

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF HERAKAS,  
SON OF PONTIKOS, APXEPMHNEYΣ AΛANΩN\*

In Summer 2017, during the investigation of the ancient Greek necropolis of Kyz-Aul, a fragment of a marble plate with a Greek inscription was found.<sup>1</sup>

This necropolis is situated in the south-eastern part of the Kerch Peninsula near the village of Yakovenkovo. The settlement to which the cemetery belonged has not yet come to light, probably because it was destroyed by the sea together with a part of the necropolis.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it was located 1.5–2 km to the south-west of the necropolis. In this area, the waves sometimes throw onto the beach individual rounded fragments of amphora containers from the ancient Greek period. The sea here has immersed at least 50–100 metres of the coast.

Revealed at the necropolis were stone tombs, graves lined with stone slabs and flat graves. These funerary complexes date from the

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<sup>1</sup> This find was reported at the international scientific conference “*The Bosporan Phenomenon: general and peculiar features of historical and cultural space in the world of classical antiquity*” (St Petersburg, November 27–29, 2018). N. Pavlichenko would like to express sincere gratitude to all who participated in the discussion of this inscription. Currently it is kept in the Eastern-Crimean Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve (Inv. No. КП-192234).

<sup>2</sup> The ancient settlements in the Black Sea littoral of the Kerch Peninsula appeared in the very beginning of the Nymphaion transgression, when the sea level was at least 5–6 m lower than today (Fedorov 1978 [П. В. Федоров, “Плейстоцен Понто-Каспия”], 157; Agbunov 1992 [М. В. Агбунов, *Античная география Северного Причерноморья*], 23), or, in the opinion of some researchers, 10–12 m lower than today (Бруяко–Карпов 1992 [И. В. Бруяко, В. А. Карпов, “Древняя география и колебания уровня моря (на примере северо-западной части Черноморского бассейна в античную эпоху)”], 89). As a result, the outlines of the ancient shores have essentially changed, while the archaeological sites situated along them have been completely or partly annihilated.

2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Individual burials, judging from the buckles found in them, are preliminarily datable to the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. From the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD in the territory of the already abandoned necropolis, there were a number of settlements, and some of the rifled tombs were used as dwellings and sheds for keeping sheep and goats.<sup>3</sup>

The urbanity of the Kyz-Aul settlement is evidenced by the presence here of monumental tombs, tombs with paintings, fragments of sculptures, funerary stelae etc.

The inscription under consideration was found in tomb no. 10, situated in the excavation at the area of the shore (Fig. 1). The vault is in the western part of the excavation, to the west of the north-western corner of the dromos of tomb no. 9 excavated in 2016, and consists of two chambers and a dromos added from the south-west along the common axis with the chambers (Fig. 2).

The two chambers are rectangular in plan. The roof and the upper courses of their masonry were destroyed, and the south-western and south-eastern walls were pressed inward in the horizontal and vertical plane by the weight of the soil. The walls were preserved to a height of 1.1 to 1.5 m with two to three layers of masonry. On the outside, the north-eastern wall is adjoined by a stone structure in the form of a vertical shaft connected with chamber 2 by a hole. Upon the slabs constituting the shaft on the inside,

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<sup>3</sup> The first scientific excavations of the necropolis of Kyz-Aul were conducted in 1930 by the director of the Kerch museum Yuliy Yu. Marti (Gaidukevich 1959 [В. Ф. Гайдукевич, "Некрополи некоторых боспорских городов"], 154). In the 1970s–1980s, during O. D. Chevelev's excavations, 96 graves and 3 vaults were uncovered (Chevelev 1985 [О. Д. Чевелев, "Новые погребения Кыз-аульского некрополя"], 84–89). Beginning in the 1990s, N. F. Fedoseev excavated several single-chamber and double-chamber tombs including, e.g., vault no. 8, "Tomb of Hercules" (Fedoseev 2014 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, "Склеп 'Геркулеса' на некрополе Кыз-Аул и вопросы датировки уступчатых склепов"], 431–451) and about fifty slab-lined and flat graves, as well as buried horses and dogs (cf. Sudarev–Fedoseev 2007 [Н. И. Сударев, Н. Ф. Федосеев, "Исследования некрополя Кыз-Аул"], 142–145; Fedoseev–Ermolin–Kulikov–Ponomarev 2001 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, А. Л. Ермолин, А. В. Куликов, Л. Ю. Пономарев, "Жилой комплекс на некрополе Кыз-Аул"], 58–63; Fedoseev 2006 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, "Οἶκος среди могил"], 301–309; Fedoseev–Ponomarev 2012 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, Л. Ю. Пономарев, "Склеп № 6 на Кыз-аульском некрополе"], 491–525; Fedoseev–Ponomarev 2017 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, Л. Ю. Пономарев, "Погребальный и жилищно-хозяйственный комплекс склепа № 7 Кыз-аульского некрополя (Крым)"], 82–132, 149–165; Fedoseev–Ponomarev 2018 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, Л. Ю. Пономарев, "Раннесредневековые жилые и хозяйственные комплексы на античном некрополе Кыз-Аул (склеп № 9)"], 80–84).

