

„ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA” UNIVERSITY, IAŞI

HISTORY DEPARTMENT

**DOCTORAL THESIS**

**PUNIC CARTHAGE:**

**MIMETIC CONFLICTS AND SCAPEGOATING MECHANISMS.**

A paradigm of interpretation in light of the anthropological theories of

René Girard

**SUMMARY**

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I started this research with the assumption that mimetic theory and scapegoat mechanism, the two theories of René Girard, are sufficiently general to be applied with useful results to the analysis of antique history. Interdisciplinarity is the main characteristic of my research and it implies applying René Girard's anthropological theories to antique history, a discipline in which they have never been implemented consistently. To accomplish this, I chose the Punic history of Carthage from its foundation (814) till its total destruction (146), applying the mimetic theory and victimary mechanism both to the *longue durée*, and to specific events. The Girardian thesis is that rivalry and violence are rooted in mimesis and solved through the scapegoat mechanism, and my goal was to provide sufficient documentation as to prove that the Girardian thesis can be applied to the relations between Punic Carthage and the civilizations they collide with along the over 600 years of being significantly present in the Western Mediterranean. My hypothesis is that the history of Carthage can confirm the evolution of the mimetic mechanisms and of violence management at an imperial scale and over long periods of time.

The foreword introduces the long journey, both personal and academic, which led to the current research. In the introductory chapter I introduce my objectives, which can be summarized as follows: applying the anthropological theories of René Girard to the history of Punic Carthage and outlining a mimetic method of analyzing the historical events and personalities, both representing a totally new *démarche* in the Girardian studies, both in the Romania and abroad, and I underline the newness of this research. Then I continue with a review of the contemporary debates related to the specific terminology of the Punic studies. Because the mimetic and the victimary theories are scarcely used in Romanian research and because I could not find any scientific paper in any field exclusively allocated to this author, I started introducing the methodology by systemizing these theories, employing the complete Girardian literature published by the author in English and French, as well as the scholarly production written on his theories internationally. I thus accomplished the first systematization of the mimetic theory and the scapegoat mechanism in Romanian and I developed two infographics which help not only with understanding the theories, but with understanding the relation between them, namely the rooting of the scapegoating in mimesis. These are a modest pragmatic contribution to the popularization of the theories not only in Romanian<sup>1</sup>. Starting with these graphic representations, I created a list of markers which help with identifying the stages of the rivalry conflict and the scapegoat mechanism, respectively.

For mimesis, the markers are: similarity, kinship, friendship; desire, jealousy, envy, competition; argument, confrontation, fight; reciprocity, identity, mirror, confusion; frenzy, monstrous; epidemics, calamities, catastrophes.

For the scapegoating mechanism, the markers are: crisis, epidemic, calamities, threats, anarchy, crowd, violence; associations and dissociations, affiliations and disaffiliations, alliances, treaties, unanimity; scapegoat: stereotypical vulnerabilities (foreign, deformed,

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<sup>1</sup> I have already successfully used these graphics in several presentations around the country and abroad along the past four years of research. Special thank you to Mr. Andrei Ungureanu, Mrs. Irina Macoviciuc and Ms. Miream Petrean for the technical help.

orphan, king); stereotypical violence (parricide, infanticide, incest, bestiality); expulsion, collective crime (stoning, immolation, mangling) or constrained suicide; reconciliation, befriending, agreements, peace; ambivalence of the victim (simultaneously evil and beneficial); canonization (the hero), sanctification (apotheosis), ritualizing murder (altar, cult, sacrifices, temple); taboos, interdictions, laws; the myth; ritualic dissolution and re-iteration of the victimary process and/or development of new forms of violence management.

I chose a chronological approach instead of a thematic approach of the historical events because it fulfills the diachronic character of the mimetic-victimary mechanism. I applied text analysis starting with classic authors (Justin, Sallustius, Titus Livius, Polybius, Appian) and employing the most renowned Punic history scholars, modern and contemporary, whom I have consulted in the original and, sometimes, even in person<sup>2</sup>. In terms of methodology, I advanced the possibility of a mimetic-victimary method of analysis of historical events, which I consider to be the main scientific contribution of the current research and which is established by the following stages:

1. Identifying the *subject* and the *model*.
2. Identifying the *disputed object* and the *mimetic desire*.
3. Identifying the *type of mediation* between the subject and the model:
  - *External*, when the differences between the subject and the model are insurmountable (because of time, space, or caliber);
  - *Internal*, when the differences between the subject and the model are surmountable and will be overcome.
4. Identifying *differences* between the subject and the model and analyzing them diachronically, to highlight the increase of *non-differentiation* and the beginning of the *rivalry* relations. Identifying the elements which reveal the rivalry (the markers) and generate rivalry conflict (family history, vanity, external influences, vocabulary in the sources, etc.).
5. Identifying the *reciprocity* and *symmetry* of the relations between rivals.
6. Observing the evolution of the *disputed object* from a material state towards metaphysical. Most times, the initially disputed object will be either ignored, or destroyed in the conflict between rivals, and it will be replaced by the desire for the status of the rival, which becomes the final victory.
7. Identifying the *oscillating dynamics* and the *extreme escalation* of violence.
8. Observing the *contamination of the third parties* and identifying the *polarizations* (alliances).
9. Analyzing the violence (identifying the *violent frenzy*, the *general contamination*, the *extreme escalation*, the *anarchy*, and the *cathartic event*).
10. Identifying the *mythical elements* in the primary sources and in event historiography: the *gods*, the *kudos*, the *monstrous*, the *epidemic*.
11. Analyzing the type of solution:
  - *re-orientation* of one of the rivals or *abandonment* – sometimes temporarily – of the disputed object;
  - *complete destruction* of the rival;

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<sup>2</sup> For example, prof. Abdelmajid Ennabli and prof. Samir Aounallah.

- *reconciliation of the rivals* against a *scapegoat*.
12. Identifying the *method of sacrificing* the scapegoat in various sources and historiography: murder, expulsion, condemnation, public opprobrium for people and destruction, dissolution, annihilation etc. for institutions or socio-political structures, respectively.
  13. Identifying and analyzing the *reconciliation* and post-factum *social harmony* methods.
  14. Identifying the forms of *sacer*: the heroes and the culprits of the conflicts in documents, historiography, the collective memory, and art.
  15. Identifying the *cultural products* resulted from the conflict resolution (institutions, rituals, feasts, geo-political reconfigurations, etc.).

I continued with a review of the available sources, both for Girardian anthropology and for Punic history. It is known that the whole of the antique historiography referring to Carthage is the product of rival cultures and that the Punic metropolis was completely destroyed by the Romans, therefore we only have the perspective of the victors of the *mimetic conflict* at our disposal, which is a mythicized one. R. Girard states that we need to search and identify the perspective of the *victim*, the defeated. This is precisely what I did in the current paper. I used historiography of the Punic era to confirm and support the validity of the mimetic-scapegoat method and to prove that the elements of each stage of the mimetic and scapegoat mechanism can be identified in the sources available. Punctually, I employed literary texts as well (Vergilius). The analysis of the reflection upon Punic Carthage in antique texts and modern historiography led to the elaboration of a very interesting and unanticipated subchapter regarding historiography as a scapegoat mechanism, subchapter which deserves to be extended either as a compact and exhaustive study or in several articles which focus on certain authors and use the mimetic and scapegoat concepts.

I proceed in applying the markers and the method beginning with an analysis of two founding legends, the legend of the foundation of Carthage and the legend of the Philaeni brothers. I start by discussing the concepts of “myth”, “legend”, “story”, “history”, “meta-history”, “past” and “truth” for a better theoretical foundation of the Girardian approach of these events. Next follows an analysis of the events happening in Tyre, which sheds light on the socio-political crisis in the polarization phase and the exile of the Phoenician princess, which contains the analysis of the historical context from the perspective of René Girard’s theories, as well as an onomastic analysis of the protagonists (which offers a variation of arguments in favor of the mimetic and scapegoat thesis). Next, I comment on the acquisition of the Byrsa hill and the foundation of the New City, including an ample discussion on the concepts of territorialization and matrimonial alliance, which perfectly align with the mimetic-victimary theory perspective. I show that the foundation is a process which occurs because of a conflict, a rivalrous incident, and a state of disorder, that the “new” implies a relation to the “old” and that each new order is built starting with the old one, therefore with a eventually rivalrous model. Next follows the analysis of the suicide episode, interpreted through the lens of the scapegoating theory. I prove that the suicide of the founding princess has all the characteristics of a collective crime masked by a legend and that the stages of the founding process characterize the starting of a new culture and a new political organization born out of violence. Applied to the founding legend, the mimetic-scapegoat method reveals

the following different narrative lines, to which I applied the markers submitted in the methodology chapter:

Pygmalion – Elissa – Acerbas: I marked the family relations (the enemy brothers), the throne, the power, the wealth, the woman as an object of the triangular desire, mediated by the model turned obstacle (Pygmalion – Acerbas), jealousy, envy and assassination of one of the rivals, associations and dissociations specific to the crises, polarization and coagulation of a part of aristocracy around Elissa, exile of the queen with a group of supporters and Pygmalion's intent of revenge. I showed why this process ends without a definitive resolution, which prevents a heroizing/sacralization process.

Tyre – Carthage: I argued that the crisis in Tyre, the assassination of the high priest and the exile of the co-heir princess not only assure the reinstallation of a fragile and fleeting peace in Tyre, but also lead to a new social order, to founding a new order, a New City. Carthage was born out of and relating to Tyre, which will remain as a model throughout the whole Punic history. This model will not become a rivalrous model, although it could have, due to the external mediation: not only because the distance between the two was large enough, but also because the distance between the subject (Carthage) and the model (Tyre) was large enough in terms of economic, military and administrative strength for the subject to not confront the model violently, and, with time, the relations between them change. When Carthage is shaping up as a big player between the Mediterranean thalassocracies, Tyre is no longer such a strong maritime and commercial force, but other rivals rise around it.

The locals – the newcomers: I showed the mimetic reciprocity of the relations between the locals and the newcomers and the way Carthage progressively becomes a model, and later, an obstacle-model for the Numidians. I marked the importance of the concept of otherness and the elements that made Carthage a model in terms of commercial gain, but also cultural superiority, I underlined the permanent increase of the stakes in negotiations, and therefore, in tension, the war threat and how one death avoids the escalation of the conflict.

Aristocracy – the princess: I identified the social crisis state and its potential causes, among which the following are included: the relations with Tyre and with the Numidians, Elissa becoming the scapegoat of the war-threatened community, the unification of the masses against Elissa and the constraint to self-immolation as a method of sacrifice. I proved that behind the suicide there was a collective pressure and that the scene is typical to scapegoat stereotypes. I showed how this constraint to suicide constituted the death that founded the new socio-cultural order of Carthage and how the victim was later deified as proof of the ambivalence of sacrificial violence. I argued, as well, that we have to do with a classic scapegoat mechanism, disguised as a mythicized legend, meant to take responsibility off the crowd and to heroize the unique victim, explaining their sacralization.

Carthage – the Greeks; Carthage – Rome: I showed that the legend was born in a Greek or “graecized” environment during the permanent conflicts between Carthage and the Greeks in Sicily and, later, Carthage and Rome, and this explains the elements of the legend through a grid which turn Carthage into an obstacle-model for the other political economic, and military powers of the region. I stated that the legend, in the version that was recorded and transmitted through the Greek and Latin authors, is, in itself, a scapegoat mechanism, as a result of increasing rivalries and violent conflicts which will end, ultimately, with the destruction of the obstacle-model and the reconfiguration of order in the Mediterranean.

Following the scheme of the mimetic-scapegoat theories and the suggested markers, I proved that the interpretation of the founding legend through the lens of the two anthropological theories proves to be a fruitful approach. It highlighted aspects related to the archaic history of Carthage, as the sacrificial crisis in Tyre, the building of the New City by relating to the Tyrian model, the mimetic relations to the Numidian locals and the role of the rivalrous relations with the Greeks and the Romans in elaborating the legend; I suggested, as well, possible new interpretations for it.

I consider the entire analysis to be a novelty which deserves to enter the wide circuit of ideas. Even though none of the first aspects mentioned above have ever been formulated as such by historians, however, the major novelty which comes out of the application of the method is the fact that the founding queen, Elissa, later deified, was, most probably, a victim of her people; to this is added (1) the thesis according to which any founding legend is a cultural product derived from a rivalrous relation subsequent to the events described, and (2) the interpretation according to which the god Melqart was a king who ended up as a scapegoat. The last two hypotheses deserve more thorough research.

