

# **HYPERBOREUS**

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**STUDIA CLASSICA**

ναυσὶ δ' οὕτε πεζὸς ιών κεν εῦροις  
ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὄδόν

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Редакционный совет: Михаэль фон Альбрехт, А. К. Гаврилов,  
Пет Истерлинг, Карло Лукарини, Д. В. Панченко

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## ACHILLES' INCONSISTENCY IN ARISTOTLE'S LOST HOMERIC PROBLEMS: A FRESH LOOK AT FOUR bT-SCHOLIA OF THE *ILIAS*

My aim in this essay is to re-examine four bT-scholia of the *Iliad*.<sup>1</sup> Two of these have long been recognized as fragments from the *Homeric Problems*; but the other two, if my speculations are correct, might be previously unattested Aristotle-fragments. Eustathius plays an important supporting role in understanding these scholia,<sup>2</sup> as do relevant passages in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and especially his *Poetics*. I begin with this latter.

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<sup>1</sup> On the Homeric scholia on the *Iliad*, see Erbse 1969, xi–lxvi, Kirk 1985, 38–43, Janko 1992, 20–28, Nagy 1997, Dickey 2007, 18–23, Nünlist 2011, and Montanari et al. 2017. I am interested in the bT scholia, which Dickey 2007, 19–20 describes as follows:

The bT scholia are so called because they are found in manuscript T [= *Burney MS 86* (British Library)] (eleventh century) and in the descendants of the lost manuscript b (6<sup>th</sup> century). They contain some Alexandrian material (much of it attributable to Didymus) but seem to come more immediately from a commentary of the late antique period (known as “c”), of which b produced a popular and T a more scholarly version. These scholia are also known as exegetical scholia, because they are concerned primarily with exegesis rather than textual criticism. They include extensive extracts from the Ὀμηρικὰ ζητήματα of Porphyry [3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD] and the Ὀμηρικὰ προβλήματα of Heraclitus [the Allegorist, 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD].

Note that manuscript B (*Venetus B* [*Marc. gr. Z. 453*], eleventh century) is the most important extant descendant of the lost manuscript b. It contains two levels of scholia (eleventh century, and twelfth or thirteenth century). Scholars use ‘B\*’ to refer to the later scholia, though it is the other type that interests me in this essay. On ms. B and the B-scholia, see Erbse 1969, xvii–xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Eustathius of Thessalonica (12<sup>th</sup> c. AD) wrote massive commentaries on each of the Homeric epics. Their value in the present context “consists particularly in the assemblage of material drawn from the old scholia and the lost works of earlier scholars and lexicographers” (*OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. Eustathius). See Wilson 1983, 196–204, Pontani 2005, 170–178, Cullhed 2016, 1\*–33\* and Pagani 2017. I have used van der Valk’s edition of Eustathius’ commentary on the *Iliad* (1971–1987).

## 1. The *Poetics* on proper and improper inconsistency in characterization

*Poetics* 15 opens: “Concerning the characters, there are four things [the poet] ought to aim at: first and foremost, that they be good (*χρηστά*)”<sup>3</sup> (1454 a 15–16). Second, he should aim at a character being appropriate (*τὸ ἀρμόττοντα*), and third, that it be *similar* or *like* (*τὸ ὅμοιον*: scholars disagree about whether this means *life-like*, *like ourselves*, or *like the traditional character*)<sup>4</sup> (1454 a 22–24). Last, but most important in this essay: “Fourth, it should be consistent (*τὸ ὁμαλόν*). For even if the one who is the basis for the imitation is someone inconsistent (*ἀνώμαλος*) and such a character is assumed, even so it ought to be consistently inconsistent”<sup>5</sup> (1454 a 26–28). Aristotle provides examples for each of these save the third. For the fourth, he says: “an example of inconsistency is *Iphigeneia in Aulis*; for the supplicating girl is not at all like the later one”<sup>6</sup> (1454 a 31–33). Late in Euripides’ play, Iphigeneia at one point supplicates herself before her father, and passionately begs for her life (1211–1240); but not much later, she defends her father before her mother, and passively accepts her fate, declaring that she should not love her own life too much (*καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ τοι τι λίαν ἐμὲ φιλοψυχεῖν χρεών*, 1368–1401). So Aristotle thought this rapid change of heart constituted poor characterization on the part of Euripides.

A bit later, towards the end of *Poetics* 15, Aristotle discusses how the flaws in otherwise good characters ought to be presented (1454 b 8–15):

Since tragedy is an imitation of people better than we are, [the tragic poet] ought to imitate good portrait-painters. For in rendering the particular form, while making [people] life-like they in fact paint them more beautiful [than they are]. So too the poet, in imitating [people who are] irascible or lazy or possessing the other such traits, [ought] to make those who are such [sc. irascible, lazy, etc.] decent in their characters; ...<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> περὶ δὲ τὰ ἡθη τέταρά ἔστιν ὃν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι, ἐν μὲν καὶ πρῶτον, ὅπως χρηστὰ ἦ.... For the text of the *Poetics*, I use Tarán–Gutas 2012. All translations from the Greek are my own.

<sup>4</sup> See especially Else 1957, 460–461, as well as Hardison (in Golden and Hardison 1968, 201), Janko 1987, 109 and Halliwell 1987, 142. I have a slight preference for *life-like*.

<sup>5</sup> τέταρτον δὲ τὸ ὁμαλόν. καν γὰρ ἀνώμαλός τις ἦ ὁ τὴν μίμησιν παρέχων καὶ τοιοῦτον ἥθος ὑποτεθῆ, ὅμως ὁμαλῶς ἀνώμαλον δεῖ εἰναι...

<sup>6</sup> τοῦ δὲ ἀνωμάλου [sc. ἔστιν παράδειγμα] ἡ ἐν Αὐλίδι Ἰφιγένεια· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσικεν ἡ ἰκετεύουσα τῇ ὑστέρᾳ.

<sup>7</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ μίμησίς ἔστιν ἡ τραγῳδία βελτιόνων ἦ ἡμεῖς, δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἰκονογράφους· καὶ γὰρ ἔκεινοι ἀποδιδόντες τὴν ιδίαν μορφὴν ὁμοίους ποιοῦντες

What follows is a possibly corrupt line, which has been heavily revised by most editors, and is potentially quite important for my present purposes. The manuscripts give us:<sup>8</sup>

παράδειγμα σκληρότητος οὗν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἀγαθὸν / Ἀγάθων καὶ Ὄμηρος.

Now παράδειγμα σκληρότητος has full manuscript support. The primary sources are split between ἀγαθὸν and Ἀγάθων, and one primary source has μὲν after Ἀχιλλέα (though that is neither relevant here nor likely to be correct). I know of five ways in which scholars have dealt with this line (which cover everything from accepting the manuscript tradition to complete excision, and in between those extremes more or less radical conjectures):

1. Try to make sense of the text as is, without emendation. This was the approach of Vahlen 1867, who printed Ἀγάθων.
2. Conclude that the text is so corrupt as to defy emendation. This was the approach of Kassel 1965, who set the entire line between daggers (†).
3. Conclude that the text is corrupt, but conjecture radical changes to fix it. This was the approach of Else 1957, 475–482, who argues for reading: [παράδειγμα σκληρότητος] οὗν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἀγαθὸν καὶ <ὅμιοιν> Ὄμηρος (“...the way Homer made his Achilles good and <like us>”).
4. Bracket the first two words, and print Ἀγάθων. This was the solution of Ritter 1839, and it was recently defended by Tarán, who regards παράδειγμα σκληρότητος as a marginal gloss (2012, 268–269); cf. Else 1957, 478. One would render the remains as for instance Golden did (in Golden–Hardison 1968): “just as Agathon and Homer portray Achilles.”
5. Transpose the first two words, and print ἀγαθόν: οὗν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἀγαθὸν καὶ παράδειγμα σκληρότητος Ὄμηρος. This was first suggested by Lobel 1929, 78 and has since been widely accepted – for instance by Janko, who translates the result: “E.g. Homer [made] Achilles good as well as an example of stubbornness” (1987, 20; his brackets). Halliwell 1987, Heath 1996, and Kenny 2013 offer similar English translations.<sup>9</sup>

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καλλίους γράφουσιν· οὕτω καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν μιμούμενον καὶ ὄργιλους καὶ ράθυμους καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡθῶν τοιούτους ὄντας ἐπιεικεῖς ποιεῖν·...

<sup>8</sup> For details, see the *app. crit. ad loc.* in Tarán–Gutas 2012, 190.

<sup>9</sup> For more examples of scholars who have interpreted this line in these various ways, see Herrick 1945 and Else 1957, 475–482.

Keeping in mind that the *Poetics* is almost certainly a set of lecture notes and not a polished treatise, I think it is possible to make some sense of the paradox.<sup>10</sup> As παράδειγμα σκληρότητος has full manuscript support, I prefer retaining it, and in its location in the clause. And although one could make either Ἀγάθων or ἀγαθόν work, I have a slight preference for the former.<sup>11</sup> So I would render the line (supplying a past tense form of ποιεῖν, as Janko and others have done): “for instance Agathon and Homer [made] Achilles an example of harshness” (the implication of course being that Achilles is decent in his character as well). In any case, it is clear that Aristotle regards Homer’s Achilles as good but flawed (the flaw being harshness or stubbornness, and no doubt irascibility as well). And although he never in his extant works refers to Homer’s Achilles as inconsistent (in either sense), I expect he would consider him an example of a character that is “consistently inconsistent”.<sup>12</sup>

A passage in *Rhetoric* 2. 22 confirms – or at least supports the possibility – that Aristotle regarded Achilles as essentially good but flawed as well.<sup>13</sup> There he claims that whatever the subject of a speech, and whether the speaker is advising or evaluating, facts are needed to support one’s case (1396 a 23–30):

It makes no difference whether it is concerning Athenians or Lacedae-monians, a human or a god, [one ought] to do the same thing: for even when advising Achilles, and praising or blaming him, and accusing or defending him, one must grasp the facts or what seem to be the facts, in order that we may say, based on these [facts], whether there is anything noble or shameful, in praising or blaming him; whether there is anything

<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to Christian Wildberg for reminding me – in connection with this line – of the nature of the *Poetics*, and for making the case to me for preserving the manuscript tradition.

<sup>11</sup> As David Sider pointed out to me, Aristotle was fonder of Agathon than most, citing him ten times (most often in the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*). Herrick 1945, 249 writes: “Neither ἀγαθόν nor Ἀγάθων, to be sure, makes any significant difference in *Poetics* 15. 1454 b 14–15; either way the sense of the passage seems tolerably clear”. This is ultimately true of the various ways of interpreting the line generally.

<sup>12</sup> Else 1957, 463 argues that for Aristotle Achilles is consistently inconsistent; and I accept his conclusion but not his argument for it (which involves excursions into the Aristotelian conception of melancholy). See also Hintenlang 1961, 117, quoted below in n. 33.

<sup>13</sup> In *Rhetoric* 1. 6. 1363 a 17–18 and 3. 16. 1416 b 25–28, Achilles is treated as good, with no suggestion of any flaws. I argue, based on passages in the *Rhetoric*, that Aristotle likely defended, against objections, Homer’s portrayal of the lamentation and anger of Achilles (2019, 76–83). I think it likely that Aristotle regarded that characterization as consistently inconsistent.

just or unjust, in accusing or defending him; and, whether there is anything expedient or harmful, in advising him.<sup>14</sup>

A little later, Aristotle distinguishes common (*κοινά*) facts from particular or special (*ἰδια*) facts. In the case of praising Achilles, common facts would be those that apply to any great hero (he mentions Diomedes, 1396 b 10–14). He continues (b 14–18):

But particular [facts] are those which belong to no one other than Achilles; for instance, to have killed Hector, the best of the Trojans, and Cycnus, who – being invulnerable – prevented all [the Greeks] from disembarking;<sup>15</sup> and because he [sc. Achilles] was the youngest to have gone to the war and without having taken the oath; and all other such things.<sup>16</sup>

Now even though the emphasis is on Achilles' goodness, there is the implication that he was not consistently good, having (possibly) committed shameful or unjust or harmful actions.

Whatever one concludes about Achilles' inconsistency in Aristotle's extant works, there is evidence that he discussed it in his *Homeric Problems*. In what follows, I want to take a look at two sets of scholia, both of which indicate that ancient Homeric scholars raised and discussed problems about Achilles' purported improper inconsistency. In both cases, I believe, Aristotle defends Homer's presentation of Achilles. Now Aristotle is not named in the second set of scholia; but I argue that their source too may well be Aristotle's *Homeric Problems*.

<sup>14</sup> οὐδὲν δὲ διαφέρει περὶ Ἀθηναίων ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ ἀνθρώπου ἢ θεοῦ ταύτῳ τοῦτο δρᾶν· καὶ γὰρ συμβουλεύοντα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ ψέγοντα καὶ κατηγοροῦντα καὶ ἀπολογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ δοκοῦντα ὑπάρχειν ληπτέον, ἵνα ἐπαινοῦντες ἢ ψέγοντες εἴ τι καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρὸν ὑπάρχει κατηγοροῦντες δ' ἢ ἀπολογούμενοι εἴ τι δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, συμβουλεύοντες δ' εἴ τι συμφέρον ἢ βλασφερόν. For the text of the *Rhetoric*, I use Kassel 1976. Regarding τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ δοκοῦντα ὑπάρχειν: I follow Reeve 2018, 96 somewhat in translating this. Perhaps more literally, one would render it “the things that exist or seem to exist” (with respect to Achilles); but note LSJ (s.v. ὑπάρχω) B.4.b.: “τὰ ὑπάρχοντα . . . , a man's record”, and see Grimaldi 1988, 283.

<sup>15</sup> The story of the death of Cycnus, son of Poseidon and king of the city of Kolonai, does not appear in the *Iliad* or the Epic Cycle. Pindar twice mentions that Achilles killed him (*OI. 2. 82, Isthm. 5. 39*); but for the manner of the killing (i. e. strangulation), given Cycnus' invulnerability to spear and sword, see Ovid, *Met. 12. 72–144*.

<sup>16</sup> ιδια δὲ ἡ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ συμβέβηκεν ἢ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, οἷον τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Ἔκτορα τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Τρώων καὶ τὸν Κύκνον, ὃς ἐκώλυσεν ἀπαντας ἀποβαίνειν ἄτρωτος ὅν, καὶ ὅτι νεώτατος καὶ οὐκ ἔνορκος ὅν ἐστράτευσεν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα.

## 2. Three Aristotle-fragments on *Iliad* 24. 559–570

The context for the first set of texts is a scene in *Iliad* 24 that Aristotle, in the *Historia animalium*, calls the Expedition of Priam (8[9]. 32. 618 b 26: ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πριάμου ἔξοδῳ).<sup>17</sup> Priam – prompted by Iris (with a message from Zeus) and escorted by Hermes (who promises him safe passage to Achilles' dwelling) – leaves Troy and goes directly to Achilles to request the return of Hector's body. As instructed by Hermes, Priam immediately supplicates Achilles. He offers him a large ransom, and asks him to feel pity and to think of his own father. Both men begin to weep – Priam for the loss of Hector and many other sons, Achilles for his absent father and for Patroclus. Achilles does feel pity for Priam, invites him to sit down, and in a relatively long speech describes how Zeus allots portions of good and bad fortune to each man.<sup>18</sup> But Priam is impatient (553–556):

μή πω μ' ἐς θρόνον ὥζε διοτρεφὲς ὄφρά κεν Ἐκτωρ  
κεῖται ἐνὶ κλισίσιν ἀκηδῆς, ἀλλὰ τάχιστα  
λῦσον ἵν' ὁφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδω· σὺ δὲ δέξαι ἄποινα  
πολλά, τά τοι φέρομεν· κτλ.<sup>19</sup>

Do not seat me in a chair, O fostered of Zeus, so long as Hector lies among the shelters uncared for; but with all speed release him, so that I see him with my own eyes; and accept the great ransom that we bring you. [Etc.]

This angers Achilles (559–561; 568–572):

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ιδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὡκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
μηκέτι νῦν μ' ἐρέθιζε γέρον; νοέω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς  
Ἐκτορά τοι λῦσαι, Διόθεν δέ μοι ἄγγελος ἤλθε

.....

τὼν νῦν μή μοι μᾶλλον ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ὄρινῃς,  
μή σε γέρον οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ κλισίσιν ἐάσω  
καὶ ικέτην περ ἐόντα, Διώς δ' ἀλίτωμαι ἐφετμάς.  
ώς ἔφατ', ἔδεισεν δ' ὃ γέρων καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ.  
Πηλεῖδης δ' οἴκοιο λέων ὡς ἄλτο θύραζε....

<sup>17</sup> Aristotle is there interested in the eagle that Zeus sends as an omen to Priam (24. 308–319). See Mayhew 2019, 66–68 for a discussion of this eagle.

<sup>18</sup> What I describe occurs within verses 159–551.

<sup>19</sup> For the text of the *Iliad*, I have used West 2000.

Then looking darkly at him, swift-footed Achilles spoke: “Provoke me no more, old man; I am even myself minded to release Hector to you, though a messenger from Zeus came to me [sc. directing me to do so]<sup>20</sup>...

Therefore, stir up my spirit no more in my sufferings, old man, lest I not allow you [to remain alive] – not even yourself – within my shelters,<sup>21</sup> though you are a suppliant, and so transgress the commands of Zeus”. So he spoke, and the old man was frightened and persuaded by his speech. And Peleus’ son sprang like a lion toward the door...

Once out the door, however, Achilles immediately sees to the ransom, and then has his servants respectfully prepare Hector’s corpse for its return to Troy – giving them orders to keep the corpse out of sight, so that Priam is not moved to anger, which would in turn provoke Achilles into killing Priam, against the wishes of the gods (573–586).

We are now in a position to better understand the following three texts on this part of *Iliad* 24: a B-scholium, a T-scholium, and a comment from Eustathius. I present all three first, before discussing them.

(a) *schol. B Il. 24. 569 (fol. 333v)*<sup>22</sup>

There is no lemma, merely a Γ' indicating that this is the third comment on the folio (the first two, at the top of the folio, are marked α' and B'; the other two, at the bottom, are marked Δ' and ε'). So ours is the sole scholium in the margins – placed where it is, either because that is the middle of the folio, or because it was intended to be close to line 559:

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<sup>20</sup> Regarding νοέω ... καὶ αὐτὸς κτλ.: Achilles is saying that, independent of the command from Zeus, he is inclined to release Hector’s body.

<sup>21</sup> I think the clear implication of μή σε . . . ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἔάσω is “lest I not allow you *to live* within my shelters”. See *schol. D Il. 24. 569* (van Thiel), which takes ἔάσω (‘allow’) to mean λείπω ζῶντα (‘leave/release [you] living’). Compare the rendering of *Il. 24. 569* in the superb translation of Alexander 2015: “lest, old man, I do not spare even yourself within my shelter”. And note Richardson 1993, 336: “οὐδὲ αὐτὸν here is emphatic, ‘not even yourself’”.