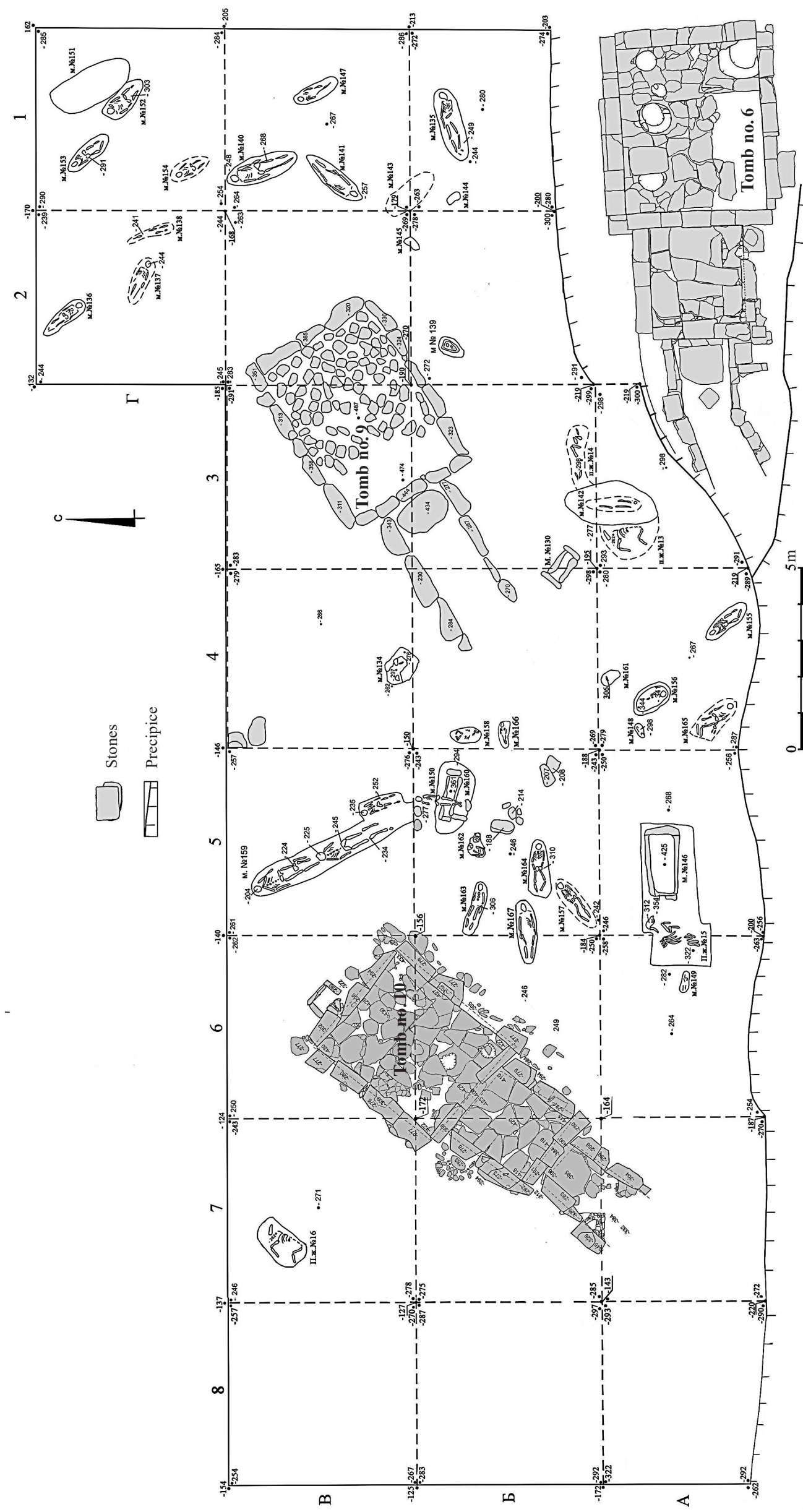


Fig. 1. Necropolis of Kyz-Aul, 2017.  
General plan of the excavation (borders of the excavation squares of 2017, stones, precipice).





a long impact of high temperatures left traces in the form of local spots of red-orange hues and lacunae of destroyed limestone. These spots and the construction of the shaft can be interpreted as the chimney of a hearth or oven installed in chamber 2 when the vault was used as a dwelling room (Fig. 3). During excavation of the floor flags, neither buried skeletal remains nor accompanying goods have been found. The tomb was robbed already in antiquity and later served as a dwelling (6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries) and a shed for sheep and goats (second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century).



Fig. 3. Tomb No. 10. View from the north-east.

The employment of the tomb as a dwelling and household rooms is confirmed by finds from its fill. The material of the fill is mixed; it includes predominantly amphora fragments and, besides, lumps of limestone, bones of large- and small-horned cattle, bones of birds, a small quantity of fish bones and shells of oysters and mussels. Along with single fragments of pottery from the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, of note are amphorae from the 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Fedoseev 2018 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, Отчет о результатах археологических исследований на территории выявленного объекта археологического наследия некрополя “Кыз-Аул” в 2017 году (Ленинский район, Республика Крым) (Открытый лист № 1347 от 24 июля 2017 г.)], 27–45.

Besides the pottery, a fragment of a marble plate was retrieved from the lower layer of the brown loam in chamber 1, presumably of Prokonessian marble. Its upper part, the left side, and, partially, the right side are broken off. The dimensions of the plate are: height 18.5 cm, length 26.3 cm and thickness 3.8 cm. On one of its sides, 7 lines of an inscription (Fig. 4 A) are preserved (height of the letters 1.5–1.6 cm); on the other, part of a relief is discernible, viz. the head and neck of a horse to the right (Fig. 4 B).

The space around the protome of a horse is roughly worked. Hence, this relief evidently was a blank for a grave stele with a representation of horsemen. The image is schematic, so that it is difficult to tell whether there is a bridle on the horse's head. A pictorial parallel of this relief is found e.g. in stele *CIRB Album* 328 (Pantikapaion, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD)<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 5), whose right-hand part depicts a horseman and on the left there is the front of a horse without a rider. Behind the horseman on a standing horse there is sometimes a depiction of part of the figure of a warrior following him – *CIRB Album* 78, 83, 84, 145, 386 (Pantikapaion, 1<sup>st</sup> to first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), etc.

The detail in front of the horse's muzzle is probably part of the tail of another horse. A similar depiction of a tail can be seen, e.g., on steles *CIRB Album* 413, 491 (Pantikapaion, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD). A particularly close analogue is a relief of the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century AD found in Taman in 1894 with an image of a Thracian horseman (Fig. 6).<sup>6</sup> Thus we are evidently dealing with the left-hand part of a relief showing a horse moving to the right behind a rider.<sup>7</sup>

In the last line of the inscription on side A, we see a date according to the Pontic era: the year 501, 25<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Daeisios, i. e. 204 AD. The beginning of this line has not survived, but most probably the date was specified using the formula common for the first centuries AD – *such-and-such a year, such-and-such a month, such-and-such a day* – [ἐν τῷ] αἴφ', Δαεισίῳ κε'. The inscription is hence dated to the period of the rule of the Bosporan king Sauromates II. Moreover, the letters ΑΡΧΕΡМ at the end of the fifth line following directly the genitive Ποντικοῦ allow us to reconstruct fairly reliably the name of Herakas, son of Pontikos.

