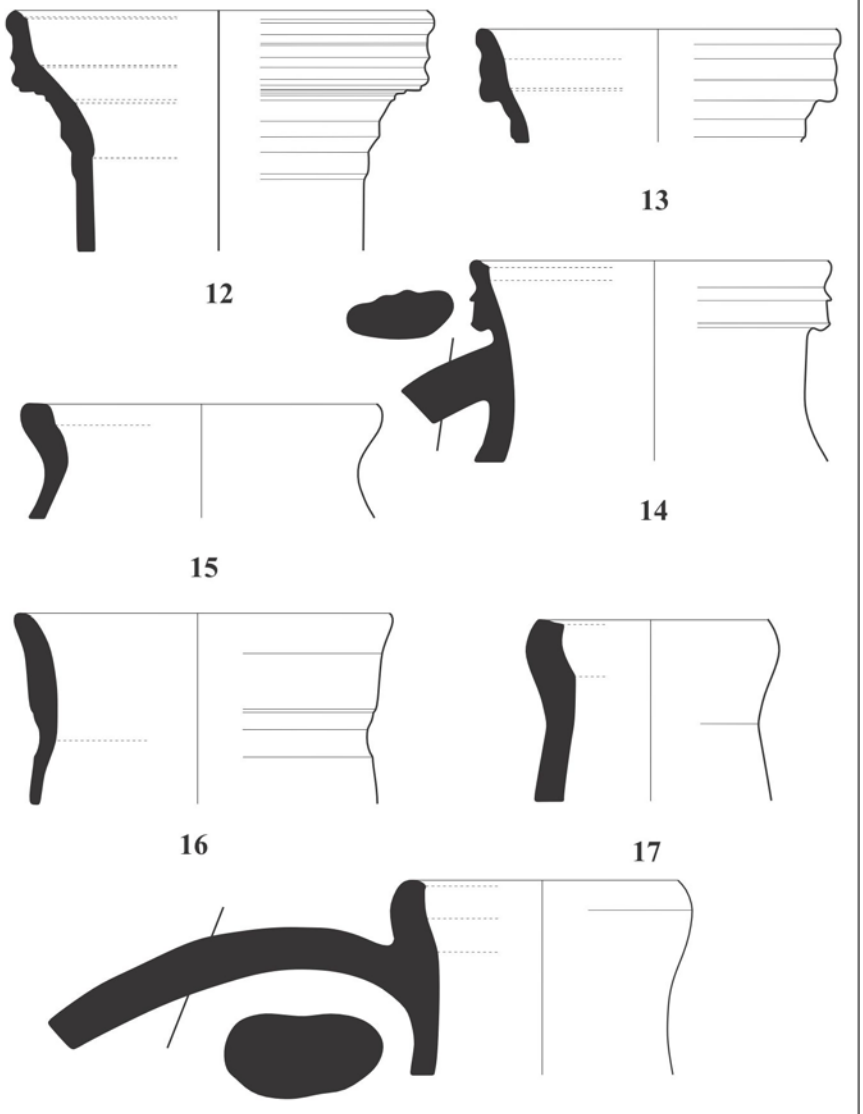

Plate 4: Pitchers: Type VI: 12, 13, 14;
Type VII: 15, 16; Type VIII: 17, 18

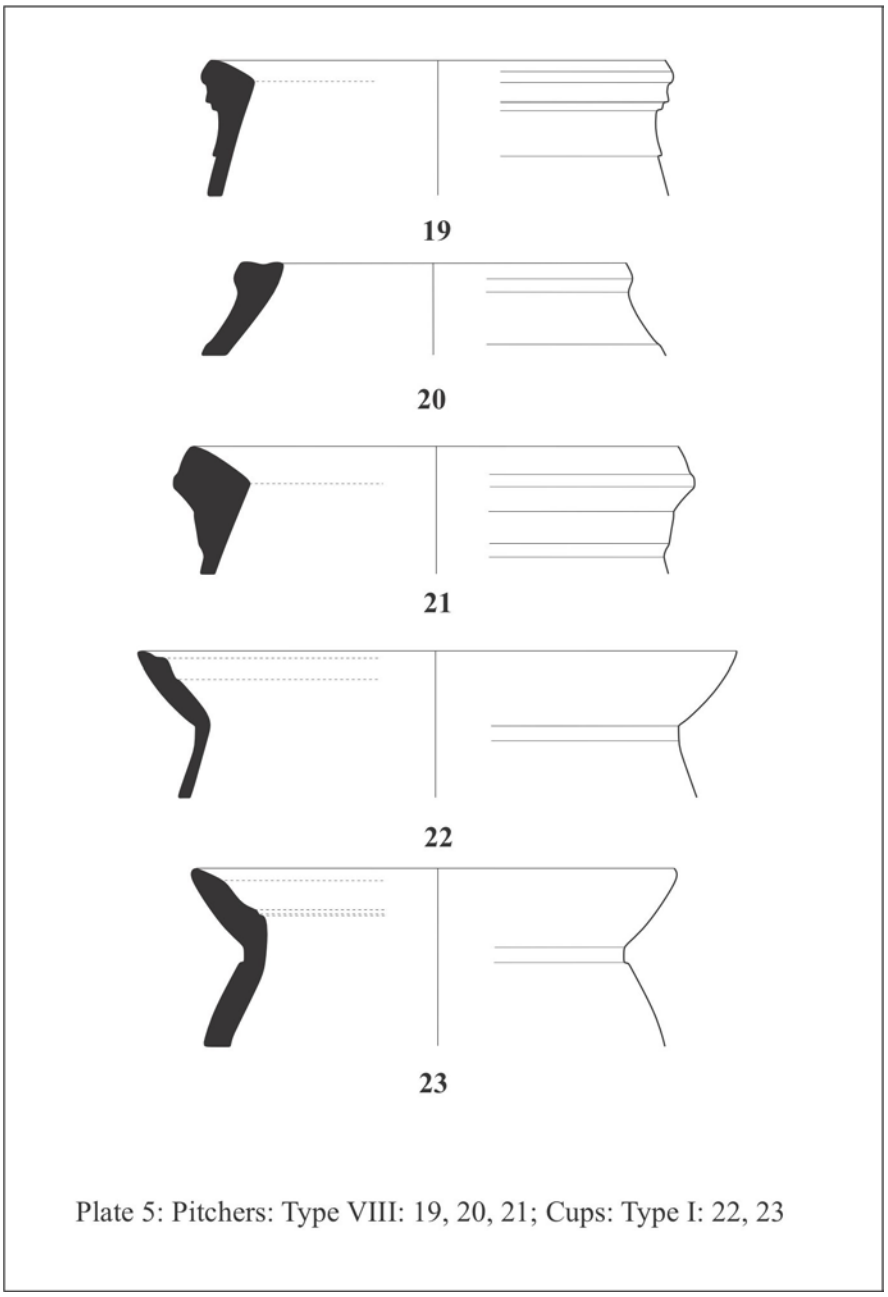

Plate 5: Pitchers: Type VIII: 19, 20, 21; Cups: Type I: 22, 23

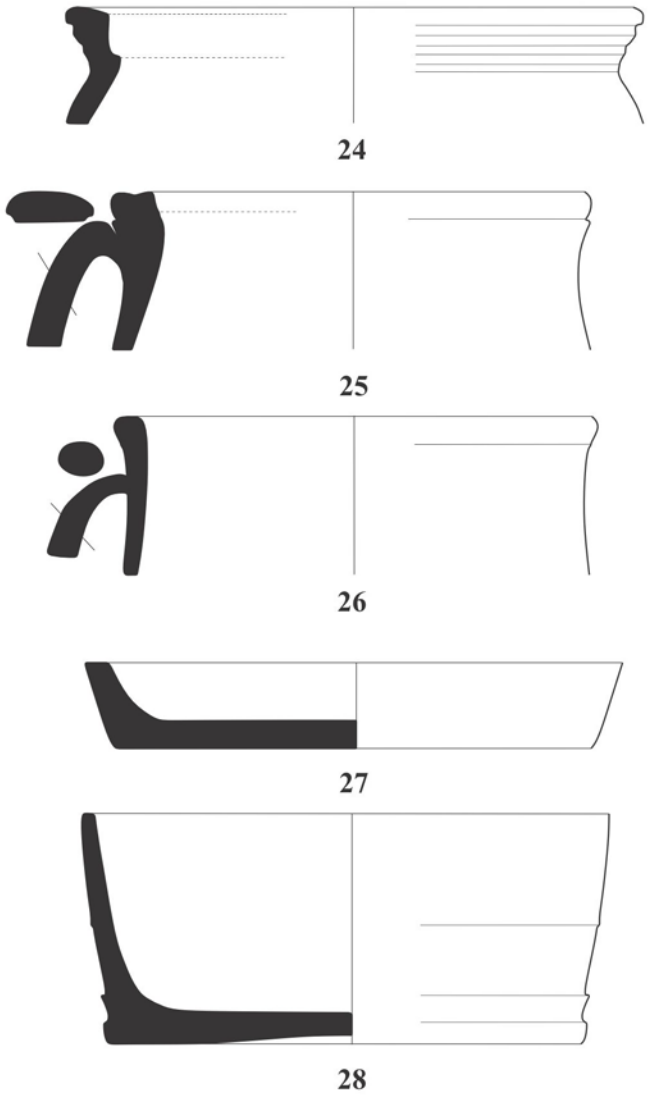

Plate 6: Cups: Type II: 24; Type III: 25, 26; Bases: 27, 28

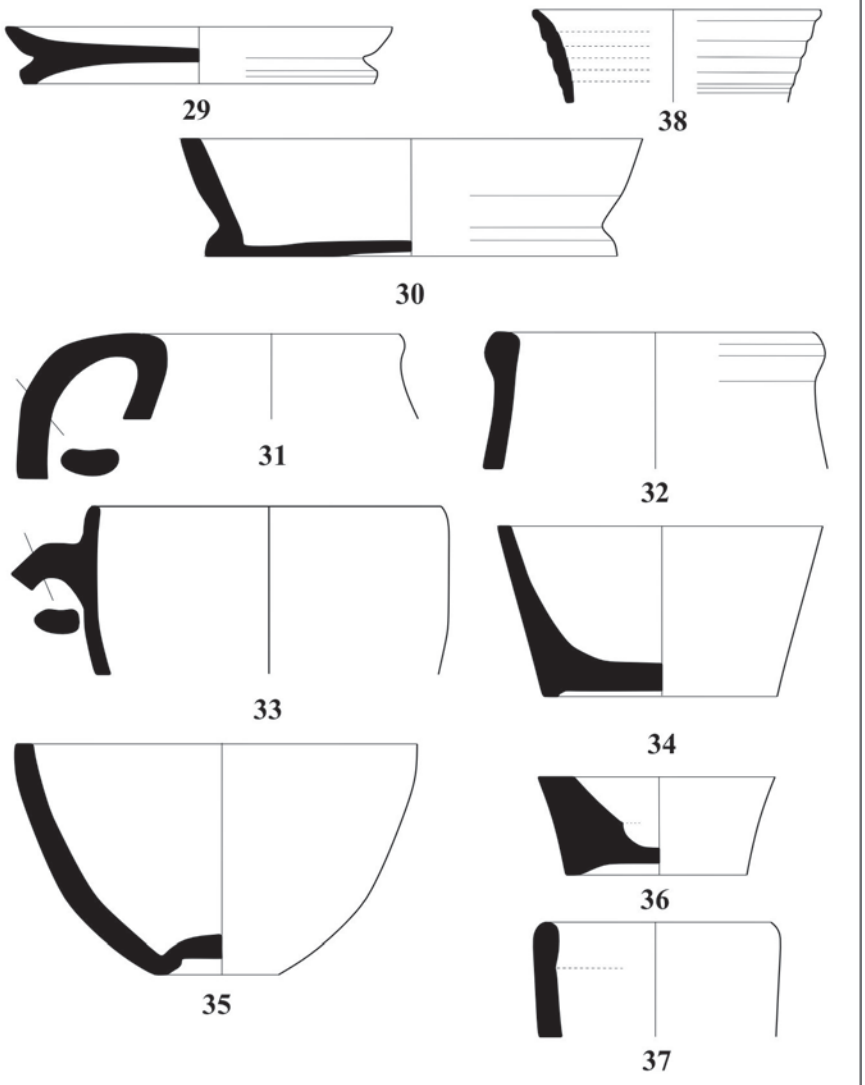

Plate 7: Cups: Bases: 29, 30; Mugs: Type I: 31;
Type II: 32; Type III: 33; Bases: 34, 35, 36; Gasses: Type: 37; Type II: 38

ANCORA SUL CULTO DI LIBER PATER NELLE PROVINCE DANUBIANE*

*Gian Luca Gregori***

Abstract: *The author proposes a new reflection on the diffusion of the cult of Liber Pater in the Danubian provinces, and in particular on the origin of the cult — whether indigenous or imported, and in this case whether from Italy, through soldiers or colonists, or from Asia Minor, given the presence in Thrace of Greek inscriptions mentioning the names of followers of Bacchic circles. This reflection arises from the publication of a new Latin dedication to Liber Pater from the Roman province of Thrace, now preserved in the museum of Tekirdağ (Turkey), offered by L. Domitius Gamus and datable to the course of the 2nd century AD.*

Keywords: *Danubian provinces, Liber Pater*, interpretatio romana

INTRODUZIONE

Il culto di *Liber Pater* nelle province danubiane è forse quello che maggiormente ha attirato l'attenzione degli studiosi negli ultimi anni[1]. Restano tuttavia aperte alcune questioni che qui mi limito ad accennare: *Liber Pater* deve ritenersi *interpretatio romana* di una divinità locale o la versione romana del dio greco *Dionysus*/*Bacchus*? E se quest'ultimo era connesso con il vino, *Liber Pater* proteggeva allora i viticotori garantendo la fertilità della terra e della natura? Per quali vie arrivò il culto fino al Danubio: dall'Italia per il tramite dei soldati e/o dei coloni, o dall'Asia Minore? E che ruolo poté avere

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Ho discusso dei problemi posti dalla diffusione del culto di *Liber Pater* nelle province danubiane con Stefano CANEVA, Giorgio FERRI e Csaba SZABÓ, che ringrazio per gli utili spunti di riflessione e i consigli bibliografici.

[1] Opera di riferimento resta sempre il volume di Adrien BRUHL, *Liber Pater. Origine et expansion du culte dionysiaque à Rome et dans le monde romain*, Éditions De Boccard, Paris, 1953. Fra i contributi recenti relativi alle province danubiane nel loro complesso segnalo Marc MAYER OLIVÉ, *Aproximación al estudio de la presencia del culto de Liber Pater en las provincias romanas danubianas a través de las inscripciones latinas*, in «Euphrosyne», 45, 2017, pp. 517-537.

l'esercito nella diffusione di questo culto, tenendo conto delle sue attestazioni anche fuori dai *castra* e fra i civili che vivevano nelle *canabae*, nelle campagne e nelle comunità cittadine?

Bisogna a mio avviso partire da una riflessione sui numeri delle iscrizioni. Se ci limitiamo alle sole epigrafi latine, esse risultano dedicate in effetti sia da militari, sia da civili che a volte rivestivano anche ruoli importanti nell'amministrazione cittadina; il culto appare soprattutto radicato nell'ultima delle province danubiane annessa all'Impero e la prima a essere abbandonata, vale a dire la Dacia, con ben 48 iscrizioni: ad Apulum in particolare il santuario di *Liber Pater*, in posizione periferica, rappresenta uno dei rari luoghi di culto finora individuati per questa divinità tanto popolare[2]. Seguono per numero di iscrizioni le due Pannonie, con poco meno di 50 dediche complessivamente, e le due Mesie (una ventina), ma la *Inferior*, con le sue 15 iscrizioni, supera del doppio la *Superior*.

Nessuna dedica in latino è stata trovata finora in Tracia (nonostante i 400 testi editi), con l'eccezione di *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, che però da età severiana appartenne alla provincia della *Moesia Inferior*[3], ma bisogna ricordare che in questa provincia la produzione epigrafica è soprattutto in lingua greca. Eppure, secondo una recente ipotesi di Csaba Szabó, nella diffusione del culto di *Liber Pater*, praticato da ristretti gruppi di devoti, un ruolo importante lo avrebbe rivestito proprio la Tracia, corridoio di comunicazione fra l'Anatolia (e in particolare la Bitinia) e le province danubiane[4]. Secondo il mito, del resto, la Tracia avrebbe avuto una funzione significativa nella propagazione del culto dionisiaco, dal momento che, di ritorno dalla sua spedizione in India, Dioniso, attraversata l'Asia Minore, giunse in Tracia, dove si scontrò con il re Licurgo che aveva osato contrastarlo e che per questo venne duramente punito[5].

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[2] Csaba SZABÓ, *Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia. Materiality and Religious Experience*, Archaeopress Publishing LTD, Oxford, 2018, pp. 78-90; cfr. anche i numerosi contributi censiti da Imola BODA, Csaba SZABÓ, *The Bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, pp. 100-104, cui si aggiunga Livio ZERBINI, *I culti di influenza italica nella Dacia romana*, in *Culti e religiosità nelle province danubiane*, L. Zerbini (ed.), Casa editrice Emil di Odoya srl, Bologna, 2015, pp. 94-95.

[3] Gawril KAZAROV, in August-Friedrich Pauly, Georg Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XVII, J.B. Metzler & Alfred Druckenmüller, Stuttgart, 1936, cc. 518-534.

[4] C. SZABÓ, *Sanctuaries* cit., p. 89.

[5] Christopher A. FARAONE, *Gender Differentiation and Role Models in the Worship of Dionysos: The Thracian and Thessalian Pattern*, in *Redefining Dionysos*, A. Bernabé, M. Herrero de Jáuregui, A. Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal, R. Martín Hernández (eds.), De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston, 2013, pp. 120-143.

I numeri delle iscrizioni sembrano significativi e inducono a riflettere sull'ipotesi di una reale provenienza italica del culto nel corso del II sec. d.C.[6], considerando che da Roma e dall'Italia finora proviene solo una quarantina di dediche, 15 delle quali da Roma; non si può dire dunque che *Liber Pater* godesse nell'Urbe, almeno nel II/III sec., di un particolare favore rispetto a divinità molto più popolari, quali Silvano ed Ercole.

La tendenza affermatasi fin dall'età augustea, e che si riflette anche in Ovidio (*Fasti*, III vv. 465-516, 713-788)[7], sembra in ogni caso quella di una sorta di commistione fra le tre divinità, *Liber*, *Liber Pater* e *Dionysus*, con un riscontro anche nella documentazione epigrafica latina: nei territori danubiani in particolare vediamo *Liber Pater*, a seconda dei casi, associato a Giove (padre di *Dionysus*) o a *Libera* (sorella di *Liber* con la quale, insieme alla madre Cerere, egli formava la triade plebea oggetto di culto a Roma sull'Aventino)[8].

Un nuovo documento dalla provincia di Tracia viene ora ad aggiungersi a questo dossier e può forse fornire qualche ulteriore spunto di riflessione in un panorama complessivo ancora incerto.

UNA NUOVA DEDICA A LIBER PATER DA PERINTHUS

Nel Museo di Tekirdağ, città turca sulla costa settentrionale del Mar di Marmara, si conserva una base (o ara) in marmo proconnesio con una dedica in latino; s'ignora il luogo di ritrovamento, ma Tekirdağ corrisponde al sito

[6] L. ZERBINI, *I culti* cit. sottolinea come più del 73% dei culti attestati in Dacia siano pertinenti all'ambito classico greco-romano e come tale dato concordi con la percentuale relativa all'onomastica romana nella provincia (complessivamente intorno al 74%), mentre pressoché nulla sarebbe rimasto dei culti dacici preesistenti, valorizzando il ruolo dei coloni giunti dall'Italia piuttosto che quello dei soldati; in particolare per *Liber pater*, che sarebbe giunto tramite la colonizzazione dei veterani italici ed è particolarmente diffuso in Dacia al pari di Silvano, vd. L. ZERBINI, *I culti* cit., pp. 94-95.

[7] Cfr. John F. MILLER, *Bacchus and the Exiled Ovid (Tristia 5.3)*, in *Dionysus and Rome. Religion and Literature*, Fiachra Mac Góráin (ed.), De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston, 2020, pp. 177-192.

[8] Cfr. Sanja PILIPOVIĆ, *Votive Relief from Barovo (Scupi). Contribution to Study of the Liber and Libera Cult in Upper Moesia*, in «Starinar», 55, 2005, pp. 81-95; Agnieszka TOMAS, *Liber Pater or Dionysus? The Evidence of the Bacchic Cult at Novae (castra et canabae legionis) and its Hinterland*, in *Ad fines Imperii Romani. Studia Thaddeo Sarnowski ab amicis, collegis, discipulisque dedicata*, A. Tomas (ed.), Institute of Archaeology University of Warsaw, Varsaviae, 2015, pp. 257-276; Stefano CANEVA, *Configurations publiques de Dionysos dans le cadre de l'hellénisation de Rome*, in *Dieux des Grecs, Dieux des Romains. Panthéons en dialogue à travers l'histoire et l'historiographie*, C. Bonnet, V. Pirenne-Delforge, G. Pironti (eds.), Institut historique Belge de Rome, Bruxelles-Roma, 2016, pp. 108-110.

dell'antica *Bisanthe*, in età romana *Rhaedestus*; da questa città tuttavia provengono solo undici iscrizioni. È dunque possibile che il reperto sia qui giunto dalla moderna città di Marmara Ereğlisi, 30 km a est di Tekirdağ e corrispondente all'antica *Perinthus*, ribattezzata in età tetrarchica *Heraclea*, capitale della provincia di Tracia istituita da Claudio nel 46 d.C. e da cui provengono una quarantina di iscrizioni latine o bilingue (in base ai testi inseriti nel database Clauss/Slaby), a fronte di un numero molto più consistente di epigrafi greche, edite nel 1999 nel X volume delle *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

Due fori per tasselli quadrati sui bordi superiori della pietra indicano che un tempo la base o l'altare era sormontato da un coronamento (altezza ca. 85 cm; larghezza circa 51 cm; profondità 48 cm; altezza delle lettere 4,5-5 cm). Per motivi paleografici, e considerando l'onomastica ancora completa dei *tria nomina*, proporrei una datazione nel corso del I o agli inizi del II secolo d.C. Vi si legge[9]:

Lib(*ero*) *Pat*(*ri*)
L(*ucius*) *Domitius*
Gamus
d(*ono*) *d*(*edit*).

In Tracia, a quel che mi consta, è questa la prima dedica in latino in onore di *Liber Pater*, pur in presenza di un ricco pantheon, comprendente Apollo, Asclepio, Eracle, Giove con vari epiteti, Sabazio (un dio traco-frigio strettamente connesso a sua volta con *Dionysus* e *Liber Pater*), ma soprattutto *Heros*, meglio noto come il cavaliere trace[10]. A *Perinthus* vanno tuttavia

[9] Edizione preliminare in Ergün LAFLI, Gian Luca GREGORI, *Latin Inscriptions from Turkey (LIFT) II: Three Inscriptions from Eastern Thrace, Phrygia and Pisidia*, in «Min.Ep.Pap.», 29, 2024, pp. 221-224.

[10] In generale vd. Velizar VELKOV, Vassilika GERASSIMOVA-TOMOVA, *Kulte und Religionen in Thrakien und Niedermösien*, in *ANRW*, II.18.2, De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston, 1989, pp. 1317-1361; su alcuni dei culti più diffusi in Tracia: Zlatozara GOČEVA, *Le culte d'Apollon en Thrace*, in «Pulpudeva», 1, 1976, pp. 221-225; Vladimir GEORGIEV, *Götternamen in Kontakt: Bildung und Deutung der Thrakischen Götternamen*, in «Onoma», 21, 1977, pp. 346-354; Isabelle TASSIGNON, *Sabazios dans les panthéons des cités d'Asie Mineure*, in «Kernos», 11, 1998, pp. 189-209; Nora DIMITROVA, *Inscriptions and Iconography in the Monuments of the Thracian Rider*, in «Hesperia», 71, 2002, pp. 209-229; Manfred OPPERMANN, *Der Thrakische Reiter des Ostbalkanraumes im Spannungsfeld von Graecitas, Romanitas und lokalen Traditionen*, Beier & Beran, Langenweißbach, 2006.

ricordate due iscrizioni greche[11], l'una menzionante un βακχέιον Ἀσιανῶν[12], dunque un *thiasos* bacchico, e l'altra una lista di iniziati al culto di Βάκχος, articolata secondo vari gradi interni[13].

Il sacerdote di un βαχχίον Ἀσιανῶν è attestato anche nel territorio di *Nicopolis ad Istrum*[14], suggerendo una delle possibili vie di diffusione del culto bacchico, dall'Asia alle province danubiane, tanto più che questo *iereus* reca il nome trace di *Pautolos*[15]. Nella stessa colonia di *Nicopolis* sono documentati una lista di *mystai* di *Dionysos* e i *nomina Bacchii vernaculorum*[16].