<sup>22</sup> This scholium (which Erbse labels *Il. 24. 569 b<sup>2</sup>*) can be accessed here: <http://www.homermultitext.org/hmt-image-archive/VenetusB/>. In addition to Erbse, previous editions of this text are in Villoison 1788, 529 and Schrader 1880, 277. It is also found in the following collections of Aristotle’s fragments (presented in chronological order; see the bibliography for details): fr. 149. 2 Rose<sup>1</sup>, 194. 1 Heitz, 160 Rose<sup>2</sup>, 168 Rose<sup>3</sup>, 391. 1 Gigon. It was not included in Dindorf 1877 or MacPhail 2011. I think it important to go back to the manuscripts when possible, in dealing with this material, and I have done so. But in the present case, and punctuation aside, the editions of Villoison, Schrader, and Erbse are identical and accurate.

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ιδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὥκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς (“Then looking darkly at him, swift-footed Achilles spoke”). In any case, I have assumed the former (not a strong conviction, but in any case unimportant), and have followed Erbse and labeled this schol. B *Il.* 24. 569 (fol. 333 v). Here is the Greek text with my translation:

Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ἀνώμαλον εἶναι τὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἥθος. οἱ δέ φασιν ὅτι ἵνα ἀποστήσῃ αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐφ’ Ἔκτορι θρήνου, διὰ τοῦτο δεδίσσει : ~

Aristotle says that the character of Achilles is inconsistent. But others say that [this is] in order that he [sc. Priam] might be kept from the lamentation for Hector, for which reason [Achilles] frightens [him] : ~

(b) *schol. T Il. 24.569 (fol. 277r)*<sup>23</sup>

Although I present two scholia here, which follow each other in the margins of the manuscript one after the other and refer to the same line (note the overlapping lemmata), my interest is in the second. I present the first (which indicates that σέ should be pronounced without an acute accent) merely to illustrate the T-scholiast’s use of ἄλλως (which will become relevant in analyzing the next set of texts, in § 3 below). Usually, ἄλλως (‘alternatively’) is “used in scholia to introduce a second or subsequent note on a single lemma” (Dickey 2007, 221).<sup>24</sup> In Homeric πρόβλημα/ζήτημα literature, however, ἄλλως is often used to indicate an alternative solution to the same problem. Yet both here and in § 3, the T-scholiast does not use ἄλλως to indicate an alternative solution to a problem, but to indicate another note on the same or similar (but not a single) lemma. In the second scholium, the lemma provided is μή σε γέρον οὐδ' αὐτὸν; but I believe this is, as is often the case, meant to indicate the entire line: μή σε γέρον οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ κλισίγσιν ἔάσω (“old man, lest I not allow you – not even yourself – within my shelters”). Here is the text with my translation:

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<sup>23</sup> These two scholia (which Erbse labels *Il.* 24. 569 a<sup>2</sup> and 569 b<sup>1</sup>) can be accessed here: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=burney\\_ms\\_86\\_fs001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=burney_ms_86_fs001r). The text I present is identical to that in Erbse (and in Maas 1888, 476 as well), and the second scholium (the one that mentions Aristotle) was included (among the collections of fragments) in Gigon alone (fr. 391. 2). This pair of scholia was not included in Dindorf 1877 or MacPhail 2011.

<sup>24</sup> This is from the relevant entry in Dickey’s “Glossary of Grammatical Terms”. See also her somewhat lengthier discussion of ἄλλως in ch. 4: “Introduction to Scholarly Greek” (2007, 108–109).

“μή σε γέρον”: ἐγκλιτέον τὴν “σέ” : –  
 ἄλλως· “μή σε γέρον οὐδ’ αὐτὸν”: Αριστοτέλης φησὶν ἀνώμαλον εἶναι τὸ  
 ὥθιος Ἀχιλλέως, οἱ δὲ ως ἀποστῆσαι τοῦ οἴκτου τῇ καταπλήξει αὐτὸν  
 θέλει, μὴ ιδὼν Ἐκτορα θρηνήσῃ ἀκωλύτως καὶ ταράξῃ αὐτόν : –

“lest you old man”: one must treat σέ [‘you’] as an enclitic : –  
 alternatively: “lest you old man ... not even yourself”: Aristotle says that  
 the character of Achilles is inconsistent. But others [say] that [Achilles]  
 wants him [sc. Priam] to avoid wailing, through terror, lest seeing Hector  
 he mourns uncontrollably and it troubles him [sc. Achilles]<sup>25</sup> : –

(c) *Eustathius ad Il. 24. 559–572*  
*(vol. 4, p. 956.1–6 van der Valk)*<sup>26</sup>

In Eustathius, οἱ παλαιοί (the ancients) usually refers directly to the scholia, indirectly to their sources.

σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι Αριστοτέλης, ὃς φασιν οἱ παλαιοί, ἀνώμαλον εἶναι τὸ  
 τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὥθιος συνάγει, ὃς τὰ πρῶτα μειλιχίοις δεξιωσάμενος τὸν  
 ικέτην Πρίαμον, εἴτα λεοντωθεὶς οἶον, ως δηλοῖ τὸ “λέων ως ἄλτο  
 θύραζε” – διὸ καὶ νῦν “ἔδδεισεν ὁ γέρων καὶ ἐπειθέτο μύθῳ” – ἀγριοῦται  
 καὶ ἀπειλεῖται τὰ προρρηθέντα.<sup>27</sup> καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν ἐπίτηδες οὔτω ποιεῖν, ως  
 ἂν ἐκπλήξῃ τὸν γέροντα καὶ ἀποστῆσῃ τοῦ οἴκτου, τὸ δ’ ἔστιν οὐ  
 τοιοῦτον.

Note that Aristotle, as the ancients say, concludes that the character of Achilles is inconsistent, who at first welcoming the suppliant Priam with gentle [words], then becomes a lion so to speak, as “like a lion he leaps to the door” [572] makes clear – and this is why at this time “the old man was frightened and persuaded by his speech” [571] – the things [Achilles] said becoming wild and threatening. In fact he seems to act in this way deliberately, as if striking panic in the old man and keeping him away from the wailing, whereas such is not the case.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See Breitenberger 2006, 316 and Culyer 2008, 543.

<sup>26</sup> This text (in an earlier edition) is found in two collections of Aristotle's fragments: fr. 149. 2 Rose<sup>1</sup> and 194. 2 Heitz.

<sup>27</sup> van der Valk claims in his apparatus (*ad loc.*) that this clause (from ὃς τὰ πρῶτα to τὰ προρρηθέντα) is Eustathius' addition to his ancient sources.

<sup>28</sup> Hintenlang 1961, 116 goes on (after an ellipsis) to quote as well a line which appears a little later (at 956. 16): συνάγεται δὲ τὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἄστατον καὶ ἐν τῇ α' ράψῳδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Λιταῖς (“And the instability [ἄστατον] of Achilles can be ascertained both in [*Iliad*] Rhapsody 1 and in the *Entreaties* [i. e. *Iliad* 9]”). But there is no reason to think this comes from Aristotle.

I think it probable that all three texts ultimately have the same source, namely Aristotle's *Homeric Problems*, though an intermediate and indirect source was likely Porphyry. None of them provides anything like the entire text, as found in Porphyry (if he was the source), which likely would have included the statement of the problem, and at the very least two solutions.<sup>29</sup> I think it possible that the original Homeric problem can be reconstructed from Eustathius, who is perhaps indicating that Aristotle aimed to provide a solution to it: Why did Homer portray Achilles at first being gentle with Priam, but shortly thereafter being lion-like? Another possibility is that the statement of the problem had the same form as that found in the two scholia discussed in the next section: Why did Homer portray Achilles inconsistent in this way, at first being gentle with Priam, but shortly thereafter being lion-like?

Both of our scholia present two solutions: a terse version of Aristotle's solution first (in nearly identical Greek, which is also quite close to what Eustathius reproduces): "Aristotle says that the character of Achilles is inconsistent". The second solution, from other (unnamed) scholars (οἱ δέ), defends Achilles' character by claiming that he intentionally acted as if he were angry in order to prevent Priam from lamenting over the body of Hector.<sup>30</sup> (The T-scholium is more informative than the B-scholium.<sup>31</sup>) So this solution seems to aim to defend Achilles against the charge that he is not in control of his emotions. Cullyer 2008, 542–544 argues that these scholars could be Chrysippus and other Stoics.<sup>32</sup> I find her interpretation quite plausible (and such a defense of Achilles' character less plausible, at least as Homeric scholarship). If the Homeric problem specifically referred to inconsistency, then I assume the second solution would originally have included the claim that Achilles is not inconsistent in any sense.

But what more can we say about Aristotle's reply? If I am right that our three texts are the remains of a single Homeric problem, of the sort preserved and presented by Porphyry, then it is highly likely that Aristotle was solving the Homeric problem by claiming that Achilles' character

<sup>29</sup> In what follows, I am assuming that these texts originally came from a Homeric problem with solutions. On the possibility that they were originally part of a criticism of Homer, see below n. 34.

<sup>30</sup> I think it likely that Eustathius is referring to (and even accepting) this solution, when he writes at the end of the text: "In fact he seems to act in this way deliberately", etc. (καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν ἐπίτηδες οὕτω ποιεῖν, κτλ.).

<sup>31</sup> See above, note 1, on the T-scholia being more scholarly than the b-scholia.

<sup>32</sup> See also Plutarch, *How the Young Should Listen to Poetry* 11 (*Moralia* 31 A–C), with Hunter–Russell 2011, 173–175.

*is* inconsistent – but consistently inconsistent, which is perfectly proper esthetically.<sup>33</sup> In the language of *Poetics* 15, Homer made Achilles good generally, but also with a character flaw: harshness. So I think it much more likely that Aristotle was defending Homer, in this way, than that he was criticizing Homer.<sup>34</sup>

But can we describe this defense of Homer in the terms Aristotle describes in *Poetics* 25, the topic of which is Homeric problems and how to solve them? As with many Homeric problems, this one likely involved what some critic erroneously objected or worried was a contradiction (in the portrayal of Achilles). And there are plenty of examples of Aristotle replying that what is thought to be a contradiction is in fact merely apparently so.<sup>35</sup> There is no contradiction, because Achilles is consistently inconsistent.

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<sup>33</sup> So Hintenlang 1961, 117: “Wenn Aristoteles in Fr. 168 R. sagt, der Charakter Achills sei ungleichmäßig, so ist dies nicht als Vorwurf gegen die Darstellung Homers zu verstehen, sondern soll bedeuten, daß Homer ihn konsequent ungleichmäßig zeichnet”. Hintenlang 1961, 118, followed by Breitenberger 2006, 414, quite plausibly suggests the possibility that Aristotle’s target is Plato (citing *Rep.* 3. 390 e – 391 c and *Hipp. min.* 369 e – 371 d). Hintenlang 1961, 116–117, again followed by Breitenberger 2006, 413–414, also discusses, in this connection, *EE* 3. 1. 1229 a 20–27 (and I would extend the reference to a 29), where Aristotle describes states that seem to be courage but are not. Relevant here is the kind that arises “from irrational passion, for instance from eros or anger” ( $\deltaι\alpha\ \pi\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\o\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omega$ ,  $\text{o}\iota\omega\ \delta\iota'\ \xi\varphi\omega\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\ \theta\omega\mu\omega\varsigma$ ). (Cf. *EN* 3. 8. 1116 b 23–30, a parallel discussion which in fact quotes three Homeric passages.) Aristotle says that people who are beside themselves with rage, like wild boars, are  $\dot{\alpha}\nu\omega\mu\omega\lambda\omega\iota\omega$ , ‘inconsistent’ – though in the context of *EE* 3. 1 we might rather render it ‘capricious’ or ‘fickle’ (Breitenberger: ‘unbeständig’). Aristotle goes on to say that young people, who often have this trait, make the best fighters. Hintenlang’s speculation that Aristotle would characterize Achilles in this way is intriguing.

<sup>34</sup> We cannot, however, rule out entirely the possibility that Aristotle was levelling an objection against Homer, as he is capable of doing this, though such instances are rare. (On Aristotle’s possible criticism of *Od.* 21. 217–221, involving Odysseus’ scar, see Mayhew 2019, 40–45.) If this were the case here, then the texts discussed in this section would be a remnant of Aristotle claiming that in the Expedition of Priam in *Iliad* 24, Achilles is like Iphigeneia in Euripides’ *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, i. e. improperly inconsistent. In close proximity, Achilles goes from treating Priam respectfully, to threatening his life, to immediately thereafter respectfully preparing Hector’s corpse to be handed over to Priam. One might have grounds for leveling this criticism against Homer, though I doubt Aristotle did so.

<sup>35</sup> See *Poetics* 25. 1461 a 31 – b 9, and Mayhew 2019, 20–22.

### 3. Three possible unattested Aristotle-fragments on *Iliad* 18. 98

Like many Homeric προβλήματα, the one I turn to next concerns an apparent or purported contradiction between something in the *Iliad* and something in the *Odyssey*.<sup>36</sup>

At the opening of *Iliad* 18, Antilochus goes to Achilles to tell him that Patroclus is dead, the amour Achilles lent him has been stripped from his body and is in Hector's possession, and the fighting continues over Patroclus' corpse. Achilles' mother (Thetis) hears his lamentations, and visits him. Achilles explains that he has no wish to live, except to avenge Patroclus by killing Hector. Thetis replies (95–96):

ώκυμορος δή μοι τέκος ἔσσεαι, οἴ̄ ἀγορεύεις.  
αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἐπειτα μεθ' Ἐκτορα πότμος ἑτοῖμος.

Then you are doomed to a swift death, my child, from what you are saying, for straightaway after Hector [sc. dies], then evil-destiny [i. e. an early death] awaits.

Achilles recognizes that he is making this choice (98–99):

αὐτίκα τεθνάην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἔταίρῳ  
κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῆναι. . .

Straightaway may I die, since I was not fated my companion  
to defend when he was slain...

So Achilles is choosing to avenge Patroclus, at the cost of his own life.

In *Odyssey* 11, in his trip through Hades, Odysseus encounters the soul (ψυχή) of Achilles, which is weeping (όλοφυρομένη, 471–472). Odysseus, trying to console Achilles, points out that he was blessed in life – so highly was he honored – and now in death as well he seems to be blessed, as he has great authority over the dead (484–486). Achilles famously replies (488–491):

μὴ δή μοι θάνατόν γε παρανέδα, φαίδιμ' Ὄδυσσεο.  
βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ,  
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, φῷ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη,  
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> These are not uncommon. For instance, a passage in the *Odyssey* (12. 374–375) seems to contradict a description in the *Iliad* (3. 277–278) of the Sun's ‘omniscience’. “Why, having said that Helios [i. e. the Sun] beholds all things and hears all things [*Il.* 3. 277], did [Homer] portray him needing a messenger in the case of his own cattle [*Od.* 12. 374]?” Etc. Aristotle proposed three solutions. See schol. B\* *Il.* 3. 277 (= fr. 149 Rose<sup>3</sup>/373 Gigon).

<sup>37</sup> For the text of the *Odyssey*, I have used West 2017.

Do not speak soothingly to me of death, illustrious Odysseus.  
 I would choose to be bound to the soil, the servant of another –  
 a man with no allotted land, whose livelihood is nothing much –  
 than to be lord over all the dead who have perished.

Achilles then asks for news of his son Neoptolemos and his father Peleus. Odysseus has no news about his father. Achilles replies that were his father being oppressed owing to his absence, he would want to return to life to protect him (500–503):

εἰ τοιόσδ’ ἔλθοιμι μίννυνθά περ ἐς πατέρος δῶ,  
 τῷ κέ τεῳ στύξαμι μένος καὶ χεῖρας ἀάπτους,  
 οἵ κεῖνον βιώνται ἐέργουσίν τ’ ἀπὸ τιμῆς.

If I could go as such a man [sc. as I was formerly] for a short time to my father’s house, I would in this way make hateful my power and invincible hands to many a one – those who do violence to him and keep him from honor.

In the *Iliad*, though he is alive he chooses death; and in the *Odyssey*, though he is dead, he wishes he could come back to life. We are now in a position to better understand the following texts on *Iliad* 18. 98: a B-scholium and a T-scholium,<sup>38</sup> and a related comment from Eustathius. I present all three before discussing them.

(a) *schol. B Il. 18. 98 (fol. 249 r)*<sup>39</sup>

There is no lemma. Instead this text begins with what seems to be a number (*ι᾽ε*),<sup>40</sup> which is also written above the words on which the

<sup>38</sup> As will become clear, each of these scholia consists of (or can naturally be divided into) three parts. Erbse combines the B and T scholia in his presentation of this material, labeling the three parts *Il. 18. 98 b*, *98 c*, and *98 d*. I think this is problematic, and so in what follows present my transcription of these scholia separately.

<sup>39</sup> This scholium can be accessed here: <http://www.homermultitext.org/hmt-image-archive/VenetusB/>. In addition to Erbse (see the previous note), earlier editions of this text are Villoison 1788, 415 and Schrader 1880, 220–221 – though the latter includes only the portion I have labeled [1]. It was not included in MacPhail 2011, though note that Erbse inserts “Porph. (?)” prior to his schol. *Il. 18. 98 b*. Virtually identical to, and dependent on, this B-scholium is a scholium in *Leidensis Vossianus* 64 (fol. 394r) – on which, see the relevant information in Erbse’s *apparatus criticus*.

<sup>40</sup> This is not the number 15 (*ι᾽ε*). The ‘numbering’ on this folio is odd. The first scholium is marked *θ'*, the second *ι'*, the third *ι'α*, the fourth *ι'β*, the fifth *ι'γ*, the sixth *ι'δ*, the seventh (our text) *ι'ε*. They continued to be marked *ι'ζ*, *ι'ζ'*, *ι'η*, *ι'θ*, *κ'*, and finally *κ'α*. By contrast, the nine scholia on the previous folio (fol. 248v) are marked as one would expect: *α'*, *β'*, *γ'*, *δ'*, *ε'*, *ζ'*, *η'*, and *θ'*. The scholia

scholium is a comment (in this case, above the second alpha in αὐτίκα in 18. 98, so it is clearly a comment on αὐτίκα τεθναίνην, “Straightaway may I die”). Note that nineteen words were originally omitted owing to parablepsy: the scribe’s eye jumped from the first ζῆν to the second. There is in effect a scholium to our scholium (I think from a second hand [B\*]), which adds the missing material (marked with the symbol ‘·’). Shortly thereafter, there is also a superlinear addition of the word διὰ between ἀλλὰ and μόνα (I assume by the same hand responsible for the other addition). I have used italics in my transcription and translation to indicate these additions. I have also inserted numbers in brackets, because although this scholium is presented as one unified text, the nearly identical material in schol. T II. 18. 98 is presented as three different scholia roughly corresponding to the material that I have marked with these bracketed numbers.