<sup>5</sup> P. Kreuz dates it to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Kreuz 2012, 858, Cat. No. 979).

<sup>6</sup> *K-W* No. 561, Tab. XXXIX; *Lapidarium of the Eastern-Crimean Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve*, Inv. No. КЛ-145. Fig. 6: Kucherevskaya 2016 [Н. Л. Кучеревская, *Каменная летопись Боспора. Лapidарная коллекция*], 90 No. 173.

<sup>7</sup> Savostina 1992 [Е. А. Савостина, “Многоярусные стелы Боспора: семантика и структура”], 361; Kucherevskaya 2019 [Н. Л. Кучеревская, “К интерпретации рельефа на опистографе с надписью Герака, сына Понтика, из некрополя Кыз-Аул”], in print.



Fig. 4A. Second inscription of Herakas, son of Pontikos (Lapidary Collection of the Eastern-Crimean Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve, Inv. No. КП-192234). Inscription.



Fig. 4B. Second inscription of Herakas, son of Pontikos. Relief.





Fig. 5. *CIRB Album* 328.



Fig. 6. Stele with depiction of a Thracian horseman (Lapidary Collection of the Eastern-Crimean Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve (Kucherevskaya 2016, 90 No. 73).



Ἡρακᾶς Ποντικοῦ<sup>8</sup> is already known to us through the inscription *CIRB* 1053. This is a building inscription found as early as 1910 in Taman on the site of the fortress of Phanagoria. On one side of the plate with the inscription *CIRB* 1053, the tamga of Sauromates II is cut with an inscription informing that under the charge of Herakas, son of Pontikos, the chief interpreter of the Alans, in the year 505 of the Bosphoran era (i. e. in 208 AD) a certain building was constructed – δι' ἐπιμελείας Ἡρακᾶ Ποντικοῦ ἀρχερμηνέως Ἀλανῶν. ἐ[ν τῷ] εφ' (Fig. 7A).<sup>9</sup> On the other side, there was a relief depicting a parting scene (*CIRB* 1085). The character of the writing suggests that the epitaph dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Fig. 7B).<sup>10</sup>

The types of *CIRB* 1053 and the inscription under consideration have very few similar traits, although they were found fairly close to each other. More characteristic are the differences in the way the letters *epsilon*, *nu* and especially *omega* are written. The *omega* in the first inscription is in cursive form, the *omega* in the second one looks like a circle upon a horizontal hasta. The closest analogue to its writing is in the Phanagorian sacred law (*CIRB Album* 1005, Fig. 8). This fact, firstly, enables us to date *CIRB* 1005 to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD rather than to the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, as V. V. Latyshev, S. A. Zhebelev and, later, the publishers of *CIRB* supposed.<sup>11</sup> Secondly, a cautious supposition may be proposed that the new inscription of Herakas was cut by the same carver or in the same workshop as that of the Phanagorian sacred law.

<sup>8</sup> Regarding the name Ἡρακᾶς, see Perevalov 2011 [С. М. Перевалов, “Аланская эпиграфика I. Каталог греческих надписей”], 5.

<sup>9</sup> Eastern-Crimean historical and cultural museum-preserve, Inv. No. КЛ-109, КП 68674; *CIRB Album* 1053; *Die Krim...* 229, Kat. 1. 26.

<sup>10</sup> This is not the only example among the Bosphoran inscriptions. As an analogue, the inscription found in Phanagoria in 1870 (*CIRB* 982) may be noted. One side of the latter marble stele is a relief depicting a woman with a swaddled child on her knees; on the other side, there is the text of a decree from 130 AD. A good example of an opisthograph is a marble plate discovered in Kerch in 2007 with the text of a decree from the time of Leukon I or Perisades I on a side and, on the front, the text of a manumission from Kotys's time (45/46–62/63 AD), as the publishers of this monument suppose (Aibabin–Sidorenko 2007 [А. И. Айбабин, В. А. Сидоренко, “Новая иудейская манумиссия из Пантикапея”], 121–127). Finally, the opisthographs from Phanagoria with a building inscription from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and an epitaph from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> to early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD should be mentioned (Yaylenko 2002 [В. П. Яйленко, “Опистограф из Фанагории со строительной надписью и эпитафией фиасота”], 229–241), as well as those from Tanais where, on both sides, the building inscriptions of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> to early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (*CIRB* 1244) and of the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (*CIRB* 1252) were incised.

<sup>11</sup> *CIRB* 1005, Ivanchik 2010 [А. И. Иванчик, “Азиатский Боспор в античных текстах. Эпиграфические памятники”], 366.



Fig. 7A. The first inscription of Herakas, son of Pontikos, found in Taman in 1910 (CIRB 1053).



Fig. 7B. The rear side of the plate with the first inscription of Herakas, son of Pontikos (CIRB 1085).

In the first line, only three letters are preserved. This is an ending in the genitive case and the beginning of the next word. Only hypothetical reconstructions of this line and of the beginning of the entire inscription are possible.