Il dedicante della nostra ara/base si chiamava *L. Domitius Gamus*. Nell'epigrafia latina della Tracia le attestazioni del gentilizio *Domitius* sono sporadiche; è da segnalare però un *L. Domitius Abascantus* che a *Pautalia*, nella Tracia occidentale, fu ἄρχων καὶ γυμνασίαρχος e dedicò un altare alla *Tyche* della *gerusia*[17]. *Gamus* a sua volta è un cognome d'origine greca, presente nell'epigrafia greca delle vicine Macedonia e Bitinia nella forma Γάμος, ma finora era assente in Tracia, mentre a Perinto è documentata la forma greca suffissata Γαμικὸς[18]. Ben diversa è la situazione di Roma, dove *Gamus* presenta poco meno di 50 attestazioni contro le sole sette di *Gamicus*[19].

Nel territorio dell'antica *Nicopolis ad Istrum* un *Domitius Saturninus*, senza prenome, dedicò una statuetta a *Liber Pater* raffigurato come *Dionysus*, con il tirso e la cista mistica e accompagnato da una pantera[20]. Vista la distanza fra le due località (circa 400 km) mi pare improbabile che vi fosse una qualche parentela fra i due *Domitii* devoti di *Liber Pater*, tanto più che l'iscrizione di Tekirdağ, in base alla paleografia e all'onomastica ancora completa di prenome, sembrerebbe anteriore di vari decenni a quella di Pavlikeni, che dovrebbe essere collocabile, anche sulla base del rilievo, già nel III sec.

Il radicamento del culto di *Liber Pater* a *Nicopolis* è testimoniato anche dall'ara posta da due *sacerdotes Matris deum et Liberi Patris*, (*sub*?) *vexillo*

[11] Anne-Françoise JACCOTTET, *Choisir Dionysos. Les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du dionysisme*, II. *Documents*, Akanthus Verlag, Kilchberg (Zürich), 2002, pp. 69-71, no. 36-37.

[12] IG, X, 56.

[13] IG, X, 57.

[14] AE 2003, 1563.

[15] A. TOMAS, *Liber Pater or Dionysus?* cit., p. 264.

[16] A.-F. JACCOTTET, *Choisir Dionysos* cit., pp. 137-140, no. 67-68.

[17] IGBulg., V, 5776 = SEG, XLVI, 867.

[18] IG, X, 282.

[19] Heikki SOLIN, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, Walter De Gruyter, Berlin-New York, 2003[2], pp. 1035-1036.

[20] ILBulg. 424.

Novaensium[21]. La dedica è stata ristudiata di recente e *vexillo* è stato interpretato come lo stendardo di un collegio religioso[22]; essa è stata ricondotta a un periferico santuario di *Liber Pater* sorto nei pressi delle *canabae* ai margini dei *castra* della legione I Italica (distanti però una sessantina di km dal luogo di ritrovamento dell'ara), ma i pochi confronti epigrafici dell'espressione *sub* o *cum vexillo* rinviano sempre ad ambito militare e si riferiscono a soldati in servizio[23].

Riprendendo in conclusione la mia domanda iniziale, se questo culto si sia diffuso nelle province danubiane dall'Italia, ovvero dalla Tracia o dall'Asia Minore (dove Dioniso era assurto a protettore degli ultimi sovrani ellenistici sulla scia di un'associazione fra il dio e la regalità risalente ad Alessandro)[24], forse la cosa più plausibile è che una soluzione non escluda le altre. Nel II secolo d.C. è possibile che l'Italia abbia avuto un ruolo significativo, ma poi nel III secolo potrebbero aver prevalso la Tracia e l'Asia Minore. E tuttavia, come mi fa notare Stefano Caneva, dobbiamo ricordarci che la cultura religiosa dionisiaca d'età ellenistica, con la sua forte componente regale, arrivava proprio dall'area macedone-tracica: si tratterebbe

[21] AE 1995, 1362.

[22] A. TOMAS, *Liber Pater or Dionysus?* cit., pp. 257-259.

[23] CIL, III, 14396b; AE 1912, 179; AE 1954, 102; 160.

[24] Sulle implicazioni di natura sia politica sia religiosa di quest'associazione fra Dioniso e il potere, che attecchì anche nella Roma tardorepubblicana almeno fino ad Augusto vd. S. CANEVA, *Configurations publiques de Dionysos* cit., pp. 99-116; Stefano G. CANEVA, *The Power of Naming. Studies in the Epicletic Language of Hellenistic Honours*, Presses Universitaires de Liège, Liège, 2023, pp. 46-47 nota 82, 85 nota 91. Cfr. anche Jean-Marie PAILLER, *Dionysos against Rome? The Bacchanalian Affair: a Matter of Power(s)*, in *Dionysus and Politics: Constructing Authority in the Graeco-Roman World*, F. Doroszewski, D. Karłowicz (eds.), Routledge, New York, 2021, pp. 63-88. Da ultimo Stefano G. CANEVA, *Dioniso a Pergamo dopo gli Attalidi: fra culto, identità civica e programma politico*, in *Ancient Cities* VII. *Il senso di appartenenza nelle città greche dall'epoca classica all'età imperiale romana: una cultura condivisa di ginnasi, feste, cerimonie, competizioni, connessioni, integrazione. Convegno Internazionale (Frascati 25-27 ottobre 2024)*, in corso di stampa. Per un'eventuale riaffermazione del rapporto fra *Liber Pater* e sovranità in età imperiale sembrano significative le dediche in cui il dio è onorato come *conservator Augusti* o *Augustorum*: ILBulg. 8b = AE 1927, 45 = AE 1995, 1328 (*Oescus*); AE 2013, 1336 (*Novae*); AE 1928, 106 (*Lambaesis*), oppure in cui il dio riceve dediche *pro salute* degli imperatori: CIL, VIII, 14546 (Africa Proc.); AE 1968, 519 (*Petra*); CIL, III, 1092 (*Apulum*); AE 1999, 1295 (*Tibiscum*); CIL, III, 14214, 1 (*Tropaeum Traiani*); CIL, XIV, 30 (*Portus*); molte di queste iscrizioni provengono proprio dalle province danubiane.

quindi di un eventuale ritorno nei Balcani, sebbene con caratteri modificati nel tempo e nello spazio[25].

Alexandru Diaconescu ha sostenuto che il culto sarebbe arrivato in Dacia e Pannonia dalla Mesia Inferiore e dalla Tracia[26]. Ma in Dacia il santuario di *Liber Pater* di *Apulum*, così come la comunità di *Napoca* devota a *Liber Pater*, mostrano un legame molto forte proprio con l'Asia Minore.

In realtà, come mi fa osservare Csaba Szabó, la questione del rapporto *Bacchus*/*Liber Pater* era già fonte di discussione per autori antichi, come Plutarco (*Quaestiones Romanae* 288-289). Bruhl e Wissowa pensavano che l'associazione fra *Liber Pater* e l'antico dio italico *Liber* fosse avvenuta a Roma dopo il 186 a.C., quando *Bacchus/Dionysus* fu bandito con *senatus consultum*. Per rendere questo culto compatibile con le regole religiose repubblicane romane furono attribuiti a *Liber* i connotati di Giove. Secondo quest'ipotesi la "creazione" di *Liber Pater* sarebbe perciò avvenuta a Roma in epoca tardorepubblicana[27]. In Tracia e in Asia Minore il culto potrebbe invece essere rimasto quello greco tradizionale. Ma allora nell'area danubiana che tipo di dio è *Liber Pater* nel II-III secolo? Quello greco originale della Tracia e dell'Asia Minore o quello "repubblicano" di Roma? *Liber Pater* nell'Impero romano del II secolo d.C. potrebbe non essere più una divinità locale (tracia, o microasiatica), ma neppure quella repubblicana classica, un dio che si presenta con un nome latino creato in seguito all'appropriazione religiosa romana d'età repubblicana, ma che rispecchierebbe al tempo stesso una tradizione locale proveniente dalla Tracia e dalla *Moesia*.

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[25] Cfr. Stefano G. CANEVA, *From Alexander to the Theoi Adelphoi: Foundation and Legitimation of a Dynasty*, Peeters, Leuven, 2016, pp. 81-127.

[26] Cfr. Alexandru DIACONESCU, *A Statue of Liber Pater from Apulum (Alba Iulia)*, in «ActaMN», 38, 1, 2001, pp. 161-176; Alexandru DIACONESCU, Alfred SCHÄFER, *Das Liber-Pater-Heiligtum von Apulum (Dakien)*, in *Römische Religion und Provinzialreligion*, H. Cancik, J. Rupke (eds.), Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 1997, pp. 195-218.

[27] Su questo problema sono ancora illuminanti le considerazioni di Enrico MONTANARI, *Identità culturale e conflitti religiosi nella Roma repubblicana*, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Roma, 1988, pp. 103 ss.; cfr. Dario SABBATUCCI, *La religione di Roma antica dal calendario festivo all'ordine cosmico*, Il Saggiatore, Milano, 1999, pp. 126-129; Stéphanie WYLER, *Loufir/Liber at the Crossroads of Religious Cultures in Pompeii (Third–Second Centuries BC)*, in *Gods and Goddesses in Ancient Italy*, Edward Bispham, Daniele Miano (eds.), Routledge, London, 2020, pp. 85-100; Daniele MIANO, *Liber, Fufluns, and the Others: Rethinking Dionysus in Italy between the Fifth and the Third Centuries BCE*, in *Dionysus and Rome. Religion and Literature*, Fiachra Mac Góráin (ed.), De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston, 2020, pp. 111-132; Gesine MANUWALD, *Dionysus / Bacchus / Liber in Cicero*, in *Dionysus and Rome. Religion and Literature*, *ibidem*, pp. 157-175.

Facendo mia la soluzione suggeritami da Csaba Szabó, "the answer is essentially a glocal one: Liber Pater in the 2nd century AD in the Roman Empire cannot be anymore a local (Thracian, microasian) divinity, but it is clearly not the classical Republican one. It is a glocal god, which uses the Latin name created by Republican Roman religious appropriation, but essentially it is a local tradition coming from Thracia, Moesia".

Solo una futura analisi di tutte le iscrizioni potrà forse aiutare a comprendere l'evoluzione di questo dio e del suo culto.

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THE EXPRESSION OF LOVE IN 17TH-18TH CENTURIES FRANCE. THE CASE OF A GEMSTONE FROM ORGHIDAN COLLECTION (THE NUMISMATIC CABINET OF THE ROMANIAN ACADEMY, BUCHAREST)*

*Ștefana Cristea***

***Abstract**: The gemstones from Orghidan Collection from the Numismatic Cabinet of the Romanian Academy were briefly published in 1974 by M. Gramatopol and included 965 gems and cameos, some of them mounted in necklaces, rings, pendants, or brooches. In addition to ancient and medieval gems and cameos, there is a considerable number of gems and cameos from the Renaissance period and the following centuries. An interesting case is represented by a gemstone that can be dated to 17th-18th centuries, and which was probably made in France. The closest analogy found for this gemstone, as an iconographic model and inscription, is a busk from whalebone or ivory used on a corset and love tokens from 17th-18th centuries. However, there were also rings used on the occasion of engagements or marriages, the so-called posy rings, made and given as a promise of love, and this gemstone probably belonged to such a ring.*

***Keywords**: Orghidan Collection, Numismatic Cabinet of the Romanian Academy, carved gemstones, Neoclassicism, love token, busks.*

INTRODUCTION

The Orghidan Collection is a significant assemblage of numismatic and archaeological artifacts donated to the Romanian Academy by Constantin C. Orghidan in 1944[1]. This collection is renowned for its extensive and valuable items, including over 10.000 ancient Greek, Roman, Byzantine, medieval

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[1] For the history of the Numismatic Cabinet of the Romanian Academy collection see Emanuel PETAC, *De la agonie la extaz și înapoi. Vârsta de aur a Cabinetului numismatic al Academiei Române (1919-1947) și „problemele numismaticei în România Mare"*, in *Istoria Bibliotecii Academiei Române 1919-1947. Partea III*, București, 2024, pp. 537-683.

coins, seals, and 965 engraved gemstones[2], and jewellery. It is considered one of the most representative numismatic collections ever assembled by a private collector in Romania. In 1944, Ing. Constantin C. Orghidan[3], prominent Romanian numismatist and antiquarian, honorary member of the Romanian Academy, donated his extensive collection to the Romanian Academy. The donation was made during a period of political and social upheaval in Romania, and the collection's arrival at the Academy marked a significant enrichment of its holdings. The Orghidan Collection provided invaluable resources for research in the fields of numismatics, archaeology, and history, offering insights into various ancient civilizations and their interactions. Following the donation, the Orghidan Collection was catalogued and preserved by the Romanian Academy Library. Over the years, the collection has been investigated by researchers and scholars to study the material culture mostly of ancient societies. It has also been featured in exhibitions, allowing the public to appreciate the historical and artistic value of the artifacts.

The Orghidan Collection, housed now at the Romanian Academy Library and the National History Museum of Romania, encompasses a diverse array of artifacts, including a notable selection of Neoclassical gemstones. These carvings often depict mythological figures, deities, and scenes from daily life, reflecting the iconographic preferences of the time. The craftsmanship demonstrates advanced techniques in gem engraving, highlighting the skill of engravers. The gemstones in the collection are crafted from various materials, including agate, carnelian, and jasper. The choice of material often correlates with the intended use and cultural significance of the piece or engraver's preference. Engraving techniques vary, with some pieces showcasing intricate detailing and others emphasizing bold, clear imagery.

These gemstones were used as personal adornments, signet rings, or amulets, serving both decorative and functional purposes. The motifs engraved on the stones provide a window into the religious beliefs, social hierarchies, and daily activities of the societies that produced them.

The Orghidan Collection stands as a testament to the knowledge and vision of Constantin C. Orghidan and his dedication to preserving universal cultural heritage. It continues to serve as a vital resource for academic research and public education, reflecting the rich tapestry of human history through its diverse and well-preserved artifacts.

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[2] Mihai GRAMATOPOL, *Les pierres gravées du Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine*, Colléction Latomus, Volume 138, Bruxelles, 1974.

[3] C. STIRBU, G. TOHANI, N. TOHANI, *Inginerul Constantin C. Orghidan (1874-1944). Studiu genealogic și istoric*, in «Revista Muzeului Național de Istorie a României», XVI, 2004, pp. 235-268.

DESCRIPTION

The gemstone that represents the subject of this paper can be found in Gramatopol's book in the chapter dedicated to modern glyptics at number 780[4]. The description provided by Gramatopol is as follows: "Amour, avançant vers la droit; dans les mains, il tient deux coeurs; au pourtour, inscription: VNIS A IAMAIS. Cornaline rougeâtre translucide; format ovale: 13 mm x 10; ép.: 2,5 mm; revers convexe; margetaillée. Inv. 117. Pl. XXXVII.

The image on this carnelian gemstone depicted Amor/Cupid as a naked child, in profile, advancing to the left of the image. A single small wing is schematically represented. The head and abdomen are disproportionately large compared to the body, and the legs are represented with very developed calves. With the outstretched hand he carries two hearts, schematically represented as two spheres. The ground line, quite thick, cuts Amor's soles of the feet. Above the character it is written VNIS A IAMAIS. The piece is a little broken near the letter A in the center of the text and has traces of use.

ANALOGIES AND INTERPRETATION

The closest analogy we found is not a gemstone, but a clothing accessory found in the Louvre Museum[5]: this is a whalebone busk that was the centerpiece of a corset. It is dated 1640-1660 and is decorated with a floral pattern interrupted here and there by images representing one or two arrowed hearts and various love messages: PARTOVT AMOUR, VNIS A JAMAIS, and UN SVEL ME BLESSE.

Baleens (whale fin or whalebone)[6] used as part of the corset were decorated with floral motifs, with images of ancient deities, portraits of those who gave them as a gift or of those who received them, or poems in which love was expressed. The materials from which those central pieces of corsets ere made could also be ivory, wood or metal. The connection between these fashion accessories and social phenomena such as courtship, engagement or marriage, have been increasingly addressed in recent years. They represented very personal objects worn close to the skin and heart, which could be a suitable medium for transmitting messages of love and promises between lovers. Sometimes names or dates could be engraved. It is no wonder that we find the buks mentioned in various literary works such as Balzac's "Modeste

[4] Mihai GRAMATOPOL, *Les pierres gravées cit.*, p. 97, Pl. XXXVII.

[5] Philippe MALGOUYRES, *Ivoires de la Renaissance et des Temps modernes. La collection de musée du Louvre*, Paris, 2010, p. 188, Nr. 130.

[6] Sarah Anne BENDALL, *Whalebone and the Wardrobe of Elizabeth I. Whaling and the Making of Aristocratic Fashions in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, in «Apparence(s)», 11, 2022, https://doi.org/10.4000/apparences.3653.

Mignon" (1844)[7] or Donne's "Elegy 19"[8]. Recent scholarship has shown that busks were not only structural elements in female dress but also carried deep cultural, emotional, and even erotic meanings[9]. They were long, flat pieces of wood, metal, or whalebone inserted into the center front of stays, sometimes removable and elaborately decorated. By the second half of the seventeenth century, decorated busks were often exchanged during courtship as tokens of love, much like rings. Many surviving examples bear inscriptions such as initials, hearts, arrows, or biblical verses, functioning as pledges carried close to the heart. Earlier in the century, busks and the ribbons securing them (busk-points) were also charged with erotic undertones, appearing in literary works as emblems of desire and seduction[10]. By the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, busks became firmly romanticized, with mass-produced versions inscribed with common mottos like 'Unis à jamais'. This evolution demonstrates how a seemingly simple object could act as a material language of love and intimacy in early modern Europe.

In parallel, the use of medals, coins, and tokens as love and marriage symbols was widespread in France and beyond. The so-called *denier à épouser*, sometimes grouped into sets of thirteen coins (*treizains*), was used in wedding ceremonies as a Christianized form of dowry and marital contract. Marriage medals and jetons, often inscribed with mottos of fidelity such as *Fundit amor lilia mixta rosis* or decorated with clasped hands (*fides*), served both public and private functions. By the early modern period, these numismatic objects evolved into personalized tokens, engraved with names and dates, much like engraved busks or gemstones, acting as material pledges of love and fidelity[11]. There are examples of such coins used as dowry with the text DENIER * POVR * EPOVZER and the image of two burning hearts pierced by an arrow on reverse and with the text VNIS A IAMAIS and the image representing two hands joined under a burning heart on obverse. This type of coin is very similar to the gemstone from the Orghidan Collection, and we can conclude that this gem was part of a ring offered on the occasion of a

[7] "Avoir tenu cette lettre entre sa chair et son corset, sous son busc brûlant, pendant toute une journée!".

[8] Sandy FEINSTEIN, *Donne's "Elegy 19": The Busk between a Pair of Bodies*, in «Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900», 34, 1, The English Renaissance (Winter, 1994), pp. 61-77.

[9] Sarah Anne BENDALL, *Shaping Femininity. Foundation Garments, the Body and Women in Early Modern England*, London/New York/Oxford/New Delhi/Sydney, 2022.

[10] Sarah Anne BENDALL, *To Write a Distick upon It: Busks and the Language of Courtship and Sexual Desire in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century England*, in «Gender & History», 26, 2, August 2014, pp. 199-222.

[11] Henri TERISSE, *La numismatique du mariage*, in «OMNI», 11, 07/2017, pp. 288-307.

wedding or engagement as a promise of love. Can be probably dated in the second half of the 17th century or in the 18th century and included in the category of love tokens.

CONCLUSIONS

In the 17th and 18th centuries, love tokens and decorated busks were not merely ornamental; they were deeply embedded in the rituals of courtship, marriage, and the construction of feminine identity. Henri Terisse's *La numismatique du marriage* reveals how marriage medals, tokens, and commemorative coins served as public affirmations of union, often featuring symbolic imagery and inscriptions that celebrated marital bonds and social status. These objects acted as tangible expressions of affection and commitment, reinforcing societal expectations of fidelity and propriety[12].

Similarly, Sarah A. Bendall's research on the use of whalebone in the wardrobe of Elizabeth I highlights how materials like whalebone were utilized to create the structured silhouettes that became emblematic of aristocratic fashion. This innovation in tailoring not only transformed the physical appearance of the wearer but also symbolized ideals of self-control, civility, and physical uprightness, which were central to the aristocratic identity of the time[13]. Decorated busks, rigid inserts placed in the bodices of women's garments, functioned as intimate tokens within romantic relationships. Often inscribed with personalized messages or adorned with decorative elements, these busks conveyed sentiments of love and desire, allowing women to express their emotions and assert agency within the constraints of societal norms.

Engraved gemstone rings, particularly posy rings[14], served also as intimate symbols of affection and commitment during 17th and 18th centuries. These rings, often inscribed with short verses or mottos, were exchanged between lovers as tokens of esteem and fidelity. Their popularity was rooted in the cultural practices of the time, where personal adornments carried significant emotional and social weight. The inscriptions on these rings often conveyed sentiments of love, loyalty, and devotion, reflecting the values and expectations of courtship and marriage during this period. The choice of gemstones, such as diamonds and garnets (but not exclusively), further

[12] *Ibidem*.

[13] Sarah Anne BENDALL, *Whalebone and the Wardrobe of Elizabeth I* cit.

[14] E. WATERTON, Posy Rings, in «Archaeological Journal», 16, 1, 1859, pp. 307-317. https://doi.org/10.1080/00665983.1859.10851116; J. EVANS, *Posy Rings*, London, 1956.

imbued the rings with symbolic meanings, aligning with contemporary beliefs in the virtues of precious stones[15].

These artifacts not only highlight the personal emotions of the individuals involved but also offer insights into the broader societal norms and practices surrounding love and relationships in early modern England. Through their study, we gain a deeper understanding of how material culture intersected with personal sentiment and social conventions. Collectively, these artifacts - love tokens, marriage medals, and decorated busks - served as material expressions of affection, status, and identity. They provided individuals, particularly women, with means to navigate and negotiate the complex interplay between personal emotions and societal expectations during 17th and 18th centuries. From the Orgidan Collection, this gemstone embodies an artifact that mirrors the tension between societal expectations, the ever-changing rituals of courtship and marriage, and the quest of feminine identity to find its own voice.

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Gemstone from the Orghidan Collection
(the Numismatic Cabinet of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest)

Busk – Louvre Museum, Paris (public domain)

ZOE GÂRBEA TOMELLINI. DA NOTE DI VIAGGIO ALL'ESPORTAZIONE DELLA PROPAGANDA FASCISTA*

*Iuliana Delia Bălăican***

Abstract. *The essay addresses the political dynamics that characterized the post-war period of 1866. From that point on, once the Kingdom of Italy's emergency phase had passed, a competition developed between new political perspectives and the resistance of traditional liberal currents. After the turning point of 1873, a political competition emerged to lead the transformation of the parties necessary for a policy of reform and to pacify internal conflicts within the State. This was the challenge of Agostino Depretis' "transformismo".*

Keywords: *Moesia Inferior, Thracia, rural areas, Syria, Roman army.*

L'atmosfera familiare in cui è cresciuta Zoe Gârbea (1884? [1] – dopo il 1963[2])[3]

Un ambiente intellettuale, con una vasta biblioteca e una storia di personalità culturali e politiche, tra cui Zoe Gârbea e sua sorella Magdalena quando era bambina, descritta in un'intervista del 1932, registrata sulla rivista

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[1] Arhivele Municipiului București, *Primăria Comunei București, Registru pentru căsătoriți pe anul 1909*, Nr. act. 2654, p. 279-280; Il certificato di matrimonio del 1909 riporta che Zoe aveva 25 anni a quella data, il che significa che sarebbe nata nel 1884, il che sembra più veritiero dei dati pubblicati sul sito web dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, che affermano che Zoe Gârbea nacque il 16 novembre 1893: https://milano-archivi-biblioteca.unicatt.it/entita/0bfb206a-7753-4a67-8c99-899347b2766e/Garbea-Tomellini,%20Zoe/informazioni?size=10.

[2] Fondazione Nenni, *Lettere a Nenni da cittadini e compagni (gennaio-dicembre 1963)*, Busta 63 – fasc. 2080 1, Zoe Gârbea Tomellini a Pietro Nenni, Via Roma 3, Genova, 18. I. 1963.

[3] Alcune informazioni biografiche riguardanti Zoe Gârbea Tomellini sono state pubblicate in Delia BĂLĂICAN, *«Sorella minore» – începutul diplomației culturale realizate de Zoe Gârbea Tomellini în Italia*, in «Revista Bibliotecii Academiei Române», Anul 10, Nr. 19, ianuarie-iunie 2025, pp. 63-104.

«Rampa», dalla madre delle ragazze, 'Smara' come l'aveva precedentemente chiamata il poeta Mihai Eminescu[4]. Da parte di madre, Zoe è molto patriottica, appassionata di scrittura, altruista e intraprendente in progetti sociali[5]. Da adulta a Genova, Zoe non riaffermerà mai più le sue origini romane[6].

Smaranda Gheorghiu (1857-1944) è stata una nota scrittrice e attivista femminista dell'epoca; Nacque Andronescu e, da ragazza, i suoi genitori la diedero in sposa a George Gârbea, da cui divorziò dopo 10 anni, per poi crescere le figlie da sola. Nel 1894 Smaranda si risposò con il geniale capitano Petre Gheorghiu, ma dopo un anno rimase vedova, mantenendo però il suo cognome per tutta la vita[7]. La fama di Smara è rimasta legata alla sua passione per i viaggi «dalla calda e amata Italia al gelido Capo Nord[8], e al fatto di essere stata la prima donna romena a raggiungere il Polo Nord»[9].