ιέ [1] διὰ τί τὸν Ἀχιλλέα οὕτως ἀνώμαλον πεποίηκεν, ὃς γε ὅτε ἔζη τεθνάναι ἐβούλετο, τεθνεὼς δὲ ζῆν δουλεύων μᾶλλον ἢ ἔχειν τὴν τοῦ Άιδους βασιλείαν; ἡ οὖτε τὸ τεθνάναι δι’ αὐτὸν αἴρεσθαι φαίνεται οὖτε τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μόνα τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ ὥπας πράττῃ ταῦτα;<sup>41</sup> ἵνα μὲν γὰρ βοηθήσῃ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ, “τεθναίην” φησίν, ἵνα δὲ τῷ πατρί, ζῆν ἑθέλει. ὕστε καλῶν ἔργων προκειμένων ὁ φιλόκαλος καὶ ζῶν τεθνάναι αἱρήσεται, εἰ μέλλοι καλὸν τι πρᾶξαι ἀποθανών, καὶ ἀναβιώσεσθαι πάλιν, εἰ μέλλοι τῶν κατ’ ἀρετὴν τι πρᾶξαι ἀναζήσας. [2] ὅρα δὲ πῶς τῷ “αὐτίκα” χρησάμενος, φὰ καὶ ἡ Θέτις, τὸν δι’ ἀρετὴν καταφρονοῦντα θανάτου ἐνέφρην. [3] καλὸν δὲ πρὸς φιλεταιρίαν παράδειγμα, εἴγε τοῖς τοσούτοις μὴ πεισθεὶς δώροις δίχα τούτων καὶ θάνατον αἱρεῖται ὑπὲρ φίλου : –

ιέ [= “Straightaway may I die”]: [1] Why did [Homer] portray Achilles inconsistent in this way, who when he was living wanted to die, but having died [wanted] to live *being a slave more than [he wanted] to have the kingdom of Hades? Or does he appear to choose neither dying for its own sake nor living, but for the sake of noble deeds alone and so that he can perform these?* For in order to help Patroclus, he said “may I die”, but in order [to help] his father, he wanted to live. Therefore, when noble deeds present themselves, the one who is nobility-loving and living will choose to die, if in dying he is going to do something noble; and he will choose to return to life again, if in returning to life he is going to do

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on the two other nearby folios that I checked at random are similarly numbered as one would expect. This oddity, however, does not affect the interpretation of this scholium in the least.

<sup>41</sup> Unlike other editors, I have punctuated this sentence with a question mark (not used in our manuscript), which I believe makes the most sense.

something according to virtue. [2] And note how using ‘straightaway’, which Thetis did as well (18. 95), [Homer] displayed the disregarding of death for the sake of virtue. [3] And [this is] a noble example regarding love of a comrade, if not persuaded by these many offerings apart from them in fact he chooses death on behalf of a friend.

(b) *schol. T Il. 18. 98 (fol. 202v)*<sup>42</sup>

This text has roughly the same content as the previous one, but presented as three scholia (the second and third indicated by ἄλλως, and in the opposite order). The statement of the πρόβλημα is in a sense quite different than in the previous text, in that it includes a (possibly incomplete) quotation<sup>43</sup> and (I suspect) a lacuna; but conceptually, they are the same. Here are my transcription and translation:

“αὐτίκα τεθναίην”: [1] διὰ τί<sup>44</sup> τὸν Ἀχιλλέα οὕτως ἀνώμαλον πεποίηκεν, ὃς γε ὅτε ἔζη τεθνάναι ἐβούλετο, τεθνεὼς δὲ ζῆν <...><sup>45</sup> “βουλοίμην κ’ ἐπάρουρος ἐών”; ἦ οὖτε τὸ τεθνάναι δι’ αὐτὸν αἰρεῖσθαι φαίνεται οὗτε <τὸ> ζῆν, ἄλλὰ <διὰ><sup>46</sup> μόνα τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ ὅπως πράττῃ ταῦτα;<sup>47</sup> ἵνα μὲν γὰρ βοηθήσῃ Πατρόκλῳ, “αὐτίκα τεθναίην” φησίν, ἵνα δὲ τῷ πατρὶ, ζῆν ἐθέλει. ὥστε καλῶν ἔργων προκειμένων ὁ φιλόκαλος καὶ ζῶν τεθνάναι αἱρήσεται, εἰ μέλλοι καλόν τι πρᾶξαι ἀποθανών, ἦ βεβαίως ἀναβιώσεσθαι, εἰ μέλλοι τῶν κατ’ ἀρετὴν τι πρᾶξαι ἀναζήσας : –

[3] ἄλλως: “αὐτίκα τεθναίην”: καλὸν πρὸς φιλεταιρίαν εἴγε τοσούτοις μὴ πεισθεῖς δώροις δίχα τούτων καὶ θάνατον αἱρεῖται ὑπὲρ φίλου : –

[2] ἄλλως: “αὐτίκα τεθναίην”: τῷ αὐτῷ ὄνόματι χρησάμενος, ϕ καὶ ἡ Θέτις, τὸν δι’ ἀρετὴν καταφρονοῦντα θανάτου ἐνέφηνεν : –

“Straightaway may I die”: [1] Why did [Homer] portray Achilles inconsistent in this way, who when he was living wanted to die; [but having died wanted to live, saying] “I would choose to be bound to the

<sup>42</sup> This scholium can be accessed here: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=burney\\_ms\\_86\\_fs001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=burney_ms_86_fs001r). Previous editions of this text are Maas 1888, 247 and Erbse (see above n. 38).

<sup>43</sup> Or the scholiast was counting on his audience’s vast knowledge of the Homeric epics, so that he needed only to quote the opening words of the verse(s) that he had in mind.

<sup>44</sup> This τί, obviously correct, is a superlinear addition by a second hand.

<sup>45</sup> I mark a lacuna here. See the translation.

<sup>46</sup> I have added these two words (in pointed brackets) from the parallel line in the B-scholium.

<sup>47</sup> Unlike other editors, I have punctuated this sentence with a question mark (never used in our manuscript), which I believe makes the most sense.

soil” [etc.] (*Od.* 11. 489)? Or does he appear to choose neither dying for its own sake nor living, but for the sake of noble deeds alone and so that he can perform these? For in order to help Patroclus, he said “Straightaway may I die”, but in order [to help] his father, he wanted to live. Therefore, when noble deeds present themselves, the one who is nobility-loving and living will choose to die, if in dying he is about to do something noble; or he will steadfastly choose to come back to life, if when coming back to life he is about to do something according to virtue : –

[3] Alternatively: “Straightaway may I die”: [this is] noble regarding love of a comrade, if not persuaded by these many offerings apart from them in fact he chooses death on behalf of a friend : –

[2] Alternatively: “Straightaway may I die”: using the same word [i. e. ‘Straightaway’], which Thetis did as well (18. 95), [Homer] displayed the disregarding of death for the sake of virtue : –

(c) *Eustathius ad Il. 18. 98–100*  
(vol. 4, p. 141. 12–17 van der Valk)

As in the previous pair of scholia, there is a comment from Eustathius, which was based on these two scholia or shares with them a common source.

εἰ δὲ νῦν μὲν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ “τεθναίνων” φησίν, ἐν Ὁδυσσείᾳ δὲ τεθνεώς ἀναζῆσαι θέλει, ἵνα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπαμύνοιτο, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνωμαλία ηθους τὸ τοιοῦτον. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς παλαιοὺς οὕτε τὸ τεθνάναι δι’ αὐτὸν αἱρεῖται οὕτε τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ διὰ ἔργα, ὃν προκειμένων ὁ φιλόκαλος ζῶν μὲν τεθνάναι αἱρήσεται, εἰ καλόν τι ἔσται θανόντος, τεθνεώς δὲ ἀναβιώσεσθαι, εἰ τῶν κατ’ ἀρετήν τι πράξει.

If here, in order to help Patroclus, he says “may I die”, whereas in the *Odyssey*, having died, he wants to come back to life, in order to aid his father, such a state is not inconsistency with respect to character. For according to the ancients, he chooses neither to die for his own sake nor to live, but for the sake of deeds, for which having presented themselves the nobility-loving one who is living will choose to die, if dying will be something noble, whereas having died, [he will choose] to come back to life, if [in coming back to life] he will do something according to virtue.

The first point to make is that I think it relatively clear that the T-scholium is correct, and that what I have labeled [2] and [3] are separate (however related) comments on *Il.* 18. 98. It is less natural to take them as support for the solution in [1]. So I will be focusing on the versions of [1] in both

scholia. Next, I think the B-scholium likely has a more accurate statement of the Homeric problem: Why did Homer portray Achilles inconsistent in this way, who when he was living wanted to die, but having died wanted to live being a slave more than he wanted to have the kingdom of Hades? I suspect that in the original text, there may have been a quote from Homer representing each side of the supposed contradiction: the verse(s) in the *Iliad* beginning “straightaway may I die” (18. 98), and the passage from the *Odyssey* containing the statement: “I would choose to be bound to the soil, the servant of another | ... | than to be lord over all the dead who have perished” (11. 489 & 491). When this material was used for or transformed into a marginal comment on the *Iliad*, the first quote became the lemma, and the second was eventually either paraphrased (as in the B-scholium) or became mangled (as in the T-scholium). The follow up question (which suggests the solution) is identical in both texts: “Or does he appear to choose neither dying for its own sake nor living, but for the sake of noble deeds alone and so that he can perform these?” The remainder in both scholia – with some minor variations – briefly demonstrates how the solution implied in the follow-up question is correct, i. e. that there is in fact no contradiction on the part of Homer or even inconsistency in the character of Achilles in the relevant Homeric passages. And in this connection we have what might be the one contribution from the Eustathius-passage (which has a decidedly Aristotelian ring to it): “such a state is not inconsistency with respect to character” (*οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνωμαλία ηθούς τὸ τοιοῦτον*). This may well have been the language of the original solution to our πρόβλημα.

The purported problem is why Homer presents Achilles as inconsistent in the way indicated. The solution is that Achilles is not inconsistent in either of the senses indicated earlier (proper or improper). He is not, because of harshness or irascibility or some other character flaw, portrayed by Homer as wishing he was dead (when he is alive), but pining for life in the afterlife. Rather, according to the author of this solution, whatever his flaws Homer's character is consistent in being nobility-loving (*φιλόκαλος*); and so, whether he is alive on earth or a shade in Hades, he wants to do what is noble (even if, in the former case, it costs him his life). I do think there is a certain lack of symmetry here, in that if he could, Achilles would choose not to remain in Hades, whether or not a noble deed was waiting for him. One might reply, however, that although he has, in a sense, resigned himself to his fate in Hades, his desire to come back to life (*per impossibile*) is intensified when he thinks of his father and the possible need to defend him, and that this is owing to his remaining nobility-loving, even as a shade in Hades.

I believe the most likely source for these texts is Aristotle. First, as in so many of the fragments of the *Homeric Problems*, the likely intermediate source of our two scholia is Porphyry.<sup>48</sup>

Second, as we have seen (in the previous sections), Aristotle was very interested in the character of Achilles (in a literary context), and particularly with his purported inconsistency (which is mentioned in the statement of the problem under consideration). Here is a further indication of an interest in Achilles' behavior: After the funeral games, still unable to overcome his grief for the loss of Patroclus, Achilles drags the corpse of Hector from the back of his chariot three times around Patroclus' tomb (*Il.* 24. 14–18). This gave rise to a Homeric problem, for which Aristotle offered a solution (schol. B\* *Il.* 24. 15 [fol. 322r] = fr. 166 Rose / 389 Gigon):

Why was Achilles dragging Hector around the tomb of Patroclus, acting contrary to established custom with respect to the corpse? ... It is possible to solve [this], Aristotle says, also by referring to the fact that the existing customs were like that, since even nowadays in Thessaly they drag [corpses] around tombs.<sup>49</sup>

Third, there is at least one (other) text whose source is the *Homeric Problems*, in which Aristotle is not named.<sup>50</sup> In *Poetics* 25. 1461 a 9–16, Aristotle writes: “Some [problems] should be solved by looking at diction”. Aristotle’s third example is: “And ‘mix purer [wine]’ [*Il.* 9. 203] refers not to unmixed [wine], as if for winos, but to [wine mixed] more quickly”.<sup>51</sup> *Poetics* 25 is a summary of how to deal with objections to Homer, and much of what he says there almost certainly appeared in the *Homeric Problems* as well. In this case, Aristotle was likely responding

<sup>48</sup> As is often the case, I side with Schrader (and by implication Erbse, see above n. 39), against MacPhail, in regarding Porphyry as the source of far more of these Aristotle-fragments. In any case, however one counts them, a great many of the fragments of the *Homeric Problems* come from Porphyry.

<sup>49</sup> διὰ τί οἱ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸν Ἐκτόρα εἴλκε περὶ τὸν τάφον τοῦ Πατρόκλου, παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα ποιῶν εἰς τὸν νεκρόν; ... ἔστι δὲ λύειν, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὀνάγοντ’ ἔθη ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ περιέλκουσι περὶ τοὺς τάφους. Aristotle is referring specifically to the corpses of murderers, which are dragged around the graves of their victims. (We know this from Callimachus, via schol. B\* *Il.* 22. 397 [fol. 300v]. See Schrader 1880, 268.)

<sup>50</sup> I owe this example to Verhasselt (forthcoming), whose discussion of it is characteristically clear and succinct.

<sup>51</sup> τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν λέξιν ὄρθωντα δεῖ διαλύειν ... καὶ τὸ “ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε” οὐ τὸ ἄκρατον ώς οἰνόφλυξιν ἀλλὰ τὸ θᾶττον.

to a criticism of Zoilus.<sup>52</sup> Now consider the following section of a text from Porphyry, in schol. F *Il.* 9. 203 (fol. 77v):<sup>53</sup>

Porphyry. “mix [it] ζωρότερον, and prepare a cup for each man”: Inappropriate: for he is being commanded to provide [wine] more unmixed, as if they were at a party. Some solve [the problem] from diction, for [they say] ζωρότερον is ‘more quickly’...<sup>54</sup>

Finally, there is evidence from *Rhetoric* 1. 3 that Aristotle may have had this view of Achilles' dying for the sake of avenging Patroclus.<sup>55</sup> The context is a discussion of the three kinds of rhetoric (deliberative, judicial, and epideictic) and specifically of how the end or aim (*τέλος*) of a deliberative speech can differ. In some cases, the orator will grant certain things, and even issues of justice and injustice will be of no concern;<sup>56</sup> but he would never admit that he is recommending to his audience what is inexpedient (*ἀσύμφορος*) or steering them away from what is advantageous (*ὠφέλιμος*, 1358 b 33–37). He then says (1358 b 38–1359 a 5):

<sup>52</sup> See Plutarch *Table Talk* 5. 4 (*Mor.* 677 E), which has the title *Περὶ τοῦ “ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε”*: ἀλλὰ μειρακιώδη τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτῶν ἀπέφαινον, δεδιότων ὄμοιογεῖν ἀκρατότερον εἰρήσθαι τὸ ζωρότερον, ὡς ἐν ἀτόπῳ τινὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐσομένου, καθάπερ ὁ Ἀμφιπολίτης Ζωΐος ὑπελάμβανεν... – “But I [sc. Plutarch] pointed out that their [sc. his interlocutors'] noble effort was immature, because they were afraid to concede that ζωρότερον means ‘more unmixed’, as if this would put Achilles in an absurd position, just as Zoilus of Amphipolis supposed...”.

<sup>53</sup> This scholium can be accessed here: <http://www.homermultitext.org/hmt-image-archive/E4/E4-Pages/077v-168.jpg>. On ms. F (*Escorialensis Ω* 1.12), see Dué 2014. *Schol.* B *Il.* 9. 203 (fol. 118v) seems to me to be a mixed up version of this text, though the ‘Aristotle’ line is identical in any case. See MacPhail 2011, 283 for an edition based on these two scholia.

<sup>54</sup> Πορφορίου. “ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε, δέπας δ’ ἔντυνον ἐκάστῳ” [*Il.* 9. 203]: ἀπρεπές· ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ κῶμον ἤκουσιν ἀκρατότερον διδόναι παρακελεύεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως λύουσι· τὸ γὰρ ζωρότερον εἶναι τάχιον. This is followed by two or three solutions from other people, which do not concern me here.

<sup>55</sup> One might argue that the value of this evidence is undercut somewhat by the fact that Achilles' willingness to die for the sake of avenging Patroclus was something of a commonplace for the willingness to die for what is noble: see e.g. Plato, *Apology* 28c–d and *Symposium* 179e–180a. But I think it matters that Aristotle mentions both praising and blaming Achilles.

<sup>56</sup> Aristotle says (1358 b 36–37): ως δ' οὐκ ἄδικον τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας καταδουλοῦσθαι καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἄδικοῦντας, πολλάκις οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν – “but they are often not concerned about whether it is not unjust to enslave one's neighbors and those who have done nothing unjust”. Most scholars note here an implied criticism of the Athenian delegation to Melos, as presented by Thucydides (5. 84–116). See e.g. Grimaldi 1980, 84.

Similarly, both those who are praising and those who are assigning blame do not consider whether [the one they are evaluating] has done what is expedient or harmful, but in fact in praise they often put it down that disregarding what is profitable to himself he does what is noble. For instance, they praise Achilles because he came to the aid of his comrade Patroclus, knowing that he must die, though it was possible to live. But to him, such a death was nobler, whereas living was expedient.<sup>57</sup>

There is of course no indication that Aristotle thought Achilles was being inconsistent.

Once again, this Homeric problem is really no problem at all, but in fact arises owing not to Homer's characterization of Achilles, but to what some critic erroneously objected or worried was a contradiction (in the portrayal of Achilles). In this case, however, the solution is not that Achilles is consistently inconsistent (which is proper), but that he is not inconsistent at all: rather, he is consistently φιλόκαλος.

My suggestion that Aristotle is the ultimate source of these three texts on *Iliad* 18. 98 is – and short of further evidence coming to light, must remain – speculative. But I do believe I have made a good case for Aristotle being the likely source. And that the problem and solution presented in these three texts fits so well with the rest of the evidence concerning Aristotle on Achilles' inconsistency is I believe one more reason for taking seriously my speculations about their Aristotelian authorship.<sup>58</sup>

Robert Mayhew  
Seton Hall University, South Orange, NJ (USA)

robert.mayhew@shu.edu

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<sup>57</sup> ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ οἱ ψέγοντες οὐ σκοποῦσιν εἰ συμφέροντα ἔπραξεν ἡ βλαβερά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ πολλάκις τιθέασιν ὅτι ὀλιγωρήσας τοῦ αὐτῷ λυσιτελοῦντος ἔπραξεν ὅτι καλόν, οἷον Ἀχιλλέα ἐπαινοῦσιν ὅτι ἐβοήθησε τῷ ἑταίρῳ Πατρόκλῳ εἰδὼς ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν, ἔξοντας τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν τοιοῦτος θάνατος κάλλιον, τὸ δὲ ζῆν συμφέρον.

<sup>58</sup> If I were preparing an edition of the fragments of Aristotle's *Homeric Problems*, I doubt I would include these, though I would mention them (perhaps in connection with the three Aristotle-fragments on *Iliad* 24. 559–570, discussed in § 2). I would like to thank the editors of this journal for comments that improved this essay.

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My aim in this essay is to re-examine four bT-scholia of the *Iliad*, concerning the purported inconsistency of Achilles. Two of these have long been recognized as fragments from the *Homeric Problems*; but the other two, if my speculations are correct, might be previously unattested Aristotle-fragments. Eustathius plays an important supporting role in understanding these scholia, as do relevant passages in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* and especially *Poetics*.

В статье подвергаются новому рассмотрению 4 схолия бТ к *Илиаде* о предполагаемом непостоянстве Ахилл. Два из них уже давно были признаны фрагментами Гомеровских вопросов; два других, если мои рассуждения верны, возможно, также являются фрагментами Аристотеля. Важную роль для понимания и атрибуции этих схолиев играют комментарий Евстафия, а также соответствующие пассажи из *Реторики* и особенно *Поэтики* Аристотеля.