The content of the second line is the beginning (unfortunately, two or three last letters are broken off) of a participle of the aorist, active voice, feminine gender of the verb *καταπίπτω*. Provided that it refers to structures, it can mean ‘collapsed’.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Orlandos–Traulos 1986 [A. Ορλανδος, Ι. Τραυλος, *Λεξικὸν ἀρχαίων ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν ὀρῶν*], 144 s.v. *καταπίπτω*. Andocides, in his oration *De Mysteriis* telling about burning Athens by the Persians mentions τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον... *ιερὰ τε κατακεκαυμένα τεῖχη τε καὶ οἰκίας καταπεπτωκυίας* (And. 1. 108). In the sense of ‘to be ruined’, *καταπίπτω* is often encountered in inscriptions as well. For instance, in an Attic decree on the repairs of the sanctuary of Amphiareion in Rhamnous of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, this verb is mentioned more than once in a typical description of the buildings needing repairs: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν συνβαίνει προσδεῖσθαι ἐπισκευῆς καὶ τὸν τε οἶκον ἄθυρον εἶναι καὶ τὸν κέραμον κατεαγέναι, *καταπεπτωκέναι δὲ καὶ τοῦ τοίχου τὸ μέρος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ὄλμον καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ θεοῦ κατεαγέναι καὶ τὸ πρόστωιον κινδυνεύειν καταπεσεῖν...*

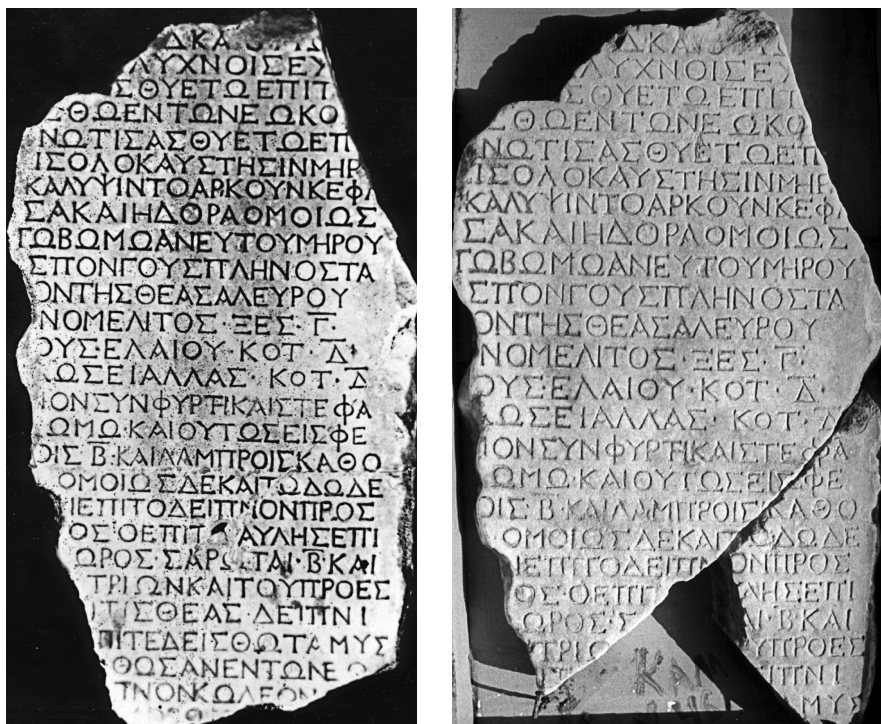


Fig. 8. Phanagorian Sacred Law (CIRB Album 1005).

The four letters at the beginning of the third line may be reconstructed as a form of the aorist of the active voice, singular, from the verb καθιερών ('dedicate, install as an object of worship'), i. e. *he dedicated*. It seems that among the entire set of verbs with -ω, this verb best fits the context. The employment of this verb allows us to identify the type of the inscription from Kyz-Aul as a votive inscription.<sup>13</sup> Taking into

(IG II<sup>2</sup> 1322<sub>4-6</sub>). In the Astynomoi Law of Pergamum, καταπίπτω is used in connection with collapsed walls: τῶν δὲ δεομένων ἐπισκευῆς κοινῶ[ν] τοίχων | ἢ καταπεσόντων, ἐάν μὲν ὅλοις τοῖς τοίχοις ὁμοίως οἱ γείτονες χρῶνται, τὸ ἴσον | εἰσφ[ε]ρέτωσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν (Saba 2013, 23 [Col. III. 112–114], 61). The verb without a prefix could have an analogous meaning: M.-C. Hellmann believes that the formula [τὸν τοίχον] τὸμ πεσόντα in the account of the hieropoioi of Delos of 246 BC (ID 290<sub>123</sub>) designated a completely collapsed wall (Hellmann 1992, 359).

<sup>13</sup> Ἀνορθών ('set up again, restore, rebuild', LSJ, s. v.) was sometimes also used in dedications. For example, in the inscription from Fayoum Apollonios restored for the gods the demolished propylaeum at his own expense: Πετεσοῦχω θεῶ μεγάλῳ καὶ Πνεφερωτί τὸ π[ρ]οπύλαιον χρόνῳ [διαφθαρέ]ν[α]ν ὀρθώσεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου Ἀπολλώνιος (OGIS 710<sub>3,4</sub>, 190 AD).



consideration the presence of the participle of the verb meaning ‘ruining’ in the second line, it is unlikely that here we are dealing with a dedication of a statue of the emperor as we are with *CIRB* 41, 1048. Most probably, the object of the dedication is some building. In Bosporan inscriptions of this kind, both ἀνατίθημι and καθιερών have been found. The latter verb is used in, e.g., the Pantikapaion dedication to Aspourgors cut on a slab of the architrave of a building of unclear destination (*CIRB* 39, *Panticapaeum*, 23 AD).

The second example is especially important to us, being a close analogue of the inscription from Kyz-Aul. It is an inscription from 105 AD from Hermonassa (*CIRB* 1045<sub>3-5</sub>). Sauromates I, having restored from their foundations the porticoes surrounding the temple that had been destroyed by time, dedicated them to Aphrodite Apatourias:

[-- τὰς] περιναίους στοὰς τὰς τῶν [--]  
 [-- χρόνῳ κα]θηρημένας ἐκ θεμελίων διεγείρας  
 [-- Ἀφρο]δείτηι Ἀπατουριάδι καθιέρωσεν.