The legend of the Philaeni brothers gives us, as the founding legend did, an atypical victimary situation, not a collective crime with a randomly selected scapegoat, but a suicide during a social crisis of power representatives, respectively. I showed that representation is in itself a substitution, and then I identified all the elements of the sacrificial crisis, a crisis which claims a controllable measure of violence, in order to avoid fatal violence, which would lead to the destruction of the community. I also marked all the stages of the scapegoat mechanism. I called the sacrificial crisis a saving, *cathartic violence*. I underlined the concept of boundary from the mimetic non-differentiation point of view. I pointed out that setting a boundary is a separation, distinction process, that it marks the coming out of a stage of risky mimetic non-differentiation, being a sign of crisis upstream and of law and order, so of a new culture, downstream. Setting the border is a founding process, and the legend of the Philaeni brothers confirms the Girardian thesis that every new foundation is built on a sacrifice. I demonstrated that o collective murder, which no one is guilty of precisely because it is a unanimous decision, becomes a time boundary, the act in relation to which the community distinguishes the disorder (crisis) from the order (the new founding). This subchapter, along its capacities to verify the suggested theories and methods, has the privilege of showcasing an incident that is very obscure to the scholarly literature we have. As a conclusion to the analysis of the two founding legends, I proposed the hypothesis that any legend is formulated in relation to a rival.

The following chapter revises the consolidation of the Punic Empire in the western region of the Mediterranean Sea and the evolution of the relation with the Greeks in Sicily from peaceful and profitable to rivalry. Firstly, I show the reasons why the Carthaginians become an obstacle-model for the Greeks, then I follow the link between the stages of the historical conflict and the stages of the mimetic conflict. I used the suggested markers and I argued that the discord and rivalry between the Phoenicians and the Greeks are founded in *mimesis*, as it is described in the Girardian theory: the mimetic doubles (the *riveran* neighbors), which become mimetic rivals, disputing an object (Sicily) which will be destroyed, the generational transfer of rivalry, the polarization of the third parties in

belligerent alliances, the cyclothymia or the oscillating dynamics of victories and defeats, with retaliations, revenge, reprisals. I followed the increase of the rhythm and the violence of the successive actions and the extreme escalation of the tension and I highlighted the hope of the fatal blow. I explained the manner in which the reciprocal violence turns the adversaries in mimetic doubles, non-differentiation of the rivals being one of the crucial stages in the evolution of the mimetic-scapegoat mechanism. I stated that the conflictual relations between the Carthaginians and the Greeks were not ethnic, but they follow a classic mimetic logic, independent of the ethnicity of the adversaries, but directly dependent of the level of *non-differentiation* between them; therefore, using the Girardian theories is not only perfectly legitimate, but necessary in correctly understanding the conflicts. I remarked the vocabulary of the conflictual relations: *response*, *reward*, *revenge*, *reciprocal*, *reply*, *revenge*, *reprisals*, etc., terms which confirm the mimetic reciprocity of the belligerents and the fact that the first culprit can never be identified. I noticed the minor, insignificant gain, in objective terms, of each of the rivals, and the frequent destruction of the disputed object (the cities), proving that the real stakes are the victory itself and that the real nature of the desire is metaphysical.

I marked the plague epidemic, one of the markers of the generalized crises and of the scapegoat phenomenon (in countless massacres of civilian population or family members of families in leadership, or in the exile and, later, execution of Malchus, in the crucifixion of Bomilcar and of Hasdrubal Magon). I proposed the concept of (*re*)orientation as an attitude which can trigger or deescalate a conflict and I showed that the orientation of the Carthaginians towards North Africa has this effect for a long period of time. I highlighted the cultural reconfiguration, identifiable in changing the Punic capital in Sicily, in the partial Hellenization of the Punic Empire, but mostly in the resetting of the equilibrium of forces after Rome's emergence as an important player in the Greek-Carthaginian confrontation area.

At the end of the chapter, I argued that Sicily is not completely destroyed during the Punic-Greek conflict because the rivalry is not finalized, in the sense of the mimetic-scapegoat process until a new riparian (Rome) enters the scene as a significant actor in the region, which will reconfigure the rivalry, the *model* being contested by a *new rival*.