# IL RUOLO DI POSIDONIO E DELLA DOSSOGRAFIA PER LA DATAZIONE DEL *ΠΕΡΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ* E I RAPPORTI DI QUEST'ULTIMO CON *L'ELOGIUM GEOGRAPHIAE.* II\*

## 5. Incastri perfetti. La meteorologia del *Περὶ κόσμου* e i *Placita* di Aezio

Nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, la trattazione di argomenti scientifici (come la meteorologia o l'origine dei terremoti) si svolge secondo uno schema fortemente sintetico, che lascia poco spazio alla problematizzazione e alla discussione di ipotesi e prove. Per questo motivo, è difficile ipotizzare che un testo come questo potesse influire sul pensiero di un autore dello spessore di Posidonio o, ammesso che la cronologia lo permetesse (e non lo permette), di Aristotele. Dunque, per quanto riguarda la questione delle coincidenze verbali fra la definizione dell'arcobaleno nel *Περὶ κόσμου* e quelle attribuite a Posidonio o ad Aristotele, si deve tenere presente che il *Περὶ κόσμου* non poteva offrire argomenti di discussione tali da giustificare la sua citazione all'interno di trattati scientifici. Pertanto, che la dottrina contenuta nella definizione dell'arcobaleno si debba attribuire ad Aristotele o a Posidonio, è indiscutibile che l'influenza sia andata dall'opera scientifica al trattato divulgativo, e non viceversa. L'importante questione della paternità di tale dottrina verrà affrontata nel prossimo paragrafo, mentre per ora ci soffermeremo sul problema della fonte diretta dell'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου*.

Forti differenze nella struttura del discorso marcano la distanza che intercorre tra questo trattato e un'opera meteorologica con intenti scientifici come la *Meteorologia* di Aristotele. Benché la nostra conoscenza delle opere meteorologiche di Posidonio sia più limitata, è lecito aspettarsi che esse condividessero con il trattato aristotelico un certo grado di complessità d'analisi e di rigore dimostrativo. La presenza, all'interno del capitolo meteorologico del *Περὶ κόσμου*, di una serie di definizioni prive di corredo argomentativo può indirizzarci verso la tipologia testuale che costituì, con

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\* V. prima parte dell'articolo in: *Hyperboreus* 24: 2 (2018) 198–228. I capitoli 1–6 sono opera di M. Scermino, il capitolo 7 di C. M. Lucarini.

ogni probabilità, la fonte diretta dell'autore per la stesura di questa parte dell'opera. Le somiglianze strutturali tra la sezione meteorologica e un ramo a noi ben noto della tradizione dossografica antica permettono di costruire ipotesi abbastanza solide sulla natura di tale fonte intermedia.

All'interno della vasta tradizione di opere antiche che in maniere diverse vertevano sulla sintesi e sulla discussione delle dottrine filosofiche precedenti, la cosiddetta letteratura dei *Placita*, che raccoglieva in prevalenza materiali afferenti a questioni di fisica, presenta spiccate somiglianze di struttura con la sezione meteorologica del *Περὶ κόσμου*.<sup>1</sup> Tipicamente, nella tradizione dei *Placita*, le divergenti opinioni filosofiche si presentano raccolte all'interno di capitoletti ordinati tematicamente in rubriche dai titoli descrittivi, secondo la formula abituale ‘περὶ x’.<sup>2</sup> Rispetto a questa tendenza, il libro meteorologico di Aezio (il III nella ricostruzione di Diels) rappresenta una parziale eccezione, almeno per quanto riguarda alcuni suoi capitoli, più lunghi ed analitici rispetto alla media, che in alcuni casi ricordano il riassunto di una trattazione unitaria, più che l'abituale διαφωνία tra opinioni contrastanti. Non è qui il caso di entrare nel complesso problema delle fonti del passaggio, ma è opportuno osservarne l'organizzazione, che presenta alcune importanti somiglianze con quella della sezione meteorologica del *Περὶ κόσμου*.<sup>3</sup> Sebbene la successione dei

<sup>1</sup> Il termine *Placita* fu coniato da Diels nei *Doxographi graeci* (1879) per definire una tipologia testuale che consisteva nella raccolta di nude opinioni filosofiche (ἀρέσκοντα o δόξαι), ordinate per tema e spogliate da ogni corollario argomentativo. Diels aveva scoperto l'esistenza di tale tradizione confrontando il testo di due differenti opere (il *Trattato sulle opinioni fisiche accettate dai filosofi* dello Pseudo-Plutarco e il I libro dell'*Antologia* di Stobeo), che per le notevoli somiglianze di contenuto necessariamente dipendevano da una fonte comune. Egli ritenne di poter individuare tale fonte in Aezio, un personaggio nominato da Teodoreto e vissuto probabilmente nel I sec. d. C. Benché studi più recenti abbiano in gran parte decostruito le convinzioni di Diels riguardo alle fonti di Aezio (i cosiddetti *Vetusta Placita*), la sua ricostruzione dell'opera di Aezio è stata sostanzialmente confermata e progressivamente perfezionata: cf. Mansfeld 2010b, 494; Mansfeld 2013. Per un orientamento generale sulla dossografia, si vedano, oltre all'ottima sintesi di Runia 2010, 272–279, alcuni fondamentali contributi di Mansfeld, tra i quali ricordiamo solamente Mansfeld 1990, 2010a, 2010b. Sulla revisione a cui è stata sottoposta la teoria dielsiana dei *Vetusta Placita*, v. *infra* n. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Mansfeld 2010a, 75

<sup>3</sup> Mansfeld 2010b, 480. Diels era giunto ad ipotizzare che Aezio avesse derivato questo materiale non dalla letteratura dei *Vetusta Placita*, ma da un manuale unitario di dottrina meteorologica. Mansfeld, pur notando alcune differenze strutturali rispetto allo schema aeziano, propende comunque per riconoscere la fonte di questo passaggio all'interno della tradizione dei *Placita*, e insiste sulla forte dipendenza del materiale dalla *Meteorologia* di Aristotele.

capitoli non sia identica, si può osservare come in entrambe le trattazioni i fenomeni vengano raggruppati prioritariamente su base spaziale. Abbiamo visto come l'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* avesse inserito la classificazione per esalazioni come una *variatio*, che lasciava tuttavia immutato la prima distinzione dei fenomeni tra quelli che avvengono ‘nell’aria’ e quelli che si verificano ‘nella terra’. Già nella breve premessa al libro III, Aezio annuncia il proprio criterio di classificazione, e anche qui si tratta di un criterio di carattere spaziale: avendo terminato la trattazione delle cose celesti (relative alla sfera sopralunare), nel terzo libro ci si occuperà degli eventi naturali che hanno luogo tra la luna e la terra.

Aët. III, Prooem.: ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὸν περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων λόγον (σελήνη δ’ αὐτῶν τὸ μεθόριον), τρέψομαι ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ πρὸς τὰ μετάρσια· ταῦτα δ’ ἔστι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου τῆς σελήνης καθήκοντα μέχρι πρὸς τὴν θέσιν τῆς γῆς, ἦντινα κέντρου τάξιν ἐπέχειν τῇ περιοχῇ τῆς σφαιρίας νενομίκασιν.

Gli elementi di questo vasto insieme vengono successivamente divisi da Aezio in due grandi gruppi (il criterio della partizione non è esplicito come nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, ma l’organizzazione è comunque chiara): per primi vengono trattati i fenomeni dell’aria (la via lattea, le comete e le stelle cadenti; i tuoni, i lampi e simili; le nuvole, la pioggia e il sole),<sup>4</sup> mentre i fenomeni terrestri (che qui comprendono l’alternanza tra le stagioni, oltre ai terremoti e alle maree) sono affrontati solo alla fine.<sup>5</sup> La concordanza con la partizione osservata nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, caratterizzata dalla distinzione tra fenomeni che avvengono ‘intorno alla terra’ (*περὶ αὐτήν*) e ‘sulla terra’ (*ἐν αὐτῇ*), è palese.<sup>6</sup> Ma a rendere ancora più stretta la corrispondenza, segnalando la più che probabile dipendenza delle due opere dalla medesima tradizione di fonti, è una precisazione contenuta nel quarto capitolo del terzo libro di Aezio.

Aët. III, 5, 1–5: Τῶν μεταρσίων παθῶν τὰ μὲν καθ’ ύπόστασιν γίνεται οἷον ὅμβρος χάλαζα, τὰ δὲ κατ’ ἔμφασιν ιδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντα ύπόστασιν· αὐτίκα γοῦν πλεόντων ἡμῶν ἡ ἥπειρος κινεῖσθαι δοκεῖ· ἔστιν οὖν κατ’ ἔμφασιν ἡ ἵρις.

<sup>4</sup> Aët. III, 1: Περὶ τοῦ γαλαξίου κύκλου; 2: Περὶ κομητῶν κτλ.; 3: Περὶ βροντῶν ἀστραπῶν κεραυνῶν κτλ.; 4: Περὶ νεφῶν ύετῶν κτλ.; 5: Περὶ ἱρίδος; 6: Περὶ ράβδων.

<sup>5</sup> Aët. III, 7: Περὶ ἀνέμων; 8: Περὶ χειμῶνος καὶ θέρους; 9: Περὶ γῆς; 10: Περὶ σχήματος γῆς; 11: Περὶ θέσεως γῆς; 12: Περὶ ἐγκλίσεως γῆς; 13: Περὶ κινήσεως γῆς; 14: Περὶ διαιρέσεως γῆς; 15: Περὶ σεισμῶν γῆς; 16: Περὶ θαλάσσης κτλ.; 17: Πῶς ἀμπώτιδες γίνονται κτλ.

<sup>6</sup> V. prima parte dell’articolo pp. 218–220.

Tra i fenomeni meteorologici, alcuni hanno un fondamento di sostanza ( $\tau\alpha\ \mu\acute{e}v\ k\alpha\theta'\ \bar{\nu}\pi\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\nu$ ), come la pioggia o la grandine, altri solo apparente ( $\tau\alpha\ \delta\acute{e}\ k\atilde{a}\t\ \bar{\epsilon}\mu\phi\sigma\sigma\nu$ ), poiché sono privi di una proprio fondamento. Ad esempio, appena navighiamo, ci sembra che sia il continente a muoversi. L'arcobaleno, pertanto, esiste solo in apparenza.

Proprio come nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, anche in Aezio l'opposizione tra fenomeni apparenti ed esistenti giunge verso la fine della trattazione dei fenomeni dell'aria, ai quali vengono aggiunte, come una sorta di appendice, le trattazioni dell'arcobaleno e delle strisce solari. Esistono tra le due opere anche alcune discrepanze: ad esempio, in Aezio la sezione sui fenomeni ottico-meteorologici è seguita da un breve capitolo sui venti, mentre nel *Περὶ κόσμου* essa segnava la fine della trattazione di tutti i fenomeni aerei; inoltre il paragrafo sulle strisce solari e sui pareli contiene una spiegazione in parte divergente da quella adottata nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, dal momento che tali fenomeni vengono qui definiti una commistione di realtà e apparenza, e non sono considerati pure impressioni come nel *Περὶ κόσμου*.<sup>7</sup> Si tratta tuttavia di accidenti minori, che non minano la complessiva coerenza tra le due opere. Di per sé, è vero, le generiche somiglianze di struttura potrebbero forse spiegarsi come sviluppi indipendenti a partire dal testo della *Meteorologia* aristotelica, ma lo stesso non può dirsi per la distinzione dei fenomeni sulla base del loro carattere ‘apparente’ o ‘sostanziale’, che nella *Meteorologia* è assente, sia dalle singole trattazioni, sia nelle rubriche di ordinamento della materia. Tale distinzione, invece, appare tanto in Aezio quanto nel *Περὶ κόσμου* con una perfetta coincidenza verbale.

Su questo punto è necessario prendere le distanze dall'opinione espressa da Mansfeld in un contributo dedicato alla trattazione dei fenomeni ottico-meteorologici in Aezio. Qui Mansfeld porta all'eccesso una tesi fondamentale, per altri versi illuminante, di molti suoi lavori, sulla dipendenza delle categorie dossografiche dei *Placita* dalle trattazioni aristoteliche e dalle pratiche dialettiche che ne derivavano per l'insegnamento nelle scuole filosofiche.<sup>8</sup> Secondo Mansfeld, la distinzione tra fenomeni apparenti e reali comparirebbe *in nuce* già nella *Meteorologia* di Aristotele, e da essa l'avrebbero derivata tanto l'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* quanto Aezio. Mansfeld non chiarisce quale sarebbe a suo avviso la relazione tra *Περὶ κόσμου* e Aezio, ma chiaramente, insistendo sulla continuità dei due testi con la *Meteorologia*, lascia aperta la possibilità di due sviluppi paralleli e indipendenti. Al contrario, l'opposizione tra

<sup>7</sup> Aēt. III 6, 10–12: Τὰ κατὰ τὰς ράβδους καὶ ἀνθηλίους συμβαίνοντα μίξει τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ ἐμφάσεως ὑπάρχει. Cf. Mansfeld 2010b, 481; 485 n. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Mansfeld 2010b, 482–486.

fenomeni apparenti e reali ha in questi due testi alcune caratteristiche peculiari, che ben li differenziano dalla trattazione aristotelica, e dipende probabilmente da una rielaborazione successiva e comune.<sup>9</sup>

In primo luogo, né il termine ἔμφασις né il termine ὑπόστασις compaiono nella *Meteorologia* preceduti dalla preposizione κατά, che invece nel *Περὶ κόσμου* e in Aezio serve a costruire due opposte etichette. Inoltre, i due termini possiedono in Aristotele significati anche radicalmente diversi da quelli che il termine assume, accompagnato dalla preposizione κατά, nelle altre due trattazioni. Nella *Meteorologia*, infatti, il termine ἔμφασις copre uno spettro di significati che spazia da ‘immagine’ e ‘apparizione’ a ‘impressione’, indicando in ogni caso il prodotto visivo del meccanismo di riflessione, cioè la sembianza generata dalla riflessione nell’occhio dell’osservatore. La parola compare senza eccezioni nella *Meteorologia* all’interno di descrizioni afferenti al modello esplicativo catottrico e contestualmente al termine ἀνάκλασις. Designando tali fenomeni con il termine ἔμφασις, Aristotele implicava la loro derivazione dall’interagire della vista con le condizioni atmosferiche. Rispetto alla spinosa questione della loro esistenza oggettiva (se un arcobaleno esiste solo in concomitanza con il raggio visivo di un osservatore, si può dire che esso abbia un’esistenza compiuta?), non sembra che Aristotele avesse una posizione definita, né che si ponesse davvero il problema in questi termini.<sup>10</sup>

Nel passaggio alla tradizione dossografica, ἔμφασις è rimasto uno dei termini chiave del modello catottrico, transitando però dalla sfera del concreto a quella dell’astratto. Con l’applicazione della proposizione κατά al sostantivo in accusativo, infatti, il termine ha esteso la sua gamma di significati da quelli di ‘immagine’ e ‘impressione’ alla designazione di quegli eventi che si verificano ‘come un’apparizione’, ‘per impressione’ o ancora meglio ‘solo in apparenza’.<sup>11</sup> La distanza

<sup>9</sup> Mansfeld 2010b, 504 dà molta importanza al fatto che l’opposizione tra fenomeni apparenti e reali compaia, tanto in Aezio quanto nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, verso la fine della trattazione dei fenomeni meteorologici, e non all’inizio, come a suo avviso sarebbe logico aspettarsi. Anche tale caratteristica deriverebbe dall’impostazione della *Meteorologia* aristotelica, in cui la questione dei fenomeni apparenti verrebbe tematizzata con un certa lentezza (‘slowness’) solo a partire da III, 2–3. L’argomento non è convincente: Aristotele tratta di fenomeni ottico-meteorologici sin dal primo libro (I, 8, 345 b 10–25) discutendo di torce, comete e della via lattea (v. prima parte dell’articolo 211 n. 39). Non vi sono elementi per sostenere che in III, 2–3 il carattere apparente di alcuni fenomeni meteorologici sia maggiormente enfatizzato di quanto non lo fosse nel primo libro: pertanto nessuna ‘lentezza’ nell’argomentazione può essere attribuita ad Aristotele.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Arist. *Met.* 345 b 15; 345 b 24; 373 b 24; 373 b 31; 374 a 16; 377 b 18.

<sup>11</sup> V. prima parte pp. 212–213.

rispetto alla nozione aristotelica, che come abbiamo detto non mette apparentemente in discussione lo statuto di esistenza del fenomeno, può apparire più o meno acuita dall'una o dall'altra traduzione, ma emerge chiaramente sia nel testo greco del *Περὶ κόσμου* che di Aezio, proprio grazie all'opposizione con la categoria dei fenomeni ‘dotati di fondamento’ o ‘sostrato’ (*ὑπόστασις*).

D'altro canto, il termine *ὑπόστασις* ha subito una trasformazione ancora più profonda rispetto all'uso aristotelico. Nella *Meteorologia*, infatti, esso compariva con il significato quasi etimologico di ‘deposito’, per lo più in contesto fisico (ad esempio a indicare falde acquifere sotterranee) o all'interno di alcune descrizioni di carattere organico, per indicare i depositi di liquidi fisiologici del corpo, oppure le escrezioni animali.<sup>12</sup> Il termine era dunque del tutto estraneo al contesto delle descrizioni catottriche, e non è mai utilizzato da Aristotele come controparte di *ἔμφασις*. Se gli interessava negare il carattere puramente ottico di un fenomeno, ad esempio nel caso della via lattea, Aristotele si serviva infatti di un altro termine: *πάθος*.

Arist. *Met.* 345 b 10–25: “λέγουσιν γάρ τινες ἀνάκλασιν εἶναι τὸ γάλα τῆς ἡμετέρας ὄψεως πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν κομήτην. ἀδύνατον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο. [...] καίτοι οὐκ ἔδει, εἰ ἦν ἔμφασις, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς τι ἦν τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τοῖς τόποις”.

Infatti alcuni affermano che la via lattea risulta dalla riflessione della nostra vista verso il sole, così come avviene per la cometa. Ma anche ciò è impossibile. [...] Se la via lattea fosse un'impressione (*ἔμφασις*) e non un'affezione propria di quella parte del cielo (ἐν αὐτοῖς τι ἦν τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τοῖς τόποις), ciò non dovrebbe accadere.<sup>13</sup>

L'opposizione tra i fenomeni κατ' *ἔμφασιν* e καθ' *ὑπόστασιν*, dunque, non era presente neppure *in nuce* nella *Meteorologia*, dove semmai emergeva un'altra distinzione, quella tra *ἔμφασις* e *πάθος*. L'impiego dell'opposizione tra fenomeni apparenti e reali nelle rubriche dossografiche indica una sua origine probabile in questo stesso ambito: la tradizione dossografica tipicamente prendeva spunto da germi argomentativi presenti nei testi

<sup>12</sup> Arist. *Met.* 353 b 24; 355 b 8; 357 b 9; 358 a 1; 358 b 9; 368 b 12; 382 b 14.

