

Nell'ambito dei rapporti fra religione pagana e cristiana si inserisce anche lo studio di A. Pellizzari sulle *Consultationes Zacchei et Apollonii*, scritto databile tra la fine del IV e l'inizio del V sec. d.C., che era indirizzato ai pagani delle élites per favorirne la conversione al cristianesimo; un suo punto di forza era rappresentato dalla dimostrazione del lealismo verso lo stato e del rispetto della tradizione (per esempio, riguardo alla divinizzazione degli imperatori e al culto delle immagini imperiali) da parte dei cristiani.

C. Gabrielli trae spunto da un prodigo avvenuto nel 183 a.C. (l'emersione di un'isola nel mare di Sicilia), narrato da Livio e in seguito ripreso da Giulio Ossequente e Orosio, per svolgere alcune considerazioni sul ruolo dello spazio nella società antica: la comparsa dal nulla di un territorio che sfuggiva all'inquadramento nelle norme esistenti era visto come un segno negativo e come tale richiedeva l'intervento della religione tramite una *supplicatio*; in seguito, la volontà di razionalizzare l'evento portò a una riflessione in ambito giuridico, per cui un'isola nata dal mare fu considerata *res nullius* e quindi suscettibile di *occupatio*.

Infine, F. Giannotti si occupa di un caso particolare della fortuna di Ambrogio, ovvero il romanzo storico *Lo scomunicatore* di Tibor Déry (1966), che narra la vita del padre della Chiesa dalla sua nomina a vescovo di Milano fino alla morte: lo scrittore ungherese rielabora i fatti ricavati dalle fonti storiche con l'aggiunta di episodi soprannaturali, che conferiscono al racconto un carattere quasi agiografico, stemperato però dal continuo ricorso a un tono ironico nella narrazione.

Cristiana Cesaretti
Università degli Studi di Siena

M.B. SHCHUKIN: *Gotskij put'*. Sankt-Peterburg. 2005. The edition of St. Petersburg State University, the Faculty of Philology. Pages 576; with the additional English title list, contents and abstract.

For many years a professor of the Saint-Petersburg State University and a collaborator of Hermitage Museum, M. B. Shchukin has studied the Cherniakhov (Sintana de mureş) culture and the subjects, connected with the Goths. Being an author of certain books and numerous articles, he is one of the most famous figure among the Soviet and modern Russian archeologists. This book summarizes his rich experience of the excavations, researches, discussions, concerned the Gothic problems.

The whole book consists of 9 chapters. In the first chapter M. S. introduces his methods of studying of the Gothic history. He discusses the informative possibilities of archeology and of the written sources, gives a sketch of the biography of Jordanes, the main written source for the Gothic history, and examines the circumstances of writing of his "Getica".

In the chapter II MS scrutinizes with a scrutiny of the earlier history of the Goths and the place of their origin. M. S. studies the report of Jordanes about arrival of ancestors of the Goths at the Southern shores of the Baltic Sea from Scandza in the context of the researches of Polish archeologists, mainly R. Wolagiewicz. The latter considers Wielbark (Willenberg) culture, existed from the I till the beginning of the III century in modern Poland, Byelorussia

and Ukraine, to be relative to the arrived people. M. S. shows some problems in the accordance of the Wielbark archeological data with that derived from the Sweden. There is also a discrepancy between the Wielbark chronology and the testimonies of Tacitus (Ann., II, 62-63), who writes about the Gotones' activity in 19 A.D., when Wielbark culture did not yet exist. M. S. proposes his view: the transferring of the groups from different part of Sweden, mainly from the western part (Westergotland and Boguslan), lasted during nearly a century. All they settled down in the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. In the beginning of the first century A.D. in Pomerania the Gustow culture appeared. Than in the 40-60-s we find very similar Wielbark culture in the Northern Poland. The events described by Tacitus could have been connected with the Gustow culture. The arrival of the legendary Berig with three ships, described by Jordanes, M.S. places in the 60-s of I century A.D (p. 56-57).

To show the context of the following Gothic advance. M.S. describes the ethnographical situation in the Eastern Europe in the first century A.D., according to the archeological records. On the territory of modern Ukraine and Moldavia there existed two cultures, under the La Tène's influence. – the Zarubintsy and the Pojaneshty-Lukashevka. Both correspond, according to M.S., to the Bastarnae, who were neither Celtic, nor German tribe (as ancient authors thought), but the rest of the ancient population, which fragments we meet in different parts of Europe (p. 61). In the South Russian Steppe we find complicated ethnographical situation. In the middle of the first century A.D. the Sarmatians, smashing the Zarubintsy, advanced as far as the Danube, and dominated in the whole North Circumpontic Steppe. The Bastarnae fled northwards, where the archeological data shows the mixture of local traditions and postzarrubintsy elements. M.S. considers this new formation as the Veneti, mentioned by Tacitus (Germ., 46).