The goal of the last chapter was to prove that the evolution of the relations between Carthage and Rome, both at a large scale (the Braudelian *longue durée*), over the course of 350 years of simultaneous presence in the western Mediterranean, and at small scale, in punctual events and particular relations, is synonymous to the evolution between the *subject* (Rome) and the *model* (Carthage) in the Girardian *mimetic triangle* and that it will end in accordance with the mimetic theory and the scapegoat mechanism. I followed the transformation of the model into an obstacle, the reciprocity and the continuous escalation of the mimetic violence, the destruction of the disputed object, the complete destruction of the rival, and the scapegoat mechanism.

Analyzing the first four peace treaties (509, 348 and 306, 279), I showed that at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Carthage was for Rome a model with which it wanted to establish relations and agreements, a model that would confirm it diplomatically, recognizing it as a new player in the region; in the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (348), Rome wins more from the treaty, which is an indication that it evolved economically and military, but it is still looking for confirmation from the model and the guarantee that the model recognizes its position. I

showed, from the treaties, that the differences between the model and the subject slowly decrease, but they remain significant until the end of the century, when they concluded the third treaty (306), whose terms suggest that Rome became the most important player in Italy, thus entering the non-differentiation stage, a stage in which the two are more and more alike in terms of resources, power and geo-political interests. The non-differentiation process is noticeable in the treaty of 279, when the two actors actually become riparians in the strait of Sicily and they diplomatically coalesce against the Sicilian Greeks.

For the next stage, I proved that the interest for the same object (Sicily) which the model (Carthage) denies the subject turned rival (Rome), with objectives, strength, and capacities comparable in regards to the political objectives, the human, economic and military resources (the war fleet), turns the model into an obstacle-model and it leads to conflict, and the conflict increases and becomes violent (The First Punic War). I highlighted the mimetic character of violence, which brings in more and more participants and generates a violent cycle in which the two rivals act successively in a symmetric manner and that the intensity of the response, revenge and reprisals increases. I illustrated the violent reciprocity both on a large scale (264-241), as well as on specific confrontation (The Mercenary War, 240-237). The analysis of the Mercenary War allowed me to illustrate the transitive character of violence and the scapegoat mechanism which reconciles the rivals (Carthage and Rome) against a third party turned scapegoat. Also, I proved that the disputed object (Sicily) loses its significance as an object of desire and is destroyed in the conflict between the rivals, and the desire turn metaphysical (the definite victory and the status of the obstacle-model).

I showed that coming out of the mimetic relation through re-orientation towards a different object than the one disputed (Iberia) brings a period of peace (241-219), but that the mimetic conflict reignites if the obstacle-model (Carthage) remains a model (continuing to maintain a state of hegemony and to project force) and does not give up on revenge and, also, if the subject turned equal to the model continues their evolution, consolidating the non-differentiation (Rome in the Mediterranean). The Second Punic War allowed me to prove that the non-differentiation of the rivals causes mimetic doubles, both at a macro stage (Carthage-Rome), as well as personally (the Barcids – the Scipios, the Barcids – the Hanons, Hannibal – Publius Scipio, Syphax – Masinissa). I developed this idea by analyzing the rivalry between Syphax and Masinissa in detail, because it allows for identifying of all the stages of the mimetic-victimary process and thus I built an anthropological analysis model for analyzing the rivalries between historical personalities. I proved that the violence cycle is interrupted by re-orientation (Iberia, for the Carthaginians, the north of Italy and the Adriatic Sea for the Romans) and is picked up again through orientation toward the rival (Hannibal towards Rome, Scipio towards Africa). I used the North Africa campaign to illustrate the increase of the reciprocal action rhythm and of their violence in hopes of the final blow and the role of the third parties in the violence polarization process. The extremely violent confrontations (setting fire to the camps, Campi Magni, Zama) gave me the opportunity to introduce the confrontation of the mimetic doubles, Hannibal and Publius Scipio, and to show that the violent cycle ends when the model admits defeat and gives up on the fight. I underlined the way the Peace Treaty (201), through the conditions enforced on the military defeated rival, was an instrument of economic, political, and symbolic destruction of the rival and it thus entered the continuation of the revenge cycle. In the end, I proved that Hannibal's exile and

suicide quadrates with the scapegoat mechanism, the hero becoming scapegoat and then a hero again, in posterity and that the defeat of the obstacle-model is followed by a political-cultural reconfiguration in Italy, North Africa and the Mediterranean region, in which Rome becomes the model.