George Gârbea (?-1919), il primo marito di Smaranda, sebbene uomo di eccezionale cultura, insegnante, scrittore, giornalista e iniziatore del ginnasio di Târgoviște, si rivelò un personaggio difficile, dall'indole violenta[10]. A causa di una costante estraneità familiare, matrimoni turbolenti hanno segnato la vita di tre generazioni di donne: la madre di Smara, Alexandrina Vlădescu, Smara nel suo primo matrimonio e, poi, Zoe Gârbea Tomellini[11].

Il primo contatto di Zoe con l'ambiente italiano avvenne durante la sua infanzia, a Sinaia, quando sua madre era l'unica maestra di diverse decine di figli di lavoratori italiani al castello di Peleș[12].

Con il trasferimento a Bucarest, Smaranda non solo fece carriera, ma la capitale offrì anche opportunità per l'istruzione delle sue figlie; ad esempio, assistere regolarmente ai concerti all'Ateneo[13].

Dopo aver completato gli studi secondari presso l'Istituto «Despina Doamna» nel 1896[14], Zoe Gârbea si diplomò al Conservatorio nell'estate del 1903, nella classe di declamazione (arte drammatica) tenuta da Constantin

[4] «Rampa», Anul 15, Nr. 4402, 19 septembrie 1932, p. 6.

[5] *Ibidem*.

[6] Fondazione Nenni, cit.

[7] Alina SIMINICEANU, *Smara Gheorghiu în Arhiva Istorică a Colecţiilor Speciale ale Bibliotecii Naţionale a României,* in «Revista Bibliotecii Naţionale a României», Anul 15, Nr. 1-2, 2009, p. 29 - 45.

[8] „Ziarul Științelor și al Călătoriilor", Anul 58, Nr. 7, 8 februarie 1944, p. 131.

[9] Idem, Anul 32, 1928, Nr. 36-42, 44, 46, 47, 49, seria *O româncă spre Polul Nord*, d-na. Smara.

[10] «Rampa», cit.

[11] Alina SIMINICEANU, *Smara Gheorghiu* cit.

[12] «Rampa», cit.

[13] *Ibidem*.

[14] «Timpul», Nr. 140, 26 iunie 1896, p. 2.

Nottara e Aristița Romanescu. L'esame finale si svolse al Teatro Nazionale, dove impressionò piacevolmente il pubblico[15].

Scegliere la professione di giornalista. I primi articoli che divulgano l'arte, la letteratura e la musica italiana.

Nell'ottobre del 1903, Zoe Gârbea, diplomata e premiata studentessa del Conservatorio di canto, partì per Milano con l'intenzione di proseguire gli studi[16]. Nello stesso periodo Luigi Tomellini frequentava la Facoltà di Medicina a Milano.

La sua formazione musicale la aiutò in seguito nel suo lavoro giornalistico, nella promozione della vita culturale italiana tra i romeni.

Seguendo la tradizione familiare, nel 1907, Zoe Gârbea praticava già il giornalismo, pubblicando articoli con la propria firma[17]. Abbiamo scoperto che, nel 1906, scrisse sotto gli pseudonimo 'Zina' cronache dell'Esposizione Internazionale di Milano[18] o 'Gioia'[19] per traduzioni di *Manifesti futuristi* o articoli favorevoli alla nuova tendenza[20].

Sulla stampa romena il nome Zoe Gârbea appare per la prima volta, molto probabilmente nel 1907, sulla rivista «Luceafărul», con l'articolo *L'Esposizione d'Arte di Venezia*[21], mentre sulla stampa italiana la troviamo, dal 1909, come collaboratrice della rivista «Donna»[22]. Nel 1922 venne accreditata come corrispondente dei giornali romeni alla Conferenza di Genova, successivamente confermata dalla Legazione romena a Roma[23].

Matrimonio con Luigi Tomellini

Nell'autunno del 1902, un gruppo di 17 studenti italiani, accompagnati dal professore filoromeno Giglio Tos, presidente dell'Associazione «Corda-Fratres», visitò la Romania[24]. Uno degli studenti italiani era Luigi Tomellini

[15] «Universul», Anul 21, Nr. 146, 31 mai 1903, p. 2.

[16] Idem, Anul 23, Nr. 289, 21 octombrie 1903, p. 2.

[17] Idem, Anul 25, Nr. 125, 10 mai 1907, p. 2.

[18] Idem, Anul 24, Nr. 159, 13 iunie 1906, p. 1, Idem, Anul 24, Nr. 201, 25 iulie 1906, p. 2, Idem, Anul 24, Nr. 299, 31 octombrie 1906, p. 1, «Universul», Anul 24, Nr. 346, 17 decembrie 1906, p. 2.

[19] Mădălina LASCU, *Craiova, poarta de intrare a avangardei europene pe teritoriul românesc? Noi precizări privind pătrunderea futurismului în România*, in «Caietele Avangardei», Nr. 1, 2013, pp. 16-22.

[20] «Viitorul», Anul 2, Nr. 337, 16 octombrie 1908, p. 1.

[21] «Luceafărul», Anul 6, Nr. 16, Sibiu, 15 august 1907, pp. 351-353.

[22] «Universul», Anul 27, Nr. 105, 20 aprilie 1909, p. 2; «Donna», Anno 6, N. 121, Torino, 5 gennaio 1910, p. 6.

[23] Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe al României, Fond Roma, Dosar 307.

[24]Idem, Anul 20, Nr. 265, 27 septembrie 1902, p. 2.

(1880-1966) [25], che sposò nel 1909[26]. L'evento ebbe luogo domenica 5 dicembre 1909 a Genova.

Zoe è nata a Bucarest, aveva 25 anni e lavorava come pubblicista. Luigi veniva dalla Toscana, da Prato, aveva 29 anni ed era professore all'Università di Genova e medico legale, allo stesso tempo[27].

Luigi (1880 - 1966) era figlio di Leopoldo Tomellini, direttore sanitario dell'ospedale Misericordia e Dolce di Prato, che seguì nella sua carriera, laureandosi in Medicina Legale nel 1904. Luigi Tomellini ha intrapreso la carriera nel campo della medicina legale. Scrisse un *Manuale di Polizia Giudiziaria*[28] e mise in atto un metodo innovativo di strumentalizzazione dei casi mediante la fotografia, un metodo appena introdotto in Francia[29].

Figlio di Zoe e Luigi, Radu Tomellini nacque il 1 maggio 1912 a Genova[30]. Radu seguì la professione del padre, inizialmente come assistente presso l'Ospedale Universitario di Genova, poi come direttore sanitario alle Terme Sant'Anna di Valdieri[31].

Luigi e Radu Tomelini, consoli di Romania a Genova

Dopo la Prima guerra mondiale, la famiglia Tomellini riprese la sua attività al servizio della Romania, in forma istituzionalizzata.

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[25] https://www.aft.it/it/fotografia-in-toscana/fotografi-a-prato/pagina2853.html (Figlio di Leopoldo, direttore sanitario a Prato dell'ospedale Misericordia e Dolce, ne segue la carriera laureandosi nel 1904 in medicina legale. Trasferitosi a Genova, dove esercita la libera professione di medico legale per oltre sessant'anni, vi muore nel 1966 e chiede di essere sepolto a Prato. Abbiamo notizie della sua passione dilettantistica per la fotografia, perché espone nella sezione «Fotografia» alla mostra artistica operaia del 1898 organizzata per la realizzazione della statua a Gaetano Magnolfi, dove viene premiato con la medaglia di bronzo. Non sono conosciute sue fotografie.)

[26] Radu D. ROSETTI, *Instantanee turistice*, București, Colecția „Universul Literar", Tipografia Universul, [1939], p. 87.

[27] Arhivele Municipiului București, *cit.*

[28] Luigi TOMELLINI, *Manuale di polizia giudiziaria: ad uso dei periti medico-legali, magistrati e funzionari di P. S.*, con prefazione del Prof. Alberto Severi, Milano, Ulrico Hoepli Editore, 1912, 352 p., con 161 incisioni ed 1 tavola a colori.

[29] *Photographie métrique, système Bertillon [Texte imprimé] : nouvel appareil de la Sûreté générale: mode d'emploi et considérations sur les applications à la médecine légale et l'anthropologie* / par le Dr Louis Tomellini; [publ. par le] Laboratoire du Service de l'identité judiciaire de la Préfecture de Paris, Lyon: A. Rey, 1908, Extrait de: «Archives d'anthropologie criminelle et de médecine légale», n° 170, 15 février 1908.

[30] «Gazzetta Uficiale della Republica Italiana», Anno 133, Numero 74, Parte Seconda, Roma, Sabato, 28 marzo 1992, p. 58.

[31] Alina SIMINICEANU, *Smara Gheorghiu* cit.

Dal 1 novembre 1919, con decreto reale, firmato dal re Ferdinando e dal ministro degli Affari Esteri – Nicolae Mișu, Luigi Tomellini fu nominato viceconsole onorario presso il Consolato Generale di Romania nella città di Genova; nello stesso periodo, Giulio Magni era stato promosso a un incarico analogo a Roma[32].

Con regio decreto, il 6 giugno 1921, il viceconsole onorario di Romania a Genova, Luigi Tomellini, fu promosso, a partire dal 1 giugno 1921, al grado di console onorario[33].

Seguendo le orme del padre, non solo nell'ambito medico, Radu Tomellini ricoprì a sua volta la carica di console onorario presso il Consolato Generale di Romania a Genova, dal 1 ottobre 1943[34].

Zoe Gârbea Tomellini e la sua attività diplomatica culturale in Italia, Egitto e Spagna

Il quotidiano «Românul» informava il pubblico romeno della conferenza La *«Sorella minore»*, una conferenza divulgativa ma molto 'ordinata' sull'arte e la letteratura romena, presentata al pubblico italiano a Torino[35], pubblicata sotto forma di opuscolo. L'«Universul» segnalava anche gli echi apparsi sul „Giornale di Sicilia", ovvero «un lungo e simpatico riassunto di una conferenza tenuta a Palermo al Circolo artistico da Zoe Gârbea-Tomellini»[36]. La *«Sorella minore»* - La conferenza del 18 giugno 1915, tenuta a Torino presso la Società di cultura, è stata pubblicata in un opuscolo[37]. Le informazioni contenute, pubblicate dopo l'intervento torinese si ritrovano in altre conferenze tenute in Italia a Milano, Roma, Genova, Parma, Venezia, Siena, ecc. prima e dopo la Prima guerra mondiale, come si evince dagli articoli della stampa italiana.

In un contesto storico complicato, quando la Prima guerra mondiale era scoppiata da un anno e la Romania era ancora corteggiata da alleanze politiche e militari, Zoe Gârbea Tomellini cercò di trovare il maggior numero possibile di ponti tra romeni e italiani e di presentare favorevolmente i romeni e la Romania in Italia. Attraverso le conferenze che tenne in varie città italiane, con un linguaggio elevato, un contenuto di idee sintetizzato e documentato,

[32] «Monitorul Oficial», Nr. 161, miercuri, 5 noiembrie 1919, p. 9037.
[33] Idem, Nr. 73, miercuri, 6 iulie 1921, p. 2677.
[34] «Monitorul Oficial», Anul CXI, Nr. 237, sâmbătă, 9 octombrie 1943, p. 9113.
[35] «Românul», Anul 46, Nr. 491, 11 septembrie 1915, p.1.
[36] «Giornale di Sicilia», Anno LV, Nr. 62, Palermo, 4-5 marzo 1915, p. 6.
[37] Conferenze e Prolvsioni, Estratto dal N. 16, Anno VIII, La «Sorella minore», *Confereza tenuta, 18 giugno 1915, alla «Società di cultura» di Torino dalla signora Zoe Gârbea Tomellini, corrispondente di giornali romeni*, Tipografia Armani & Stein, Roma, 1915, 12 p.

ma anche con un coinvolgimento emotivo, cercò di catturare la benevolenza e l'interesse degli italiani verso la Romania.

I vari tipi di argomenti utilizzati nel discorso motivano la politica ufficiale dello Stato romeno, esaltando la personalità del re Carol I e le conquiste del Partito Liberale a livello politico ed economico.

I capitoli della conferenza sono: *Breve storia dei romeni, La vitalità della Romania, Uno sguardo alla letteratura popolare, Poeti moderni, Marce funebri, Romanzieri e drammaturghi, Vita a Bucarest, Arte romena, Costumi e tradizioni romene*[38].

Pubblicò su molti giornali italiani argomenti favorevoli ai romeni e alla Romania: la rivista «Veritas»[39], «Giornale di Sicilia»[40], il quotidiano «Caffaro»[41], «Il Secolo XIX»[42], «Il Piccolo»[43], «Rassegna d'Europa politica», finanze, marina, lettere, scienze, industria"[44], «Il Lavoro»[45], «La Donna italiana»[46]ecc. È stata invitata a parlare dall'Istituto Fascista di Cultura dell'Università di Pisa, Teatro Rozzi di Siena, dal Liceo di Catania e dal Circolo della Stampa di Palermo[47].

Sulla stampa romena tenne informato il pubblico romeno sull'attualità italiana, divulgando vari eventi culturali, scientifici, sociali e politici.

Conferenze in Egitto. Zoe Gârârbea Tomellini ha tenuto delle conferenze al Cairo e ad Alessandria, in francese e italiano, sull'*Arte e la letteratura romena*[48]. L'evento è stato organizzato con il sostegno del rettore dell'Università del Cairo.

Contemporaneamente, Clotilda Averescu ha organizzato una mostra e una vendita di tessuti romeni. In questo contesto, i giornali egiziani hanno pubblicato articoli che lodavano l'arte romena[49].

Conferenze in Spagna – 1928. Dopo aver tenuto due conferenze sull'arte e la letteratura romena a Pisa e Livorno, proseguì a Madrid e Barcellona[50]. A

[38] *Ibidem*.
[39] «Rampa», Anul 7, Nr. 1824, 24 noiembrie 1923, p. 4.
[40] «Giornale di Sicilia», Anno LV, Nr. 62, Palermo, 4-5 marzo 1915, p. 6.
[41] «Universul», Anul 31, Nr. 356, 28 decembrie 1912, p. 2.
[42] «Il Secolo XIX», Anno XXX, N. 16, Genova, Sabato 16 Gennaio 1915, p. 2.
[43] «Il Piccolo», Parma, Anno VII, N. 105, 5 maggio 1925, p. 1.
[44] «Rassegna d'Europa politica, finanze, marina, lettere, scienze, industria», Genova, Anno 5, august 1927, p. 18-19.
[45] «Il Lavoro», Anno 11, N. 101, sabato 29 aprile 1933, p. 3.
[46] «La Donna italiana», Anno XVI, N. 338, Roma - Torino, 20 novembre 1920, 4.
[47] «Universul», Anul 51, Nr. 73, 16 martie 1934, p. 6.
[48] «Dimineața», Anul 23, Nr. 7329, 25 ianuarie 1927, p. 3.
[49] *Ibidem*.
[50] «Universul», Anul 46, Nr. 111, 17 mai 1928, p. 11.

Madrid tenne una conferenza al «Lyceum», l'importante club femminile della capitale spagnola, davanti a una sala piena di intellettuali. Giornali illustrati come «Estampa» di Madrid pubblicarono una fotografia di Zoe Gârbea Tomelini che indossava un bellissimo costume nazionale[51].

Sembra che sia stata ricevuta in udienza dal generale Primo de Rivera per un'intervista per il quotidiano «Universul» [52]. Nel suo articolo *Impressioni di un viaggio in Spagna*, pubblicato a Bucarest, sul quotidiano «Universul» il 19 giugno 1928, Zoe Gârbea Tomellini, sotto forma di riassunto delle notizie politiche provenienti da Madrid e Barcellona, discute il rapporto tra regimi autoritari e costituzionali, e tra dittatura e democrazia. La conclusione è che Spagna e Italia erano simili in termini sociali ed economici: non c'erano più scioperi, la bilancia commerciale era diventata più attiva e i Paesi erano diventati più ricchi[53].

La sua attività di traduttrice

Fu attraverso la madre Smara che conobbe Filippo Tommaso Marinetti[54], che faceva parte del gruppo romeno di traduttori dei *Manifesti futuristi*[55]. *Il Manifesto* di Marinetti era stato pubblicato in Romania, a Craiova, sul giornale «Democrația» [56], due settimane dopo Parigi[57].

In occasione di una serata musicale organizzata da Irina Procopiu a casa sua, Zoe Gârbea Tomellini fu presentata alla Regina Maria, che si dimostrò interessata al suo lavoro patriottico e letterario in Italia. In quell'occasione, la sovrana autorizzò Zoe Gârbea Tomellini a tradurre in italiano il suo libro *Gânduri și icoane din vremea războiului*[58], cosa che non sembra essere stata fatta.

Si sforzò di rendere possibile l'ingresso in Romania di autori che riteneva interessanti e validi e che avevano già avuto successo in Italia. È il caso di Luigi Pirandello[59].

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[51] «Estampa», Ano 1, Num. 18, Madrid, 1 Mayo 1928, p. 3.

[52] «Universul», Anul 46, Nr. 107, 11 mai 1928, p. 7.

[53] «Universul», Anul 46, Nr. 138, 19 iunie 1928, p. 7, Zoe Gârbea Tomellini, *Impresii dintr-o călătorie în Spania*.

[54] Alina SIMINICEANU, *Smara Gheorghiu* cit.

[55] Mădălina LASCU, *Craiova, poarta de intrare a avangardei europene pe teritoriul românesc? Noi precizări privind pătrunderea futurismului în România*, in «Caietele Avangardei», Nr. 1, 2013, pp. 16-22.

[56] «Democrația», Craiova, Anul 1, Nr. 19, 20 februarie 1909, pp. 3-6.

[57] Mădălina LASCU, *Craiova* cit.

[58] Viitorul, Anul 14, Nr. 3645, 16 mai 1920, p. 3.

[59] Arhivele Naționale ale României, *Fond familial Demetriade, Corespondență primită Aristide Demetriade, carte de vizită Zoe Gârbea Tomellini (s.a)*.

Nel 1929 fu pubblicato in romeno il romanzo *Dux Mussolini*, di Marghetita Sarfatti, tradotto dall'italiano da Zoe Gârbea Tomellini[60]. Il primo piatto riproduce una fotografia della dedica di Mussolini alla traduttrice, ottenuti durante il loro incontro a Roma nel 1927[61]. Il libro si trova nelle collezioni della Biblioteca dell'Accademia di Romania e faceva parte del Fondo speciale (FS) della biblioteca, un fondo vietato al pubblico durante il periodo comunista.

Nel 1942 Zoe Gârbea Tomellini ha tradotto dal romeno all'italiano *Sonetti italici*, il libro dell'avvocato e scrittore Ioan Grigore Perieșeanu (1879-1959), scrivendo la prefazione e le note[62]. Il libro si trova anche nelle collezioni della Biblioteca dell'Accademia di Romania.

Riconosciuta dalle autorità romene

Il lavoro di Zoe Gârbea Tomellini non passò inosservato alle autorità romene. Il 22 ottobre 1920, Re Ferdinando le conferì la medaglia 'Bene Merenti' per l'istruzione di prima classe, assegnata da Re Ferdinando in riconoscimento dei «servizi resi attraverso la propaganda in Italia»[63]. Octavian Goga, ministro dell'Istruzione pubblica ad interim, fu incaricato di redigere la relazione su proposta del primo ministro[64].

La Camera di Commercio Italo-Romena a Genova

Dopo la realizzazione della Grande Unione dei Romeni il 1 dicembre 1918, si intensificarono gli sforzi diplomatici per consolidare il nuovo Stato.

Al termine della conferenza internazionale di pace di Genova, un evento particolare attirò l'attenzione della stampa: l'inaugurazione della Camera di Commercio Italo-Romena il 24 aprile 1922[65], alla cui fondazione Zoe Gârbea Tomellini contribuì in modo determinante, essendo di fatto una sua iniziativa e il risultato delle sue conferenze di promozione della Romania.

La cerimonia di inaugurazione della Camera di Commercio Italo-Romena si svolse presso la Camera di Commercio di Genova, alla presenza del Ministro della Giustizia del Regno d'Italia, Luigi Rossi, e del Primo Ministro

[60] Margherita SARFATTI, *Dux Mussolini*, prefață de Benito Mussolini, traducere din limba italiană Zoe Gârbea Tomellini, Editura Universul, București, 1929, 255 p., 15 fotografii sepia.

[61] «Îndreptarea», Anul 9, Nr. 136, 16 iunie 1927, p. 3, Zoe Gârbea Tomellini, *O audiență la Duce*.

[62] I. Gr. PERIEȚEANU, *Sonetti italici*, Interpretazioni di G. Villaroel e M. Vassallo, prefazione e note di Zoe Garbea-Tomellini, Milano, Garzanti, 1941, 62 p.

[63] «Monitorul Oficial», Nr. 175, 11 noiembrie 1920, p. 6312.

[64] «Dimineața», Anul 17, Nr. 5105, 6 octombrie 1920, p. 5.

[65] «Viitorul», Anul 16, Nr. 4237, 28 aprilie 1922, p. 2.

romeno Ion I. C. Brătianu. Il Presidente della Camera di Genova, Attilio Bagnara. Ha augurato felici auspici per il futuro delle nazioni sorelle.

La delegazione romena era guidata dal Primo Ministro Ion I. C. Brătianu, seguito dal Ministro Constantin Diamandy e dal Ministro della Romania a Roma, Alexandru Emil Lahovary. Oltre al conte Luigi Rossi, la parte italiana era composta dal prefetto di Genova, Cesare Poggi; dal principe generale Maurizio Ferrante Gonzaga; dal deputato Giovanni Celesia di Vegliasco, da Giuseppe Canepa, dal direttore del quotidiano «Il Lavoro, dall'ingegnere Nabor Soliani, poi da direttori di banca, dal presidente della compagnia di navigazione Transatlantica, da professori universitari, deputati, senatori, dal comandante del porto di Marena, da giornalisti, ecc.»[66].

Fin dall'inizio della sua attività, l'istituzione godette del riconoscimento e della sovvenzione dello Stato italiano[67]. Ion I. C. Brătianu rispose a nome del governo romeno e diede il benvenuto alla nuova istituzione, auspicando la più stretta unione possibile tra le due nazioni, romena e italiana.

La Romania sta quindi cercando di migliorare le proprie condizioni finanziarie e di riconquistare la fiducia della comunità imprenditoriale italiana.

Il Presidente della Camera di Commercio di Genova ha parlato di un futuro auspicabile: «quando vedremo entrare e uscire dal nostro splendido porto navi cariche di prodotti di entrambi i Paesi, portando all'ombra delle rispettive bandiere, abbondanza e cordialità. Viva l'Italia! Viva Genova! Viva la Camera di Commercio Italo-Romena!" [68]. »

Nel 1926, la squadra della Camera di Commercio di Genova fu premiata dallo Stato romeno, attraverso il Ministero dell'Industria e del Commercio, con la firma di Re Ferdinando. Con decreto reale, la medaglia «Merito Comercial e Industrial» di classe I fu assegnata ai signori Attilo Bagnara, Presidente della Camera di Commercio Italiana: Attilo Bagnara, Presidente della Camera di Commercio Italo-Romena di Genova; il dott. Manlio Masi, vicepresidente; l'ing. Artenio Ferrario, consigliere; Enrico Barbaro, consigliere; Dott. Luigi Tomellini, consigliere, console generale di Romania; Leo Schwarz, consigliere e viceconsole di Romania[69].

Nell'autunno del 1933, Paolo Scerni, nominato dall'Assemblea generale presieduta dal ministro romeno Ion Lugoșianu, assunse la direzione della Camera di Commercio Italo-Romena[70]. Paolo Scerni, grande ufficiale e armatore, possedeva una linea di navi nel Mar Nero, con un collegamento diretto Genova - Braila - Galati.

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[66] Idem, Anul 16, Nr. 4243, 6 mai 1922, p. 2.
[67] «Universul», Anul 50, Nr. 174, 29 iunie 1933, p. 5.
[68] «Viitorul», Anul 16, Nr. 4237, 28 aprilie 1922, p. 2.
[69] «Monitorul Oficial», Nr. 38, 16 februarie 1926, p. 1909.
[70] «Argus», Anul 23, Nr. 6193, 27 noiembrie 1933, p. 5.

Il ruolo della Camera di Commercio Italo-Romena a Genova si rivelò importante per favorire le relazioni commerciali, marittime e industriali tra i due Paesi. Attraverso le commissioni di ricerca istituite all'interno dell'ente, furono trovate soluzioni per superare gli ostacoli causati dalla grande crisi economica degli anni Trenta, relativi a: regime doganale, quote, capitali bloccati, difficoltà monetarie, indennizzi, ecc[71].