<sup>13</sup> Traduzione di Pepe 2003, 31, leggermente rimaneggiata per ottenere maggior chiarezza nella resa del termine *πάθος*, che Pepe traduce semplicemente con ‘fenomeno’. Abbiamo omesso per brevità la dimostrazione, basata su un'analisi della posizione relativa della via lattea rispetto alla terra in vari momenti dell'anno, con cui Aristotele chiarisce perché l'origine della via lattea non potesse risolversi in un fenomeno ottico.

originali, “digerendoli” e semplificandoli secondo le proprie necessità. La scelta di un termine come ὑπόστασις, utilizzato da Aristotele solo in senso fisico e fisiologico, all’interno delle classificazioni dei fenomeni atmosferici, è chiaro indizio di un rimaneggiamento, sfociato nella nascita di un concetto filosoficamente problematico, come quello dei fenomeni ‘solo apparenti’.

Molto significativamente, una distinzione analoga si ritrova anche nelle *Naturales Quaestiones* di Seneca, un’importante *summa* di contenuto meteorologico, caratterizzata da un andamento tipicamente dossografico e probabilmente riconducibile a sua volta a una o più fonti appartenenti alla tradizione dei *Placita*.<sup>14</sup>

Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* I, 15, 6, 1 – 8, 3: De his (scil. i fuochi celesti che talvolta appaiono in cielo tra le stelle) nemo dubitat quin habeant flammam quam ostendunt; certa illis substantia est. De prioribus quaeritur, – de arcu dico et coronis, – decipient aciem et mendacio constant, an in illis quoque uerum sit quod appetet. Nobis non placet in arcu aut corona subesse aliquid corporis certi, sed illam iudicamus <speculi> esse fallaciam alienum corpus nihil aliud quam mentientis. [...] Simulacra ista sunt et inanis uerorum corporum imitatio, quae ipsa a quibusdam ita compositis ut hoc possint detorquentur in prauum.

A proposito di tali fuochi celesti, nessuno dubita che essi possiedano davvero la fiamma che mostrano: la loro sostanza è certa. Riguardo ai precedenti – intendo l’arcobaleno e gli aloni – ci si domanda se ingannino la vista e consistano in un abbaglio, oppure se anche in essi sia vero ciò che appare. A noi non sembra che a fondamento dell’arcobaleno e dell’alone stia un qualche corpo certo, ma riteniamo invece che si tratti dell’immagine ingannevole di uno specchio, che si limita a fingere la presenza di un corpo situato al di fuori di esso. [...] Essi sono simulacri e vane imitazioni dei corpi veri, che possono essi stessi essere deformati da qualsiasi specchio sia stato approntato a questo scopo.<sup>15</sup>

L’esempio di Seneca mostra come, nelle opere dipendenti dalla tradizione dei *Placita*, si registri un costante rafforzamento dell’opposizione tra fenomeni illusori e non. Diversamente da quanto abbiamo osservato per Aristotele, Seneca insiste sul diverso grado di ‘sostanzialità’ o ‘esistenza’ di una tipologia rispetto all’altra. Il concetto aeziiano di fenomeni ‘privi di un proprio fondamento’ (*κατ’ ἔμφασιν ιδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντα ύπόστασιν*) qui viene portato alle estreme conseguenze, negando apertamente la natura

<sup>14</sup> Vottero 1987–1988, Bonadeo 2004, 201.

<sup>15</sup> Traduzione mia.

sostanziale di tali manifestazioni, che vengono derubicate al ruolo di *simulacra e inanis verorum corporum imitatio*. Rispetto al *Περὶ κόσμου*, la divaricazione con Aristotele appare in Seneca anche maggiore. Tuttavia, non possono esservi dubbi sul fatto che i due autori facessero capo alla medesima fonte o tradizione dossografica.<sup>16</sup>

In conclusione, un confronto della struttura del *Περὶ κόσμου* con quella della *Meteorologia* di Aristotele, da una parte, e con opere di derivazione dossografica, dall'altra, dimostra che la divisione della materia presente nel trattato pseudo-aristotelico dipende con ogni probabilità dalla medesima tradizione da cui derivarono anche i *Placita* di Aezio e le *Naturales Quaestiones* di Seneca. Denuncia l'appartenenza a tale tradizione, in primo luogo, la suddivisione dei fenomeni dell'aria nei due sottogruppi 'κατ' ἔμφασιν' e 'καθ' ὑπόστασιν', e l'ordinamento generale della materia del *Περὶ κόσμου*, fondato sulla localizzazione dei fenomeni nelle varie sfere dell'universo: un altro indizio della tendenza a sistematizzare la materia per via di banalizzazione.<sup>17</sup>

## 6. La definizione dell'arcobaleno nel *Περὶ κόσμου*: Aristotele o Posidonio?

Dimostrare la dipendenza del *Περὶ κόσμου* da una tradizione dossografica alla quale fanno capo anche alcune sezioni dell'opera di Aezio e Seneca può fornire un orientamento di massima per la sua datazione, ma non è sufficiente a stabilire precisi confini cronologici. Le notizie che abbiamo sulle fonti di Aezio sono scarse, e l'ipotesi di Diels, che faceva derivare tutto il materiale aeziano da un'unica fonte dossografica del I sec. a. C., non appare oggi sufficientemente suffragata da prove.<sup>18</sup> Come si è già

<sup>16</sup> Bonadeo 2004, 204.

<sup>17</sup> Come abbiamo visto (v. prima parte, paragrafo 4), nel *Περὶ κόσμου* e in Aezio la classificazione su base spaziale tra fenomeni dell'aria e fenomeni terrestri appare un criterio solido, pressoché senza eccezioni: cosa che non accadeva invece nella *Meteorologia* di Aristotele, dove (ma è solo uno dei possibili esempi) la discussione di fenomeni terrestri quali i terremoti (II, 7–8) veniva inserita tra quelle di fenomeni dell'aria come i venti (II, 4–6), gli uragani (III, 1) e gli arcobaleni (III, 2–3), in ragione di una struttura che in generale si dimostra più elastica e flessibile di fronte alle esigenze del ragionamento scientifico.

<sup>18</sup> Diels riteneva che quasi tutto il materiale contenuto nell'opera di Aezio derivasse da un'unica fonte, di probabile ispirazione posidoniana, da lui nominata *Vetusta Placita*. Il carattere ipotetico di tale ricostruzione è stato messo in luce da vari studi di Mansfeld e Runia (v. *supra* n. 1), i quali hanno osservato che: (1) non abbiamo indizi per accettare che Aezio dipendesse davvero da un'unica fonte; (2) la relazione

anticipato, un solido riferimento cronologico *post quem* per la stesura del trattato si può invece trarre dalla presenza, all'interno della sezione meteorologica, di una definizione dell'arcobaleno che deriva con ogni probabilità da materiale posidoniano. L'attribuzione a Posidonio di tale materiale, tuttavia, non è pacifica, a causa di una testimonianza contrastante di Ario Didimo, che attribuisce una definizione dell'arcobaleno più breve, ma molto simile, ad Aristotele. Scopo delle prossime pagine sarà dimostrare l'origine posidoniana non tanto della definizione in sé, che è probabilmente il frutto di una riduzione dossografica, ma della dottrina che ne è alla base. Per prima cosa è necessario presentare i testi.

*De mu.* 395 a 32–35. Ἰρις μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἔμφασις ἡλίου τμήματος ἡ σελήνης, ἐν νέφει νοτερῷ καὶ κούλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ θεωρούμενη κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν.

L'arcobaleno è dunque l'immagine di una sezione di sole o di luna in una nuvola umida, cava e in apparenza continua, che (*scil.* l'immagine) si manifesta come in uno specchio con l'aspetto di un arco di circonferenza.

Diog. Laërt. 7, 152 = Posid. fr. 15 Kidd. Ἰριν δὲ εἶναι αὐγὰς ἀφ' ὑγρῶν νεφῶν ἀνακεκλασμένας ἡ, ὡς Πωσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τῇ *Μετεωρολογικῇ*, ἔμφασιν ἡλίου τμήματος ἡ σελήνης ἐν νέφει δεδροσιμένῳ, κούλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ φανταζομένην κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν.

(Gli Stoici dicono che) l'arcobaleno consista nei raggi riflessi dalle nuvole umide, oppure, come sostiene Posidonio nella *Meteorologia*, nell'immagine di una sezione di sole o di luna all'interno di una nuvola carica di pioggia, cava e in apparenza continua, che (*scil.* l'immagine) si presenta come in un specchio con l'aspetto di un arco di circonferenza.

Ar. Did. fr. 14 = DG. 455, 14–16. τὸ δ' ὅλον εἶναι τὴν ἵριν ἔμφασιν ἡλίου τμήματος ἡ σελήνης ἐν νέφει κούλῳ καὶ δεδροσιμένῳ κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν ὄρωμένην.

(Aristotele sostiene) in breve che l'arcobaleno sia l'immagine di una sezione di sole o di luna in una nube cava e carica di pioggia: tale immagine ha l'aspetto di un arco di circonferenza.

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tra Aezio, le sue fonti e il trattato di Teofrasto *Sulle opinioni fisiche* non fu diretta e univoca come pensava Diels, che tendeva a sottovalutare l'influenza esercitata da Aristotele e dalle tecniche di discussione all'interno delle scuole di filosofia; (3) l'ispirazione posidoniana delle presunte fonti di Aezio è molto dubbia, e la sua importanza andrebbe in ogni caso ridimensionata, mentre è provata la rilevanza del ruolo avuto dall'Accademia scettica nella costituzione di tali tradizioni.

La definizione del *Περὶ κόσμου* compare, come si è visto, all'interno di una speciale sezione dedicata ai fenomeni atmosferici che si verificano in apparenza (κατ' ἔμφασιν), insieme all'alone e alla striscia solare. Abbiamo già osservato come la dottrina aristotelica della riflessione abbia lasciato un'impronta molto marcata sulla tradizione successiva: la distinzione tra le influenze effettivamente aristoteliche e quelle di altri fonti, che spesso risultano a loro volta contaminate da influssi aristotelici, è pertanto molto difficile.<sup>19</sup>

La definizione che ci interessa fa parte di un resoconto di opinioni sui fenomeni meteorologici contenuto nella cosiddetta ‘dossografia stoica’, che nella *Vita di Zenone* segue le informazioni biografiche sul caposcuola. Tale sezione costituisce sotto vari aspetti un *unicum* nell’ambito delle *Vite* di Diogene, tanto per la sua lunghezza,<sup>20</sup> tanto per la frequenza e precisione con cui vengono citati i titoli delle opere e sottolineate le divergenze d’opinione tra i singoli filosofi della scuola. In generale, si tratta di un resoconto più attendibile rispetto a molti altri dati da Diogene, che qui sembra citare con notevole accuratezza le proprie fonti dossografiche, probabilmente non posteriori al I sec. a.C.<sup>21</sup> La definizione è attribuita da Diogene esplicitamente alla *Meteorologia* di Posidonio (ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ). Si tratta probabilmente dello stesso trattato citato sempre da Diogene (il titolo più completo di *Μετεωρολογική Στοιχείωσις* (*Fondamenti di meteorologia*: fr. 14 E–K). A giudicare dal titolo, è possibile che l’opera avesse un carattere elementare, e che pertanto sia da distinguere da un altro trattato attribuito ancora da Diogene a Posidonio: il *Περὶ μετεώρων* (*Sui fenomeni meteorologici*: fr. 16 e 17 E–K).<sup>22</sup>

In Ario Didimo, la definizione compare all’interno di un resoconto della dottrina aristotelica sui fenomeni ottico-meteorologici, che vengono affrontati tanto nei loro aspetti cromatici, quanto in quelli ottico-geometrici, conformemente a quanto avveniva nella *Meteorologia*. Intorno alla metà della sua trattazione, Ario inserisce tale δόξα, specificando che essa riassume ‘in breve’ (τὸ δ’ ὄλον) l’opinione di Aristotele sull’arcobaleno.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> V. prima parte pp. 213–214.

<sup>20</sup> Se si esclude il capitolo sugli epicurei, che contiene la citazione integrale di tre lettere di Epicuro e che pertanto risulta molto concentrata sul fondatore, quella sugli stoici è la presentazione più estesa dedicata da Diogene a una scuola filosofica.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Mejer 1987, 3579: “If we look at the philosophers he refers to they all seem to belong to a period ending with Posidonius’ follower Phaenias in the 1st century B.C. It may not be considered coincidental that Diogenes’ presentation in general corresponds to what we find in Cicero and Arius Didymus”.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Kidd 1988a, 123, commento al fr. 14.

<sup>23</sup> Su Ario Didimo, cf. Fortenbaugh 1983, e specialmente i contributi di Hahn 1983 e Kahn 1983.

Salvo per alcune discrepanze lessicali di minore importanza (δεδροσιμένῳ al posto di νοτερῷ, θεωρουμένῃ al posto di φανταζομένην) la definizione attribuita da Diogene Laerzio a Posidonio corrisponde in tutto e per tutto a quella che si legge nel *Περὶ κόσμου*. La versione di Ario, invece, è più breve: manca completamente il riferimento allo specchio e al fenomeno della riflessione, così che un lettore inesperto non potrebbe capire quale fosse il meccanismo ottico all'origine dell'arcobaleno. Il termine ἔμφασις, che come abbiamo visto era impiegato già da Aristotele per indicare l'immagine riflessa, è l'unico tratto che ancora indica l'appartenenza originaria di questa dottrina a un modello esplicativo di tipo catottrico. Al contrario, l'adesione a una spiegazione basata sul principio della riflessione è evidente sia nel *Περὶ κόσμου* che in Diogene Laerzio, grazie alla comparsa del termine ἔμφασις, all'esplicita menzione dello specchio e alla presenza di una nuvola che, in virtù di determinate caratteristiche (grande carico di umidità, cavità e continuità) svolge la funzione di superficie riflettente (ώς ἐν κατόπτρῳ).

Tradizionalmente, il dibattito intorno a questi testi si è incentrato su due questioni: se la paternità della definizione debba attribuirsi ad Aristotele o a Posidonio; e in secondo luogo, se sia stato il *Περὶ κόσμου* a ispirare Posidonio, oppure Posidonio a influenzare l'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου*.<sup>24</sup> L'ipotesi della derivazione dossografica di questa sezione permette di riformulare la questione in termini nuovi, e forse più adeguati.

Delle ragioni che rendono estremamente improbabile l'influenza di un'opera divulgativa come il *Περὶ κόσμου* sui trattati scientifici posidoniani si è in parte già detto. Ora l'analisi del dettato delle tre definizioni dell'arcobaleno consentirà di osservarne lo stile sintetico, assertivo e superficiale: poco adatto a un trattato scientifico, più confacente a una riduzione dossografica. Si potranno infine individuare alcuni dettagli linguistici che consentono di attribuire a Posidonio, e non ad Aristotele, la paternità della dottrina in esse sintetizzata.

Le questioni che stiamo per affrontare attengono al problema della completezza delle informazioni e riguardano in primo luogo le due formulazioni più lunghe, trasmesse dal *Περὶ κόσμου* e da Diogene Laerzio. A maggior ragione, esse sono valide anche per la versione abbreviata di Ario, che risulta ancora meno informativa delle prime due. La lacunosità delle tre definizioni risulta evidente soprattutto a confronto con alcune trattazioni dello stesso argomento, offerte da altre fonti a noi note.

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<sup>24</sup> Già Capelle 1905 giudicava tale definizione un argomento molto rilevante a favore dell'influenza posidoniana sul *Περὶ κόσμου*. Bos-Reale 1995, 144–145 hanno tentato invece di rivendicare la paternità aristotelica di questa sezione, sulla scorta di Ario.

La prima questione riguarda le modalità con cui si verificherebbe il processo di riflessione che dà origine l’arcobaleno. Le definizioni del *Περὶ κόσμου* e di Diogene chiariscono solamente la natura della superficie riflettente (indicando la forma e lo spessore che trasformano la nuvola in una sorta di specchio), ma non dicono nulla a proposito della sua posizione rispetto all’astro o all’osservatore. Considerando l’accurato trattamento dedicato a tali questioni sin da Aristotele, già questo elemento fa pensare di trovarsi di fronte a un testo abbreviato.<sup>25</sup> Ma c’è dell’altro: la totale assenza di riferimenti al modello visivo rende di fatto incomprensibili le dinamiche della riflessione presupposte dalle due definizioni.<sup>26</sup> Il lettore infatti viene sì informato del fatto che l’arcobaleno consiste nell’immagine riflessa di una parte dell’astro all’interno di una nube, ma senza che gli sia chiarito il luogo da cui provengono i raggi riflessi. Se dal punto di vista di un lettore contemporaneo la risposta potrebbe apparire ovvia (di quali altri raggi potrebbe trattarsi, se non dei fasci di luce provenienti dal sole?), la cosa è molto meno scontata nel contesto delle dottrine visive antiche, in generale, e delle dottrine sulla formazione dell’arcobaleno, in particolare. Abbiamo già osservato come Aristotele nella *Meteorologia* avesse adottato una teoria visiva di tipo estromissivo per spiegare il fenomeno della riflessione. Se l’irraggiamento della luce solare costituiva per lui la condizione necessaria per l’attivazione del processo visivo, che risultava azzerato in condizione di buio, era però il raggio visivo il vero protagonista della riflessione. Nella *Meteorologia* Aristotele spiega che,

<sup>25</sup> Nella *Meteorologia*, Aristotele si occupa con grande attenzione di questo problema: gran parte della trattazione sugli arcobaleni (*Met.* III, 4–5) consiste nell’esposizione di un teorema che dimostra l’esistenza di una proporzionalità inversa tra l’altezza del sole sull’orizzonte e l’ampiezza dell’arco dell’iride. Dubbi sulla paternità aristotelica di tale sezione sono stati sollevati da più parti: essa sembra infatti presupporre un teorema dimostrato in epoca successiva ad Aristotele dal matematico Apollonio di Perge: cf. Bonadeo 2004, 177. Tuttavia, per la nostra discussione non fa grande differenza se tale trattazione si debba attribuire al maestro o alla scuola, ma che essa sia stata accorpata in epoca piuttosto precoce alla *Meteorologia*, come non sembra vi sia ragione di dubitare.