Meanwhile first contacts of the Goths with the Northern Black Sea region are attested. M.S. gives some interesting details about the first contacts between the German and the Sarmatian worlds in the I century A.D. The shield-bosses typical for the Central Europe (especially for Przeworsk culture, attributed to Lugii) are found in a Sarmatian burial along the Lower Don, when the Sarmatian signs, "tamgas", were depicted on the spears from Poland and even Norway. Some miraculous traces of these contacts could be unraveled even in the "Younger Edda" of Snorri Sturluson.

The chapter III is devoted to the origin of the Cherniakhov culture. The written sources (Historia Augusta, mainly), according to M.S., confirm the date of the arrival of the Goths in the territory of modern Ukraine between 175 and 238 A.D. The archeological traces of the movement could be seen in the Wielbark's burials in the territory between the Vistula and the Bug rivers and eastwards, when these ones disappear in Pomeranian Poland. The period of transferring of the Goths from Poland to Ukraine could be limited as a wide period between 180 and 260 A.D., with the probable maximal activity in 230-250 A.D. (p. 108). The occupation was quite easy, as the Sarmatian tribes dwelled in the Russian steppe seem to be weakened by the Bosporan army in the end of the II century, and the Goths were not in a difficulty to conquer the region. Settled down in the Northern Circumpontic region they took part in the "Scythian" wars against the Roman Empire in the 248-270. Archeologically this time is reflected in the first phases of the Cherniakhov culture. The experience of visiting rich and civilized countries resulted in the amazing development of the Gothic quality of live, which we could observe in the Kosanovo phase of the Cherniakhov culture.

Next chapter IV begins with author's reminiscence about the studying of the Gothic problems in the Soviet period, when the Cherniakhov culture was officially considered as the Slavonic one. The archeological discoveries in the 60-70-s provoked very nervous and tense discussions, and finally made the majority of specialists acknowledge that real early Slavonic traces should be looked for in the Kiev culture not in the Cherniakhov. The latter, however, could not be understood as exclusively Gothic. To begin with, even the Wielbark community was not entirely Scandinavian. Having come in the south Russian steppe Wielbark people took part in the formation of Cherniakhov culture together with the other groups from central Europe and the local population: the rests of the Scythes, the Sarmatians, the Bastarnae, the Postzarubintsy peoples (pp. 160-161). It is quit surprising however (for me, at least) that in the same time the Cherniakhov is highly unified: the settlements, burials, houses on the whole territory of culture during the period from 280 till 380 are very similar (p. 163). The area was highly populated, probably little less than modern Ukraine and Moldova (p. 162). Regarding the situations of the Cherniakhov settlements M.S. supposes that it could be found a border between the Ostrogoths – Greuthungi and the Visigoths – Thervingi. The former group lived in the forest zone in the Central Ukraine, the latter – along the Black sea shore between Dnepr and Danube (p. 164).

Much attention M.S. pays to the Cherniakhov ceramics. Scrupulous studying revealed that the ceramics very probably had its origin in the late Celtic (p.167) and Provincial Roman traditions. At the peak of its development in the mid of the IV century the Cherniakhov culture was very developed: the population was littered (we know Latin, Greek and Runic inscriptions); they knew the "high technologies" in ceramics, glass, and adornments. M. S. explains this phenomenon as the result of the very close contacts with the Empire began in the III century and especially increased after the *foedus* concluded with Constantine in 332 A.D.: Roman money, cloths and other things flowed to the Gothic land (pp. 205-206).

In the chapter V M. S. proposes a hypothetical reconstruction of the activity of the king Ermanaric, according to Jordanes (*Getica*, 116-120). He thinks the activity of the king was directed on the North and Northeast from the Cherniakhov area. Having defeated the Heruli, he attempted a few campaigns against the peoples of Kiev culture (Baltic-Slavonic population), and further until the territory of modern Leningrad Oblast of Russia, where he conquered the local Finnish population. Ermanaric is controled traffics of trade in Eastern Europe, the places of the fur's procurement (pp. 207-219).