Visite di romeni a Genova - da studenti e intellettuali a politici o rappresentanti della Casa Reale

Uno dei modi in cui Zoe Gârbea Tomellini manteneva i contatti con il suo Paese era quello di ospitare romeni nella sua casa di Genova. I contemporanei hanno rievocato nelle loro memorie la sua ospitalità e la gioia di rinnovare i legami con la Romania a ogni riunione con i loro compatrioti.

Nicolae Iorga, il grande storico romeno che aveva documentato la storia delle relazioni medievali tra i porti danubiani di Chilia e Cetatea Albă e il porto di Genova nella sua opera I Genovesi nel Mar Nero, ricordava con piacere i giorni trascorsi a Genova in amichevole compagnia della famiglia Tomellini nel 1924[72].

Anche Radu Rosetti (1977 - 1949), generale, storico, membro dell'Accademia di Romania, in seguito criticato per le sue posizioni antisemite, fu un viaggiatore in Italia, visitando Genova e, naturalmente, la famiglia Tomellini nella loro casa sulla Circonvallazione di Mare, in via Aquarone 7. Nelle sue Memorie menziona l'amore della famiglia Tomellini per i romeni e il merito di Zoe Gârbea Tomellini, questa «degna donna», nel preservare «le buone relazioni italo-romene»[73].

Visita della Regina Maria a Genova - 29 aprile 1933

In piena crisi economica, il 29 aprile 1933 la Regina Maria si recò in visita a Genova, dove fu accolta, tra gli altri funzionari, dal Console Generale di Romania Luigi Tomellini e da sua moglie Zoe Gârbea Tomellini. Gli incontri con i politici italiani si tennero presso il Municipio della città e l'Hotel Bristol, e la Regina Maria fu molto rispettata dai suoi ospiti[74].

Ion Lugoșianu

Durante la sua visita di tre giorni a Genova alla fine di novembre 1933, il ministro romeno a Roma, Ion Lugoșianu, insieme alla moglie, ha partecipato

[71] Idem, Anul 25, Nr. 6685, 25 iulie 1935, p. 3.

[72] Nicolae IORGA, *O viață de om așa cum a fost – III Spre înseninare*, București, Editura N. Stroilă, 1934, pp. 119-120.

[73] Radu D. ROSETTI, *Instantanee turistice* cit.

[74] «Universul», Anul 50, Nr. 119, 5 mai 1933, p. 7.

a diversi eventi, a partire dalla Camera di Commercio Italo-Romena, dove ha tenuto un discorso in cui ha sottolineato l'importanza dell'istituzione nel contesto internazionale della crisi economica e gli sforzi di entrambi i Paesi per ristabilire la bilancia commerciale e intensificare la cooperazione commerciale[75]. In onore dell'ospite è stato organizzato un banchetto a cui hanno partecipato politici, tra cui il sindaco della città e importanti uomini d'affari. Il brindisi è stato fatto dal Console Luigi Tomellini. Il neopresidente Paolo Scerni ha sottolineato il ruolo della «coraggiosa romena» Zoe Gârbea Tomellini nell'iniziativa e nel lavoro con la Camera di Commercio Italo-Romena[76]. Il giorno successivo, Ion Lugoșianu ha decorato il medico Nicola Pende con l'Ordine della Stella di Romania a nome del re Carol II di Romania[77].

Il rapporto di Zoe Gârbea Tomellini con il fascismo

Zoe Gârbea Tomellini si dichiarò «interventista e fascista»[78]. L'anno decisivo fu il 1927, dopo l'udienza con il Duce, quando ottenne il diritto di tradurre il suo libro[79]; in quell'anno morirono il Re Ferdinando[80] e Ion I. C. Brătianu[81], fervente anti-Mussolini. La crisi economica del 1933 confermò la sua scelta ideologica con i risultati economici e sociali del regime autoritario. Nel 1938 aveva già fatto commenti ironici su falso quadro creato per impressionare le folle in occasione dell'incontro a Roma tra Hitler e Mussolini[82].

Il contesto in cui il regime fascista di Mussolini fu accolto positivamente negli anni Venti e Trenta, non solo nell'Europa orientale e centrale ma anche nei Paesi liberal democratici dell'Occidente, fu l'illusione che esso offrisse una risposta alle manifestazioni bolsceviche che minacciavano di rovesciare la società, come era accaduto in Russia, e una soluzione alla grande crisi economica del secolo scorso, a causa della quale i governi capitalisti sembravano essere allo stremo delle forze. Nel 1932, Benito Mussolini presentò ufficialmente il suo movimento come la logica terza via rispetto ai fallimenti del capitalismo e del comunismo.

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[75] *Ibidem*.

[76] *Ibidem*.

[77] «Universul», Anul 50, Nr. 335, 7 decembrie 1933, p. 1.

[78] Idem, Anul 51, Nr. 307, vineri 9 noiembrie 1934, p. 10, *Doisprezece ani*, di Zoe GÂRBEA TOMELLINI.

[79] «Îndreptarea», Anul 9, Nr. 136, 16 iunie 1927, p. 3, Zoe GÂRBEA TOMELLINI, *O audiență la Duce*.

[80] «Dimineața», Anul 23, Nr. 7410, 21 iulie 1927, p. 1.

[81] Idem, Anul 23, Nr. 7538, 26 noiembrie 1927, pp. 1, 3.

[82] «Universul», Anul 55, Nr. 114, 28 aprilie 1938, p. 10.

Il contesto in cui il regime fascista di Mussolini fu accolto positivamente negli anni Venti e Trenta, non solo nell'Europa orientale e centrale ma anche nei Paesi liberaldemocratici dell'Occidente, era l'illusione che esso offrisse una risposta alle manifestazioni bolsceviche che minacciavano di rovesciare la società, come era accaduto in Russia, e una soluzione alla grande crisi economica del secolo scorso, a causa della quale i governi capitalisti sembravano allo stremo delle forze. Nel 1932, Benito Mussolini presentò ufficialmente il suo movimento come la logica terza via rispetto ai fallimenti del capitalismo e del comunismo. Questo periodo segnò l'apice del suo potere e della sua influenza. Tutto questo cambiò con la sua rapida radicalizzazione, sia in politica estera che interna, quando invase l'Etiopia nel 1935 e impose l'adozione delle leggi razziali nel 1938[83].

Seguendo la frequenza della pubblicazione di storie sulla stampa romena correlate a periodi politicamente o socialmente difficili in Italia o in Romania, ho notato che Zoe Gârbea Tomellini ha adottato il metodo del silenzio invece di sanzionare gli eccessi estremisti in entrambi i Paesi.

L'interruzione delle apparizioni sulla stampa romena durante la Prima guerra mondiale è spiegabile, considerando la diversa politica estera dei due Paesi e la loro partecipazione a gruppi militari antagonisti nella guerra. Dal settembre 1915[84], al 1922, prima dell'apertura della Conferenza di Genova[85], non ci furono più interventi editoriali da parte sua.

Nel 1919 si ebbe una sola notizia sul suo lavoro in Italia[86], mentre l'anno successivo se ne ebbero tre, nel maggio e nell'ottobre del 1920[87], dopo di che fu pubblicata sulla Gazzetta Ufficiale la decisione sull'assegnazione della «ricompensa del lavoro» [88].

Un altro esempio della tipologia del discorso di Zoe Gârbea Tomellini in tempi di crisi è la sua reazione dopo il delitto Matteotti del 10 giugno 1924 a Roma, che portò alla chiusura delle sue apparizioni sulla stampa romena. Dal 18 maggio 1924[89] non pubblica più nulla fino al 19 ottobre 1924, in occasione del Congresso della stampa di Palermo, quando il suo articolo intitolato: *Note di viaggio da altri paesi. In Italia: Monreale-Piana dei Greci Mondello*[90].

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[83] Spencer M. Di Scala, *L'uomo che fece il fascismo. Mussolini e l'ascesa del populismo*, Roma, Castelvecchi Editore, 2022, p. 8.

[84] «Românul», Anul 46, Nr. 491, 11 septembrie 1915, p.1.

[85] «Viitorul», Anul 14, Nr. 4228, 16 aprilie 1922, p. 1.

[86] Idem, Anul 14, Nr. 3645, 16 mai 1920, p. 3; «Dimineața», Anul 17, Nr. 5105, 6 octombrie 1920, p. 5.

[87] «Dimineața», Anul 16, Nr. 4688, 20 mai 1919, p.1.

[88] «Monitorul Oficial», Nr. 175, 11 noiembrie 1920, p. 6312.

[89] «Rampa», Anul 7, Nr. 1966, 18 mai 1924, p. 1.

[90] «Viitorul», Anul 17, Nr. 4987, 19 octombrie 1924, p. 4.

Un altro evento che abbiamo monitorato è stato l'assassinio, il 29 dicembre 1933, di Ion Gheorghe Duca, primo ministro romeno in carica e capo del Partito Liberale, un atto perpetrato dal gruppo estremista «Arcangelo Michele»[91]. Per quanto riguarda la posizione della giornalista sulla tragedia, ancora una volta rimase in silenzio, nonostante fosse accreditata come corrispondente della stampa estera dal quotidiano liberale «Viitorul»[92]. Poco prima dell'attentato, il 4 dicembre 1933, la Legazione romena a Roma le aveva rilasciato l'accreditamento come giornalista corrispondente in Italia per i quotidiani romeni «Universul» și «Viitorul»[93].

Tuttavia, mezzo anno dopo la soppressione del politico, Zoe Gârbea Tomellini non avrebbe più pubblicato da nessuna parte sulla stampa romena.

In precedenza, aveva pubblicato della visita del ministro plenipotenziario a Roma, Ion Lugoșianu, alla Camera di Commercio italo-romena a Genova per partecipare all'assemblea generale annuale, evento riportato dettagliatamente negli articoli del 6 e 7 dicembre 1933[94].

Il 9 dicembre 1933, in un altro articolo su un tema italiano di diversa attualità, descriveva le possibilità di svago sul transatlantico 'Rex'. Lì aveva appena espresso le sue conclusioni favorevoli dopo dieci anni di fascismo: «L'impressione prevalente è quella di una civiltà che ha raggiunto il suo massimo sviluppo, dando ai popoli sottostanti opportunità prima non previste, di un progresso sorprendente raggiunto dall'Italia in dieci anni di fascismo»[95].

Tornando all'incontro con Ion Lugoșianu a Genova, l'evento ebbe conseguenze a vari livelli. Nell'aprile del 1933, il politico aveva da poco sposato Elena Popescu, figlia di Stelian Popescu, direttore del quotidiano «Universul» [96], e il diplomatico Nicolae Titulescu era il loro padrino[97]. In questo contesto relazionale, intensificò la sua collaborazione con il giornale «Universul»; si può dire che sostituì le sue apparizioni in «Viitorul» con quelle in «Universul».

Nel maggio 1934, Zoe Gârbea Tomellini riappare nelle cronache romene con la pubblicazione di un soggetto femminista su «Universul»: *Un'aviatrice italiana aristocratica*, sulla performance della marchesa Carina Negrone[98],

[91] Idem, Anul 25, Nr. 7785, 1 ianuarie 1934, p. 1

[92] Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe Române, Fond Roma, Dosar 307.

[93] *Ibidem*.

[94] «Universul», Anul 50, Nr. 334, 6 decembrie 1933, p. 1; Idem, Anul 50, Nr. 335, 7 decembrie 1933, p. 1.

[95] «Universul», Anul 50, Nr. 337, 9 decembrie 1933, p. 7.

[96] «Curentul», Anul 6, Nr. 1877, 25 aprilie 1933, p. 1.

[97] Elena Popescu LUGOȘIANU, *Jertfele mele: tatăl, soțul și fiul*, in «Memoria», Anul 4, Nr. 8, 1993, p. 64 - 76.

[98] «Universul», Anul 51, Nr. 132, 18 mai 1934, p. 8.

che tentò un record di altezza, proseguendo in luglio con un altro articolo divulgativo, Gli spettacoli di Verona[99].

L'adozione delle Leggi razziali in Italia, il 5 settembre 1938[100], è stato un altro argomento su cui Zoe Gârbea Tomellini non si è espressa. La stampa romena, tuttavia, ha riportato questa tendenza alla legislazione antisemita, iniziata in Germania. Ad esempio, «Universul», il 17 ottobre 1938, riportava che gli agenti di cambio ebrei in Italia erano stati banditi dalle borse[101]. Il 10 gennaio 1939, il quotidiano «Signale» pubblicò un 'piccolo' resoconto di una violenta polemica a Milano, dove era stata lanciata una forte offensiva contro il quotidiano cattolico «Italia», il cui direttore Maggi era accusato di aver organizzato una campagna di intellettuali cattolici contro le leggi razziali italiane. I rappresentanti della Chiesa cattolica erano accusati di sostenere che difendendo gli ebrei difendevano in realtà la Chiesa[102].

Nel 1932, a Milano, Mussolini fece la sua famosa previsione nel decimo anniversario della Marcia su Roma: «Tra dieci anni l'Europa sarà fascista o fascistizzata». Era passato il tempo in cui Mussolini si rifiutava di considerare il fascismo come una «voce da esportazione». Per attuare un simile piano, quindi, era necessario disporre di attori in grado di portare e trasmettere il fascismo in ambienti suscettibili di accoglierlo favorevolmente[103].

Il discorso di Zoe Gârbea Tomellini sarà calibrato in base all'evoluzione degli eventi politici in Italia e in Romania. Per la sua posizione sul regime di Mussolini, un articolo del 9 novembre 1934, pubblicato su «Universul», può essere considerato la chiave della sua corrispondenza con la stampa. In esso si dichiara «interventista e fascista» ed espone gli argomenti storici, mistici, spirituali, amministrativi, edilizi, sociali, ecc. a favore della politica di Benito Mussolini. L'articolo, una rassegna sul dodicesimo anniversario della Marcia su Roma, si intitola proprio così: Dodici anni, in cui elogia le qualità di Mussolini, ne apprezza il potere di persuasione e passa in rassegna le conquiste del governo autoritario:

[99] Idem, Anul 51, Nr. 194, 19 iulie 1934, p. 9.

[100] https://archiviodistatogenova.cultura.gov.it/valorizzazione-mostre-ed-eventi/valorizzazione-del-patrimonio-archivistico/dalle-leggi-razziali-allolocausto-genova-1938-1945/le-leggi-razziali

[101] «Universul», Anul 55, Nr. 283, 17 octombrie1938, p. 11.

[102] *Ibidem*.

[103] Olivier DARD et Jérémy GUEDJ, *Introduction, Les passeurs, acteurs et vecteurs d'un fascisme transnational en Europe (1922-1943)*, in *Passeurs culturels et politiques du fascisme italien en Europe (1922-1943)*, «Parlement[s], Revue d'histoire politique», 19, (2), 2024, pp. 9 - 20, https://shs.cairn.info/revue-parlements-2024-2?lang=fr, visto il 5 marzo 2025.

> «Il prestigio oggi acquisito dall'Italia, se è dovuto interamente all'indiscutibile genio di Mussolini, è anche il frutto del lavoro tenace, instancabile, crescente, disciplinato di tutto il popolo italiano, convinto di essere finalmente governato da un leader che ha ristabilito l'autorità dello Stato e che, con pugno di ferro, ha saputo vincere tutte le passioni nefaste che spingevano il Paese alla rovina»[104].

Prosegue rendendo omaggio al dittatore che aveva istituito la «disciplina di ferro», ma le cui qualità malvagie, come si vede, non aveva sufficientemente decriptato:

> «Io che vivo in Italia da quasi un quarto di secolo, e posso confrontare i dodici anni prima e i dodici anni dopo il fascismo, - benché interventista e fascista fin dal primo momento - tuttavia, con occhio limpido e chiaro, posso giudicare l'enorme differenza, soprattutto spirituale, che è avvenuta in Italia!. Ciò che è più interessante in questa radicale trasformazione non è solo l'accettazione di questo tipo di governo da parte del popolo più individualista, più insofferente alle costrizioni, più abituato a discutere, a fare e disfare la politica del proprio Paese, ma soprattutto l'accettazione della ferrea disciplina istituita dal regime!»[105]

Gli argomenti a favore di questo tipo di politica erano la rapidità e l'efficacia, lo splendore delle città, anche in chiave futuristica[106].

In un momento di riflessione, nell'agosto del 1936, evoca la tristezza e lo sconforto che la attanagliano, riferendosi alle conseguenze delle tensioni sociali e politiche in Spagna, nel contesto dell'arrivo di ondate di profughi spagnoli nel porto di Genova. L'immagine di persone in fuga con solo i vestiti che indossavano, a volte presi in prestito o con un cucciolo in braccio, invece di altri beni preziosi, la rende consapevole della sanguinosa direzione in cui si stava dirigendo la «follia collettiva» e del pericolo di distruzione della civiltà in atto[107].

Tuttavia, va notato che il termine «dittatura» è utilizzato solo come soluzione alle manifestazioni comuniste, in relazione al regime politico spagnolo imposto dal generale Primo de Rivera, sebbene nel resoconto della visita del 1928 fatta da Zoe Gârbea Tomellini[108], metta Primo de Rivera e Benito Mussolini sullo stesso piano.

> «Ho avuto l'audacia di confessare che avrei chiesto udienza al dittatore Primo de Rivera, come avevo chiesto per il Duca Mussolini. Fu un urlo di sarcasmo, un

[104] «Universul», Anul 51, Nr. 307, vineri 9 noiembrie 1934, p. 10, articolo *Doisprezece ani*, di Zoe GÂRBEA TOMELLINI.

[105] *Ibidem.*

[106] Delia BĂLĂICAN, «The Futurist City and Romanian Rhetoric by Zoe Gârbea Tomellini, in 1938», *Beauty and the Built Landscape Week. International Urban Design Congress, June 17-19, 2025, Viterbo.*

[107] «Universul», Anul 53, Nr. 213, 4 august 1936, p. 2.

[108] Idem, Anul 46, Nr. 138, 19 iunie 1928, p. 4.

> grido di disapprovazione con critiche drastiche e spietate a tutta l'opera del dittatore; c'erano ironie spietate rivolte ai madrileni orientali e moreschi... Ma chi avrebbe mai immaginato che la battaglia delle idee avrebbe dissanguato così tragicamente la nobile nazione latina, chi avrebbe pensato che le convulsioni politiche sarebbero durate così tanti anni?» (…)
>
> «Guardo con tristezza e sconforto questa umanità scossa nel profondo da una lotta che dovrebbe migliorare il suo destino, renderla più felice, darle una vita più umana... Penso che nulla possa essere più triste delle lotte fratricide e prego Dio di porre fine al più presto non solo alla rivoluzione spagnola, ma anche alla follia collettiva che senza desiderio e forse ci spinge tutti alla guerra e alla distruzione dell'attuale civiltà»[109].

Zoe Gârbea Tomellini, attenta alle «misteriose svolte della storia» [110], ha informato il pubblico romeno sulla visita di Hitler in Italia dal 3 al 9 maggio 1938 e su come le città di Roma, Napoli e Firenze si prepararono all'evento. L'articolo «Roma si prepara ad accogliere il signor Hitler», pubblicato il 28 aprile 1938 su «L'Universo», coglie l'ambientazione quasi cinematografica, una stupefacente combinazione di scenari naturali italiani, completati da tipiche rovine antiche e ravvivati da innovazioni tecnologiche, per impressionare l'ospite ma soprattutto per travolgere le folle[111]. Il suo messaggio assume toni propagandistici ma mantiene il suo realismo, ironizzando sull'atmosfera artificiale: «Non lasciamo che il secchio di pioggia inizi anche qui; M.S. la Pioggia che ride di bandiere, gagliardetti, ghirlande e svastiche... » [112].

Conclusioni

Il lato controverso del suo discorso è incentrato sul suo riferimento al regime politico fascista, al quale si appellava per un allontanamento dal bolscevismo, ma senza sanzionare gli assassinii politici, la restrizione delle libertà, in una parola la dittatura instaurata da Benito Mussolini. Legato all'adesione ideologica al regime fascista italiano, questo articolo analizza il contesto storico e le circostanze personali dello sviluppo del discorso giornalistico di Zoe Gârbea Tomellini.

[109]Idem, Anul 53, Nr. 213, 4 august 1936, p. 2.
[110] Idem, Anul 55, Nr. 134, 18 mai 1938, p. 7.
[111] Idem, Anul 55, Nr. 114, 28 aprilie 1938, p. 10.
[112] *Ibidem*.

THE SEPARATION OF THE ARCHITECT FROM THE CRAFTSMAN AND HIS RETREAT INTO THE WORLD OF IDEAS[*]

Rodica Dina[**]

Abstract: *The study follows the separation of the architect from the construction site and his retreat into the world of ideas, as a voluntary process and a deontological act. On a larger map of the first signs of this process of separation, the research stops on the Italian Renaissance and, more precisely, on the Albertian treatise and initiates the discourse starting from it. Alberti's statement that the architect is the author only of the architectural project, not of the final result, marks both the act of social emancipation of the architect (by separating him from the manufacturer), but also the beginning of a long and consistent process of operational fragmentation of the act of construction and, at the same time, the beginning of a process of distancing the architect from the construction site.*

Key-words: *separation, construction site, deontological act, Italian Renaissance, Albertian treatise, author.*

INTRODUCTION

The present project is part of a larger doctoral research, triggered by a certain gap (perceived as separation) between the mental space of design and the physical space of execution, identified empirically in the daily professional activity. The factors explaining this gap are multiple and could be identified in various levels of our present reality: political, economical, social or cultural. However, the study aims to *a deontological perspective* on the phenomenon and, therefore, directs the questions towards the design studio and the architect's daily activity. More precisely, the research investigates the architect's relationship with the construction site, studied through the level of precision of the project designed and graphically represented by the architect, as a barometer of this gap and as a possible starting point for a working methodology in architectural design.

There are three main questions which structure the doctoral discourse. The

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first one is whether *there is a gap* between design and execution, and if so, when did it occur, how did it unfold, and with what consequences on the profession and the project (as a whole). The present article attempts to answer part of this question.

On a larger map of the first signs of separation between architect and craftsman, project and execution, design studio and construction site, the research stops on the Italian Renaissance. In the history of the profession and the evolution of architectural practice, this period is *conventionally* seen as the moment[1] in which the architect detaches himself from the *manufacturer*[2], starts the complex process of moving architecture from the category of mechanical arts (i.e. manual) to that of liberal arts (i.e. intellectual)[3], declares for himself an *author*[4] status and changes the building team's *modus operandi*[5]. This is the moment from which we can talk about *architect*, as we understand this term today.

In this respect, the study follows the separation of the architect from the construction site[6] and his retreat into the world of ideas, as a *voluntary process and a deontological act*. Within this multivalent phenomenon, which today we call the Renaissance, the study leans punctually on the Albertian treatise and initiates the

[1] The term should be understood rather as a stage and not as a precisely defined time frame. In the academic environment, the Renaissance is associated with a temporal interval and a cultural-geographic space with vague boundaries, the question of its delimitation being an open one, without a precise answer. The study will return on this subject.

[2] "Faber" in the Albertian treatise (the 1546 edition; the first vulgar translation of the Latin text); "colui che lavora di mano" (the 1782 edition, printed in Italian, in Bologna); "the manual Operator" (the 1775 Leoni edition; the first English translation of the Italian text).

[3] The expression has its roots in the Latin correspondent *artes liberales*, which defined in the Roman world the education that free people and those from the privileged social classes could receive, with reference to mental activities (grammar, logic, geometry). The lower social classes were trained in *artes serviles*, which had a manual side, a mechanical one or dealt with nature. In the 5th century AD, Martianus Capella defines the seven liberal arts as: grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music. Later, in Western medieval universities, the seven liberal arts were: *Trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, logic) and *Quadrivium* (arithmetic, astronomy, music, geometry). Fine arts and architecture are not among them. Art, as we define it today, was considered a craft.

[4] The term is considered as 'creator', but the study will return to its meaning.

[5] This new paradigm is characterized by what Argan calls "consciousness of its own act": "The Renaissance begins, so far as the figurative arts are concearned, when to artistic activity is added the idea of art as a consciousness of its own act: it is the that the mediaeval *ars mechanica* becomes *ars liberalis*" (Giulio Carlo ARGAN, *The Architecture of Brunelleschi and the Origins of Perspective Theory in the Fiftheenth Century*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», IX, The Warburg Institute, London 1946, p. 97).

[6] The construction site is considered less as a physical space and more as a space of decisions needed in execution.

discourse starting from it. Alberti's statement[7] that the architect is the author only of the architectural project, not of the final result, marks both the act of social emancipation of the architect (by separating him from the manufacturer), but also the beginning of a long and consistent process of operational fragmentation of the act of construction and, at the same time, the beginning of a process of distancing the architect from the construction site.

This is the main hypothesis of the research. It is verified by means of two working tools: (1) an analysis of the Albertian text, in the fragments that overlap the subject, translated through a series of critical observations; (2) a synthetic research of the phenomenon of the architect's emancipation, in this early period of the profession's informal birth, in a cultural context.

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Some of the study's ideas have been researched before, from various angles. The most important are: the social emancipation of the architect and his authorship;[8] the operational and decisional fragmentation in the act of construction;[9] the frustration of separating the architect from the execution and the recovery of the construction site as a privileged moment of the architectural

[7] Leon Battista ALBERTI, *De re aedificatoria*, manuscript dated 1452, originally written in Latin and without illustrations.