It does not seem probable that anybody would dedicate a destroyed building to a deity or the king of Bosphorus; hence, if it is supposed that our inscription was based on the same scheme, then in the lost upper lines of the inscription there must be a verbal form specifying the actions concerned with the ruined structure, e.g., a participle from ἐπισκευάζω,<sup>14</sup> (ἀν)οικοδομέω<sup>15</sup> or from some other verb with a similar meaning. [ΚΑ]ΤΑΠΕΣΟΥΣ, possibly, should be restored as an accusative depending from that verbal form.<sup>16</sup> In Black Sea inscriptions of the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, the participles of the verbs καθαίρω (*CIRB* 1045), καταφέρω (*CIRB* 1122), διαφθείρω (*CIRB* 1241), καταφθείρω (*CIRB* 1243)<sup>17</sup> and ἀμελέομαι (*CIRB* 1247), characterizing different extents of the ruination of buildings, were usually employed in the form of participial aor. / perf. pass. Nevertheless, there are also cases in which this characteristic is

<sup>14</sup> For example, in Attic decrees, the action following the ruination is designated by the term ἐπισκευή (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>1011<sub>41</sub>, 1322<sub>4-6</sub> etc). On the use of ἐπισκευή to describe the repair and refacing of walls, see Ginouvès et al. 1992, 29 and 89.

<sup>15</sup> This verb is often used in combination with derivatives of καταπίπτω, e.g., in the account of the Delian hieropoioi: τὸ καταπεσὸν ἀνοικοδομήσαντι (269 BC, *IG* XI. 2. 203<sub>41</sub>); Hellmann 1992, 296, 359.

<sup>16</sup> [ΚΑ]ΤΑΠΕΣΟΥΣ also can be interpreted as a participle in the genitive case, e.g. as genitivus partitivus. The reconstruction of an expression in gen. abs. is here hypothetically possible, but such a turn would rather be typical of some verbose honorific decree.

<sup>17</sup> Kuznetsov 2007a [В. Д. Кузнецов, “Новые надписи из Фанагории”], 229–231.

expressed using participial aor. act., e. g., in the abovementioned accounts of Delian hieropoioi and in the astynomoi law of Pergamum.

Then, taking into consideration the size of the lacuna in the beginning of the second line<sup>18</sup> and the fact that the participle in the second line is in the feminine gender, it is possible to insert before it τὰς στοᾶς or, for example, τὰς πύλας, i. e. “having restored the destroyed stoa” or “the destroyed gate”. The name of the addressee of the dedication probably must have been carved before [καθιέρ]ωσεν. To whom was this building dedicated? Again, considering the size of the lacuna in the beginning of the third line, we can add, e. g., τῷ Διὶ or Ἡρακλεῖ or τῇ πόλει.

The author of the dedication was probably a private person, and therefore the source of the funds can be restored as ἐκ τῶ[ν ἰδίων ἀναλω]-μάτων – “dedicated at his own expense”. Then an indication follows as to which particular official was responsible for the construction of the building: δι’ ἐπιμε[λείας Ἡρακᾶ] Ποντικοῦ.

Thus, if the proposed additions are accepted, the first six lines of our inscription inform that “someone, having restored some destroyed structures at his own expense, dedicated them to some deity (or to the polis) through the care of Herakas, son of Pontikos, the chief interpreter of the Alans”.

In the middle of the sixth line, immediately above the date, we see a completely preserved word ἄρχοντος, i. e. the form concordant with the genitive of the name Herakas, son of Pontikos. With fair confidence it is possible to suppose that here we are dealing with a participle – literally “under the charge of Herakas, son of Pontikos, managing...” Examples of the use of the participle from the verb ἄρχω in the sense of a person “managing something” are numerous. For the Bosphorus one can adduce the well-known formula of the titles of the Bosporan kings Leukon I,<sup>19</sup> Perisades I,<sup>20</sup> Spartokos III<sup>21</sup> and Perisades IV Philometer,<sup>22</sup> where the

<sup>18</sup> The reconstruction of the name of Herakas, son of Pontikos, in the fifth line enables us to establish the length of a line in this inscription.

<sup>19</sup> Λεύκωνος ἄρχοντος Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σίνδων, Τορετέων, Δανδαρίων, Ψησσῶν (*CIRB* 6, 1037, 1038) or Λεόκωνος ἄρχοντος Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ τῆς Σινδικῆς πάσης καὶ Τορετέων καὶ Δανδαρίων καὶ Ψησσῶν (Sokolova–Pavlichenko 2002 [Ο. Ю. Соколова, Н. А. Павличенко, “Новая посвяtitельная надпись из Нимфея”], 99–121).

<sup>20</sup> ἄρχοντος Παιρισάδεος Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σίνδων καὶ Μαΐτων πάντων (*CIRB* 971).

<sup>21</sup> ἄρχοντος καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σπαρτόκου τοῦ Εὐμήλου (*CIRB* 974).

<sup>22</sup> ὑπὲρ ἄρχοντος καὶ βασιλέως Παιρι[ι]σάδου τοῦ βασιλέως Παιρισάδου φιλομήτορος καὶ βασιλίσσης Καμασαρῆς τῆς Σπαρτι[ό]κου θυγατρὸς φιλ[ο]τέκνου [καὶ] Ἀργότου τοῦ Ἰ[σάν]θου βασ[ι]λίσ[σ]ης Καμασαρ[ύ]ης ἀνδρὸς (*CIRB* 75).

substantivated participle from ἄρχω was used since the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC until the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Mention should also be made of the coins of Hygiainon and Asandros with the inscription ἄρχοντος Ὑγιαίνοντος, ἄρχοντος Ἀσάνδρου or ἄρχοντος Ἀσάνδρου Βοσπόρου.<sup>23</sup> In addition, we may think of the title of one of the supreme officials of Tanais from ca. 188–220 AD: ἄρχων Ταναεῖτων (*CIRB* 1242, 1245)<sup>24</sup> and of the officials whose post is designated as Καίσαρέων ἄρχοντες (Hermonassa, 307 AD, *CIRB* 1051<sub>8</sub>). In all these cases, the substantivated participle indicates a Bosporan king or an official managing a certain territory and/or a certain group of people living there.