<sup>26</sup> Bonadeo 2004, 135–136, sulla scorta dell’esegesi di Alessandro di Afrodisia, osserva che, essendo la riflessione intesa dagli antichi come un processo istantaneo, e non come la propagazione del raggio in un tempo direttamente proporzionale allo spazio percorso, ai fini di una discussione matematica come quella condotta da Aristotele in *Met.* III, 4–5, non faceva alcuna differenza che essa procedesse dall’astro, allo specchio, all’occhio (teoria visiva intromissiva); oppure dall’occhio, allo specchio, all’astro (teoria visiva estromissiva). Questo è senz’altro vero per le dimostrazioni matematiche, ma non si adatta alle trattazioni di fisica e fisiologia, nelle quali è normale attendersi una chiara descrizione dei processi che portano alla formazione dell’*ἔμφασις*.

fuoriuscendo dall'occhio, il raggio visivo può colpire una nube densa di gocce la quale, se è sufficientemente illuminata dalla luce solare, ha al suo interno come tanti minutissimi specchi che deviano il raggio visivo verso il sole. Contemporaneamente, all'interno della nube si genera l'immagine riflessa del sole, comunemente definita arcobaleno.<sup>27</sup> Si sarebbe tentati di dare per scontata l'adozione di un modello estromissivo anche per la definizione del *Περὶ κόσμου*. Non di meno, sappiamo che non si trattava di un'opzione scontata: Alessandro di Afrodisia, nel suo commento alla *Meteorologia*, si sentiva in dovere di rilevare la discrepanza tra quel testo e le precedenti trattazioni aristoteliche, riconducendola a una temporanea adozione del modello ottico normalmente utilizzato nelle dimostrazioni dei matematici.<sup>28</sup> Chiaro segnale del fatto che all'epoca di Alessandro entrambi i modelli erano disponibili. Ulteriore conferma della concorrenza tra i due modelli esplicativi si trova nei *Placita* di Aezio, dove le opinioni di tre presocratici (Anassimene, Anassagora e Metrodoro) sull'origine dell'arcobaleno, tutte caratterizzate dal principio della riflessione dei raggi solari, vengono presentate in opposizione ad una teoria della riflessione del raggio visivo, che Aezio non attribuisce esplicitamente a nessun autore, ma in cui si riconosce chiaramente l'impronta della *Meteorologia* aristotelica.<sup>29</sup>

Non è la brevità in sé del segmento testuale a impedire di affrontare il tema del modello visivo. Lo dimostrano le definizioni dell'arcobaleno offerte da Plutarco, per lo più estranee al contesto scientifico, in opere come il *De Iside et Osiride*, il *De facie in orbe lunae* e l'*Amatorius*.<sup>30</sup> In questi testi, che tra l'altro almeno in un caso (il primo) derivano dal rimaneggiamento di una δόξα attribuita ai matematici, è chiaramente annotata l'opzione per un modello di tipo estromissivo. È possibile, ma non ne siamo certi, che il modello visivo di riferimento fosse citato nella fonte del *Περὶ κόσμου* e di Diogene Laerzio: questo avrebbe reso la spiegazione sicuramente più comprensibile ed esauriente. Ad ogni modo, il passaggio del materiale attraverso una fonte intermedia comune appare più che probabile.

Quello che conosciamo sulle fonti di Diogene conferma le osservazioni basate sulle evidenze testuali. Sappiamo che Diogene era solito citare

<sup>27</sup> V. prima parte pp. 209–211 e cf. *Met.* III, 2–6. Per una esauriente esposizione della dottrina aristotelica dell'arcobaleno, v. inoltre Bonadeo 2004, 124–178, specialmente la sintesi di p. 178.

<sup>28</sup> Alex. Aphr. *In Arist. Met.* 141, 1 ss.; 147, 10 ss. Cf. Bonadeo 2004, 135–136.

<sup>29</sup> Aët. *Placit.* III, 5, 10–12. Cf. Mansfeld 2010b, 485.

<sup>30</sup> Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 358 f 7 – 359 a 2. Per un'analisi delle trattazioni plutarchee dell'arcobaleno, cf. Bonadeo 2004, 192–194.

estesamente da un numero piuttosto limitato di testi, e che le informazioni biografiche e dottrinali in suo possesso provenivano in genere da tradizioni abbastanza antiche, per lo più precedenti l'età augustea.<sup>31</sup> L'impiego di fonti dossografiche, da una parte, e il ricorso massiccio alla tecnica dell'*excerptum* da parte di Diogene, dall'altra, rendono assai probabile che un frammento o una testimonianza presenti nelle sue *Vite* abbiano subito uno o più rimaneggiamenti.<sup>32</sup> Con ogni probabilità, questo vale anche per la definizione dell'arcobaleno: Diogene l'ha verosimilmente reperita in forma già abbreviata nella sua fonte, ed è dunque probabile essa non riproduca alla lettera le parole dell'ideatore della dottrina (manteniamo per il momento aperta la possibilità che possa trattarsi sia di Aristotele che di Posidonio), e non trasmetta la sua definizione originale. Nel *Περὶ κόσμου* la stessa δόξα viene reimpiegata dall'autore in forma anonima: reinserito nel nuovo contesto senza la citazione dell'ideatore della dottrina, il materiale dossografico cambia pelle, dando quasi l'impressione di uno svolgimento originale. Ma il rimaneggiamento solo parziale della propria fonte ha finito per tradire l'autore del trattato. Nella versione datane da Ario, la dottrina si presenta a uno stadio di ulteriore sintesi, tale da rendere quasi irriconoscibile il nucleo concettuale originario. Non di meno, l'operazione di taglia e cuci (e ancora prima, l'opera di riassunto e cristallizzazione della discussione e dimostrazione scientifica in una singola definizione) è evidente in tutte e tre le versioni, non solo in quella di Ario.

Ciò considerato, occorre riformulare la domanda che tradizionalmente gli studiosi si sono posti di fronte alla contrastante attribuzione di Diogene e Ario. Posto che i due testimoni dipendono chiaramente dalla medesima tradizione dossografica, a quale delle due attribuzioni conviene dare fiducia? Da un canto, sembra che Diogene possedesse buone informazioni sulla filosofia posidoniana, che nella sua trattazione di fisica e cosmologia stoica appare prevalente rispetto a quelle di altri pensatori della scuola.<sup>33</sup> Gli studiosi sono ormai concordi sul fatto che Diogene abbia avuto accesso a più di una fonte per scrivere i suoi capitoli sulla meteorologia stoica (152–154), anche se sembra impossibile distinguere caso per caso da quale

<sup>31</sup> Mejer 1978, 5–7; 1987, 3850; Hahm 1992, 4147; 4169; Mansfeld 1986, 351–373. Secondo Mansfeld 1986, 297–299 le discussioni sul modo migliore d'insegnare filosofia ai principianti e al grande pubblico, sviluppatesi in seno alle scuole filosofiche d'età ellenistica e imperiale, avrebbero dato vita alle tradizioni dossografiche da cui dipendeva Diogene, influenzando l'organizzazione interna delle sue fonti.

<sup>32</sup> Sulla tecnica di estrapolazione e compilazione delle informazioni definita comunemente *excerptum*, cf. Mejer 1978, 16–29; Gigante 1986, 15–34; Hahm 1992, 4078.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. F 99 a E–K, Context.

delle diverse opere egli dipendesse.<sup>34</sup> Il nome di Posidonio viene citato tre volte nell'ambito della meteorologia stoica: non sono poche, soprattutto se si considera la scarsa attitudine di Diogene a precisare l'autore di una dottrina. Almeno in uno di questi tre casi, tuttavia, Diogene attribuisce a Posidonio una dottrina sicuramente non sua.<sup>35</sup>

D'altra parte, la presenza nella definizione di Ario di alcuni termini di origine aristotelica (come ἔμφασις o ἀνάκλασις) non è un indizio della bontà della sua attribuzione. Si è visto infatti che Posidonio aveva ripreso dalla trattazione aristotelica non solo i tratti fondamentali della dottrina della riflessione, ma perfino alcuni dettagli sui quali la maggior parte degli scienziati antichi non concordava.<sup>36</sup> La conferma della presenza di materiale posidoniano all'interno di questa definizione andrà quindi ricercata nei dettagli, confrontando i singoli termini della definizione con il resoconto della dottrina posidoniana dell'arcobaleno offerto da Seneca nelle *Naturales Quaestiones* (fr. 134 Kidd).

Consideriamo in primo luogo le caratteristiche della nube. Nella definizione del *Περὶ κόσμου* e nella sua variante diogeniana la nube in cui si verifica la riflessione è definita da tre attributi: umida (νοτερῷ ο δεδροσιμένῳ), cava (κοῖλῳ) e continua nella percezione visiva (συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν). L'attenzione dedicata da Posidonio al problema della forma della nube viene testimoniata dal resoconto di Seneca, grazie al quale siamo informati precisamente delle caratteristiche che la nube avrebbe dovuto possedere per trasformarsi in una superficie riflettente.

Posid. fr. 134, 55–60 E–K = Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* I, 13: In eadem sententia sum qua Posidonius, ut arcum iudicem fieri nube formata in modum concavi speculi et rotundi, cui forma sit partis e pila secta. Hoc probari, nisi geometri adiuverint, non potest, qui argumentis nihil dubii relinquuntibus docent solis illam esse effigiem non similem.

Io sono dello stesso parere di Posidonio, e penso che l'arcobaleno sia generato da una nube che ha l'aspetto di uno specchio concavo e rotondo, la cui forma è simile alla sezione di una sfera tagliata. Questo non si può dimostrare se non con l'aiuto dei geometri, i quali, con argomenti che non lasciano adito a dubbi, insegnano che l'arcobaleno è un'immagine infedele del sole.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Mejer 1978, 6 propendeva per ricondurre tutte le informazioni a Diocle di Magnesia; ma ha mutato opinione [cf. Mejer 1987, 3579] dopo gli studi di Mansfeld 1986, con i quali concorda anche Kidd 1988a, 119.

<sup>35</sup> Posidonio è citato per l'arcobaleno dalla *Meteorologia*, per la neve e i terremoti dal libro VIII della *Filosofia naturale*, e per il lampo (dove gli si attribuisce una dottrina sicuramente non sua). Cf. Kidd 1988a, 114.

<sup>36</sup> V. prima parte pp. 214–215.

<sup>37</sup> Traduzione mia.

È di grande importanza osservare che il riferimento alla cavità della nube costituisce il punto di maggiore discrepanza della spiegazione dell'arcobaleno data da Posidonio rispetto a quella di Aristotele, il che spiega bene l'enfasi posta da Seneca nel sottolineare tale aspetto. In nessun luogo della *Meteorologia*, infatti, Aristotele affermava che la nube riflettente dovesse essere cava o concava. Questo particolare fu invece una soluzione addottata da Posidonio, che probabilmente lo considerava un'utile spiegazione della forma semicircolare dell'iride. Aristotele, al contrario, aveva fornito una spiegazione geometrica del problema, dimostrando matematicamente che l'ampiezza dell'arco dell'iride<sup>38</sup> dipendeva dalla sua altezza sull'orizzonte.

Prima di Posidonio, dunque, non vi è traccia nella storia della scienza antica di una dottrina della nube cava. Dopo di lui, invece, tale dottrina conobbe una certa fortuna, se è vero che la troviamo discussa in vari contesti, tra i quali si annovera, oltre a Seneca, anche Plinio il Vecchio, il quale citava esplicitamente Posidonio tra le proprie fonti nel libro II.<sup>39</sup>

Seneca aveva già esposto in precedenza questa tesi, attribuendola a un altrimenti ignoto Artemidoro di Paro (1, 4, 3) e poi genericamente agli Stoici (1, 8, 4). Ma quando si tratta di abbracciare apertamente la dottrina, non esita a fare il nome di Posidonio, riferendo inoltre che senza le dimostrazioni dei geometri tale teoria non si potrebbe dimostrare. La nube ‘con la forma di uno specchio concavo e rotondo, simile alla sezione di una sfera tagliata’ può essere accostata senza difficoltà alla nube cava (*κοῖλων*) di cui si parla nel *Περὶ κόσμου* e in Diogene. Per le ragioni che abbiamo già esaminato, non deve stupire l'estrema brevità della definizione del *Περὶ κόσμου* e di Diogene rispetto al trattamento offerto da Seneca, già di per sé spogliato della parte geometrico-dimostrativa che era probabilmente presente nella trattazione di Posidonio.<sup>40</sup> La presenza del solo aggettivo *κοῖλος* doveva infatti essere sufficiente, all'interno di una sintesi dossografica, a sottolineare la dissonanza della dottrina rispetto alle altre esposte contestualmente.

La presenza del termine *κοῖλος* nella definizione del *Περὶ κόσμου* e di Diogene costituisce dunque il più chiaro segnale della paternità posidoniana di tale dottrina. Non è tuttavia l'unico: alcuni dettagli di corredo,

<sup>38</sup> V. *supra* n. 35.

<sup>39</sup> Plin. *NH* II, 85, 2: citazione di Posidonio come fonte di dottrine meteorologiche; II, 150, 7 – 151, 1: trattazione dell'arcobaleno con citazione della dottrina della nube cava (*manifestum est radium solis inmissum cavae nubi repulsa acie in solem refringi, colorumque varietatem mixtura nubium, ignium, aëris fieri*). Cf. Bonadeo 2004, 190–191.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Bonadeo 2004, 201–202.

considerati nel loro insieme, possono risultare significativi. Da un canto, la particolare attenzione dedicata alla questione della continuità della nube, la cui superficie viene descritta come un tutt'uno uniforme alla vista (*συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν*), quasi si trattasse di un unico grande specchio, sembra marcare una certa distanza dalla teoria aristotelica della riflessione. In Aristotele, infatti, la nube-specchio doveva sì essere compatta e continua, ma allo stesso tempo veniva descritta come un aggregato di numerosi, minuscoli specchi, non come una superficie riflettente unica.

Arist. *Met.* 372 a 29 – 372 b 5: ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ ὄψις ἀνακλᾶται, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀφ' ὕδατος, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ ἀέρος καὶ πάντων τῶν ἔχοντων τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν λείαν, ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν ὄψιν δεικνυμένων δεῖ λαμβάνειν τὴν πίστιν, καὶ διότι τῶν ἐνόπτρων ἐν ἐνίοις μὲν καὶ τὰ σχήματα ἐμφαίνεται, ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τὰ χρώματα μόνον· τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὅσα μικρὰ τῶν ἐνόπτρων, καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰσθητὴν ἔχει διαίρεσιν· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τὸ μὲν σχῆμα ἀδύνατον ἐμφαίνεσθαι (δόξει γὰρ εἶναι διαιρετόν· πᾶν γὰρ σχῆμα ἄμα δοκεῖ σχῆμά τ' εἶναι καὶ διαίρεσιν ἔχειν), ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμφαίνεσθαι τι ἀναγκαῖον, τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον, λείπεται τὸ χρῶμα μόνον ἐμφαίνεσθαι.

Si deve ricavare da quanto viene esposto negli scritti sull'ottica la dimostrazione che la vista viene riflessa dall'aria e dalle cose che hanno una superficie liscia allo stesso modo che dall'acqua, e che in alcuni specchi sono riflesse anche le figure, in altri soltanto i colori. Questi ultimi sono gli specchi piccoli e che non hanno alcuna divisione rilevabile sensibilmente: in essi infatti la figura non può essere riflessa (perché altrimenti lo specchio sarebbe divisibile alla sensazione; ogni figura infatti è nello stesso tempo figura e divisibile), poiché dunque è necessario che sia riflesso qualcosa, che non può essere la figura, rimane solo il colore che viene riflesso.<sup>41</sup>

D'altra parte, la rilevanza di tale argomento andrebbe forse ridimensionata: considerando il carattere sintetico della definizione, il tema dei piccoli specchi potrebbe semplicemente essere caduto sotto la scure della riduzione dossografica. E lo stesso potrebbe dirsi forse anche a proposito del fr. 134 E–K: se è vero che Seneca attribuisce ad Artemidoro di Paro e a Posidonio teorie in cui la nube è trattata come un unico grande specchio, è tuttavia possibile che il tema delle minuscole goccioline riflettenti sia sottaciuto perché non necessario alla comprensione generale dell'argomento, che ricordiamolo è geometrico e riguarda la forma degli arcobaleni.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Kidd 1988a, 501–502 e 1999, 199; Bonadeo 2004, 189. Cf. anche Arist. *Met.* 342 b 11–13.

Nelle tre definizioni dell'arcobaleno è però presente un altro termine che merita attenzione, in quanto probabilmente conserva traccia delle ricerche positoniane, e più in generale stoiche, su meccanismi di formazione dell'arcobaleno. Come già osservava Bonadeo, la spiegazione dell'iride come immagine di una sezione (*τμῆμα*) del sole o della luna costituisce “una risposta abbastanza immediata al problema della sfasatura tra le dimensioni dell'arcobaleno e dell'astro che lo produce”.<sup>42</sup> Sappiamo da Seneca che questo era uno dei problemi più dibattuti all'interno della scuola stoica, e che anche Posidonio se ne era interessato in maniera particolare.<sup>43</sup>

Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* I, 8, 4, 1–3: Nostri, qui sic in nube quomodo in speculo lumen uolunt reddi, nubem cauam faciunt et sectae pilae partem, quae non potest totum orbem reddere, quia ipsa pars orbis est.

I nostri (*scil.* gli Stoici), i quali sostengono che nella nube la luce sia riflessa come in uno specchio, riconducono la causa (dell'emisfericità dell'arcobaleno) a una nube cava e simile a una parte di sfera, la quale non può riflettere un globo per intero, perché è essa stessa parte di un globo.

La dottrina qui genericamente citata come stoica, e in precedenza attribuita ad Artemidoro di Paro e a Posidonio, verte appunto sulla questione della semicircolarità dell'arcobaleno a fronte della circolarità dell'astro. Come è possibile che l'arcobaleno abbia la forma di una sezione di circonferenza, pur costituendo il riflesso di un astro perfettamente circolare? La risposta stoica a tale problema coincideva con teoria della nube cava: sarebbe la concavità della nube-specchio a determinare la forma dell'arcobaleno, in quanto uno specchio semi-circolare non è abbastanza capiente da contenere il riflesso di un cerchio intero.

Ritornando alla definizione dell'arcobaleno data dal *Περὶ κόσμου* e da Diogene, osserviamo che l'espressione “ἔμφασις ἡλίου τμήματος ἢ σελήνης, ἐν νέφει... κοίλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ” sembra riecheggiare proprio gli argomenti delle discussioni riportate da Seneca.

<sup>42</sup> Bonadeo 2004, 185.

<sup>43</sup> In generale, tutta la dottrina positoniana dell'arcobaleno dimostra una spiccata curiosità per le questioni relative alla forma e alla misura dell'iride, anche se sarebbe eccessivo considerarle come il suo interesse esclusivo. Non possiamo infatti essere certi del fatto che Posidonio trascurasse i problemi relativi alla formazione dei colori, come invece suppone Bonadeo. La sola assenza di tale tematica dal resoconto senecano non può infatti costituire una prova sufficiente. Inoltre, Posidonio ribattendo agli epicurei e alla loro teoria della nube colorata (cf. Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* I, 5, 10) non si dimostra del tutto insensibile ai problemi della luce e del colore. Cf. Bonadeo 2004, 212–213.

Per chi non conosca la dottrina stoica sull'origine dell'arcobaleno, infatti, il significato dell'espressione “ἡλίου τμῆματος ἡ σελήνης” non è di per sé chiaro. Ci si potrebbe domandare per quale ragione si specifichi che l'arcobaleno sia il riflesso di una parte (*τμῆμα*) dell'astro, e non della sua totalità, dal momento che sarebbe impossibile comprendere il meccanismo a capo di tale fenomeno. Ma per chi abbia familiarità con la dottrina stoica degli specchi concavi le implicazioni delle definizioni del *Περὶ κόσμου*, di Diogene e di Ario diventano più evidenti. Nelle tre definizioni, infatti, la nube funziona proprio come uno specchio concavo (ἐν νέφει... κοῖλῳ ... ως ἐν κατόπτρῳ) ed è pertanto normale aspettarsi, in armonia con la dottrina stoica della riflessione, che tale nube rifletta solamente una sezione (*τμῆμα*) dell'astro, e non la sua totalità. In tale quadro, la coincidenza tra il termine greco *τμῆμα* e il latino *pars*, attestato da Seneca, rivela ancora più chiaramente la comune origine della dottrina.