[8] The subject has been addressed also in studies about the history of the profession: Spiro KOSTOFF (ed.), *The Architect: chapters in the history of the profession*, Oxford University Press, 1977; Maurizio MORANDI, *L'Architetto: Origini e trasformazioni di un ruolo*, Cluet, 1979; Andrew SAINT, *The Image of the Architect*, Yale University Press, 1983; Dana CUFF, *Architecture: the Story of Practice*, MIT Press, 1991; Louis CALLEBAT (ed.), *Histoire de l'Architecte*, Flammarion, 1998; George BARNETT JOHNSTON, *Assembling the Architect. The History and Theory of Professional Practice*, Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2020; Eleanor JOLIFFE, Paul CROSBY, *Architect. The Evolving Story of a Profession*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2023; in synthesis works: Howard DAVIS, *The Culture of Building*, Oxford, 2006; Jeremy TILL, *Architecture Depends*, MIT Press, 2009; Marvin TRACHTENBERG, *Building-in-time. From Giotto to Alberti and modern oblivion*, Yale University Press, 2010; Maria LOH, *Still lives. Death, Desire, and the Portrait of the Old Master*, Princeton University Press, 2015; Mario CARPO, *The Alphabet and the Algorithm*, MIT Press, 2011; in various papers and articles: Margaret HAINES, *Myth and Management in the Construction of Brunelleschi's Cupola*, in «I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance», 14-15, 2011, pp. 47-101; Mario CARPO, *Le dessin d'architecture et le problème de la copie chez Alberti*, in «Albertiana», XVI, 2013, pp. 111-119, to mention only a few of them.

[9] Howard DAVIS, *The Culture*, cit.; Sérgio FERRO, *O Canteiro e o Desenho*, Projeto Editores Associados, 1979; IDEM, p*A história da arquitetura vista do canteiro. Três aulas de Sérgio Ferro*, FAUUSP 2004, GFAU, 2010; Pier Vittorio AURELI (ed.), *The City as a project*, Ruby Press, 2016; IDEM, *Architecture and Abstraction*, MIT Press, 2023; Katie LLOYD THOMAS, Tilo AMHOFF and Nick BEECH (ed.), *Industries of Architecture*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

practice[10].

The new ideas brought into the study refer to the *separation* between the designed project and the materialized one, by means of *precision*, as a tool for evaluating this separation.

Precision in the act of design manifests itself in two ways: *a precision of intention*, constant throughout the history of the profession, and *an operational one*, emerging over time and determined by the increasingly complex needs of the construction industry. Moreover, since the Renaissance period, a series of roles can be identified that operational precision takes on: (1) it compensates the architect's need to control the solution; (2) theoretically ensures as much correspondence between the thought and the executed project as possible, although, at the same time, it annihilates the creative freedom of the executing hand; (3) it is an effect of the process of abstract thought, because the construction act first takes place mentally and the execution is only a physical copy[11] of an idea; in addition, thinking allows itself to go as much in detail as possible, by virtue of theoretically unlimited imaginative possibilities.

As for the separation between the mental space of design and the physical space of execution, it also manifests itself in two ways: one *culturally* determined, by external factors, and one *deontologically* determined and initiated voluntarily, by the architect's act to emancipate himself as an intellectual author, by detaching himself from the manufacturer.The two ways of separation, although they manifest simultaneously and interdependently, have separate rhythms and relate differently to historical time and to various cultural-geographical spaces.

The main primary source supporting the research is Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, 1452[12]. Other primary sources that have been studied are: Alberti,

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[10] Francesca HUGHES, *The architecture of error. Matter, measure, and the misadventures of precision*, MIT Press, 2014; Hugh STRANGE, *Architecture at the building site. Challenging the Separation Between Design and Construction*. *PhD Thesis*, AHO The Oslo School of Architecture and Design, 2024.

[11] The idea is taken from Mario Carpo's thinking, who leans on the subject in several studies: M. CARPO, *Architecture in the Age of Printing*, MIT Press, 2001; IDEM, *The Alphabet* cit.; IDEM, *Le dessin* cit.

[12] The main studied version is the Leoni edition, published in 1755, which reproduces only the English text (the previous versions, published in 1726 and 1739, also reproduce the original Italian text). The Leoni editions represent the first English translation of the Albertian treatise, by Giacomo Leoni. All are based on the edition published by Cosimo Bartoli (1550). Some studied fragments were verified and compared with their counterparts from the Italian editions of 1546 (the first vulgar translation of the Latin text, made by Pietro Lauro) and 1782 (closer in time to the main studied version); Leon Battista ALBERTI, *I dieci libri de l'architettvra di Leon Battista de gli Alberti Fiorentino, Huomo in ogni altra dottrina eccelente, ma in questa ſingolare; da la cui prefazione breuemente ſi comprende. La commodità, l'utilità, la neceβità, e la dignità di tale opera, e parimente la cagione, da la quale è ſtato moſſo à ſcriuerla: Nouamente de la Latina ne la Volgar Lingua*

An Autograpf Letter from Leon Battista Alberti to Matteo de'Pasti, 1454[13]; Benvenuto Cellini, *Discorso di Benvenuto Cellini dell'Architettura*, 16th century; Michelangelo, *Carteggio*, 16th century; Raffaello, *Lettera di Raffaello d'Urbino a Leone X*, 16th century. We considered primary sources also: Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, 1568[14]; Antonio di Tuccio Manetti, *Novella del grasso legnaiuolo*, 15th century, although both contain data that translate or interpret information from various sources of their time.

Secondary sources include: the history of the profession (S. Kostoff, L. Callebat), the authorship of the architect (M. Carpo), the architectural treatises of the Italian Renaissance (A. Payne), the topic of the architect's portrait at the time of his social emancipation (G. Beltramini, M. Loh) and some aspects of the Renaissance construction site, through a series of texts associated with research or colloquiums dedicated to this subject. Also, general texts were studied, which theorize or put the subject in historical context (J. Ackerman, R. Wittkower, G. C. Argan, C. Pearson, M. Haines). Regarding the secondary sources on Alberti's work, they were not the main object of the study and, therefore, only texts that overlap with the main ideas of the research were taken into account.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

A first remark refers to the fact that the Renaissance, as we know it today, as a historical phenomenon, is a recent concept, which was theorized only in the 19th century, first in the French cultural space. Alberti does not yet mention the Renaissance. The term, in the form *rinascita*, appears for the first time in Vasari's

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con molta diligenza tradott, Appresso Vincenzo Vavgris, MDXLVI, Vinegia, 1546. *Reference in the text will be made to *Lauro*, 1546; Leon Battista ALBERTI,, *The Ten Books of Architecture*, The 1755 Leoni Edition, reprinted 1986, Dover Publication, New York. *Reference in the text will be made to *Leoni*, 1755; Leonbattista ALBERTI, Della Architettura, della Pittura e della Statua, Traduzione di Cosimo Bartoli, Gentiluomo ed Accademico Fiorentino, Nell'Institutto delle Scienze, Con approvazione, Bologna, 1782. *Reference in the text will be made to *Bartoli*, 1782.

[13] Republished in *Alberti and the Tempio Malatestiano. An Autograpf Letter from Leon Battista Alberti to Matteo de'Pasti, November 18, [1454]. Edited and translated into English with an Itroduction and a new Preface by Cecil Grayson. Traduite en français par Michel Paoli. Con un saggio critico-bibliografico di Alberto G. Cassani*, in «Albertiana», II, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1999, pp. 237-258.

[14] The main studied version is that of 1912-1914, in English. Some of the paragraphs have been verified by comparison with the Italian edition of 1832-38; Giorgio VASARI, *Lives of the Most Eminent painters*, Sculptors & Architects, MacMillan and Co. LD & The Medici Society LD, London 1912-14 [1568]; *the translation is based on the Italian edition from 1568; IDEM, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari, Pittore e Architetto Aretino. Parte Prima. Contenente Porzione delle Vite dei più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architetti*, per David Passigli e SOCJ, Firenze 1832-38 [1568].

16th century text[15] about the lives of notable artists and architects of his time. In Vasari's understanding, the term refers to *a second birth* of the cultural values of the ancestors, with specific reference to art which, "like the human body, has its birth, growth, aging and death" throughout the ages, but which, in its time, is brought back to *perfection*[16]. However, in the air of Alberti's time, the idea of *a new birth* existed. An interesting hypothesis is proposed in this regard by Caspar Pearson[17]. He makes the connection between the idea of *needing a home* and the Renaissance, considered as *re-birth*, in the context of the exiled status, both for Alberti and for Pope Pius II. Both refer to the need for *a new life* and *rejuvenation* with the return, at a mature age, to the native lands, which may suggest that the idea of *re-birth* existed in the consciousness of the time and may be one of the explanations of the term.

A useful contextualization comes from William Anderson who, at the end of the 19th century, points to *cyclical recurrence* as a characteristic of European civilization as it was known in the last three millennia[18]. Anderson states:

> "we err even if we regard the Renaissance epoch as the first time that men looked back to emulate and imitate. A little study would probably show that the Ptolemaic era in Egypt was a renaissance of the Theban age, in architecture as in other respects, while the golden period of Augustus in Rome, and in fuller measure that of Hadrian, were largely Greek revivals. Perhaps it would even be discovered that all ages of healty human prosperity are more or less revivals, and have been marked by a retrospective

[15] *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, first published by Vasari in 1550 and then, with additions, in 1568; this second edition became the basis of the translations and variants published later. The term "rinascita" is used twice in the introductory part of the first part and three times in the introductory part of the second part.

[16] G. VASARI, *Lives* cit., p. lviii (with reference to sculpture and painting): "For having seen in what way she, from a small beginning, climbed to the greatest height, and how from a state so noble she fell into utter ruin, and that, in consequence, the nature of this art is similar to that of the others, which, like human bodies, have their birth, their growth, their growing old, and their death; they will now be able to recognize more easily the progress of *her second birth* (Author's note) and of that very *perfection* (Author's note) whereto she has risen again in our times"; Idem, *Le opere* cit., p. 62: "I quali avendo veduto in che modo ella, da piccol principio, si conducesse a la somma altezza e come da grado sí nobile precipitasse in ruina estrema, e, per conseguente, la natura di quest' arte simile a quella dell'altre, che, come i corpi umani hanno il nascere, il crescere, lo invecchiare ed il morire, potranno ora più facilmente conoscere il progresso della *sua rinascita* (nda) e di quella stessa *perfezzione* (nda) dove ella è risalita ne' tempi nostri".

[17] Caspar PEARSON, *The Italian Renaissance as Rebirth and Return*, in «Italian Imprints on Twentieth-Century Architecture», Bloomsbury Visual Arts, London, 2022, p. 76.

[18] William James ANDERSON, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy. A General View for the Use of Students and Others*, 5th ed revised and enlarged by Arthur Straton, B.T.Batsford LTD, London, 1927 [1896], p. 4. The text was written in 1896, before the Modern Movement.

> tendency. Such periods in history appear, by a natural law, to demand the best in every department which tradition has achieved, and failing to find satisfaction in the present, will take delight in what is past, to the extent of reviving it[19]."

A few decades earlier[20], in addition to the fact that he had also attached the idea of historical cyclicality to the Renaissance, Burckhardt states that the Renaissance would have happened anyway, even without the rediscovery of Antiquity through the great texts.

What is certain is that, in retrospect, the Renaissance appears more like a movement than a moment with clear temporal limits, and both its beginning and the transition to the Baroque stage cannot be associated with a precise event or author, but with a complex of factors[21]. Therefore, the identification of the first signs of distance between the architect and the construction site[22] must be seen in this reading key and without the pretense of finding the absolute starting point of the process. However, leaning towards this historical stage is not without foundation, despite the imprecision that accompanies it. We reiterate the idea that a look at a phenomenon in its formative period can provide us with a new perspective, despite the historical distance or maybe mostly thanks to it. Pearson asserts, with specific reference to the Renaissance:

> "perhaps, in the age of globalization – when the Italian Renaissance seems suddenly a much more regional, local, or even parochial phenomenon than before – in the age of megacities, bigness, and anti-humanism, the Renaissance simply cannot maintain the same kind of purchase on our thinking as it once did. After its multiple births, it may at last be growing old. If so, that might itself allow us to see in ways that we have not done before – and thus to make it new once more" [23].

The second mention refers to the Vitruvian text[24] and how the Renaissance relates to it. The discovery of Poggio Bracciolini (1415) is notable in history because, in addition to the precious information it brings from the past (fragments

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[19] *Ibidem*, p. 6.

[20] Jacob BURCKHARDT, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, George Allen & Unwin LTD, The Phaidon Press, London 1937 [1860].

[21] Patrizia ZAMBRANO, *Canone e storia. Il Rinascimento e le arti «rinate», «restaurate», «risuscitate», «ricuperate»* and Raymond CARLSON, *Michelangelo e la possibilità di un Rinascimento infinito* – brought this idea back into discussion during the international congress *Il concetto di Rinascimento, tra la storia e il mito. Origini, cambiamenti, riletture*, held in Rome, May 24-27, 2023. The research works that addresse this aspect are open.

[22] The construction site is considered, in the present study, primarily in its decision-making dimension and less in its physical dimension.

[23] C. PEARSON, *The Italian* cit., p. 77.

[24] VITRUVIUS, *De Architectura*, cca. 25 BC. Text written in Latin and with no illustration.

or rewritten versions of the manuscript were already in use), it influences the spirit of the time, in the sense of activating the admiration for the glory of the past, still present in the ruins and remaining buildings from the republican and imperial periods. Moreover, the fact that the text is discovered in its integral form gives it a certain weight in the consciousness of the time. In fact, being the only architectural treatise we have from Antiquity, it will unintentionally become the starting point for all architecture texts that will follow. Moreover, it was a center of gravity of all architectural thought at the time of its discovery. In her study of Renaissance treaties, Alina Payne mentions: "Vitruvius was the stable reference point in a visual world of fragments, and his was inevitably the voice of the referee: even if his forms were not always heeded, his theoretical precepts always ruled" [25]. On the other hand, as Alina Payne also points out[26], the Renaissance architect struggles to understand Vitruvius and encounters difficulties in assimilating Antiquity. This is also clear from Alberti's text:

> "It grieved me that so many great and noble Instructions of ancient Authors should be lost by the Injury of Time, so that scarce any but *Vitruvius* has escaped this general Wreck: A Writer indeed of universal Knowledge, but so maimed by Age, that in many Places there are great Chasms, and many Things imperfect in others. Besides this, his Style is absolutely void of all ornaments, and he wrote in such a Manner, that to the Latins he seems to write Greek, and to the Greeks, Latin: But indeed it is plain from the Book itself, that he wrote neither Greek nor Latin, and he might almost as well have never wrote at all, at least with Regard to us, since *we cannot understand him* [Author's note]" [27].

Regarding the current perspective on the text, William MacDonald draws attention to the fact that Vitruvius should be read taking into account the fact that his point of view is a conservative one and that his treatise was written before the

[25] Alina PAYNE, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance. Architectural Invention, Ornament and Literary Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 33.

[26] *Ibidem*, p. 91, with reference to the treatise of Francesco di Giorgio: "Francesco's struggle to understand the Doric order is probably the most eloquent illustration of the steep learning curve that the assimilation of antiquity entailed. His uncertainties with reference to triglyphs, capitals (the Doric and Ionic are barely differentiated), and the identity of the orders themselves (even a conception of the orders as such, which floats somewhere in the background but is never expressed) are the most noticeable because illustrated documents of this process. With such 'mistakes' Francesco shows just how ambiguous *De architectura* was to a Renaissance architect and therefore how vulnerable to appendages, transformations, and recasting".

[27] *Leoni*, 1755, p. 111; "egli non parlò nè Latino, nè Greco; di modo che egli è ragionevole, che egli non ſcriveſſe a noi, poiche egli ſcriſſe di maniera, che *noi non lo intendiamo* [nda]" (*Bartoli*, 1782, p. 131); "egli nŏ fuſſe ne Latino ne Greco. onde potiamo dire lui *non hauer ſcritto in modo, che poteſſe da noi uenire inteso* [nda]" (*Lauro*, 1546, p. 117).

great architectural achievements of Roman Antiquity[28]. But the latter are the ones that, through their careful study, influenced, *de facto*, the formation of the Renaissance architect, his spirit, his eye and his hand.

In the light of these observations, the main ideas of the Vitruvian text, which will also be taken over by the Renaissance, are: the harmonic rule to build on the basis of *the classical orders*; a definition of architecture given by the triad *firmitas, utilitas, venustas*; the portrait of the architect, as *homo universalis*. Alberti does not overlook them either. Moreover, the simultaneous translation into vulgar of the great texts of Antiquity, including the treatise of Vitruvius, means that, in the library of the Renaissance erudite, they are, paradoxically, contemporary texts[29] (the first publication of Vitruvius takes place in 1486, in Rome, and that of Alberti in 1485, in Florence, so one year before the ancient text). This tells us not only about the intellectual effervescence of the time, but especially about the fact that Renaissance thinking has this common denominator of Antiquity, to which it relates in various ways: by assimilation, completion, modification, combat.

As far as he is concerned, Alberti changes the angle from which he sees things, because his treatise no longer looks to the past, in the sense of passive veneration, like the rest of the texts written by his contemporaries, but is oriented towards the future and pleads for change. In Book VI he confesses that the "love" and "inclination" for the study of ancient ruins is present and weighs heavily on his spirit, but he explicitly adds that the role of the study is "to see if there is anything to be learned from them" [30].

THE SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL CONTEXT OF THE ARCHITECT'S EMANCIPATION

There are three aspects that put the studied phenomenon in a social context and support the research. The first is that the change that takes place in the Renaissance is only one of social status. The quality of the architect as a coordinator with an overall vision of the building process and his team, has been documented since Antiquity. Written testimonies appear as early as Ist Epistle to the Corinthians of the holy Apostle Paul[31]. Even older testimonies come from Egypt, during the reign of Thutmose III and Queen Hatshepsut and refer to Senmut, the royal architect. It is about an inscription on the Statue of Karnak,

[28] Spiro KOSTOF (ed.), *The Architect* cit., p. 28.

[29] A. PAYNE, *The Architectural* cit., p. 53.

[30] *Leoni*, 1755, VI.I, p. 112.

[31] "Secondo la grazia di Dio che mi è stata data, come un sapiente architetto io ho posto il fondamento; un altro poi vi costruisce sopra. Ma ciascuno stia attento come costruisce": https://www.ebible.it/1_corinzi/3/; accessed 12.09.2023.

discovered in 1896 (but it also tells us about the exception, and not about the norm) [32].

Fig.1. Marble bas-relief. Scene from the construction site
Provenance: Terracina, 1st century BC, Museo Nazionale Romano, Roma
© Rodica Dina

Thus, even if he carried different titles over time (since he did not always call himself an architect[33]) and played social roles determined by the characteristics of his time, the architect was always, in reality, on a different position compared to the rest of the construction team. The history of the profession shows us that his inner structure, as an observer of the world and a translator of it in built matter, for the benefit of society, has not fundamentally changed over time. His professional skills and capacity for analytical, synthetic and creative thinking remain a constant of the profession and are the reason why the architect was always desired and sought after by those who had political or financial power, regardless of the title he held or the social position that the canons of his time allowed him. What he did not have until the Renaissance, however, is the *public recognition* of his quality as a creator and, more precisely, as the intellectual author of the project[34].

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[32] James Henry BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, volume II, University of California Press, 1977 [1906], p. 147: "I was the greatest of the great in the whole land"; "I was the real favorite of the king, acting as one praised of his lord every day, the overseer of the cattle of Amon, Senmut"; "I was a foreman of foreman, superior of the great, [overseer] of all [works] of the house of silver, conductor of every handicraft, chief of the prophets of Montu in Hermonthis, Senmut"; "I was one, whose steps were known in the palace; a real confidant of the king, his beloved: overseer of the gardens of Amon, Senmut".

[33] Carlo TOSCO, *Dante e la figura dell'architetto*, in «Opus Incertum. Rivista del Dipartimento di Architettura. Università degli Studi di Firenze, Nuova Serie, Anno VII», Firenze University Press, 2011, pp. 32-37.

[34] Starting from Nelson Goodman's statement, referring to autograph arts in relation to allographs and the fact that "all arts were born autograph", Mario Carpo investigates the moment when architecture passed from the first category to the second. On this occasion, he proposes an important distinction between Brunelleschi's *artisanal authorship* («this building is mine because I made it») and Alberti's *intellectual authorship* ("this building is

Fig.2. Terracotta bas-relief. Daedalus at work
Provenance: Nemi (Roma), 1st century BC, Museo delle Navi Romane di Nemi
© Rodica Dina

Previously, the attribute of creator belonged first to the gods and then to the Christian God, and architectural achievements were assumed, as authorship, by kings and emperors, considered the messengers or representatives of the divinity on earth. The real authors have remained, for the most part, anonymous, and the few names that have survived to this day are rather exceptions[35].

The second aspect chosen to put the studied phenomenon into context tells about the vulnerability of identity in the 14th Florentine century and about the level of social conformity of the individual and sheds light on the need for social emancipation and *self*-affirmation. In *Novella del grasso legnaiuolo*, the priest asks Manetto, in a moment of great bewilderment:

> "Why do you do this? Is this Fat One so great a master or so very rich that you wish to be him rather than yourself? What advantage do you see in becoming him? Let us presume that he is a worthy man and that he might be richer than you, even though your brothers

mine because I designed it"). See Mario CARPO, *The Alphabet and the Algorithm*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, 2011, p. 23.

[35] From Preclassic Antiquity we have the name of Daedalus, who is supposed to have lived before the 1st millennium BC, and who is mentioned first by Homer (8th century BC) and then by Ovidius (43 BC – 17/18AC). All known representations that concern him are based on the written and rewritten myths of the ancient texts and also they attribute specific characteristics to the architect, as he is seen in the era in which the respective representations are made. However, all of them illustrate him as a skilled and very ingenious architect of his time.

> tell me that he is less wealthy than you. If you say that you are him you would not have your own dignity nor your own wealth nor any of the other things that are yours" [36].

We understand that, in the consciousness of the time, mastery in a certain field (thus the social recognition of professional performance) or wealth can be a temptation, but one's own dignity should weigh more heavily, at least theoretically, in defining one's identity.

The third mention refers to the time's need for heroes and the way society creates them. For example, the aquiline profile of Dante's nose, as left to us by Boticelli, is not the real profile, but a 14th-century creation. In 2007, a group of Italian researchers reconstructed, with the help of current technologies, the so-called 'true face' of Dante. At the end of the research, they enthusiastically affirmed that they "restored Dante's humanity. He has returned to being one of us [...] When we finished it, he looked more ordinary, like the guy next door"[37]. But this was not the intention of the time, on the contrary. The aquiline nose was associated with greatness and a royal outfit.

Fig.03. Dante Alighieri's portrait, attributed to Sandro Boticelli
License CC BY-SA 4.0

In fact, this idealization, in the sense of the need for exceptional figures as role models, persists until the 19th century. In 1896, William Andreson writes: "there

[36] Antonio di Tuccio MANETTI (attributed to), *The Fat Woodworker [Novella del grasso legnaiuolo*, 15th century], trans. Robert L. Martone & Valerie Martone, Italica Press, New York, 1991, pp. 25-26.

* Versions of the text, with an unknown author, circulated during that period. Manetti himself refers to one of them, so he is not the first author of the story, but the fact tells about the impression that the adventure made in the urban consciousness of Florence.

[37] Maria H. LOH, *Still lives. Death, Desire, and the Portrait of the Old Master*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2015, pp. 30-31.

were giants in those days, and rarely have great men shown more intellectual daring, more determination and more devotion" [38]. On the other hand, when these 'giants' talk about themselves, they appear human and subject to mundane challenges. In the letter dated April 30, 1509, sent to his father from Rome, Michelangelo writes: "I am unhappy here and I am not very well with my health, I am very tired, without guidance and without money"[39]. Two months later, on June 30, he writes to his brother, Giovan Simone: "for twelve years I have wandered all over Italy, enduring every humiliation, suffering every hardship, tearing my body with exertion, putting my life in danger a thousand times, just to help my family"[40].

Regarding the professional context, the Italian Renaissance was a time when, in the spirit of the recently (re)discovered Vitruvian text and Alberti's treatise, some exceptional artists, with no practical experience (and often without technical knowledge in the field of structural engineering and constructive techniques) were granted the privilege of coordinating large-scale projects, by virtue of their membership of a guild or of the artistic achievements with which they recommended themselves and, in general, on the basis of their training as *homo universalis* and their broadened worldview. Thus, in relation to the profile of the architect, if until the 12th century Francesco Milizia[41] begins his description of architects in a neutral way ("a skilled and ingenious architect from Macedonia" - *Dinocrates*; "one of the most celebrated architects of antiquity" - *Sostratus*; "one of the most important architects and engineers of his time" - *Valerius of Ostia*; "he was considered one of the most learned architects of his time" - *Rabirius* etc.), starting from this moment in history and with reference especially to architects who came from or worked in the Italian space, his descriptions become more specific in terms of the skills of those described: «he was not an architect by profession, but he had great taste and skill in the fine arts» - *Marco Juliano*; "first-rate architect and sculptor of his time" - *Buono*; "architect and sculptor from Arezzo" - *Marchione*; "Florentine sculptor and architect" - *Fuccio*; "Neapolitan architect and sculptor" - *Masuccio*; "architect, painter and sculptor from Arezzo" - *Margaritone*; "he was born in Florence, studied architecture with his father, Lapo, and became the most famous architect and sculptor of his time" - *Arnolfo*; "son and disciple of Nicola from Pisa, he was a sculptor and architect" - *Giovanni from*

[38] W. J. ANDERSON, *The Architecture* cit., p. 7.