Besides ἄρχων τινός, there was still another expression also used to designate “a person managing something”: ὁ ἐπὶ τινος. Numerous examples demonstrate that this formula was universal and designated a person who managed a school or a stable or the governor of an entire city or a region.<sup>25</sup>

The use of the substantivated participle ἄρχων as well as the expression ὁ ἐπὶ τινος is known also for Asia Minor, where the word ἄρχων could be applied to the head of an association<sup>26</sup> or to an executive official of various ranks.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Anokhin 2011 [В. А. Анохин, *Античные монеты Северного Причерноморья*], 182, 183 No. 1275, 1276, 187, 188 No. 1312–1317; Zograf 1951 [А. Н. Зограф. *Античные монеты*], Table XLII. 18, XLIV. 7, 8; Frolova 1997 [Н. А. Фролова. *Монетное дело Боспора (середина I в. до н.э. – середина IV в. н.э.). Часть I. Монетное дело Боспора 49/48 г. до н.э. – 210/211 г. н.э.*], 165–167 Cat. 1–5, 175.

<sup>24</sup> Kotsevalov 1958, 1525, 1526; Shelov 1972 [Д. Б. Шеллов, *Танаис и Нижний Дон в первые века нашей эры*], 265, 266; Vdovchenkov 2012 [Е. В. Вдовченков, “Кем были танаиты (к вопросу об этнической принадлежности нового населения Танаиса II–III вв. н.э.)”], 163–165.

<sup>25</sup> ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐνούχων (Pantikapaion, 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, *CIRB* 301), ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ παδᾶγωγίου (Pantikapaion, 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, *CIRB* 706), ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀσπουργιανῶν (Pantikapaion, 270s AD, *CIRB* 36 A<sub>16–17</sub>), ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων (Pantikapaion, 270s AD, *CIRB* 36 A<sub>22–23</sub>, 36 B<sub>24</sub>), ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Θεοδοσίας (Pantikapaion, 270s AD, *CIRB* 36 A<sub>15</sub>; Pantikapaion, 306 AD, *CIRB* 64<sub>5–6</sub>), ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱππῶνος (Kytaion, 234 AD, *CIRB* 942), ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν (Phanagoria, 151 AD, *CIRB* 976<sub>11</sub>); Hermonassa, 105 AD, *CIRB* 1045), ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Γοργιπείας (Gorgippia, the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, *CIRB* 1134), Tanais, 210–220 AD, *CIRB* 1246<sub>6</sub>), etc.

<sup>26</sup> For example, a number of inscriptions from Ephesos from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD mention ἄρχων τῶν ἱατρῶν, i. e. the head of the association of physicians (Engelmann 1990, 89–92), see also Poland 1909, 361–363.

<sup>27</sup> ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (Miletus, 180–161 BC, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 633<sub>14</sub>); ἄρχων ἀρχείου (Didyma, 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, Rehm 1958, 463<sub>5</sub>).



The inscriptions in Asia Minor mentioning gynaikonomoi sometimes designated them as ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας παρθένων.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, an inscription of the Roman period (1–50 AD?) from Aizanoi in Phrygia calls the person apparently in charge of εὐκοσμία in the temple ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἄρχων.<sup>29</sup> This fact suggests that also in our inscription, the word ἄρχων has the same meaning as ὁ ἐπὶ τινος.

What can Herakas, son of Pontikos, have been managing? After the word ἄρχοντος, the letters AY follow, but the beginning of the next line is unfortunately broken off. It seems that the single variant of reconstruction here can be ἀν[λῆς]. The words designating the object of supervision in “ὁ ἐπὶ τινος” are usually employed with an article (see note 25), but there are two cases in which the article is absent.<sup>30</sup> [Τιβ]έριος Ἰούλιος Θαυμ[αστὸς ὁ] περὶ αὐλὴν γα[ζοφύλαξ] dedicates to Sauromates I a certain building (?) and a painting (Panticapaeum, *CIRB* 45).<sup>31</sup> In the second case, an article is lacking in the title of the governor of Gorgippia: Φαρνακίων Πόθου ὁ ἐπὶ Γοργιπείας (*CIRB* 1115, Gorgippia, 110 AD).<sup>32</sup> This may indicate changes in Greek syntax that took place in the Bosphorus in the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>33</sup>

The fact that the restored letters Λ, Η and Σ do not fill the entire length of the lacuna does not run contrary to such a reconstruction because, before the designation of a date in the last line of an inscription, an empty space can often be found.<sup>34</sup> Thus the complete title of Herakas, son of Pontikos, in our inscription would be “Herakas, son of Pontikos,

<sup>28</sup> Pergamum, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (*Inscr. Perg.* [Fränkel 1895] 463); Smyrna (*CIG* 3185<sub>19</sub>).

<sup>29</sup> [ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος] Μητροδώρου Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Μενά[νδρου] | [ιερῆος τῶν βουλαίων καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἄρχοντος] (*MAMA* IX 38<sub>2</sub>), cf. also *MAMA* X App. I, 187, 69<sub>2</sub>. Cf. an analogous model of designating the title of an official in Bosphorus: Latyshev believed that ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας (Hermonassa, 307 AD, *CIRB* 1051) is the equivalent of the title πρῶτος ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς βασιλείας ?] (Tanais, the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (*CIRB* 1051): Latyshev 1910 [B. В. Латышев, “Неизданные Горгиппийские надписи”], 42; *CIRB* 58, 1120).

<sup>30</sup> In the Greek inscription from Fayoum, the courtiers are designated οἱ περὶ αὐλὴν – πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ χιλιάρχοι καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐλὴν (Fayoum, 142–116 BC, *Fayoum* [Bernard 1975] I. 5<sub>6-7</sub>); cf. ἡγεμόνες τῶν περὶ αὐ<λ>ὴν ἐπιτέκτων μαχίμων in the dedicatory inscription of a certain Egyptian commander attached to the palace of Ptolemy V (Alexandria, 204–194/3 BC, *OGIS* 731).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *CIRB* 49, Panticapaeum, 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

<sup>32</sup> On an article in Bosporan inscriptions, see *CIRB*, 826, 827.

<sup>33</sup> Tokhtas’ev 2011 [С. Р. Тохтасев, “Греческий язык на Боспоре: общее и особенное”], 679.