La definizione dell'arcobaleno presente nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, pertanto, appare perfettamente contestualizzata nell'ambito della teoria stoica sul funzionamento degli specchi concavi e dell'origine degli arcobaleni, come garantisce la presenza di termini-schiaffi quali *κοῖλος* e *τμῆμα*. Benché Seneca faccia una certa confusione sulla paternità della dottrina della nube cava,<sup>44</sup> è chiaro che Posidonio, il più influente tra gli scienziati della scuola stoica, ebbe un ruolo fondamentale sia nello sviluppo della teoria, sia nella sua successiva ricezione da parte della tradizione dossografica: l'attribuzione univoca a Posidonio fornita da Diogene costituisce un chiaro indizio in questa direzione, così come la testimonianza di Plinio. La paternità aristotelica è invece insostenibile, dal momento che la dottrina degli specchi cavi era del tutto estranea alla sua trattazione: pertanto la testimonianza di Ario è in questo caso priva di valore.

Mentre questo articolo era in corso di preparazione, siamo venuti a conoscenza della pubblicazione di un'opera finora sconosciuta, contenuta nel manoscritto *Ambrosianus Q 74 sup.*, la cui edizione critica è stata curata da Marwan Rashed.<sup>45</sup> Questo interessante testo, intitolato *Definizioni di Aquilio* (Ἀκυλίου ὅποι), è costituito da 86 definizioni di nozioni filosofiche, raggruppate in tre rubriche: logica (1–41), etica (42–74) e fisica (75–86). Dal punto di vista lessicale e semantico, le definizioni di Aquilio (personalità altrimenti ignota) appaiono caratterizzate da una combinazione di stoicismo, platonismo e aristotelismo. Come emerge dall'analisi delle singole definizioni, infatti, avviene spesso che le definizioni di origine

<sup>44</sup> Riferendola, come si è visto, alternativamente ad Artemidoro di Paro, un personaggio altrimenti ignoto, agli stoici, e a Posidonio.

<sup>45</sup> Rashed 2012.

platonica e aristotelica abbiano subito l'influenza terminologica dello stoicismo e, viceversa, che quelle che richiamano maggiormente la dottrina stoica siano contaminate da una patina lessicale platonica o peripatetica. Il lessico di Aquilio si connota, secondo la definizione dell'editore, come un “testo fossile”: l'ultimo stadio di un lungo processo di semplificazione e abbreviazione dossografica durato diversi secoli. Dunque, sebbene il lessico abbia raggiunto la sua forma attuale all'epoca della produzione dell'*Ambrosianus* (ovvero nella Bisanzio del X sec. d.C.), è comunque possibile ricostruire almeno in parte le caratteristiche dell'opera dossografica da cui esso fu derivato per epitomazione, che infatti è stata persuasivamente identificata da Rashed con il *Περὶ αἰρέσεων* di Ario Didimo.<sup>46</sup> Non stupisce pertanto ritrovare nel lessico di Aquilio, al numero [85] della sezione di fisica, una versione della definizione dell'arcobaleno molto simile a quella attribuita da Stobeo ad Ario Didimo.

[85] Ἱρις ἐστιν ἡλίου ἔμφασις ἢ σελήνης ἐν νέφει κοίλῳ καὶ δροσώδει κατὰ κύκλου περιφερείας ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ πρὸς αἱσθησιν.

Oltre a confermare la duratura appartenenza di tale definizione dell'arcobaleno alla tradizione dossografica, il lessico di Aquilio arricchisce di un altro argomento la presente trattazione. Come osservato da Rashed, l'organizzazione del lessico “per argomento” (logica, etica, fisica) invita a immaginare una struttura analoga anche per la dossografia di Ario, dalla quale il testo deriva. Se la ricostruzione di Diels immaginava il materiale di Ario organizzato “per scuole” (un’idea dalla quale deriva anche il titolo più comunemente usato: *Περὶ αἰρέσεων*), già alcuni decenni fa Giusta propose una ricostruzione alternativa, che appare oggi confermata dalle evidenze del lessico di Aquilio.<sup>47</sup> La struttura del lessico, tripartita “per argomento” e con le dottrine delle varie scuole che si susseguono in maniera piuttosto aleatoria, lascia infatti supporre che già la dossografia di Ario fosse organizzata in tre macro-rubriche (logica, etica e fisica) e che la distinzione tra le differenti scuole fosse assicurata solamente dalle relative sotto-rubriche.

<sup>46</sup> Tale ipotesi di derivazione appare confermata dal fatto che, all'interno di alcune definizioni (e.g. ἔορτή, εὐτραπέλια) le dossografie B e C di Stobeo e il lessico di Aquilio presentano due versioni si diverse, ma in evidente rapporto dottrinale le une con le altre. Tale relazione lascia supporre che gli epitomatori Stobeo e Aquilio, a fronte di una versione dossografica più completa presente in Ario Didimo, abbiano trasmesso solo una delle due spiegazioni concorrenti. L'unione delle due versioni abbreviate permette dunque in qualche modo di recuperare la forma della definizione più completa che compariva in Ario.

<sup>47</sup> L'ipotesi di un'organizzazione per materia era già stata avanzata da Giusta 1964–1967.

Se tale ipotesi fosse confermata, avremmo a disposizione una spiegazione molto semplice per l'errore di attribuzione della definizione dell'arcobaleno nella dossografia di Ario. Tale errore potrebbe infatti derivare da una confusione a livello delle sotto-rubriche, ma comunque interna alla macro-sezione di fisica, molto facile da giustificare. Con l'ipotesi ricostruttiva di Diels, invece, l'errore di attribuzione (ad Aristotele, invece che a Posidonio) dovrebbe dipendere da uno slittamento di maggiore entità, con la confusione tra le due macro-sezioni della “scuola peripatetica” e della “scuola stoica”.

Grazie alle conclusioni cui ci ha condotto l'analisi della definizione dell'arcobaleno, la presenza all'interno del *Περὶ κόσμου* di materiali scientifici provenienti dalla scuola stoica, e dalla trattazione positoniana in particolare, si può considerare accertata. Il trattato si può dunque senz'altro datare a un'epoca successiva alla diffusione delle opere meteorologiche di Posidonio. Non è possibile escludere che l'autore avesse una conoscenza di prima mano delle opere positoniane e della *Meteorologia* di Aristotele, ma è probabile che per la stesura del trattato egli si sia servito essenzialmente di riduzioni dossografiche, che rispetto ai trattati originali erano più funzionali agli scopi di un elegante divulgatore. Essi offrivano una materia sintetica, semplificata e già organizzata in rubriche, che l'autore non mancò di rielaborare, ottenendo raffinati effetti letterari.

## 7. Il *Περὶ κόσμου* e l'*Elogium geographiae*

Addirittura prima che il papiro di Artemidoro (*P. Artemid.*) venisse pubblicato,<sup>48</sup> P. M. Pinto,<sup>49</sup> basandosi sulle trascrizioni parziali all'epoca disponibili, aveva osservato alcune impressionanti coincidenze fra il testo del papiro e il *Περὶ κόσμου*.

Dopo l'intervento di Pinto sono state fatte alcune scoperte assai importanti su *P. Artemid.* D'Alessio ha dimostrato che le colonne I–III dell'*editio princeps* seguivano, nell'ordinamento originale del papiro, le colonne IV–V.<sup>50</sup> Non è più quindi possibile pensare che il testo delle colonne I–III dell'*editio princeps* fosse il proemio di un'opera che conteneva, successivamente, il testo delle colonne IV–V. L'attribuzione del

<sup>48</sup> Gallazzi–Kramer–Settim 2008.

<sup>49</sup> Pinto 2007.

<sup>50</sup> D'Alessio 2009. In questo lavoro continuerò a numerare le colonne di *P. Artemid.* secondo l'*editio princeps*, per quanto io non abbia dubbi che la numerazione corretta sia quella proposta da D'Alessio. Gallazzi–Kramer 2009, 169–242 difendono la disposizione delle colonne dell'*editio princeps*.

testo di *P. Artemid.* ad Artemidoro si basa su una coincidenza fra il testo della colonna IV e un frammento sicuramente attribuibile al II libro dei *Γεωγραφούμενα* del geografo di Efeso. Questo fatto aveva indotto sia altri studiosi sia me a ipotizzare che le colonne I–III dell'*editio princeps* contenessero il proemio al II libro dei *Γεωγραφούμενα* di Artemidoro, di cui le colonne IV–V contenevano una pericope successiva.<sup>51</sup> Questa ipotesi presentava alcune difficoltà, ma dopo il contributo di D'Alessio essa non ha più alcuna ragione di essere sostenuta, poiché il testo delle colonne I–III dell'*editio princeps* non ha mai preceduto quello delle colonne IV–V.

D'altra parte, poiché le colonne I–III hanno un indubbio carattere proemiale, sembra ragionevole supporre con D'Alessio che *P. Artemid.* contenesse un'antologia, non un'opera intera: come spiegare, altrimenti, che le colonne IV–V, che contengono la parte interna del II libro dei *Γεωγραφούμενα* di Artemidoro, precedessero le colonne I–III, che sembrano essere state scritte per l'inizio di un'opera? Accettato il carattere antologico del papiro, non vi sono più ragioni cogenti per attribuire le colonne I–III ad Artemidoro. Molti studiosi avevano sostenuto che lo stile delle colonne I–III fosse difficilmente immaginabile per un geografo del II secolo a.C. come Artemidoro; anche gli interessi filosofici, che l'autore di tali colonne dimostra, sembravano difficilmente conciliabili con quello che di Artemidoro sappiamo da altre fonti. Tutte queste difficoltà scompaiono, se noi cessiamo di attribuire le colonne I–III ad Artemidoro.

Pare dunque ragionevole supporre che le colonne I–III non siano opera di Artemidoro, ma di un autore anonimo; possiamo chiamare il testo di tali colonne *Elogium geographiae*. Purtroppo, né l'epoca né, tanto meno, l'autore di questo testo sono noti. Il *terminus ante quem* sicuro è l'età del papiro (prima metà del I sec. d.C.). Io credo che un *terminus post quem* possa darcelo il *Περὶ κόσμου*, la cui datazione ha chiarito M. Scermino.

Vediamo i punti di coincidenza fra i due testi (alcuni sono già stati osservati dal Pinto). Questo il testo dell'*Elogium geographiae* (lo offro nella forma che adotterò nell'edizione dei frammenti artemidorei che sto preparando; i caratteri inclinati indicano lettere che si leggono nella *Spiegelschrift*):

Tὸν ἐπιβαλλόμενον γεωγραφίᾳ | τῆς ὄλης ἐπιστήμης ἐπίδειξιν | ποιεῖσθαι ἑαυτοῦ δεῖ προ[π]λα[σ]τικῶν στενάντα τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τούτην τὴν πραγματείαν [τευκτικωτέρα τῇ θελήσει [εἰς τὴν | ἐπα]γγελιάν ταύτην καὶ [κατὰ | τῆς ἀρετῆς δύναμιν [έ]πιαυτὸν τοῖς θελημα[τικοῖς ὄργανοις τῆς ψυχῆς ἔτοιμον· οὐ γάρ | ἔστιν ὁ τυχών κόπος

<sup>51</sup> Cf. e. g. Settimi 2008, 60–62; Lucarini 2009, 112–113.

ό δυνάμεινος τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ταύτη συναγωνίσασθαι· παραπλήσιον γὰρ | αὐτὴν τῇ θειοτάτῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ |<sup>15</sup> ἔτοιμός εἰμι παραστῆσαι. | εἰ γὰρ σιωπῇ γεωγραφία τοῖς ιδίοις | δόγμασιν λαλεῖ. τί γὰρ οὐκ; τοσαῦτα ἔγγιστα καὶ μεμειγμένα | περὶ ἑαυτὴν ὅπλα βαστάζει |<sup>20</sup> πρὸς τὸν ἔγενόμενον τῆς ἐ[πι]ο[τήμης] μεμοχθημένον† πόνον. | ἐπαγγέλλεται τις περι{ρ}εφ[ρ]ι|νημέναις καὶ σ{τ}υχναῖς μερίμναις δι' αἰῶνος ἄγεσθαι τ[ὰ τῆς |<sup>25</sup> φ[ι]λοσοφίας δ[ό]γματα, ὅπως τὸν | Αἰτλάντειον ἔκεινον φόρτον | βαστάζων, <ῶς> τις τῶν ἀξίως φ[ι]λοσοφούντων, ἀκοπίατον φ[όρ]|τον ἔχῃ καὶ προσαγκαλίζηται |<sup>30</sup> τὴν ιδίαν ψυχὴν μηδὲν κοιπιᾶσα<ν> μηδὲ βαρούμένη<ν>. ἔτι | μᾶλλον ἔχειν ὄρε{υ}ξιν περὶ τὸ | πρᾶγμα, μηδὲν ἡρεμώ[σ]ης αὐ|τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ θελήσεως, |<sup>35</sup> πάντα πέριξ σκοποῦντα ἄγρυπνον εἶναι νυκτός τε καὶ | ἡμέρας, προσε[π]ιφορτίζοντα | ἑαυτῷ {τὰ} πλείονα ἀγαθὰ τῶν | προσταγμάτων· ἀπλούται γὰρ |<sup>40</sup> ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὅλον ἀνατίθησι | ταῖς τῶν θεοπρεπεστάτων | Μουσῶν ἐναρέτοις {ἐ[ν]} ἐπ[αγγελίαις}, ἵνα τὸ θεοπρεπὲς σχῆ- Col. II μα τ[ῆς φιλοσοφίας] ἐν ἀρετῇ | i]ερώ[τατον ποιῆ] τὸν ἄνθρωπον. | ὁμοίως [δὲ καὶ ὁ γε] ωγράφος ἐπελθ[ών] ε[ἰς τὴν] ἥπειρον χώρας |<sup>5</sup> .[.....]ήσας τὸ κύτος τῆς | .[.....έν]η[ς χ]ώρας καὶ τῷ[v] | ἀλλοε[ιδῶν προδ]εδομένης αὐτῷ | | ἐργασίας, {ό} κατεστὼς ὄφ[εί]λει |<sup>10</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτ[οῦ] συμπλαιτύνειν τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ χώρ[α] | πολλὰ πέριξ βλέπων καὶ σ[υγ]κρού[ό]μενος [...]α τοῦ νο[ῦ] | προο[ίμ]ια α ᾧ[v ἡ τι]νος ἄρξη[τα]ι |<sup>15</sup> τῆς [χ]ώρας μ[έρο]νυξ ἦ ἐπὶ | πᾶν | τ[έμπ]λον λήξην† [ὄπερ ἔοι]κεν τῷ ἀνεπ[ι]στήμονι. πόνῳ δ' [έγγ]ίσας | στήσηται τὸν τῆς] ἐπι[νοία]ς | τ[ρόπον καὶ] ἀ[π'] αὐτοῦ [τ]ὴ[v] |<sup>20</sup> κατ[α]ρχὴν λ[ά]βῃ.

## Col. I

**3–4** Ita edd., προταλαντεύσαντα voluit Bossina, sed litterarum vestigia, quae in verso dispiciuntur, litteram v post λα non admittunt. **6** εἰς edd., qui et de διά cogit., quod malit Bravo 18 τοσαῦτα ἔγγιστα καὶ Lucarini : ἔνγιστα καὶ τοσαῦτα Pap. : ἔγγιστα <τοιαῦτα> καὶ τοσαῦτα Bravo 20 γεν<ήσ>ομενον Bravo Staab fort. recte 23 στυγναῖς Soldati 27 add. Lucarini 36 τε edd. : δὲ Pap. 38 del. Lucarini, quod faciendum esse iam suspicati erant edd. **41** ἀνατίθησι Lucarini : συνανατίθεται Pap. **43–44** {ἐν} ἐπαγγελίαις Hammerstaedt

## Col. II

**3** γεωγράφος edd. : γεογ. Pap. 9 del. Lucarini, quod faciendum esse iam admonuerant edd. **14** ἀν [οῦν τι]νος Hammerstaedt : ἀν [δὲ ἐ]νοὺς Bravo 16 cruces posuit Lucarini verbum non intelligens.

Ecco l'inizio del *Περὶ κόσμου* (cito da Lorimer 1933):

Πολλάκις μὲν ἔμοιγε θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον ὄντως χρῆμα, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρε, ἡ φιλοσοφία ἔδοξεν εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν οἷς μόνη διαραμένη πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄντων θέαν ἐσπούδασε γνῶναι τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ταύτης ἀποστάντων διὰ τὸ ὑψος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, αὕτη τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔδεισεν οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τῶν καλλίστων ἀπηξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενεστάτην ἔαυτῇ καὶ μάλιστα πρέπουσαν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι τὴν ἐκείνων μάθησιν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν τῷ σώματι εἰς τὸν οὐράνιον ἀφικέσθαι τόπον καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκλιπόντα τὸν ἰερὸν ἐκεῖνον χῶρον κατοπτεῦσαι, καθάπερ οἱ ἀνόητοι ποτε ἐπενόουν Ἀλφάδαι, ἡ γοῦν ψυχὴ διὰ φιλοσοφίας, λαβοῦσα ἡγεμόνα τὸν νοῦν, ἐπεραιώθη καὶ ἔξεδημησεν, ἀκοπίατόν τινα ὄδὸν εὐροῦσα, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστον ἄλλήλων ἀφεστῶτα τοῖς τόποις τῇ διανοίᾳ συνεφόρησε, ράδιος, οἵμαι, τὰ συγγενῆ γνωρίσασα, καὶ θείῳ ψυχῆς ὅμματι τὰ θεῖα καταλαβομένη, τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις προφητεύουσα. Τοῦτο δὲ ἔπαθε, καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν, πᾶσιν ἀφθόνως μεταδοῦναι βουληθεῖσα τῶν παρ' αὐτῇ τιμίων. Διὸ καὶ τοὺς μετὰ σπουδῆς διαγράψαντας ἡμῖν ἐνὸς τόπου φύσιν ἢ μιᾶς σχῆμα πόλεως ἢ ποταμοῦ μέγεθος ἢ ὅρους κάλλος, οἵᾳ τινες ἥδη πεποιήκασι, φράζοντες οἱ μὲν τὴν Ὁσσαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Νύσσαν, οἱ δὲ τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον, οἱ δὲ ὄτιοῦν ἔτυχε τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους, οἰκτίσειν ἄν τις τῆς μικροψυχίας, τὰ τυχόντα ἐκπεπληγμένους καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ θεωρίᾳ μικρῷ. Τοῦτο δὲ πάσχουσι διὰ τὸ ἀθέατοι τῶν κρειττόνων εἶναι, κόσμου λέγω καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ μεγίστων οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἄν τούτοις γνησίως ἐπιστήσαντες ἔθαύμαζόν τι τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄλλα μικρὰ κατεφαίνετο ἄν καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια πρὸς τὴν τούτων ὑπεροχήν. Λέγωμεν δὴ ἡμεῖς καί, καθ' ὅσον ἐφικτόν, θεολογῶμεν περὶ τούτων συμπάντων, ὡς ἔκαστον ἔχει φύσεως καὶ θέσεως καὶ κινήσεως.