[39] Paola BAROCCHI and Renzo RISTORI, *Il Carteggio di Michelangelo*, Edizione postuma di Giovanni Poggi, Sansoni Editore, Firenze 1965, I, p. 91: "Io mi sto qua malcontento e non troppo ben sano e chon gran faticha, senza governo e ssenza danari".

[40] P. BAROCCHI and R. RISTORI, *Il Carteggio* cit., pp. 95-96: "io son ito da dodici anni in qua tapinando per tucta Italia, sopportato ogni vergogna, patito ogni stento, lacerato il corpo mio in ongni faticha, messa la vita propia a mille pericoli solo per aiutar la chasa mia".

[41] Francesco MILIZIA, *The Lives of Celebrated Architects, Ancient and Modern*, Printed for J. Taylor, Architectural Library, High Holborn, London, 1826.

Pisa. Here an important mention appears also: in the case of *Agostino and Angelo from Sienna*, Milizia specifies: "they were brothers and the most illustrious disciples of *the school of Giovanni in Pisa* [Author's note] [42].» The list continues both with notes of association between the activity of an architect and that of an artist or craftsman (painter, sculptor, stonemason, goldsmith, etc.), as well as with information regarding the apprenticeship links between those listed, with the mention of some schools established by some of them, as a guarant of quality training. Anderson points out, however, that the basic training in these schools was not one of architecture and that:

> "as a matter of fact, Brunelleschi, Bramante, and Peruzzi, not to speak of many others, gained their architectural knowledge far more by personal study of the ancient Roman Buildings than by their apprenticeship in the *bottega*. There, however, they learned to exercise the power of design and to discriminate between good and inferior work" [43].

This question, of the good eye, also appears in Alberti, in Book IX: «the Eye is naturally a Judge and Lover of Beauty and Gracefulness, and is very critical and hard to please in it»[44]. From this it emerges that, in the consciousness of the time, not only the educated eye of the creator set standards of quality, but also the critical eye of the viewer, a fact that speaks of the cultural effervescence of Florentine society and the active dialogue between the author and the beneficiary of the work.

THE INTELLECTUAL AUTHORSHIP. SOME CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALBERTIAN TREATISE

In his text, Alberti sometimes addresses the architect, sometimes the beneficiary, sometimes a generic reader, whom we can associate with the literate society of the time. He also expresses himself either as an architect or as a member of the society and, therefore, a user and beneficiary, himself, of the built environment. The treatise is rather a manifesto addressed to the client, as a society's representative, and less to the practitioners (architects or craftsmen), emphasizing in this way the civic role of architecture, which «it is inexpressibly delightful, and of the greatest Convenience to Mankind in all Respects, both publick and private; and in Dignity not inferior to the most excellent»[45] *of the arts*.

[42] Author's note for the italic text, to highlight the fact that the existence of the training system based on apprenticeship in a workshop, established by a mentor and functioning with his guidance, like a school, was a common fact of the time.

[43] W. J. ANDERSON, *The Architecture* cit., p. 41.

[44] *Leoni*, 1755, IX.VIII, p. 203.

[45] *Ibidem*, preface.

To begin with, a brief analysis on the text of the preface, considered as a synthesis and preparatory manifesto of the content of the ten books, reveals through the terminology used the relationship that Alberti proposes in relation to Architecture. This is a «wonderful Art and Method», doubled by «Thought and Invention.» Reading the text leaves in the memory a remarkable density of precious words, through which Alberti refers either to the architect or to his activity and the role it should have or already has in the life of society. In the order of the density of their appearance in the preface, these words manage to outline a universe in which the attributes that architecture should have coagulate, and also, through contamination, a portrait of *the new architect*.

Fig.4. The hierarchy, as number of occurrences, of terms associated with architecture, in *De re aedificatoria*'s preface © Rodica Dina

The terms that were taken into account, with the mention of the number of occurrences, as nouns or in derived forms, are[46]: *Architect* (15 occurrences); *Beauty*[47] (with the derivative «beautiful») (7); *Honor* (and also «honored») (6); *Greatness* (and also «great,» at various degrees of comparison) (6); *Pleasure* (and also «pleasant») (5); *Architecture* (4); *Delight* (and also «delightful») (4); *Art* (with reference to architecture) (3); *Knowledge* (2); *Dignity* (2); *Glory, Authority, Splendor, Power, excellent, wonderful, noble* (1).

Starting from this observation and keeping the convergence with the interest of

[46] Capitalization has been retained where used in the text.

[47] The abundant use of this term in the three pages of the preface is not a surprise. The VIth of the ten books is Alberti's plea for beauty, which he points out as one of the main conditions of anything. See *Leoni*, 1755, VI.II, p. 112: "We should therefore consult Beauty as one of the main and principal Requisites in any Thing"; "If Beauty therefore is necessary in any Thing, it is so particularly in Building, which can never be without it, without giving Offence both to the Skilful and the Ignorant".

the research, the red thread that guides the reading of the text is gathered around several points: what is and what is not the architect; what are his instruments; what is architecture; what is and what is not the role of the architect; what is the building.

For the first point, Alberti clarifies the reader from the first lines of the preface. Before assigning to the architect some characteristics on the basis of which he could be recognized by society, Alberti chooses to place him directly, by association, on a certain social position: **the architect** is someone placed in the same row as the *great Masters* of the other *Sciences*. To decide what the architect is not, Alberti is even more explicit and, this time, by dissociation: he is not a manufacturer[48]. It can be observed that, in the studied Italian editions, the term «master» is no longer present, the architect being only a man, respectively a gifted man, but his association with science is maintained. As for the separation from the manual laborer, the texts are undisputed, regardless of the translation.

Only then does Alberti elaborates: the architect is the one who is able *to conceive through thought* and *complete through execution* those works which, through *beauty*, can be *adapted* to *the benefit of humanity*[49]. He also has, in addition to qualities added by personal effort (*education* and *experience*), innate qualities (*talent* and *dedication*), as well as qualities at the intersection of these (*clear sense* and *balanced judgment*) [50].

It is important to note that, in the Albertian definition of the professional (as well as the profession), both the notion of 'art' and 'science' are present, at least in the English translation of the 18th century. Also, the term 'author' appears already in the first vulgar translation of the treatise[51] and, in the same idea of the architect's definition, it is worth noting that in the 1546 edition, where the

[48] *Leoni*, 1755, preface: "what he is that I allow to be an Architect: For it is not a Carpenter or a Joiner that I thus rank with the greatest Masters in other Sciences"; *Bartoli*, 1782: "chi è quello, che io voglio chiamare Architettore: Percioche io non ti porrò inanzi un legnaiuolo, che tu lo habbi ad aguagliare ad huomini nelle altre ſcienzie eſſercitatiſſimi"; *Lauro*, 1546: "quale io uoglia, che ſia l'Architetto. Per ch'io non produrrò un legnaiuolo, ilquale tu uogli eguagliare à gli huomini dotti, e di tutte le ſcienze e diſcipline eſperti".

[49] *Leoni*, 1755, preface: "who, by sure and wonderful Art and Method, is able, both with Thought and Invention, to devise, and, with Execution, to compleat all those Works, which [...] can, with the greatest Beauty, be adapted to the Uses of Mankind"; *Bartoli*, 1782: "il quale ſaprà con certa, & maraviglioſa ragione, & regola, sì con la mente, e con lo animo diviſare; sì con la opera recare a fine tutte quelle coſe [...] ſi poſſono con gran dignità accomodare beniſſimo allo uſo de gli huomini"; *Lauro*, 1546: "ilquale co'l giuditio, e con la mente eſperta ſa con merauiglioſe ragioni, e modi diſſegnare, e mandare ad effetto tutto ciò, che [...] ad uſo digniβimo de gli huomini acconciamente s'accommoda".

[50] *Leoni*, 1755, IX.X, p. 205: "He ought to be a Man of a fine Genius, of a great Application, of the best Education, of thorough Experience, and especially of strong Sense and sound Judgement, that presumes to declare himself an Architect".

[51] *Lauro*, 1546, II.III, p. 31.

orthographic rules do not condition the use of capital letters for nouns, the word 'Architect' receives a capital letter, while the word 'mason' does not[52].

In order to decipher what are, in Alberti's understanding, the elements that make up **the architect's mental toolkit**, the analysis of the same texts, already mentioned, is revealing. Among them we mention: (1) *wonderful Art and Method* – *Leoni*, 1755 ("maraviglioſa ragione, & regola" – *Bartoli*, 1782; "merauiglioſe ragioni, e modi" – *Lauro*, 1546); (2) *Thought and Invention* – *Leoni*, 1755 ("la mente, e lo animo" – *Bartoli*, 1782; "il giuditio, e la mente eſperta" – *Lauro*, 1546); (3) *the manual Operator being no more than an Instrument to the Architect* – *Leoni*, 1755 ("colui certo che lavora di mano, ſerve per inſtrumento allo architettore" – Bartoli, 1782; "Perciò che l'Architetto uſa la mano del fabro per ſuo ſtromento" – *Lauro*, 1546).

In Book II, a new and innovative tool that Alberti proposes is (4) *time*, which he places between the mental space of design and execution: "lay the Thoughts of it aside for some Time, till this favourite Invention grows old. Then take a fresh Review of every Thing, when not being guided by a Fondness for your Invention, but by the Truth and Reason of Things you will be capable of judging more clearly" [53]. But the most important in the architect's toolkit, it turns out to be, from the whole text, (5) *the very careful preliminary study* of the architectural solution, by all possible means: drawing, model and the advice of the skilled ones. This *pre-view* is a recurring recommendation throughout the whole treatise. The study will return to this aspect.

At this point of the research and in relation to the architect's instruments, it is worth pointing out another nuance by which Alberti defines the architect. It is about a subtle demarcation of his role, which is implied from the passage where Alberti recommends the appropriate features for the models that the architect provides:

> "the making of curious, polish'd Models, with the Delicacy of Painting, is not required from an Architect that only designs to shew the real Thing itself; but is rather the Part of a vain Architect, that makes it his Business by charming the Eye and striking the Fancy of the Beholder, to divert him from a rigorous Examination of the Parts which he ought to make, and to draw him into an Admiration of himself. For this Reason I would not have the Models too exactly finish'd, nor too delicate and neat, but plain and simple, more to be admired for the Contrivance of the Inventor, than the Hand of the Workman"[54].

It is true that we do not know whether Alberti is referring to the study model (in which the architect tests his ideas and the evolution of the project in his own alchemical laboratory) or to the presentation model (which he presents to the client

[52] *Ibidem*, IX.X, p. 213.
[53] *Leoni*, 1755, II.I, p. 23.
[54] *Ibidem*, p. 22.

as a well-defined result and physical materialisation, on a reduced scale, of the future project). Whatever the case, the recommended specifications subtextually separate the architect from the artist, but also *the good architect* from the vain one. They also emphasise the importance of the creativity of the one who thinks rather than the mastery of the hand that executes.

When it comes to **architecture**, the category in which Alberti places it is that of the arts[55], the term 'art' being present in all three editions. Architecture is an indispensable *art*, which brings *benefit, pleasure and honor*; it is unspeakably *delightful*, of the *greatest benefit to mankind* in all respects, both *public* and *private*, and in no way inferior in dignity to *the most* (sic!) *excellent* arts[56]. In Book IX, however, as in the case of the definition of the architect, the notion of 'science' reappears: "Architecture is a very noble Science, not fit for every Head" [57]. This note is important because architecture is a field that both art and science want to take over today, sometimes independently of each other. Its belonging to both has been declared at least since the Renaissance and is a legacy we have from Alberti.

Next, to follow the interest of the research, it is useful to identify **the role** attributed to the architect. Two roles emerge from the subtext: one social and the other operational; both will be taken into account. First of all, the architect is a mediator of architecture, so he takes over, through contamination, its necessary attributes (mentioned previously). In this sense, Alberti advocates for a process of continuous training of the architect, in the sense of the permanent cultivation of the eye and the mind, and insists on the need to study and be up to date with everything that is important in the field[58]. Its social role is then directly defined: he provides *safe* and *pleasant places* but, above all, he *designs* things of the *greatest benefit* to human life, both *public* and *private*; he *serves* society and contributes to the *safety, honor* and *beautification of public space*; he contributes to well-being: for leisure through *peace, pleasure* and *health* and for business through *assistance* and *profit*; and, in general, through *safety* and *dignity*.

A list of aspects of reality that the architect influences includes: "Use and Convenience to the Life of Man"; "Health"; "great Use in Life"; "useful Purposes"; "Service of Posterity"; "serving to Men's immediate Conveniences"; "opening them a Way to all Parts of the World"; "communicate their Knowledge, and whatever else is healtful or pleaserable"; "Defending the Liberty of our Country, Maintainning the Honour, and Encreasing the Greatness of a City" [59]. Yet the most concise definition of *the architect's social role* comes from Alberti's statement of why society should honour and reward him.

[55] *Leoni*, 1755, preface: "the whole Circle of Arts".
[56] *Ibidem.*
[57] *Ibidem*, IX.IX, p. 205.
[58] *Ibidem*, IX.X, pp. 205-206.
[59] *Ibidem*, preface.

> "The conclusion is, that for the Service, Security, Honour and Ornament of the Publick, we are exceedingly obliged to the Architect; to whom, in Time of Leisure, we are indebted for Tranquility, Pleasure and Health, in Time of Business for Assistance and Profit; and in both for Security and Dignity. Let us not therefore deny that he ought to be praised and esteemed and to be allowed a Place, both for the wonderful and ravishing Beauty of his Works, and for the Necessity, Serviceableness, and Strenght of the Things which he has invented, among the Chief of those who have deserved Honour and Rewards from Mankind" [60].

As for his practical role in the act of building, this is much clearer: "certainly it is enough if you give honest Advice, and correct Draughts to such as apply themselves to you" [61]. However, a number of nuances follow. For example, to decide where **the architect's responsibility** stops within the team and during the construction process, Alberti warns:

> "If afterwards you undertake to supervise and compleat the Work, you will find it very difficult to avoid being made answerable for all the Faults and Mistakes commited either by the Ignorance or Negligence of other Men: Upon which Account you must take care to have the Assistance of honest, diligent, and severe Overseers to look after the Workmen under you" [62].

And here it is appropriate to translate Alberti's definition of **building**. Besides having intrinsically attached to it the aspect of beauty and proportion[63], the building is *a Kind of Body – Leoni,* 1755 ("un certo corpo" – *Bartoli,* 1782; "un certo corpo" – *Lauro,* 1546) consisting of *Design – Leoni,* 1755 ("diſegno" – *Bartoli,* 1782; "linee" – *Lauro,* 1546) and *Matter – Leoni,* 1755 ("materia" – *Bartoli,* 1782; "materia" – *L auro,* 1546). Alberti goes on to explain the two terms: the *Design* is a result of *Thought – Leoni,* 1755 ("ingegno" – *Bartoli,* 1782; "ingegno" – *Lauro,* 1546) and is born through the *Contrivance of the Mind – Leoni,* 1755 ("applicamento di mente, & di penſiero" – *Bartoli,* 1782; "la mente, et il giudicio" – *Lauro,* 1546), while *Matter* is a result of *Nature – Leoni,* 1755 ("natura" – *Bartoli,* 1782; "natura" – *Lauro,* 1546) and is born through *due Preparation and Choice – Leoni,* 1755 ("apparecchiamento, & ſceglimento" – *Bartoli,* 1782; "l'apparecchiare, et eleggere" – *Lauro,* 1546).

The building is therefore a system made up of design and matter, where design is a result of thought and comes into being through a creative process, and matter is a result of nature, and comes into being through a process of careful selection and preparation. Moreover, in Book I Alberti returns to the subject[64] and, with reference this time to *the art of building* as a whole, he specifies: it consists of

[60] *Ibidem.*
[61] *Ibidem,* IX.XI, p. 207.
[62] *Ibidem.*
[63] *Ibidem,* VI.II, p. 112.
[64] *Ibidem,* I.I, p. 1.

design and structure. Here the terms are, in the three editions studied, more precise: *the project* is "Design", "diſegni", respectively "lineaměti"; *the structure* is "Structure", "muramenti", respectively "fabrica".

In this context, it is the architect's role to think in advance about both: idea and matter. But the key to understanding comes only afterwards: neither one nor the other is enough on its own, without the hand of a skilled craftsman who knows how *to give form to matter*, according to the project[65].

This clear delineation between the thinking mind and the executing hand is recurrent in the text. It is associated not only with Alberti's definition of building and the art of building, but also in the method he strongly recommends to the architect, by thinking in advance and in the smallest detail of all the conceptual and material aspects of the future project, until the author has no doubt about the closed, and therefore perfect, nature of the solution. Beauty and proportion are also part of this equation and determine when the project must be frozen; once found in the design, the architect *is advised not to make any further changes* – 'nihil adde'[66].

The recommendation for this method is made insistently in Book II[67], but Alberti returns to it at the end, in Book IX, in the chapter on errors. Here, the distinction between the thinking mind and the executing hand reappears in the subtext: "Errors arise either from the Judgement, and lie either in the Design or Election; or from the Hand, and lie in the Workmen's Execution"[68].

If we return to the preface, where Alberti explains the building as "design and matter", "thought and nature", respectively "creativity of mind and due preparation and choice" and mentions that the architect has the duty to think about both beforehand, we deduce that avoiding the first category of mistakes is the architect's concern. Moreover, Alberti insists: the mistakes that come from design are the most serious and the most difficult to remedy, and are therefore the ones that the architect must avoid at all costs. As for the second category of mistakes, for which the architect is not responsible, all he can do is, as mentioned above, to take care to have competent and responsible supervisors on his team.

And here is the place to mention what Alberti tells us **is not the role of the architect**: it is not his job to do things that are clear and pre-established in the project, or that require immediate action (and therefore do not give time for careful thought in advance). Rather, they are the job of an ordinary worker. So is the

[65] *Ibidem*, preface: "And we further reflected, that neither the one nor the other of itself was sufficient, without the Hand of an experienced Artificer, that knew how to form his Materials *after a just Design* [Author's note]".

[66] *Ibidem*, VI.II, p. 113: "I shall define Beauty to be a Harmony of all the Parts, in whatsoever Subject it appears, fitted together with such Proportion and Connection, that nothing could be added, diminished or altered, but for the Worse".

[67] *Ibidem*, II.I, pp. 22-25.

[68] *Ibidem*, IX.VIII, p. 202.

(financial) ability of the client to afford them[69]. In the 1546 edition there is even a phrase that calls for attention and which in later editions is missing: "l'arte e l'aiuto di fortuna". This 'luck' refers to the unpredictable and reinforces even more clearly that the architect is only responsible for the pre-established project, i.e. thought out in advance, and not for unforeseeable events that occur along the way.

A suggestive play on words, which can give an idea of the responsibility and role of the architect and the manufacturer, respectively, can be found in Book IX, in the English edition (Leoni). There are two paragraphs: the first on the very careful preliminary study of *the project* and the second on *the execution*. In the first, dedicated to the project and addressed directly to the architect, the grammatical formulations are: 'your Work', 'your future Structure', 'your whole Building'. In the second one, also addressed to the architect, but referring to the craftsmen and more about the execution and the possible errors that may occur during it, the grammatical formulations are: 'their' tools, 'their Business', 'their Work', 'their Model'[70]. We could propose as a hypothesis, from this observation, that the 18th century interprets the Albertian treatise directly, delimiting also textually the roles and responsibilities of the thinker and the doer respectively[71].

As a working hypothesis for further research, we propose that in the emancipation of the architect (as intellectual author) from the executor (whose

[69] *Leoni*, 1755, IX.X, p. 205: "To run up any thing that is immediately necessary for any particular Purpose, and about which there is no doubt of what Sort it should be, or of the Ability of the Owner to afford it, is not so much the Business of an Architect, as of a common Workman"; *Lauro*, 1546; IX.X, p. 213: "oltre ciò fare luoghi commodi, e che ſai poterſi fare ſecondo *l'arte e l'aiuto di fortuna* [n.a], nŏ piu s'appartie ne à l'Architetto, che al muratore".

[70] "I therefore over and over again advise you to avoid these Errors; and before you begin *your Work* [Author's note], thoroughly consider the whole Design your self, and take the Advise of Men of Skill upon it; be sure to have a compleat Model of the Whole, by which examine every minute Part of *your future Structure* [Author's note], eight, nine, ten Times over, and again, after different Intermissions of Times; till there be not the least Member from the Foundation to the Roof of *your whole Building* [Author's note], within or without, great or small, but what you have thoroughly and long weighed and considered, and determined of what Materials it shall be made, where placed, in what Order and Proportions, and to what it shall answer and bear Relation". (*Leoni*, 1755, IX.X, p. 203); "The Errors which may happen in the manual Execution of the work, need not be repeated here; but only the Workmen should be well looked after, to see that they work exactly by *their Square, Level and Plumb-line* [Author's note]; that *they do their Business* [Author's note], at the proper Seasons, take proper Seasons to let *their Work* [Author's note] rest, and at proper Seasons go to it again; that they use good Stuff, sound, unmixed, solid, strong, and suitable to the Work, and that they use it in proper Places, and finish every Thing according to *their Model* [Author's note]" (*Ibidem*, IX.X, p. 205).

[71] It should be noted that this pun is not to be found in the 1546 edition - the first translation into vulgar, and therefore intended for a general (but literate) audience.

hand gives form) lies the kernel that will trigger a kind of frustration of separation that has accompanied the profession to this day. According to Alberti's instructions, the architect's hand last touches the project when it leaves the studio, and only after a thorough check of all its details, which leaves no room for change. Although all his work is done with the physical building in mind, nothing in the execution bears the imprint of his hands, the end result being the product of a complex system of forces and decisions in which he is often no longer invited to participate or in which he no longer has any decision-making power.

In addition to this hypothesis, a question arises, which may also be the subject of further research: what happens to construction processes in which it was precisely the execution stage that provided the architect with answers, beneficial to the project and which he could not foresee from the drawing board? Is it absolutely necessary to freeze the project before it enters the building site and, if so, at what point in the process?

*

A first conclusion from the analysis of the Albertian text is *a new relationship of the architect with words* and not necessarily with the drawing, as the collective mind uses to associate his work. The architect is also capable of critical discourse. Nor could it be otherwise, for Alberti is considered one of the most erudite exponents of the Italian Renaissance, with an impressive personal library. We also know that he was one of the few architects of the Renaissance who did not visit his own building sites to check on their progress. In this way, the architect's retreat into the world of ideas becomes a precedent.

The second conclusion is that, for Alberti, the architect is the author only of the architectural project. He becomes the author of the final building, only to the extent that it is identical to its design[72]. In this way Alberti separates, from a deontological view, the designed project from the executed one.

A third conclusion concerns *the abstract character* of the architect's actions, as proposed by Alberti. With reference to the project, Stephen Parcell observes: "not only the builder is absent from disegno in Book I, the physical building is also

[72] The idea also appears in the thought of Mario Carpo, who is, however, concerned with the question of authorship primarily from the perspective of the identical copy, as the driving force behind the paradigm shift in the Renaissance. His discourse is built around the idea of notation as a mediating tool, placed between the project and the building. «A building and its design can only be *notationally* identical: their identicality depends on a notational system that determines how to translate one into the other. When this condition of *notational identicality* is satisfied, the author of the drawing becomes the author of the building, and the architect can claim some form of ownership over a building which in most cases he does not in fact own, and which he certainly did not build – indeed, which he may never even have touched.» M. CARPO, *The Alphabet* cit., p. 23.

absent" [73]. The same is evident from the characteristics Alberti proposes for the execution of the models. The architectural model is in itself a form of abstraction of the physical represented object. Alberti's recommendation to make conceptual models, which simplify the project and reduce it to its essence, emphasising the thinking of the intellectual author rather than the craftsmanship of the artisan, is a step forward in the process of separating the mind that conceives from the hand that executes.

The final conclusion, converging with the direction of the study, is that the text can be seen as a manifesto of the architect for *quality* and *excellence* in architecture before society, but also as a form of assumption of responsibility for the authorial status he claims for himself. By establishing the attributes necessary for the architect to serve the city, Alberti also establishes an ideal level of quality in his training, towards which he should aim and which he should assume, as well as a status that deserves recognition by society. The architect demands a particular status and promises excellence in return. In this context, the precision that characterises his research and attempts in the creative process takes the form of *a precision of intention*, with the aim of providing quality.

THE ARCHITECT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BUILDING SITE

The architect's relationship with the building site, considered as a decision-making stage on his own project and less as a physical space, is studied in two aspects. The first concerns the moment of the actual start of the execution, which, from the proposed perspective, refers to two topics: *the level of precision* of the architectural project and *the methods of representation* used by the architect to communicate the project. The second issue concerns *the architect's role* on site: the role he voluntarily assumes, the role the context allows him, and the freedom of decision he has during execution.