I finished this last chapter with an analysis of the Third Punic War. I showed that a defeated rival can recover and become a new threat for the rival turned model. I showcase this fact by following both the rivalry between Rome and Carthage, and between the political factions in Carthage and, collaterally, between the Numidians and the Carthaginians. I again identify the non-differentiation and reciprocity between the belligerents. I prove that the rhythm of the reciprocal actions seen from the *longue durée* point of view (over 100 years of rivalry, 264-146) increases so much that *la montée aux extrêmes* becomes inevitable. I analyze the arson and destruction of Carthage with the tools provided by the Girardian anthropology and I conclude that destroying the rival is one of the three methods of definitively solving the mimetic conflict and that the complete destruction of Carthage (146) leads to a new political reconfiguration of the Mediterranean at the end of the millennium.

The events that I cover in the first chapter of the application part are legendary in nature, and the ones I cover in the last two are historical events. Although in both cases I start with their documentation in texts, this difference is inevitably reflected in a change of stylistic register. I often use and quote the observations and intuitions of the classic and modern authors in regards to the rivalry and violence; though none of these authors notices that rivalry and violence are rooted in *mimesis*, nor that rivalry and violence are an intermediary stage of the scapegoat mechanism, which ends in total destruction of the adversary. The genius of the Girardian theories, to which my contribution to the Punic studies aligns, consists of this interpretation.

My personal contributions in this thesis can be summarized thus:

1. The mimetic theory and the scapegoat mechanism are obscure and unexploited in the humanities studies in Romania. The current research provides Romanian scholars with their most coherent and synthetic presentation, based on René Girard's whole work and on the most significant contributions to the Girardian studies in the world during the last 20 years.
2. The theoretical presentation is complemented by an *infographic* which represents the two theories, as well as the foundation of the scapegoat mechanism in the mimetic theory; this graphic facilitates understanding the historical events, the crises and socio-cultural reconfiguration from a mimetic-scapegoat perspective.
3. I elaborated a series of *markers* for each of the two components of the Girardian anthropology, which allow for identification of the stages of evolution of relation between the protagonists (a) of the legends and (b) of the historical events. The three graphics are a personal contribution to the structuring of the Girardian theories.
4. It is the first research that uses René Girard's theories in order to interpret the history of an ancient civilization. I checked the generalization degree, the validity, and the utility of these theories by applying them on the history of Punic Carthage,

since its founding until its complete destruction, which is a completely new approach.

5. I create an analysis model which allows for a similar exploration of many other time periods or historical events. In this sense, I suggest a mimetic-scapegoat analysis *method*, the only one of its kind in the field of Girardian studies.
6. I open several research courses for Punic history: historiography as a scapegoating instrument; re-orientation as a means of de-escalation of violent *mimesis*; Carthage – an obstacle-model for Masinissa; Carthage, a scapegoat of the rivalries in the Roman senate; Carthage – a scapegoat of a generalized crisis in the Mediterranean region; Carthage: a victim of culture. Also, my research creates room for a broader research, using the mimetic-victimary tools, of forced suicide, a subject still unexplored in Girardian studies.

The main difficulty I had to deal with in elaborating this thesis is precisely related to the mimetic theory; I mean the fact that I had no model to relate to. Though the Girardian theories are used across a multitude of academic fields, this is, as I wrote in the Introductory chapter, the first doctoral thesis which applies the Girardian model to history. A minimal point of reference consisted of R. Girard's dialogue with B. Chantre in relation to the secular rivalry between France and Germany (*Achever Clausewitz*, 2011, a book which does not have a scientific character, *per se*) and a discourse of the French mediaevalist Michel Rouche (2014), which is splendid in terms of science, but does not compare two powers. Nevertheless, they were both a real help.

Another difficulty was the bibliography. On one hand, it is enormous in the widely spoken languages (and, fortunately, I have access to almost all of them), but on the other hand, it is completely missing in Romanian. The consequences of this are, first of all, the challenge to limit the searches when the resources are so generous and, secondly, the big number of quotations in foreign languages. As all Punic history scholars, I also bumped into the biased character of antique historiography. I think that this inconvenience was, in the end, beneficial, as I proved above, because it allowed me to search and identify the perspective of the defeated, of the victim.

In the end, I would mention the fact that interdisciplinarity is extremely complicated and difficult. I was permanently faced with the challenge of making anthropology sufficiently clear and convincing for historians, and history sufficiently coherent and detailed for anthropologists. If I managed to do it or not, it remains for the critics to say.