Analyzing the events of the second half of the IV century, M.S. touches the Hunnish problem. He notes that the first Huns could have penetrated in the Russian steppe in the II century with the Sarmatian waves (pp. 223-224). But if the Huns were known in this zone, their appearance must not have shocked. The habits and the military tactics of the Huns could not have been new for that region. With the arrival of the Huns the number of the pastoral monuments in the region has not dramatically increased: the burials of the Huns of the end of the IV century are very rare. The devastations in the Kerch peninsula of the Crimea and Caucasian Taman peninsula were not made during the first Huns, as it was thought before, but later (p. 244). Finally the author concludes that the epoch of the Great Migrations of peoples could not be explained only by the arrival of the Huns (pp. 223-224). He proposes his own chronological limit of the Cherniakhov culture: it must be conditional date 455, when the last Goths left the Circumpontic zone to escape from the defeated under Nedau Huns.

The Adrianople battle and the Balkan events are discussed in the chapter VI. After brief account of the admission of the Goths, the author gives us a detailed tactical reconstruction of the battle, based on the Ammianus' text (pp. 258–264). Without any refer, however, he proposes that the presbyter sent from Fritigern to Valens could have been Ulfilas (p. 258). M. S. describes the movements of the Visigoths after the Adrianople battle in the following period. In the last pages of chapter we read about destiny of the Ostrogoths, who, remained still in the Circumpontic zone until 455 A.D.

The European history in the V and early VI centuries is described in the Chapter VII. The lives of the Aetius and Attila, of Galla Placidia and Ataulf (whom, after some scholars, M.S. suspects in a dream to create the united Gothic–Roman state), the history of the Huns, Visigoths, Vandals, of Theodoric's Gothic–Roman state form the plot of the chapter.

The most important, perhaps, chapter VIII is devoted to the archeological comment on history of the *Völkerwanderung* epoch. M.S. studies the chronological system of the European Late Ancient – Early Medieval History, noticing that the existing system is based more upon the intuition, logical speculations of the scholars, than on the straight interpretation of finds (pp. 323–325). The author proposes some improvements to the existing European Chronological system, using especially his method of making the chronological schemes. The full description of it could be found in the chapter III.

The author could not help touching a problem of an origin of Polychrome style. He refuses traditional opinion, that the appearance of the style is connected with the arrival of the Huns and with the life of the Attila's court. He thinks that the technique of Polychrome style had been famous a long time ago in the Ancient Egypt. In Egypt the Persians knew it under Achaemenides: and the Sassanides, eager to restore the charm of the ancient great kingdom gave an impact to the producing of such beautiful things. This fashion penetrated in the Roman Eastern provinces also. The Polychrome things, however, are found often neither in the Sassanid, nor in the Roman Empire, but were popular among the barbarians. The barbarians surely could not accomplish such difficult jewel work. Technologically there were only few places in the ancient world, where the Polychrome things could have been produced: we should take into account the factor of skilled specialists, rare materials and the motives for producing. Having studied the broad material, the author found the analogies in Iberia (modern Georgia) of the II–III centuries: Iberia well fits the demands of the proposed place of producing (pp. 342–345). The stimulating power for overall spread on the Polychrome style could have been not Hunnish, but the Alanic activity. The Alans used such things and made them fashionable in the Russian steppe and along Danube westwards as far as they penetrated. As for the Alans, M.S. believes and gives some arguments for this exotic idea, that the Alans were not the tribe, but the “order of the ancient knights” (pp. 357–358).

Continuing the theme of barbarian treasure, the author describes with his comments 10 very famous burials of that time with the rich finds of gold, and the polychrome styled things. Describing Szilágysomlyó burial in Transylvania he proposes, that here Fritigern, a hero of the days, when the Goths were admitted in the Empire, was buried. This surmise based upon the found medallions. Eight of them belong to the time of Valentinian and Valens. M.S. proposes that Fritigern received from the emperor these medallions as the signs of friendships. M.S. reminds us of an ambiguous behavior of Fritigern before and during the Adrianople battle, and thinks that he was close to Valens since

his campaigns against Athanaric in 369 (and probably already in that time it was decided to admit the Christian Goths of Fritigern in the Empire to save them from the antichristian repressions of Athanaric). After the Balkan war Fritigern returned to the lands northwards Danube, pushed out Athanaric (Zos.. VI, 34), and then escaped from our sources. M.S. believes to have identified the last home of a warrior (pp. 370-373).