For **precision**, it is necessary to consider, as appropriate, both meanings that the study associates with it and that have already been mentioned in the introductory part: *an operational precision*, which can be assessed dimensionally and methodologically and has a rather quantitative connotation, and *a precision of intention*, associated rather with a qualitative dimension. As far as the former is concerned, it should be remembered that much of known human history is characterised by dependence on the human body and its dimensional characteristics. Until the advent and adoption of the metric system[74], human

[73] Stephen PARCELL, *Four Historical Definitions of Architecture*, McGill-Queen's University Press, New York, 2012, pp. 143-144.

[74] In 1793, the first unitary measurement system appeared in France, based on a unit of measurement independent of the human body. It is the metre, defined as 1/10,000,000th of the distance between the Equator and the North Pole, measured on the meridian running through Paris. In 1799 the metric system was officially adopted in France. It became

society used, with a number of cultural differences, units of measurement relative to the human body and which were materialised using physical elements and not expressed in mathematical ratios. Therefore, the standards of measurement (and implicitly of dimensioning, where it exists, of drawings) from the Renaissance period are prior to a universally regulated system and the operational precision is relative, in relation to the local measurement system.

Before specifying **the methods of representation** used by the architect for the benefit of the construction site, a few remarks must be made. The first relates to the issue of *perception*. Trachtenberg draws attention to the fact that photographic art has changed the way man mentally translates the world. He associates the Renaissance with a time when "architecture both represents the body and engages the body in the perception of the building" [75]. But the perception of buildings is the first lesson that structures the thinking of an architect in training. By extension, we hypothesize that the mental process of designing the building, prior to its construction, must have been different in the Renaissance than it was in the following centuries, or as we know it today. The remaining drawings from that period, more or less technical, correspond to a time when the process of mental abstraction and advance conception of a building was barely taking shape.

The second mention refers to typography and *the circulation of manuscripts* that included images or technical drawings. The scribe's hand implied, even in the case of making a copy, a creative dimension, which gave the manuscript a dose of imprecision in relation to the original. Therefore, until the appearance of the first books with printed drawings, the graphic representation of the same subject could present variations. In this context, the matter of *drawing «to scale»* and *the method of orthographic decomposition* (orthogonal representation in plan, elevation and section), first mentioned by Alberti, in his treatise, and then refined and used by Bramante and in Raffaello's *bottega*, must also be seen in the light of these observations.

To return to the architect's relationship with the construction site, the representation tools used to communicate the architectural solution were **the three-dimensional model** and **the drawing** (technical, in the form of a sketch or perspective drawing). For the early Renaissance, researchers place them in this order, from the point of view of the architect's preference. One of the reasons for this hypothesis is the small number of physically preserved drawings from this

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mandatory in 1840, being gradually adopted by other countries. Over time it has been redefined in several stages, in relation to increasingly precise quantifiable milestones. Today the metric system is defined in relation to the speed of light and is a universally accepted measurement system. R. A. NELSON, *Foundations of the international system of units (SI)*, in «The Physics Teacher, vol. December», 1981, pp. 596-613.

[75] Marvin TRACHTENBERG, *Tektonikon and Surfacescape: Architecture and the Body in the Italian Renaissance*, in «I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance», 21, 1, Villa I Tatti: The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2018, p. 33.

period[76]. With the mature Renaissance[77] the documentary material becomes much richer. However, a first observation that Ackerman makes is that, of the many remaining drawings, few could have served the construction site. Most of them are concept sketches or studies of existing or imagined buildings. The few *completed drawings* could be divided into two categories: drawings prepared for the client, carefully drawn but lacking dimensions and technical indications (and often representing the projects in a form different from that of the physically realized buildings) and drawings intended for the construction site, but which limit to details. Therefore, the first hypothesis he proposes is that «drawings were not the chief means of communication between architects and builders»[78].

A second observation that he makes and that serves the present study, refers to the rarity of representations of facades and sections, at least in the early and mature Renaissance. The hypothesis he proposes is a certain «Italian phobia» of facades and a «centrifugal character» of the perspective on the world[79], in which architects «visualize themselves in the center of a given space, looking outward[80]». A secondary hypothesis in this sense is related to the fact that the mentality of the Renaissance architect is dominated by the relief of the ancient ruins which, being preserved fragmentarily and especially in the form of walls or traces of walls, allowed the graphic representation mainly of plans, to the detriment of other types of drawing. Starting from the late Renaissance, mediated by the work of Palladio and his mature professional view on the world, technical drawing begins to be used in all its complexity.

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[76] James ACKERMAN, *Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance in Renaissance Art*, ed. Creighton Gilbert, Harper&Row Publishers, New York, 1970, pp. 161-163.

[77] Also called the Roman Renaissance, it is placed by Ackerman in the second half of the 16th century and defined by the period between Bramante's arrival in Rome and the death of Sangallo il Giovane, therefore outlined around the complex phenomenon initiated by the papacy, through the Fabbrica di San Pietro, during the coordination of Bramante and the apprentices trained around him. The richness of the documentary material from this period is due in part to the well-organized systems of the administrative apparatus, which kept archives and coordinated the important construction sites, associated with buildings of public interest, carried out during this period. Fabbrica di San Pietro is one of them.

[78] J. ACKERMAN, *Architectural Practice* cit., p.162.

[79] This hypothesis can be linked to another, which belongs to Norberg-Schulz who, in *Il genius loci di Roma (1978)*, points out the character of 'interiority' of the Roman urban space, which he puts in direct connection with the undulating natural landscape and with the geomorphology of the Roman territory, dominated by volcanic tuff, excavated by humans. And maybe not by chance Rome is the main area of evolution for the mature Renaissance.

[80] J. ACKERMAN, *Architectural Practice* cit., pp. 168-169: "Perhaps proportions of this sort were too abstract for the antitheoretical High Renaissance and had to wait for another humanist, Palladio, to rediscover their place in architecture. With Palladio, elevations and façades take on a role that they never again lost".

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A list of some of the notable architects of the Italian Renaissance, from the perspective of their relationship with the construction site of their own works, can tell about their way of working, related to the type of projects in which they were involved. The research directions that were chosen refer to: the means used to communicate the solution, the role of the architect in the construction site and his freedom of decision. The selection of architects was made starting from the hierarchy compiled by Cellini, in his *Discorso sull'Architettura* and by adding names already present in the study or that enrich the overall picture[81]. The selection of architects whose value was recognized, either by their contemporaries or by historians, is associated with the study's interest in the idea of quality and the relationship between it and the precision. Their exceptional status in relation to the usual norm is important not to establish models that, placed centrally, subordinate the study's ideas, but to give an account of the standard of quality towards which the spirit of the time aspired.

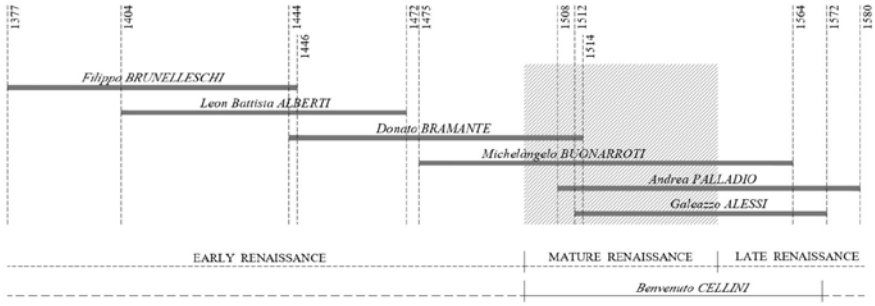

Fig.5. Notable architects of the Italian Renaissance – timeline © Rodica Dina

Brunelleschi is conventionally associated with the beginning of the Renaissance in architecture. The paradigm shift is suggestively grasped by Argan, using the much quoted competition between Brunelleschi and Ghiberti for the solution of the baptistery doors in Florence:

[81] The present study does not propose an exhaustive exploration, or built on the basis of detailed criteria, of the relationship of architects with the construction site, during the Renaissance. Rather, looks for a general picture of this subject, in addition to the other ideas that define the discourse. This part of the study can be the starting point of a research in itself and is therefore an open topic. The figure mentions the birth and death years of the architects, the temporal relationship between them, the one with Benvenuto Cellini (to whose text the selection was based), as well as the relationship with the theorized stages of the Renaissance. It can be observed that Palladio, although contemporary with Cellini, does not appear in his speech, despite the fact that today he is considered one of those who notably changed the paradigm of the profession and the architectural theory places him in a position at least as important as that attributed to Brunelleschi, Bramante and Michelangelo.

> "Here are two opposite methods and two opposits results. Ghiberti proceeds slowly, perfecting the details, Filippo executes swiftly and confidently: in the former, ideation and execution are inseparable and develop side by side, each furhering the other, in the latter, they are distinct and successive moments. Lorenzo is the man of tradition, and the source of his inspiration is in his own labour as a craftsman; Filippo is the modern man of will who first plans and decides and then executes" [82].

The separation between the thinking mind and the executing hand, which in Alberti takes the form of theoretical discourse, in Brunelleschi takes practical form. *The modern man* is therefore associated with this paradigm shift. Beyond this, the image that history has conveyed to him so far is that of the nonconformist and brilliant architect, with a fertile imagination and persuasive power, who dared to oppose the community spirit and earn the right to the title of independent author, who does not want to share his authorship or his ideas. This portrait is also influenced by the paucity of primary sources supporting research on him. On the one hand, there is the direct heritage: the architectural heritage and the models preserved in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. No working drawings have been preserved, and his theoretical thinking has not taken literary form. On the other hand, there are few texts dedicated to him. And here an important point must be made: Manetti's biography, the first in chronological order[83], must be taken with reservations. He builds his text around an idealized image of Brunelleschi, whose heroic portrait he paints, emphasizing his status as a *singular author* and his obsession with control. Seen in this perspective, Margaret Haines project of coordinating the sources in the Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, *The Years of the Cupola 1417-1436*, and the research on the dome's execution are a fruitful objective look[84]. They cover all the issues involved in the process and also reveal a number of inconsistencies between bigraphies and archival documents. The present study chooses to subordinate Brunelleschi's relationship with the building site to this administrative, and therefore more objective perspective. Hence it refers only to the Santa Maria del Fiore basilica project.

A useful tool for assessing his *presence on site* during execution is payment documents. The receipts show that there is a difference in pay between Brunelleschi and Ghiberti, the two 'provveditori della cupola', determined by their level of involvement required on site. Brunelleschi is paid for his permanent presence during works, while Ghiberti is paid only for one hour, on working

[82] G. C. ARGAN, *The Architecture* cit., p.116.

[83] Vasari's text is based on it.

[84] Margaret HAINES, *Myth and Management in the Construction of Brunelleschi's Cupola*, in «I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance», 14-15, Villa I Tatti: The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2011-2012, pp. 47-102; EADEM, *Brunelleschi and bureaucracy. The Tradition of Public Patronage at the Florentine Cathedral*, in «I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance», 3, 1989, Villa I Tatti: The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, pp. 89-125.

days[85]. On the other hand, from a deontological point of view, i.e. from the architect's perspective and his voluntary intention to be involved, the need for his continuous presence besides the work team emerges both from the archive documents and from Manetti's text. Brunelleschi's absence from the site, in the first half of 1430, with unfavourable consequences for the process, is mentioned in both sources: in the archives, but without details, and in Manetti's biography. Here it appears associated with the story of his feigned illness, intended to make Ghiberti look bad, since he was unfamiliar with the project and less skilled, and therefore unable to coordinate the workers. If Manetti's aim is to highlight the qualities of his hero and his demiurgic position as a creator overseeing the works, the subtext highlights the practical dimension and the indispensability of his physical presence in the process.

As far as *representational tools* are concerned, preserved evidence exists only for models. Whether or not Brunelleschi used drawings during the execution or their type (if they existed) is an open question. Researchers are inclined to think not, and one of the hypotheses explaining their absence is an obsession with controlling execution according to one's own design, and defending one's creative status by keeping ideas hidden.

With reference to the architect's *freedom of decision* during the execution, the archival documents also provide a picture of the process. Every important decision involved discussions with representatives of the Opera and written decisions recorded by notaries. It should be noted, however, that the power of decision of the administrative apparatus, in terms of the aesthetic dimension and the artistic supervision of the act of building, is nowhere explicitly mentioned in documents[86]. The Opera's main role is to ensure the smooth running of the process and to control the budget, for the benefit of the whole city. Hence it is mainly an administrative task. However, in the case of important issues, the vote of the leaders and of the community (in that order!) matters[87], which shows the civic

[85] "Immediately following the program's ratification in February 1426, a new election of the two cupola supervisors, both praised for their „genius and virtue," introduced the salary differentiation mentioned by Manetti, obligating Filippo to full-presence on the worksite and Lorenzo to a one-hour visit each working day" (M. HAINES, *Myth* cit., p. 54).

[86] M. HAINES, *Brunelleschi* cit., p. 97.

[87] The decision process regarding the expansion of the main body af the dome and its vaulting is suggestive. M. HAINES, *Brunelleschi* cit., p. 106 states: (the Operai) "installed three of these churchmen as permanent advisors and paid a custodian to keep the building site and Opera open on Sundays so that the people could see the alternative designs. By October 1367 two scale models were available for viewing in separate houses near the curch: That of Ghini (apparently the new alternative) and that of the committee, which, fortified as advised, had been executed by Ghini and Talenti; work could proceed no further without a decision. The leading citizens were summoned in groups by invitation, and all but one found the committee model unequivocally more beautiful, magnificent and

spirit of the time and the fact that the project was seen as a community project. This reveals, by contrast, the strength of Brunelleschi's daring to break this spirit by expressing himself in front of the community as the author of his own ideas.

In conclusion, compared to Manetti's picture, things were actually more nuanced within the team. Brunelleschi proves indispensable in the process, but he does not work alone. The architect is surrounded by a whole system which, contrary to the idea that it limits the creativity of the author's genius and administratively hinders the process by its mundane dimension, supports the author and mediates the materialization of his ideas.

However, it must be taken into account that the project for the Florentine dome (both the body of the church and the dome) is an exception of the time and not the norm. The project is a public one, initiated by competition, in a very well-knit community, tight around conditions of economic stability and under the patronage of people who held both political and financial power, assuming also the role of patron. Moreover, the project is an exception thanks to the administrative support provided by the outstanding organization of the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore. This attribute of exception is precisely the one who tells about the standard of quality towards which the Florentine society and the architect aspired.

In dialogue with Brunelleschi, as the initiator of the authorship in the practice of architecture, **Alberti** add a theoretical dimension to it. For him, the authorship is an intellectual one and he declares a change in the architect's social status. Alberti proposes to the architect to change his self-perception, and to society to accept him in his new posture. In his own practical activity he is consistent with this shift. The autograph letter, dated November 1454 and sent by Alberti to Matteo de'Pasti, one of the main supervisors of the works on the site of the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, reveals how the architect relates to the implementation of his own design. First of all, *the architect's presence on the construction site* during the execution can be substituted by the project itself which, according to the indications of its own treatise[88], is so well defined before the work starts that it cannot leave room for changes. In the letter, he specifies: "so if otherwise you see no objections, follow the design which in my view is perfectly in order" [89]. Moreover, when it comes to direct comunication with the decision-makers, it is not the architect who takes the first step towards them, and the proposed place for discussions is not on the construction site, face to face with possible problems. On the contrary, Alberti expresses his availability for discussions, but invites the interlocutor to his studio: "should anyone come here to see me, I shall do all in my power to give satisfaction

honorable for the city. The doors were then open to the whole populace, convoked by crier, and in the space of two days over four hundred individuals of all classes and trades had their names recorded as favoring the irresistible committee model".

[88] The *De re aedificatoria* manuscript is dated 1452, hence at the time of the letter his architectural theory was already defined.

[89] C. GRAYSON, *Alberti* cit., p. 255.

to my Lord"[90]. His *role in the execution process* is therefore to provide clarifications related to the design and rather to watch over, preferably from distance, its materialization. The careful and detailed control of the architectural solution in advance gives it an operational precision, in which Alberti trusts, and which he empowers on the construction site on his behalf.

Like Brunelleschi, **Bramante** had the privilege of carrying out a significant part of his practice in a complex system[91], patronized by the papacy itself and located in the spiritual center of the Christian world. The papal built heritage in the Vatican area entered a renewal stage only with Niccolò V (1447-1455), a pope with a remarkable humanist profile and a great supporter of arts and architecture, who consulted Alberti in his decisions[92]. Before his pontificate, there was no organized work system, with fixed positions and architects appointed for the long term. After him, the administrative apparatus of the papal architectural projects goes through various changes, but the first coherent form, as the Fabbrica di San Pietro, apears with Pope Giulio II (1503-1513), who transforms Rome into the artistic center of the Italian peninsula. The moment coincides with a cultural decline of the main italian centers (Florence, Milan, Urbino) and with the fact that Rome had no artists or architects of its own, but borrows them from these cities. This fact led to a revolutionary change in Rome, which would generate what has remained in history as the Mature Renaissance. Bramante's name is historically linked to that of Pope Giulio II and both are known as co-authors of this phenomenon. Therefore Bramante enters the papal project at a moment of maximum effervescence, when there is creative intent, financial support, and an administrative system already tested for half a century. For this reason, his activity during this period of time is of interest for the present study.

We know that Bramante establishes and perfects the type of *graphic representation* based on plans, elevations and sections, which is first mentioned by Alberti and later documented in Raffaello's *Lettera di Raffaello d'Urbino a Leone X* (and which will become a common practice to this day). The archive of the

[90] C. GRAYSON, *Alberti* cit., p. 256.

[91] Bramante entered the papal building site under Julius II, who commissioned him Il Cortile del Belvedere in the first year of his pontificate (1503) and worked on the project until the end of his life (1514). However, the Bramantesque stage continued after his death, until 1546, the year which marked the death of Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, his last active apprentice on the Vatican project. In fact, after Sangallo's death, instead of giving his place to Michelangelo, the pope preferred to call from Mantua Giulio Romano (Bramante's last living apprentice) to continue the work, but Romano died the same year, so his work in the Vatican was insignificant. In 1546 Michelangelo, aged 71, enters the project and initiates a new phase.

[92] Christoph Luitpold FROMMEL, *Il cantiere di S. Pietro prima di Michelangelo*, in *De Architectura. Les Chantiers de la Renaissance. Actes des colloques tenues a Tours en 1983-84*, Jean Guillaume (ed.), Picard, Tours, 1991, p. 175.

Fabbrica di San Pietro preserves a rich graphic documentation, from which we understand that orthographic and scaled drawing was an important tool of communication between the mind that design and the hand that manufactures. Frommel details: "On the basis of these general drawings, the execution drawings of the individual parts and, above all, the plans and sections of the choir and dome pillars were then made, certainly mainly by assistants. Detailed multi-level plans were required not only for the foundations, which were larger and less detailed than the upper parts, but also for complex elements such as pendentives"[93].This structured way of physically translating the architectural solution imagined by the author, with the aim of transmitting ideas to the manufacturer, gives an account of the complex system that took shape at that time. The fact that it is still used today, although not exclusively, reveals its effectiveness. However, despite his structured thinking and visionary spirit, as well as a rich design experience, Bramante went down in history as one of the technically ungifted architects and with no engineering intuition[94]. The documents even say that after his death, the unsolved technical problems was worked out by his apprentices[95].

As for his *practical role* in the building process, Bramante follows the lines that had been defined by his predecessor, Francesco del Borgo: he represents the client (the pope) in contracts, coordinates the manufacture of models and drawings, checks the on-site works, controls the budget[96]; and (we assume) negotiates the solution with the pope, finding himself in the middle between his desire to see his "utopian"[97] ideas realized and the limited budget of the investor.

In conclusion, the fertile stage coordinated by Bramante (1503-1511; 1513-1514) proves its creative substance even after his death. The second Bramantesque stage of the Vatican project (1514-1546), defined by the activity of his direct disciples (Raffaello, Peruzzi and Sangallo il Giovane), tells about Bramante's *professional legacy* and its operational force. The creative direction of the disciples will be subordinated to his vision, which they respect, but without letting

[93] C.L. FROMMEL, *Il cantiere* cit., p. 179: "Sulla base di questi progetti generali furono poi fatti, sicuramente in buona parte dagli assistenti, i disegni per l'esecuzione delle singoli parti e, prima di tutto, le piante e sezioni del coro e dei pilastri della cupola. E ci volevano piante dettagliate su diversi livelli non soltanto per le fondamenta, che erano più grosse e meno dettagliate delle parti superiori, ma anche per elementi complessi come i pennacchi".

[94] J. ACKERMAN, *Architectural Practice* cit., p. 151: "Bramante, in spite of some thirty years in the practice of architecture, never did gain much competence in technical matters, and after his death Antonio was kept busy patching up his errors".

[95] With particular reference to Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane who, by the way, went down in history as the least creatively gifted of Bramante's students, but he had excellent technical qualities and was a very good coordinator.

[96] C.L. FROMMEL, *Il cantiere* cit., p. 178.

[97] *Ibidem*.

themselves be constrained by it[98].

Michelangelo's case is a particular one, for several reasons. The first is that, at least when faced with his first architectural commission, he does not consider himself an architect and recognizes his lack of experience. In the letter to the chaplain of the Florence Cathedral, Giovan Francesco Fattucci, dated December 31, 1524, Michelangelo writes:

> "Messer Giova' Francesco, I understand from your last letter that His Holiness and our Lord wants the design of the library to be done by my hand. I know nothing about it, nor where they want to do it; and even though Stefano told me about it, I didn't pay him any attention. When he returns from Carrara, I will learn from him and do what I can, although it is not my profession[99]."

His second peculiarity refers to a unitary and integrative artistic vision, which is imprinted on all his projects: both in painting, sculpture and architecture - to preserve the order mentioned by Vasari. As far as his architectural projects are concerned, they are all characterized by a series of site constraints, which show his extraordinary ability to envision things as a whole, in the sense of taking what exists, as a unit, transform it and obtain a new one. It is, moreover, an attitude in fine harmony with the spirit of the time, at least in the Italian space[100] where, despite the successive stages of work, carried out over time and with different authors, the limit between the interventions is imperceptible.

A third peculiarity, observed by Ackerman, refers to the fact that, if the architecture of the early Renaissance requires *an external observer*, in passive admiration, the architecture that Michelangelo proposes requires *a direct participant to the space*, in motion and in a permanent relationship with the

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[98] J. ACKERMAN, *Architectural Practice* cit., p. 170: "The successive architects at St. Peter's, while they held Bramante in reverence, never made the least attempt to carry out what he would have wanted. They look what was there as an inspiration for new ideas, and this habit of working with and in the building itself brought the efforts of many generations to a cohesive conclusion".

[99] Paola BAROCCHI and Renzo RISTORI, *Il Carteggio di Michelangelo, Edizione postuma di Giovanni Poggi*, III, Sansoni Editore, Firenze 1973, p. 20.: "Messere Giova' Francesco, intendo per l'ultima vostra chome la Santità del Nostro S(ignor)e vuole che il disegnio della liberria sia di mia mano. Io non ò notitia nessuna, né sso dove se la voglia fare; e se bene Stefano me n'à parlato, non ci ò posto mente. Chome torna da Charrara, io m'informerò da Lui, *e farò ciò che io saprò, benché non sia mia professione.* [Author's note]".

[100] See ACKERMAN, *Architectural Practice* cit., p. 170, with reference to Bramante's descendants in the construction site of the Basilica of San Pietro: "this habit of working with and in the building itself brought the efforts of many generations to a cohesive conclusion. How different this is from Renaissance France, where Fontainebleau, Blois, the Louvre, each successive portion of the structure is methodically isolated from its predecessors!".

changing effect that light has on matter[101]. A hypothesis for this particularity of his architecture could be the previous, solid training in the art of sculpture.

Regarding his *instruments*, in relation to the construction site, Ackerman also explains that both the model and the drawing are used. However, in relation to the drawing, there are a few observations to be made, in the line of the present research. The most important is that the highest level of operational precision in the drawing, in the sense of the irreversibility of the architect's decision, is no longer established before the start of the execution works, but is set after this moment, in close relation with an optimal level of precision of the intention, i.e. at the moment when the architect considers that he has reached the best solution through study[102]. Therefore, on an imaginary graph of the building process, which starts from the first intuition of the author's solution and ends at the last gesture of the craftsman's hand on the construction site, the architect moves this precision guiding mark from the point recommended by Alberti, i.e. before the start of the construction site, after it, to the moment of optimal conjuncture, which involves all active factors of reality and not only the architect' intention. This type of process translates the fact that *precision is subordinated to quality* and takes into account the real context of the execution.

In addition to this mention, Ackerman reinforces:

> „The common practice in the sixteenth-century of building from large wooden scale models, rather than from drawings, explains the absence of any complete plans or elevations among Michelangelo's surviving sketches. But these sketches differ from those of other Renaissance designers in one significant respect: with two or three exceptions none represent even a small detail as it was ultimately built. It was Michelangelo's habit to keep his design in a constant state of flux until every detail was ready for carving, a method entirely consistent with his organic approach. His conception of a building literally grew, and a change in any part involved sympathetic changes in other parts" [103].