<sup>34</sup> *CIRB Album* 53, 54, 1053, 1115, 1279 and especially *CIRB Album* 1045.

the chief interpreter of the Alans, superintendent of the royal court”. The post ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς – “superintendent of the royal court”<sup>35</sup> – is already known from a number of Bosporan inscriptions of the 1<sup>st</sup> to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD from Panticapaeum and its chora in the European Bosphorus (*CIRB* 49, 78, 98, 897), from Hermonassa (*CIRB* 1055) and from Phanagoria in the Asian Bosphorus, where he was to attend the sacrifices (*CIRB* 1005). Regrettably, none of these inscriptions elucidates the functions of this official.<sup>36</sup>

The text of the inscription thus can be reconstructed as follows:

- 1 [-----]ου ε[-----]
- 2 [----κα]τα πεσουσ[--]
- 3 [... καθιέρ]ωσεν ἐκ τῶ[ν ιδ-]
- 4 [ίων ἀναλ]ωμάτων δι’ ἐπιμελ-
- 5 [είας Ἡρακᾶ] Ποντικοῦ ἀρχερμ-
- 6 [ηνέως Ἀλα]νῶν ἄρχοντος αὐ-
- 7 [λῆς vacat ἐν τῷ] ἀφ’ Δαεισίῳ κε’.

[--- such-and-such having reconstructed] the destroyed [buildings?] at his own expense, dedicated (them) [to some deity?] in the care of Herakas, son of Pontikos, the chief interpreter of the Alans, superintendent of the royal court in 501, day 25 of the month of Daeisios.

Naturally, the question remains as to who was the person who reconstructed destroyed buildings and dedicated them to some deity. The only thing that can be said with confidence is that it was not the king Sauromates II since it is unlikely he would dedicate something at his own expense. Possibly, the dedicator was one of the rich residents of Pantikapaion, whose status obliged him to grant such rich gifts to his city.

The question also remains as to what exactly the duty of the chief interpreter of the Alans was. Besides the inscriptions of Herakas, son of

<sup>35</sup> Cf. ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ βασιλέως: Susa, Hellenistic period, *SEG* 7. 4, 37. 1401; Bickerman 1985 [И. Бикерман, *Государство Селевкидов*], 34–37. The title ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς is also reconstructed in the military diagramma of Philipp V of Amphipolis (c. 200 BC) (Hatzopoulos 1996, 32 No. 12 B II<sub>11, 13</sub>; *SEG* 40. 524).

<sup>36</sup> Mikhail Yu. Treister notices that, on the relief on the gravestone of the superintendant of the royal court, Psycharion’s son Daphnos (*CIRB Album* 78), the latter is represented with a short “cavalry” dagger of the Sarmatian type, used by the elite of Bosporan society (Treister 2008 [М. Ю. Трейстер, “Оружие сарматского типа на Боспоре (об одной группе кинжалов, изображенных на пантикапейских надгробиях I–II в. н. э.)”, 146–150).

Pontikos, two more epitaphs are available to us mentioning Bosphoran translators: Παίρισαλος Σαυρόφου, who is called simply ἐρμηνεὺς from Pantikapaion (*CIRB* 698, 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), and an interpreter from Rome of the language of the Sarmatians (about 10–37 AD).<sup>37</sup> This allows us to suppose that in the first centuries AD, there was a staff of interpreters at the court of the Bosphoran rulers specialized in translation from the languages of neighbouring barbarian tribes.

Taking into consideration that both in *CIRB* 1053 and in the new inscription, Herakas, son of Pontikos, supervised construction works, as well managing the royal court (if we have correctly restored the last line of the published inscription), his functions undoubtedly exceeded the functions of an ordinary interpreter from Alanian to Greek. In many regions of the Greco-Roman world, the duties of ὁ ἐρμηνεὺς often included various intermediary functions in the trade and diplomatic spheres.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, the knowledge of the Alanian language<sup>39</sup> may have been a necessary condition for his activities as a representative of the royal administration who was obliged to communicate with Alans, who played an important role in the barbarian environment of the Bosphoran Kingdom in the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>40</sup>

As mentioned above, the opisthograph published here was found not in situ, but in the fill of the vault of the first centuries AD, which was later used as housing and as a pen for cattle. The relief on one of

<sup>37</sup> Ἀσπουργος Βιομάσου υἱὸς ἐρμηνεὺς Σαρματῶν Βωσπορανός (*IG* XIV. 1636, *CIL* VI. 5207).

<sup>38</sup> On translators in Egypt, e. g., see Mairs 2012, 457–462.

<sup>39</sup> On the language of the Alans, see, for example, Perevalov 2011, 2–9.

<sup>40</sup> Aibabin 1999 [А. И. Айбабин, *Этническая история ранневизантийского Крыма*], 29; Perevalov 2002 [С. М. Перевалов, “Современное состояние аланских исследований в России (По поводу книги: Т. А. Габуев. Ранняя история алан по данным письменных источников. Владикавказ: Иростон, 1999.148 с.)”], 207–215; Nefedkin 2011 [А. К. Нефедкин, *Военное дело сарматов и аланов*], 29–31. Cf. the mention of kings of the Alans on whom the celebrated military commander imposed a just punishment (?) in the ll. 10–11 of an encomium from Panticapaeum (καὶ τοῖς Ἀλανῶν βασιλεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς [αἰτίας] ζημίαν δικαίαν? ἤξιωσεν ὀρίσαι) and in the ll. 16–17 ([βασιλεῖς οἱ] ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλανῶν συνμαχίαν ἦκοντες). Bowersock and Jones date it to the reign of Sauromates II, 173–210 AD (Bowersock–Jones 2006, 117–128; Avram 2007, 715, No. 413; *SEG* LV. 862<sub>10, 11</sub>; Tischow 2005, 277, 278); cf. Saprykin 2005 [С. Ю. Сапрыкин, “Энкомий из Пантикапея и положение Боспорского царства в конце I – начале II в. до н.э.”], 47–59; Saprykin–Parfenov 2012 [С. Ю. Сапрыкин, В. Н. Парфенов, “ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΤΟΤΕ энкомия из Пантикапея: Домициан или Коммод? (к вопросу о датировке и интерпретации надписи боспорского полководца)”], 163–182.



its sides is datable to no later than the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>41</sup> It may be supposed that the expensive marble plate was initially employed to make a blank for a funerary stele and on its rear side our inscription was cut afterwards. It is difficult to tell where it was done, whether in the settlement to which the cemetery of Kyz-Aul belonged or in some other place, e. g., in Panticapaeum. After some time, as late as in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, the plate was broken and its rather small fragment got into tomb no. 10 among the trash.