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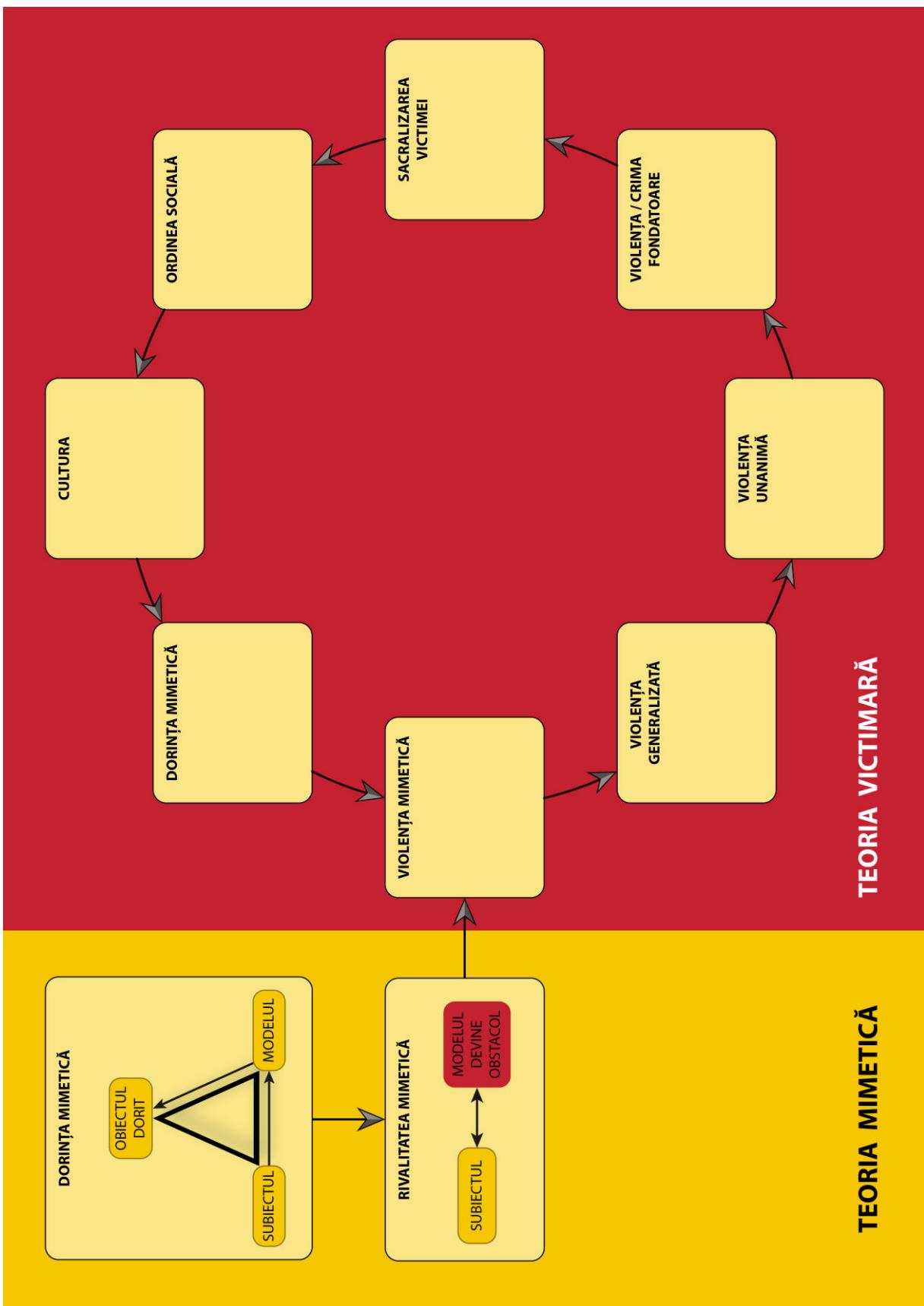
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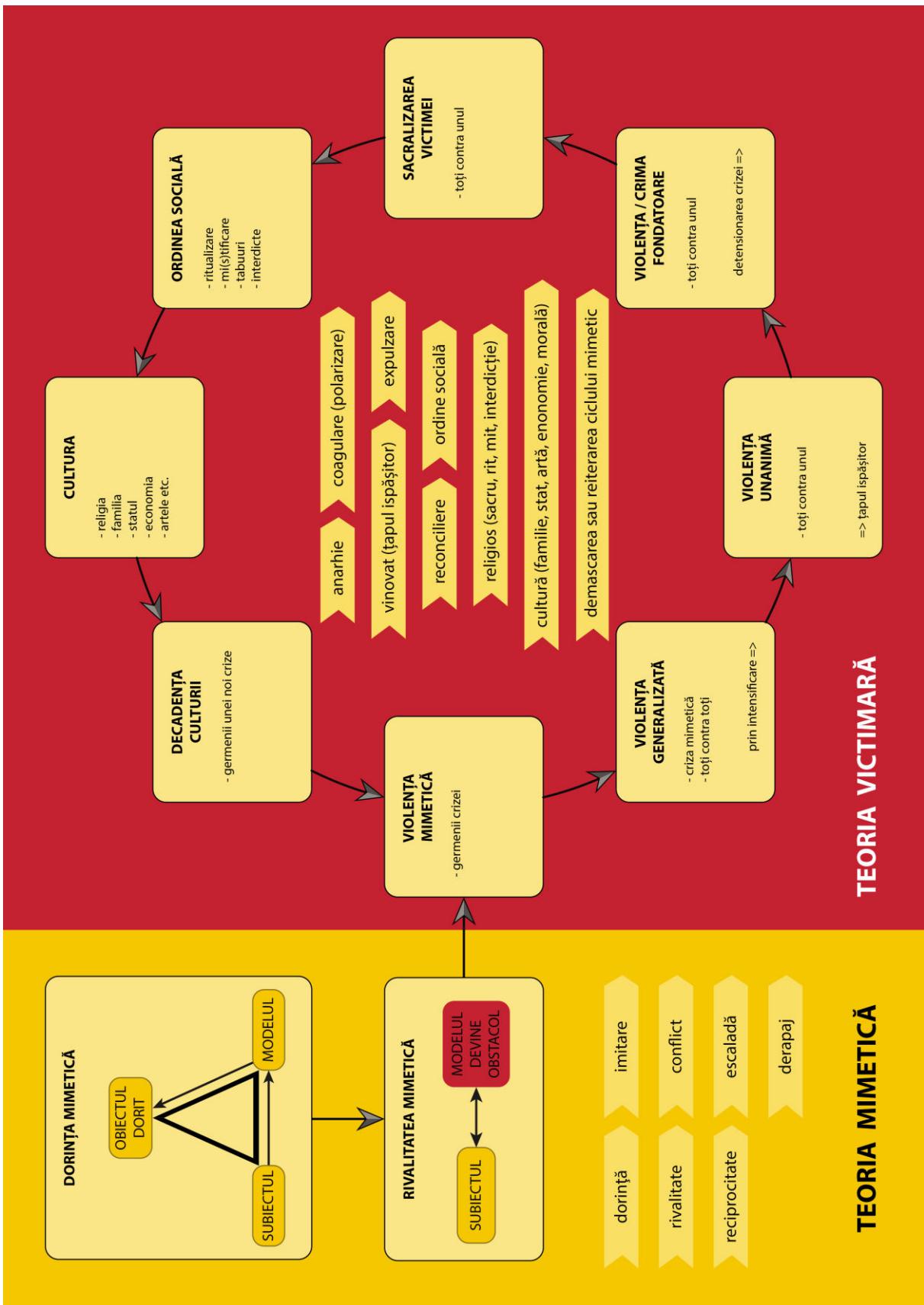
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## Mimetismul

- Model**
- Dorință mimetică**
- Reciprocitate**
- Model-obstacol**
- Rivalitate**
- Simetrie**
- Nediferențiere**
- Resentiment**
- Dinamică oscilantă**
- Escaladarea tensiunii**
- Frenezia violentă**
- Monstruosul**
- Contaminarea generală**
- Epidemia**
- Anarhia**

## Mecanismul victimar

- Polarizările**
- Coagularea**
- Victima aleatorie**
- Expulzarea sau crima**
- Reconcilierea**
- Armonia socială**
- Sacralizarea victimei**
- Religiosul arhaic**
- Ritualizarea violenței**
- Interdicte și tabu-uri**
- Mituri**
- Instituții**
- Sărbători**
- Cultura**