With reference to a specific project, William Wallace makes the same observation in his study of Michelangelo's involvement in the (unrealized) project of the facade for the basilica of San Lorenzo. In the act of designing, the architect

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[101] James ACKERMAN, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1986 [1960], pp. 37-38; 43-44.

[102] "By contrast to contemporaries trained in fifteenth-century proportions, Michelangelo rarely indicated measurements or scale in his drawings, never worked to a module, and avoided the ruler and compass until the design was finally determined. From the start he dealt with qualities rather than quantities. In choosing ink washes and chalk rather than the pen, he evoked the quality of stone, and the most tentative preliminary sketches are likely to contain indications of light and shadow; the observer is there before the building is designed" (J. ACKERMAN, *The Architecture* cit., p. 47).

[103] *Ibidem*, p. 49.

works simultaneously on several aspects: volume, bills of quantities, costs, architectural details, technical details[104]. In execution, he hires and coordinates craftsmen, supervises the extraction of marble blocks from the quarry and their transport, rents the necessary equipment and means of transport, makes projects for the realization of the uninvented but necessary ones, negotiates prices, makes drawings, evaluates costs, maintains correspondence with those involved in the decision process. His *role during the execution* seems to be, therefore, one of a link between all the factors involved and a coordinator of the entire process, in all the aspects necessary to obtain the optimal result, and not necessarily in the sense of respecting the original project[105]. However, it must be taken into account that the project for the facade of the Basilica of San Lorenzo is a private one, and its implementation did not benefit from the large and well-organized administrative body specific to large works of public interest.

Palladio completes the series of previously mentioned architects because the historical distance shows him today as one of the most balanced exponents of the profession during the Renaissance. He had the privilege of carrying out his activity at a time when the conquests of the previous stages had had time to mature, he benefited from a formative process that seems ideal to today's architect and he served the interests of some clients who were not only financially and politically powerful, but also humanists. In addition, his commissions included both projects of public interest and private projects, a fact that foreshadowed the profile of the modern, independent architect. His work took both built and literary form, and he is the first architect to publish his own projects, including the unrealized ones, in their ideal form (so intended by the author architect), adding references to place, client, design requests and context. His treatise can be seen as a design guide for his colleagues, but also as a tourist guide for the non-specialist but interested literati; it therefore addresses both the profession and society. This way of translating one's own work indicates not only a new layer in the process of building a professional identity, but also the need to practically exemplify the quality standards and design principles already enunciated in the theory books of the time. It is an example of good practice, assumed as such by its own author and publicly exposed. In addition, beyond being a beautiful object, as a book, the treatise is also a very consistent and valuable volume, through the literary and graphic information it contains.

Regarding *the drawing*, the use of orthogonal scaled projection, in the graphic representations, is one of his landmarks and comes not only from the practice of

[104] Wiliam WALLACE, *Michelangelo engineer*, in *Architettura e tecnologia. Acque, techniche e cantieri nell'architettura rinascimentale e baroca*, a cura di Claudia Conforti e Andrew Hopkins, Nuova Argos, Roma, 2002, p. 100.

[105] W. WALLACE, *Michelangelo* cit., p. 107.

the time, but also from his training as a stonemason[106]. In Palladio's work, drawing and thinking determine each other and, in his case, this symbiosis is obvious: structured thinking is expressed through technical drawing and technical drawing structures thinking, without burdening it or canceling its creative dimension, but putting it in light. *The order* that his predecessors saw in the ruins of Roman antiquity is imprinted not only in his designs, but also in the drawings and in their materialization.

Documents for the construction stage of his projects are few. The information on the Basilica Palladiana (a project of public utility and administratively supervised by the city council of Vicenza) and Palazzo Chiericati (private commission, offered by one of the members of this council), although scarce, nevertheless give a picture on Palladio's *role during the execution*. For example, in the case of the basilica, and especially in the early period, he checked the payments and the budget, supervised the quality of the work carried out, had an important say in the selection of the craftsmen, was in charge of the supply of tools and materials, and sometimes executed some of the stone elements himself (so the artisan authorship does not disappear) [107]. As time goes by, documents show his decreasing presence on the site and in the city and the taking over of some of his duties by other supervisors. Nevertheless, he is indispensable to the smooth running of the works and available to offer his services whenever the site requires it[108]. In the case of the Chiericati palace, its *presence on site* is even scarcer. Burns notes that for the design of the building and more than two years of involvement in the execution process, the architect's fee is less than that for four months' salary for the basilica project[109]. On the same subject, Puppi expresses a similar idea, but makes an important clarification: although short, his presence on the site is

[106] "A stonemason would have had no difficulty in understanding a system of representation which the painter Raphael feels necessary to explain in detail" (Howard BURNS, *Building and Construction in Palladio's Vicenza*, in *De Architectura. Les Chantiers de la Renaissance. Actes des colloques tenues a Tours en 1983-84*, Jean Guillaume (ed.), Picard, Tours 1991, p. 193.

[107] H. BURNS, *Building* cit., p. 204.

[108] IBIDEM, pp. 204-205: "Palladio's retention as architect continued to be regarded, however, as essential, as the failure of attempts to remove him or reduce his salary in the early 1560s show. He continues to exercise control over the master mason's accounts, adding a note in his own hand on the back of calculations relating to M.o Pasqualin about the balance. In fact though he spent more and more time away from Vicenza, he was always available to advise on the Basilica and other public buildings".

[109] IBIDEM, p. 202. Burns, however, hypothesizes that this could also have been due to the financial stability that Palladio had, as a privilege indirectly owed to the limited partner, from the Basilica project. Another justification could be that Palladio's private beneficiaries, by virtue of their education and solid culture, had the ability to manage their projects themselves, partially freeing the architect from this efort.

effective and intense, and the result of his involvement is proportional to the needs of the moment[110].

Another aspect that is representative of Palladio concerns the quality of the workmanship – a tool also present in the list recommended by Alberti in his treatise, a century earlier. With Palladio, however, this aspect takes on an important dimension, as he invests in *educating*[111] the craftsmen with whom he collaborates, establishing a common language with them and initiating them into his own mental universe. In this way, he builds up over time a whole support apparatus and keeps an active collaboration with them on different sites[112]. Through this mechanism, the architect ensures that the project is executed as closely as possible to the project's intentions, with minimum effort during the works and with an efficient physical presence on site. It is a form of substituting oneself, as the thinking mind of the author, for the initiated mind of the manufacturer.

The last architect in this selection is **Galeazzo Alessi**. He was active in the northern half of the Italian peninsula. The large number of projects in which he was involved, their diversity and their geographical distribution are worth mentioning, as they must be linked to the fact that Alessi introduced into the Lombard environment a new way of relating to the execution stage, by delivering a sufficiently detailed project to substitute his presence (as author of the project) on the building site[113]. Scotti elaborates: "from general drawings, very precise and suggestive in their graphics and shadows, to all the details of the structure, to the areas of the various classical orders and, finally, to many other decorative details,

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[110] "Vero è che, quasi di regola, Palladio sembra abbandonare i cantieri dopo periodi sostanzialmente brevi di presenza: ma, da un lato, ogni qualvolta disponiamo di pezze documentarie d'appoggio consistenti, dobbiam prendere atto che si tratta appunto di presenza assai intensa e tale da indurci alla convinzione che la sua durata fosse proporzionale all'esigenza di impostare definitivamente ed irreversibilmente il lavoro" (Lionello PUPPI, *Palladio in cantiere* in «Palladio. Ein Symposium. Kurt W. Herausgegeben von Forster und Martin Kubelik», Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana, XVIII, Schweizerisches Institut in Rom, 1980, p. 20.

[111] G.G. ZORZI, *Vita di Andrea Palladio scritta da Paolo Gualdo*, in «Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte», 2, Venice 1958-1959, p. 94: "Palladio in his conversation was very agreeable and witty, so that he gave great pleasure to the Gentlemen and Lords with whom he had discussions as also to the craftsmen he used, keeping them always cheerful, and treating them very pleasantly he brought it about that they worked with great good humour. He had a great taste for teaching them with much kindness all the proper terms of the Art, so that there was not a builder, mason or carpenter who did not know all the measurements, members, and true terms of Architecture".

[112] L. PUPPI, *Palladio* cit., pp. 22-23; p. 25.

[113] Aurora SCOTTI, *Architetti e cantieri a Milano a metà del Cinquecento*, in *De Architectura. Les Chantiers de la Renaissance. Actes des colloques tenues a Tours en 1983-84*, Jean Guillaume (ed.), Picard, Tours 1991, p. 239.

including the configuration of the mouldings, even at 1:1 scale" [114].

An external factor to be taken into account is that, with the entry of Spanish power into Lombardy in the second half of the 16th century, the hierarchy of the construction team at the Milan Cathedral construction site changed, following the model used at the Escorial[115]. Here, too, there is a process of administrative fragmentation, distribution and clear assignment of responsibilities, with limits that cannot be exceeded; the role of the contractor is reduced to that of carefully complying with the specifications provided by the architect through the project, and the role of the architect becomes that of general coordinator, who holds everything in hand and has the overall picture of the process, without, however, being permanently present on site[116]. The hypothesis is that such political changes would no doubt have had cultural consequences o the Italian working environment, at least in the northern part of the peninsula.

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Two conclusions emerge regarding the architect's relationship with the execution stage.

The first is that artisanal and intellectual authorship coexist throughout the Renaissance period. Moreover, the history of the profession shows that between the credo expressed *theoretically* by Alberti and its *practical manifestation*, there was a gap measured in various steps and expressed differently according to the cultural-geographical context.

The second conclusion concerns precision. In its *qualitative dimension*, the precision of intention remains unaltered, because it is deontologically determined by and follows a credo of the architect. In its *operational dimension*, precision is subject, through external factors, to an increasing change. The fact that the importance of the church, as a source of financing for the construction industry, is beginning to be shared with private commissioners, large or small, leads to an increase in the number and type of projects, which facilitates a process of emancipation for the architect, in the sense of his independence as a professional and entrepreneur. The varied and widespread architectural commissions in the territory require an increasing efficiency of his work, in all the stages that concern him, including execution. The high level of precision in the drawing appears as a possible answer. In this way, operational precision sits between the mind that thinks and the hand that executes, but its precise position in the overall process graph is not clearly defined.

[114] Ibidem, p. 241.

[115] Catherine WILKINSON, *Building from Drawings at the Escorial* in *De Architectura. Les Chantiers de la Renaissance. Actes des colloques tenues a Tours en 1983-84*, Jean Guillaume (ed.), Picard, Tours, 1991.

[116] A. SCOTTI, *Architetti* cit., p. 241.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) The separation of the architect from the building site and his retreat into the world of ideas, started in the Italian space of the 14th-16th centuries, is determined by a seduction of authorship. However, the Renaissance change of the architect is more *a change of social status* and is closely conditioned by the political and cultural context. The main tasks related to his daily professional activity do not fundamentally change and there is a significant time gap between the theoretically declared intention and its concrete implementation. Alberti's treatise, whose significant consequences are obvious today, did not echo at the time of its appearance.

(2) Architecture, as an independent discipline, would also follow a long process of affirmation, developed over centuries and through *punctual conquests*, obtained in different geographical spaces and cumulatively associated in this complex framework of the profession. Alberti's declaration was only a starting point. A century later than in *De re aedificatoria* (1452) and in the same cultural space (Florence), Benvenuto Cellini wrote in his discourse on architecture: "Architecture is to man an art of great necessity, like his garments and armour, yet for its ornaments it is a wonderful thing, and because it is the second daughter of the great Sculpture"[117]. This shows that, in the consciousness of the time, architecture had not acquired its independence and was still subordinate to the visual arts and, in particular, to sculpture[118]. However, a few paragraphs later, Cellini refers "he who wants to make architecture his profession" to both Vitruvius and Alberti's texts[119]. This shows the winding path of the emancipation process and of the detachment of the architect from the construction process. On the other hand, the history of the profession highlights a certain frustration generated by this separation, which is felt to this day. We propose the hypothesis that this frustration begins with the first signs of separation. The architect wants his name to be known by the future and leaves his signature, but not only on paper (as the author of the project, following Alberti's statement), but also on the building (whose author he wants to be, since it is the one with which he writes the built and seen reality).

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[117] «L'Architettura si è arte all'uomo di grandissima necessità, siccome sua vesta e armadura, e ancora per i suoi ornamenti la diviene cosa mirabile, e perchè ancora essa è figliuola secconda della grande Scultura.» B. CELLINI, *Discorso* cit., p. 246.

[118] Alina Payne points out the fact that the architecture-sculpture subordination is more present in the Tuscan area (Repubblica di Firenze), probably also due to the proximity of the stone quarries, and the architecture-painting subordination is more present in the Urbino area (Ducato di Urbino): Alina PAYNE, *L'Architecture parmi les arts. Matérialité, transferts et travail artistique dans l'Italie de la Renaissancce*, Hazan, Paris, 2016, p. 98.

[119] «uno che vuol fare professione d'Architettura, gli è di necessità il vederle, imperò vegga il libro del detto Lionbatista, che lo troverà utilissimo e bello.» B. CELLINI, *Discorso* cit., p. 250.

Fig.6. Amannato's signature on the wall of one of his own projects
Villa Giulia, Roma © Rodica Dina

(3) The Renaissance period in Italy is marked by the search for unity. However, the work prevails over the architect with pretensions to authorship as a common goal. There are many projects, large and small, on which different architects worked at different stages, without being able to distinguish between them[120]. Unity takes precedence over fragment, without this negating authorship; in Renaissance architectural project, *authorship and unity coexist.*

(4) The face of the intellectual hero of the Renaissance paved the way for a system of learning through the study of models of excellence, which led over time to the *distorted perception that architecture is a sum of exceptions*. The topic is a highly topical one in current research on the architect's authorship and social role, especially in the context of the impending paradigm shift, conditioned by new graphic representation modalities and the integrated teamwork system (BIM), which calls for complex joint effort and questions authorship. In this reading key, *the battle for authorship is not yet over*.

[120] The case of the facade of the Basilica della Santa Casa in Loreto, is a conclusive example of a very small construction site where three different architects work in successive stages; each takes over the other's work and aims for a unitary and coherent result; moreover, the writings of the time say: «non si conosce pura una commisura, e pare tutta da piedi fin'alla cima fatta d'un pezzo solo». See G. ANGELITA, *L'Historia della Traslatione della Santa Casa della Madonna à Loreto*, Sebastiano Martellini, Macerata 1594 [Sertorio de'Monti, Fermo 1589]; cited in Antonio RUSS, *«Pare tutta, dai piedi fino alla cima, fatta d'un pezzo solo» La facciata [...]*, in *Pratiche Architettoniche a confronto nei Cantieri Italiani della Seconda Metà del Cinquecento*, a cura di Maria Felicia Nicoletti e Paola Carla Verde, Archivio del Moderno. Accademia di Architettura. Università della Svizzera Italiana, ed. Oficina Libraria, Milano 2019, pp. 47-63.

(5) As for *precision*, the architect has a familiar relationship with it, which has evolved from a precision of intention (as a form of the author's control over his architectural solution), to a precision of definition of one's own status (as a form of control of one's position in society) and then to a precision of definition of the project (in order not to lose control over it, in the context of a complex working system and an increasingly numerous team of collaborators, detached and uninterested in the author's claims). However, if precision of intention remains a constant of the architect in the history of the profession, operational precision is subject to a permanent process of change, in the sense of amplification, in direct proportion to the level of complexity of the construction industry. One of the ways in which *operational precision* has materialised in the work of the architect is the project, whatever form it takes (drawing, text, model). With specific reference to drawing, the period under study brought about two major changes: the transmission of information in space and time, through typography; the imposition of a new way of drafting, through the process of orthographic projection, on a graphic scale.[121] They have several important effects: (1) a change in the relationship between architect and executor; (2) the emergence of allographic forms of constructive processes as a coping mechanism; (3) an increase in the distance between the designing mind and the executing hand; (4) a mutual conditioning between design and architectural solution.

Technical drawing, limited (until the advent of computer-aided design systems) to two-dimensionality, indirectly led to forms that could be drawn in the new way. This conditioning of forms by the possibilities of drawing in turn conditioned the hand of the craftsman who, over time, learned to execute (only) what he received by drawing. Over time, the creativity of the hand was diluted, by educating it towards repetitiveness and standardisation. In this way a whole range of possibilities (either of the thinker or of the doer) was left waiting. On the other hand, the advent of the technical, and therefore specialized, drawing introduces an intermediate stage between the person who thinks and draws the drawing and the person who reads it, which is the translation stage. Translation is in itself a creative act and a dynamic process. The battle for precision is at this point.

[121] Drawings existed before, measurable by means of a grid, made starting from a module or by using some geometric rules (ad triangulum, ad quadratum); however, they were not represented on a graphic scale, so in a proportional relationship with the anticipated reality.

Emanuela Costantini, *Carlo Fasciotti e la vita politica italiana ed europea (1870-1958)*, Rubbettino, 2024, 192p.

Between 1879, the moment of the recognition of Romanias independence by Italy, and 1918, the end of World War I, four Italian envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary were sent to Bucharest: Giuseppe Tornielli, Francesco Curtopassi, Emanuele Becaria Incisa, and Carlo Fasciotti. To Carlo Fasciotti, Professor Emanuela Costantini from the University of Perugia, well-known to Romanian historiography through the books and studies published in the last 15 years, dedicated, over the course of approximately 200 pages, a biography, published at the end of 2024 by the prestigious Italian publishing house Rubbetino. Structured in five chapters, along with Introduction, Conclusions, Bibliography, and Index of names, the work signed by the Italian researcher focuses on the Italian diplomat Carlo Fasciotti, integrating, however, both aspects of Italys internal political life and that of Europe for the period 1870-1958. By consulting a wide range of documents, both unpublished (in addition to those from the Archives of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially those from the Archives of Genoa, where the personal archive of the Italian diplomat is kept), and published (the well-known collection of documents Documenti Diplomatici Italiani), as well as numerous works from Italian and European historiography, Emanuela Costantini manages to bring to the forefront the biography of a diplomat on whom Italian historians have not paid much attention; rather, some of the Romanian historians, in particular Professor Rudolf Dinu, have dedicated several studies and articles to him in recent years, published in journals and volumes both in Romania and in Italy. Carlo Fasciotti was not at the forefront of political and diplomatic decisions, he did not have the career of other diplomats (such as Francesco Crispi), but he was a witness to important periods in the evolution of Italy: from the consolidation of the Kingdom at the end of the 19th century, to the rise of fascism to power in the interwar period; and, through his place in Italys diplomatic corps, he managed many important moments in Italys foreign policy.

In the first chapter, the author presents aspects of the life of the Fasciotti family, of Piedmontese origin. Carlo Fasciottis father, Eugenio, who belonged to a Piedmontese bourgeois family, graduated in Law, entered the diplomatic corps of the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1840, being later sent to the consulates in Lyon, Tunis (in this city he married Carlotta Gnecco, the daughter of an important Italian merchant), Napoli, and after the unification of Italy again in the North African city. After 1863, Eugenio Fasciotti left his consular career,

holding administrative positions as prefect in Bari, Reggio Emilia, Catania, Udine (where Carlo was born), Cagliari, again Udine, Padua and, again, Naples. From 1877, he was appointed senator, and in 1882 he received the rank of plenipotentiary minister. The enumeration of these dignities held by Eugenio Fasciotti has its own purpose. Combining aspects related to family life with those of the foreign policy of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and later of Italy, the author manages to sketch the family, social, diplomatic, and political environment in which the future diplomat Carlo Fasciotti was formed. The recruitment of young people into various segments of the Italian administration depended heavily on family tradition, and in the case of Carlo Fasciotti this aspect played an important role. After graduating from law school at the University of Rome, young Carlo took the exam for admission to the diplomatic career in 1896, then holding various positions: attaché at the Italian Embassy in Vienna, then in Brussels, member of the Italian delegation at the first Hague Peace Conference in 1899, and again in Vienna. Emanuela Costantini noted that in 1904 ended the first stage in the career of Fasciotti, a diplomat from the younger generation who at 34 had the prospects of a fine diplomatic career.

The following chapter is dedicated to Fasciottis work in Greece as secretary of legation, then consul in Crete, again within the Embassy in the capital of Austria-Hungary and, finally, in the central administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome. The first two and a half years were intense for Fasciotti, who was beginning to get to know the realities of southeastern Europe, at a time when nationalisms in the Balkans were at high levels, and the "Macedonian question" was being followed and analyzed by the Great Powers. In this context, Italy paid particular attention to this area. The author first notes the role that the Italian diplomat had in strengthening Italian-Greek relations at the beginning of the 20th century, and then devotes several pages to the situation on the island of Crete in 1905 and during the period when Fasciotti was consul general; an island which after the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897-1898 had been divided into four zones administered by Italy, Great Britain, France, and Russia. Fasciottis work in Crete was appreciated by his superiors and showed his ability to cope with difficult times on the European level. At the end of 1906 he returned to Vienna again, this time as chargé daffaires, collaborating as embassy counselor and later secretary with Ambassador Giuseppe Avarna. The year 1908, marked by numerous political and territorial implications in southeastern Europe (the Young Turk revolt, the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the dualist monarchy, the proclamation of Bulgarian independence), found Fasciotti in the central administration in Rome. He remained in the Italian capital until 1911, when he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Bucharest.

Chapters three and four of the work (pp. 75-136), which are also the most extensive, are dedicated to Fasciottis presence and activity in Romania. There were eight years in which the Italian diplomat witnessed important events not only for Italy and Romania, but also for the entire world, the author preferring to present them both chronologically and thematically. When he arrived in Romania, Fasciotti was 41 years old. He had already gained experience in the Italian diplomatic service, and the mission in Bucharest was expected to be full of challenges. Romania had a treaty of alliance with Austria-Hungary signed on 18/30 October 1883, to which Germany had joined on the same day, and Italy in May 1888, therefore the "two Latin countries that were also allies". After an analysis of Romanias domestic and foreign policy during the period 1911-1913 – marked by the Italo-Turkish War and the Balkan Wars – Emanuela Costantini observed that at the outbreak of World War I, the two states, Romania and Italy, were in a similar situation, both declaring their neutrality; however, in the spring of 1915, the government in Rome took the decisive step of joining the Entente, which led to the disappointment of Ion I.C. Brătianu, the Prime Minister of Romania. With a decisive role in establishing the foreign policy strategy, Brătianu would have expected to receive more information about the involvement of the Italian side in the war. Faced with this situation, Fasciotti tried to justify the gesture of the government in Rome, given that the liberal leader spoke of the "betrayal" of Italy.

After Romanias entry into the war on the side of the Entente and the first victories in the fall of 1916, the German-Austro-Hungarian offensive followed, leading to the occupation of Bucharest and the withdrawal of the royal family, Parliament, government, and part of the civilian population to Moldova, especially to Iași. Fasciotti, along with other members of the diplomatic corps, settled in the new city that had become the "war capital". In the spring of 1917, the Italian diplomat did not hesitate to criticize the Romanian political class for a series of serious errors both at the political and military levels. The diplomat had come to know Romanian realities quite well, and his reports helped Sonino understand the gravity of the situation in Romania that year and the beginning of the following year. A year, 1918, in which Romania went from a separate peace with the Central Powers to the union with the provinces that until then were part of the Russian Empire and Austria-Hungary, in particular Bessarabia, Transylvania and Bukovina; and, at the end of that year, Italy recognized the efforts undertaken by the National Council for the Unification of Romanians, headquartered in Paris and coordinated by Take Ionescu, to support the cause of the Romanians. Therefore, as Emanuela Costantini well observed, Fasciottis mandate in Romania – who would be replaced in 1919 – was a difficult one, in difficult circumstances, and the diplomat was not just a simple executor of instructions coming from Rome, but also one with initiative; not only in political matters,

but also in economic and cultural ones, such as the construction of an Italian school and an Italian church in Bucharest.

Fasciottis last diplomatic mission was in Madrid. He found Spain in a difficult situation, like many other countries affected by the war, and his work was not easy. He tried to act, especially in the economic direction, also encouraged by the new President of the Council of Ministers, Francesco Saverio Nitti, whose objectives were, among others, to maintain stability in the Mediterranean. However, Fasciottis Spanish experience did not last long. He was put on a retirement position in the autumn of 1922, for "service reasons". He was "incompatible" with the new regime installed in Rome, led by Mussolini. Leaving his diplomatic career, Fasciotti devoted himself more to his family (in 1922 his first wife died and he married his sister- in-law), outside Rome, away from the political tumult. After World War II, a new stage in his life began. He returned to the cultural space of Rome, participating in various events, "an old liberal in the new Republic", as the author characterizes him; and he dedicated the last years of his life to family life and the management of his wealth.

As the author well observes in the conclusions of the work, Fasciotti was not among the decision-makers in Rome, and his life was not an extraordinary one. However, the way in which he carried out the missions to which he was sent and his activity for approximately three decades in the Italian diplomatic service place him among the Italian diplomats whose career and memory deserve to be recovered; this is what Emanuela Costantini has very well managed to do.

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