The chapter is concluded with the attempt to determine the archeological traces of the Gothic movements inside the Empire. Strange it may be, but in the Balkans there are only few evidences of the Gothic presence. We still know neither settlements, nor tombs here, attributed categorically to the Goths (p. 391). In Italy the finds of the Ostrogoths could be easily confused with those belonged to Scyri of Odoacer. The traces of the Visigoths in Toulouse kingdom are almost absolutely unknown. The only one place, where we find certain Gothic material is Spain (pp. 400-401). Some things, however, distinguish the barbarians from the local population everywhere inside the Empire: decorations with the precious or half-precious stones, which mark the barbarian fashion from Caucasus to the Atlantic Ocean.

Spanish theme is spread on the next IX chapter. Thanks to his enormous archeological erudition M.S. calls attention to an interesting fact: a sword very similar with some Spanish examples found near Luga in the Leningrad Oblast: then, we know Spanish goods of that period made in amber, which could have had only Baltic origin. Some Pyrenees'-Baltic contacts could have existed in the end of the IV-V centuries, between the Vandals and the Baltic tribe Galinds in it (pp. 412-419).

Then the author applies to the opposite brim of the classical world, where the Goths managed to survive in the storms of the epoch – to the Crimea. The tombs in the Southern-Western Crimea could prove the appearance of the Goths and other Germanic groups (one could have been even from Norway) here in the mid and second half of the III century. Despite the testimonies of the written sources we don't have many archeological records for the Gothic stay in the Bosporan kingdom. Without enthusiasm M. S. relates the existing hypothesis about Gothic (or Hunnish) origin of the famous Polychrome styled things from the underground sepultures at the Gospital'naja Street in Kerch. He believes, the international Polychrome style could not be the indicator of the tribe. Nevertheless he is ready to acknowledge the presence of the Goths in the Bosporan land, and even makes a conjecture that the group of the Goths fighting for Constantius II against Magnentius could have come in the Kerch peninsular. It could explain the finds of the dishes with the name of Constantius here (p. 451).

In the Crimea could be identified different ways of the Gothic presence. The Ostrogoths defeated by Narses in 552 left Italy forever for the lands, where they had kin. M.S. proposes that the terrific resemblance of the Crimean data from monuments of the Luchistoe – Suuk-Su type with the Italian and Danubian material points out that the Ostrogoths came partly to the Crimea (pp. 463-465).

Finally M. S. applies for the fate of the Goths in the medieval time under the power of the Byzantine Empire, the Khazar Khaganate, under the dominance Tatars and the Turks. The last Gothic elements could be found among the Christians of the Crimea until at least the end of the XVI century. When the Russian Empire conquered the Crimea in 1783, the Goths were not distinguished from the other Christians. The whole Christian population was

identified in the documents of the contemporary Russian administration as the Crimean Greeks. Here the great history of the Gothic people finished.

The book is supplemented by the wide bibliography of the Russian and foreign works, and by the five Appendixes:

1. **“Dates of the main events that had a direct or indirect relation to the history of the Goths”.**

2. **“Comparison of time and main indicators of the stages of the late Roman epoch”.** It is the chronological table and pictures of the archeological material.

3. **“Correlation in time and the main indicators of the stages of the epoch of the Great Migration of peoples”.** It is the chronological table and pictures of the archeological material.

4. **“Correlation in time of stages of the Merovingian epoch”**

5. **“Genealogical tree of the Ostrogothic kingdom of the family of the Balts and Amals” according to H. Wolfram.**

The publication of M. Shchukin's book is no doubt an outstanding event in the classical studies. The archeological material considered in the book is immense, and the bright ideas upon it, which the author generously diffuses, would be enough for dozen of books. As for the usage of the written sources the book could not be considered complete. Nor could we find here anthropological sketches about habits, religion, mythology of the Goths. For the lacking subjects, an interested reader could apply for the book of H. Wolfram (“Die Geschichte der Goten”, München, 1990). Both big and fundamental the books of M. Shchukin and H. Wolfram do not overlap each other. M. Shchukin's book seems to be the most comprehensive work, dealing with the very different material relevant to Goths, derived from the whole Europe. Author's excellent understanding of the archeological records, his exceptional archeological learning and great experience make his book essential for any modern research in the Gothic problems.

With deep regret I have to add, that while the review was in expectation of printing, Professor Mark Shchukin deceased 14.07.2008. Saint-Petersburg archeological scholarship has lost its great master.

Alexey Shestakov
Università degli Studi di Siena