Judging from the preserved part of the relief, most of the plate was lost. If a depiction of several horsemen was really cut into the stele, then, for the placement of such a relief, a plate of a considerably greater size was needed – or else the inscription on its rear side was considerably longer than our reconstruction. Or, what is more probable, only the middle part of the plate was used for the inscription, and a tamga was cut above the text of the inscription as in the first inscription of Herakas, son of Pontikos, (*CIRB* 1053) and in another building inscription from the time of Sauromates II (*CIRB* 1237). This tamga perhaps substituted the dating formula indicating the name and title of the king,<sup>42</sup> so that the initial lines of the inscription evidently contained only the name and position of the person at whose expense the building dedicated to a deity was constructed.

The inscription published here belongs to those Bosphoran lapidary monuments whose formal features (the presence of the verb καθιερώω) suggest that they should be considered dedicatory, but according to its content it is a building inscription.<sup>43</sup> In the conditions of martial conflicts between Sauromates II and the barbarian tribes surrounding Bosphorus, works for repair and reconstruction of urban structures were continually carried out; and these activities were reflected in building

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Savostina 1992, Cat. 16, 17, 27, 31, 39; Kreuz 2012, 249.

<sup>42</sup> Shkorpil 1911 [В. В. Шкорпил, “Боспорские надписи, найденные в 1910 г.”], 113; Kuznetsov 2007b [В. Д. Кузнецов, “Тамга Савромата II из Фанагории”], 228, 229.

<sup>43</sup> W. Larfeld attributed all such inscriptions to *Bauinschriften* (Larfeld 1907, 560). An example of memorials of this kind are a dedication to Aspourgors on the architrave of a building in Doric order (*CIRB* 39), the inscription to the Thundering God on a cult table from Kytaiion (*CIRB* 942), a dedication of some building with a picture to Sauromates I (*CIRB* 45), the dedication of porticos to Aphrodite (*CIRB* 1045), etc. See also Butjagin–Bekhter 2007 [А. М. Бутягин, А. П. Бехтер, “Новые надписи из Мирмекия”], 77–79; Tokhtas’uev 2002 [С. Р. Тохтас’ев, “Надписи Таманского музея”], 88, 99 no. 19.

inscriptions.<sup>44</sup> The newly revealed inscription of Herakas, son of Pontikos, is one of the latter.

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<sup>44</sup> See *CIRB* 970 (Pialy-Saraj, the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD), 1237, 1242, 1243 (Tanais, 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD); Goroncharovskiy 2003 [В. А. Горончаровский, *Между империей и варварами. Военное дело Боспора Римского времени*], 182–189; Kuznetsov 2007a, 235.

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In 2017, during the investigation of the necropolis of Kyz-Aul (situated in the south-eastern part of the Kerch Peninsula near the village of Yakovenkovo), a fragment of a marble plate was found. Together with pottery of the 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, it was retrieved from the fill of the tomb dating to the first centuries AD, which was robbed already in antiquity and later served as a dwelling (6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries) and as a shed for sheep and goats (ca. 750–950 AD). On one of its sides, a Greek inscription is carved; on the other, part of a relief is discernible, viz. the head and neck of a horse to the right. The upper part, the left and, partially, the right sides of the plate are broken off, but the date according to the Pontic era (the year 501, 25<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Daeisios, i. e. 204 AD) and the preserved text allow us to reconstruct fairly reliably the name and the title of Herakas, son of Pontikos, the chief interpreter of the Alans. In addition, in this inscription a title ἀρχων ἀν[λῆς] with the same meaning as ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνλῆς ("superintendent of the royal court") is reconstructed. Herakas, son of Pontikos, is already known to us from the inscription *CIRB* 1053. This building inscription was found in Taman on the site of the fortress of Phanagoria already in 1910. Taking into consideration that both in *CIRB* 1053 and the new inscription Herakas, son of Pontikos, supervised construction works and was managing the royal court, his functions undoubtedly exceeded the functions of an ordinary interpreter from Alanian to Greek. Probably he was a mediator and a representative of the royal administration who was obliged to communicate with Alans, which played an important role in the barbarian environment of the Bosporan Kingdom during the reign of Sauromates II.

В 2017 г. в некрополе Кыз-Аул (этот некрополь расположен в юго-восточной части Керченского полуострова у села Яковенково) был найден фрагмент мраморной плиты. Он находился в заполнении склепа первых вв. н. э., который был ограблен еще в древности и в дальнейшем использовался в качестве жилища (VI–VII вв. н. э.) и помещений для мелкого рогатого скота (2-я пол. VIII – 1-я пол. X в. н. э.). Кроме этого фрагмента в заполнении склепа была найдена также керамика I–III, VI–VII и VIII–X вв. н. э. На лицевой стороне фрагмента сохранилось 7 строк надписи, на другой стороне видна часть рельефа – протома лошади вправо. Верхняя его часть, а также левая и частично правая стороны обломаны, но наличие даты по понтийской эре (501 г., 25 день месяца Даисия, т. е. 204 г. н. э.) и сохранившийся текст позволяют достаточно надежно восстановить имя и титул Герака, сына Понтика, главного переводчика аланов. Кроме того, в надписи можно восстановить также титул ἄρχων ἀν[λῆς], имеющий то же самое значение, что ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνλῆς: “управляющий царским двором”. Герак, сын Понтика, уже был известен нам из строительной надписи *КБН* 1053, найденной на Тамани в 1910 г. на месте крепости Фанагория. Учитывая, что и в *КБН* 1053, и в надписи из Кыз-Аула Герак, сын Понтика, контролирует строительные работы, а также является управляющим царским двором, его функции явно выходили за пределы обычного переводчика с аланского на греческий. Возможно, он являлся посредником и представителем царской администрации, отвечавшим за взаимодействие с аланами, которые играли важную роль в варварском окружении Боспорского царства во время правления Савромата II.

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