Le analogie tra i due testi sono tali, che non sembra possano essere casuali. La più evidente è che entrambi contengono un confronto fra filosofia e geografia; il confronto è esplicito nell'*Elogium geographiae*, mentre nel *Περὶ κόσμου* non ricorre il termine γεωγραφία: è tuttavia evidente che οἱ μετὰ σπουδῆς διαγράψαντες ἐνὸς τόπου φύσιν ἢ μιᾶς σχῆμα πόλεως ἢ ποταμοῦ μέγεθος ἢ ὅρους κάλλος sono i geografi. Io escludo che esista alcun altro testo antico che sviluppa nella maniera che vedremo il confronto fra geografia e filosofia. Ma le analogie non si limitano a questa generica comunanza di argomento.

Nel *Περὶ κόσμου* leggiamo che la ψυχή, guidata dal νοῦς, riesce, attraverso la διάνοια, a vedere cose divise da molto spazio (τὰ πλεῖστον ἄλλήλων ἀφεστῶτα); per fare questo, l'anima percorre una ὄδος ἀκοπίατος. Nell'*Elogium geographiae* si afferma che οἱ ἄξιος

φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀκοπίατον φόρτον ἔχουσιν καὶ προσαναγκαλίζονται τὴν ἴδιαν ψυχὴν μηδὲν κοπιῶσαν μηδὲ βαρουμένην. Dunque, entrambi i testi legano un'attività ἀκοπίατος alla filosofia, in particolare alla ψυχή del filosofo. Questo non può essere casuale: il termine ἀκοπίατος è molto raro, tanto più nel significato “che non affatica” (più frequente sembra l’uso del termine nel significato di “instancabile”). Non mi è noto nessun altro testo, in cui tale aggettivo sia legato alla filosofia e questo è ancora più notevole, poiché nemmeno il pensiero che l’attività filosofica sia poco affaticante è comune. Dunque entrambi i testi esprimono un pensiero poco consueto usando un identico termine poco consueto.

Nel *Περὶ κόσμου* vengono rimproverati coloro che descrivono una sola città, ovvero un solo fiume o un solo monte e, in generale, ὅτιοῦ ἔτυχε τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους. La ragione per cui questi scrittori descrivono cose così particolari è che essi sono ἀθέατοι τῶν κρειττόνων, cioè τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ μεγίστων. A queste affermazioni seguono due congiuntivi esortativi (λέγωμεν, θεολογῶμεν), che l'autore rivolge a se stesso e che indicano l'inizio dell'opera vera e propria. Nell'*Elogium geographiae* (col. II, 3 sqq.) si afferma che il geografo, dopo aver osservato le caratteristiche del territorio che si accinge a descrivere, riflette ἂν η̄ τινος ἄρξηται τῆς χώρας μέρους η̄ ἐπὶ πᾶν τέμπληξη̄, ὅπερ ἔοικεν τῷ ἀνηπιστήμονι. Il testo contiene una corruttela (ἐμπλήξη), ma il significato è chiaro: il geografo si chiede cioè, se egli debba iniziare da una descrizione particolare ovvero da una descrizione generale<sup>52</sup> e, a giudizio dell'autore dell'*Elogium geographiae*, è opportuno iniziare da una descrizione particolare, poiché iniziare da una descrizione generale è invece quello che è opportuno per gli inesperti (ὅπερ ἔοικε τῷ ἀνηπιστήμονι).<sup>53</sup> Seguono due congiuntivi esortativi (στήσηται, λάβῃ), rivolti al geografo e che indicano l'inizio della sua riflessione sul territorio che si accinge a descrivere. Le somiglianze fra i due testi sono anche qui notevoli: in entrambi vengono contrapposte le descrizioni dei singoli luoghi (si osservi il termine μέρος, usato da ambedue gli scrittori) a quelle più generali (e in entrambi i testi seguono due congiuntivi esortativi). Le preferenze dei due scrittori sembrano però opposte, poiché, mentre l'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* preferisce il secondo tipo di descrizioni, nell'*Elogium geographiae* viene

<sup>52</sup> Per la sintassi e l'esatta interpretazione, cfr. Lucarini 2009, 131.

<sup>53</sup> Così credo si debba intendere il passo, dando a ἔοικε + dat. il significato di ‘essere opportuno per’. Mentre gli *editores principes* (cfr. la loro nota a col. II, 14–16) riferiscono ὅπερ ἔοικε al dubbio stesso del geografo (e ritengono, di conseguenza, che ἀνηπιστήμων si riferisca al geografo *tout court*), io credo che ὅπερ ἔοικε vada riferito solo alla pericope η̄ ἐπὶ πᾶν τέμπληξη̄.

accordata preferenza al primo tipo.<sup>54</sup> Noi non sappiamo come proseguisse l'*Elogium geographiae*, ma possediamo il *Περὶ κόσμου* e vediamo che tale scritto propugna una geografia ecumenica e non corografica; l'autore dell'*Elogium* vuole proprio, secondo me, difendere il metodo corografico contro il *Περὶ κόσμου* (cfr. *infra*).

È stato spesso osservato come nell'*Elogium geographiae* la filosofia venga definita θειοτάτη (col. I, 14) e si è pensato a un'influenza platonica.<sup>55</sup> È più probabile che l'autore di *P. Artemid.* avesse in mente l'inizio del *Περὶ κόσμου* (θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον ὄντως χρῆμα … ἡ φιλοσοφία ἔδοξεν εἶναι), ovvero *vice versa*.

Considerata la brevità del proemio al *Περὶ κόσμου* e dell'*Elogium geographiae*, la quantità di paralleli è sufficiente a dimostrare che fra i due testi esiste un rapporto. Mentre non vedo alcun vantaggio a ipotizzare una *Gemeinquelle*, una derivazione dell'*Elogium geographiae* dal *Περὶ κόσμου* sembra abbastanza probabile. Innanzitutto, mentre non vi è alcun dubbio che il *Περὶ κόσμου* sia stato pubblicato e che abbia avuto una notevole circolazione nell'antichità (esso è stato anche tradotto in latino da Apuleio), non esiste nessuna prova che l'*Elogium geographiae* sia stato letto e abbia circolato. Anche l'uso di ἀκοπίατος sembra più adatto al contesto dello pseudo-Aristotele che a quello dell'*Elogium*: in quest'ultimo, infatti, poco prima di definire l'anima del filosofo μηδὲν κοπιῶσα μηδὲ βαρουμένη, si parla di περιερρινημέναι καὶ συχναὶ μέριμναι, che il filosofo sopporta δι' αἰῶνος; la stessa espressione ἀκοπίατος φόρτος risulta quasi ossimorica. Non sembra dunque che qui la “mancanza di fatica” sia ben legata al contesto. Nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, invece, è naturale che si parli di ὁδὸς ἀκοπίατος della ψυχή, poiché tale ὁδός viene contrapposta a quella del corpo, il quale, essendo per sua natura pesante, comporta κόπος. Sembra dunque che l'aggettivo ἀκοπίατος sia meglio contestualizzato nel *Περὶ κόσμου* e questo, per la “legge di Axelson”,<sup>56</sup> costituisce un indizio forte a favore della priorità dell'opuscolo pseudo-aristotelico.

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<sup>54</sup> È probabile che l'*Elogium geographiae* intenda che la descrizione generale si addice a geografi inesperti del territorio che si accingono a descrivere, non a geografi inesperti *tout court*; egli infatti non condanna in assoluto la conoscenza d'insieme (cfr. ὅφείλει τὴν ψυχὴν ἔαντοῦ συμπλατύνειν τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ χώρᾳ). Devo questa precisazione a M. Scermino.

<sup>55</sup> Cfr. Gallazzi–Kramer–Settim 2008, *ad loc.*

<sup>56</sup> La quale afferma che, quando due testi presentino analogie lessicali e / o sintattiche, che implichino un rapporto diretto fra loro, la priorità va postulata per quel testo nel quale il lessico e la sintassi risultino più naturali e adatti al contesto; sulla storia di tale “legge”, cfr. ora Dell'Aversano–Grilli–Nervi 2015 (quantunque i dubbi sulla validità e la applicabilità della legge espressi da questi studiosi non siano da me condivisi).

Se quanto abbiamo fin qui detto è vero, le conseguenze sono importanti: l'*Elogium geographiae* è stato scritto fra la fine del I secolo a.C. e l'inizio del I d.C. in diretta polemica con l'anonimo autore del *Περὶ κόσμου*.

Carlo M. Lucarini  
Università di Palermo  
carlo.lucarini@unipa.it

Maria Scermino  
Pisa  
maria.scermino@sns.it

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The paper deals with the problem of the influence of Posidonius' teaching on *Περὶ κόσμου* and puts forward arguments against attempts, some of them quite recent, to attribute this treatise to Aristotle.

§ 1 offers a short history of how *Περὶ κόσμου* has been interpreted, while § 2 outlines the current *status quaestionis*. § 3 demonstrates that Theophrastus' doctrines on the origin of earthquakes and of high tides do not correspond to those of *Περὶ κόσμου*. § 4 and 5 adduce evidence that the scientific views of *Περὶ κόσμου* derive from the doxographic tradition and not directly from Aristotle's *Meteorology*. In § 6, the definition of the rainbow given in *Περὶ κόσμου* is analyzed: the presence of keywords such as *κοῖλος* and *τηῆμα* proves *inter alia* that it comes from Posidonius' theory on the origin of rainbows. *Περὶ κόσμου* is thus definitely post-Posidonian.

The aim of the final paragraph is to demonstrate that the anonymous *Elogium geographiae* (a part of the famous *P.Artemid.*) has been influenced by the proem of *Περὶ κόσμου*. This allows us to date the *Elogium* very closely to the turn of the Christian era.

В статье рассматривается вопрос о влиянии Посидония на трактат *Περὶ κόσμου* и приводятся аргументы против попыток атрибутировать это сочинение Аристотелю, в том числе и совсем недавних. В § 1 представлена история интерпретаций трактата; в § 2 оценивается современное состояние вопроса. В § 3 доказывается, что учение Теофраста о причинах землетрясений и его объяснение возникновений гало не соответствуют аналогичным положениям трактата. В § 4 и 5 приводятся доводы в пользу того, что научные положения трактата восходят не прямо к *Метеорологии* Аристотеля, но к доксографической традиции. В § 16 анализируется определение радуги в *Περὶ κόσμου*; присутствие в этом определении терминов *κοῖλος* и *τηῆμα*, показывает *inter alia*, что это определение восходит к учению Посидония. Трактат, таким образом, не может быть датирован ранее, чем временем жизни Посидония. В заключительном параграфе доказывается, что анонимный *Elogium geographiae*, часть *Папируса Артемидора*, испытал влияние *Περὶ κόσμου*, и это позволяет более точно датировать трактат временем на рубеже I в. до н. э. – I в. н. э.

## COMPARANDA: IL PAPIRO DI ARTEMIDORO E I SUOI APPARATI GRAFICI\*

### I

Dal suo primo apparire all’orizzonte della ricerca filologica, papirologica e archeologica, il Papiro di Artemidoro ha suscitato grande interesse e attenzione per i molti problemi che pone, e che non proverò nemmeno a riassumere. Ricorderò solo che, prima ancora di essere adeguatamente pubblicato, esso è stato esposto in tre mostre successive a Torino, Berlino e Monaco di Baviera, delle quali la prima fu curata da Claudio Gallazzi e da me,<sup>1</sup> e che l’*editio princeps* di qualche anno dopo fu approntata per cura dello stesso Gallazzi, di Bärbel Kramer e mia,<sup>2</sup> con contributi di altri studiosi, specialmente Albio Cassio e Agostino Soldati sul versante testuale, Gianfranco Adornato sui disegni, Pier Andrea Mandò per le analisi fisiche e chimiche del Papiro e degli inchiostri. Rispetto a quell’edizione critica e alle sue conseguenze, va notato qui un punto essenziale: Giovanni Battista D’Alessio, attraverso l’analisi minuziosa delle impronte che le colonne di testo e le immagini lasciarono quando il Papiro, arrotolato, fu soggetto a forte umidità, ha potuto correggere in modo significativo la sequenza dei *kollemata*.<sup>3</sup> Ricordando qui, come

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\* Il testo che qui si pubblica elabora alcune lezioni tenute, in forma diversa, a Columbia University (New York), al Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe della Galleria degli Uffizi (Firenze) e alla Fundación Pastor de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid). Ne ringrazio William Harris, Marzia Faietti e Irene Pajón Leyra.

<sup>1</sup> Gallazzi–Settim 2006 (qui, in particolare, Settim 2006, 20–65). La mostra di Berlino aveva per titolo *Anatomie der Welt. Wissenschaft und Kunst auf dem Artemidor-Papyrus* (Berlino, Museo Egizio, 12 marzo – 30 giugno 2008). Il catalogo di egual titolo, a cura di Fabian Reiter con Harald Froschauer, Annemarie Stauffer e Olivia Zorn, fu pubblicato dalle edizioni degli Staatliche Museen di Berlino. A Monaco la mostra, per cura del Museo Statale di Arte Egizia, si tenne alla Residenz dal 18 luglio al 2 novembre 2008, e fu accompagnata dallo stesso catalogo prodotto a Berlino.

<sup>2</sup> *Il Papiro di Artemidoro* 2008a.

<sup>3</sup> D’Alessio 2009; id. 2012. Jas’ Elsner ha offerto, nell’introduzione a questo fascicolo, una fedele ed equilibrata storia del problema dell’ordine originario dei *kollemata* (Elsner 2012, 290).

credo doveroso, i pochi contributi che ho dato allo studio di questo reperto singolare e importante, aggiungo che la conferenza che tenni a Berlino (Altes Museum) in occasione dell'apertura della mostra fu poi pubblicata, in italiano e in forma ampliata, in un piccolo libro.<sup>4</sup> Infine, ho contribuito a organizzare tre seminari su aspetti diversi del Papiro, e ad approntare la pubblicazione dei primi due.<sup>5</sup> In quel che segue, pur dando qualche informazione sul Papiro e su alcune voci dell'ormai vasta bibliografia che lo riguarda, intendo mettere a fuoco qualche riflessione di metodo su un solo suo aspetto, gli apparati grafici; più in particolare, mi chiederò come, per un documento unico come questo, si possano tuttavia cercare, e selezionare opportunamente, dei paralleli garantiti che aiutino a intenderne la natura.

Il Papiro di Artemidoro è un ampio frammento di rotolo, alto 32 centimetri e lungo circa 2 metri e mezzo. Nonostante poche, isolate voci in contrario, non c'è ragione di dubitare della sua autenticità: le analisi fisico-chimiche,<sup>6</sup> combinate con quelle paleografiche, lo datano con sicurezza al principio del I secolo d.C., e nulla cambia, su questo punto, la vana insistenza mediatica su una presa falsificazione che ha a lungo imperversato quasi solo in Italia. Qui posso solo accennare ai problemi di grande complessità che esso pone. Come tutti i rotoli antichi, esso era in origine scritto su un solo lato, il *recto*, dove si conservano in tutto o in parte cinque colonne di testo, che l'*editio princeps* provò a identificare come frammenti del libro II della *Geografia* di Artemidoro di Efeso, la cui redazione risale a circa 100 anni prima. Il testo conservato è diviso in due parti, distinte per contenuto e per stile: tre colonne sono una riflessione sulla natura della geografia, le altre due contengono l'inizio di una dettagliata descrizione della penisola iberica. Non tutti sono d'accordo che l'insieme debba risalire ad Artemidoro: secondo alcuni gli si può attribuire solo una parte, secondo altri il testo conservato dal Papiro è una compilazione più tarda, che forse riadopera o riassume parte del testo di Aremidoro, o che risale a due autori diversi. Anche la sequenza dei due segmenti di testo è stata assai discussa, e come ho ricordato è stata radicalmente modificata dagli studi di D'Alessio. Ma di questi e di molti altri problemi non è il caso di parlare qui.

Ricordo invece che sul *recto*, oltre alle due porzioni di testo, è disegnata un'ampia carta geografica: anche se essa non è finita (mancano i nomi delle località), era naturale pensare che si trattasse della penisola

<sup>4</sup> Settim 2008.

<sup>5</sup> *Intorno al Papiro di Artemidoro* 2009; *Intorno al Papiro di Artemidoro* 2012; *Intorno al Papiro di Artemidoro* 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Mandò 2008, 66–78; Fedi 2010, 356–363.

iberica data la sua adiacenza al testo che ne parla, ma non è facile identificare con precisione i luoghi rappresentati, e anche se recentemente vi sono stati due ulteriori (e discordanti) tentativi in tal senso (Carrasco Carrasco e Carrez-Maratray),<sup>7</sup> sono ancora sul tappeto varie interpretazioni, fra loro contrastanti. Vi sono poi sul *recto* larghi spazi bianchi (il più ampio, si è proposto, potrebbe esser stato destinato all'origine a una seconda mappa), che furono in seguito utilizzati per disegnarvi teste umane, mani e piedi (25 in tutto), che a mio avviso, se visti all'interno di quel che sappiamo della tradizione libraria antica, non possono avere alcun rapporto né con i testi adiacenti né con la mappa. Si tratta dunque, come abbiamo proposto in sede di edizione e come io credo ancora, di una fase di riuso del Papiro.

Il lato opposto del rotolo (il *verso*) è interamente coperto da una serie di disegni (41, più qualche frammento) che riproducono immagini di animali reali, immaginari o fantastici, isolati o in gruppi di due o tre. Ciascuno è accompagnato da una breve didascalia che ne indica il nome (di mano diversa da quella del testo sul *recto*); c'è inoltre una sorta di scritta "riassuntiva", da tradursi più o meno "Bestie che vivono nell'Oceano, che volano e che camminano, e mostri marini". Secondo l'uso librario antico, solo il *recto* dei rotoli era destinato alla scrittura e (molto più raramente) all'illustrazione. In tutti i casi a me noti in cui testi o disegni ricorrono sul *verso* di un frammento di rotolo, essi sono il frutto di una fase di riuso o (come forse diremmo noi oggi) di riciclaggio. Secondo l'opinione che abbiamo espresso in sede di edizione, e che trovo ancora la più convincente, anche questa specie di "galleria" o di repertorio di animali deve appartenere a una fase di reimpiego del rotolo, presumibilmente distinta (antecedente o successiva?) dal riuso degli spazi bianchi del *recto*.

Questo papiro è dunque un *unicum*, ancor più che per i testi che tramanda, proprio perché ad essi si accompagnano ben tre apparati grafici: la carta geografica del *recto*, i disegni di figura del *recto* e quelli di animali del *verso*. Sulla natura e la sequenza di ciascuno di questi apparati è in corso un'accesa discussione. Uno dei punti più problematici è la sequenza delle varie fasi di uso e riuso del rotolo. La spiegazione che abbiamo proposto in sede di edizione e che, con l'importante modifica dimostrata da D'Alessio, mi pare ancora sostanzialmente plausibile, è una sequenza di quattro fasi e due intermezzi, che è fondata su ragioni funzionali e contestuali e che ritengo preferibile all'ipotesi di un "progetto unitario" del rotolo che ne includesse, contro l'abitudine, il *recto* e il *verso*.

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<sup>7</sup> Vedi le indicazioni relative oltre, p. 72.

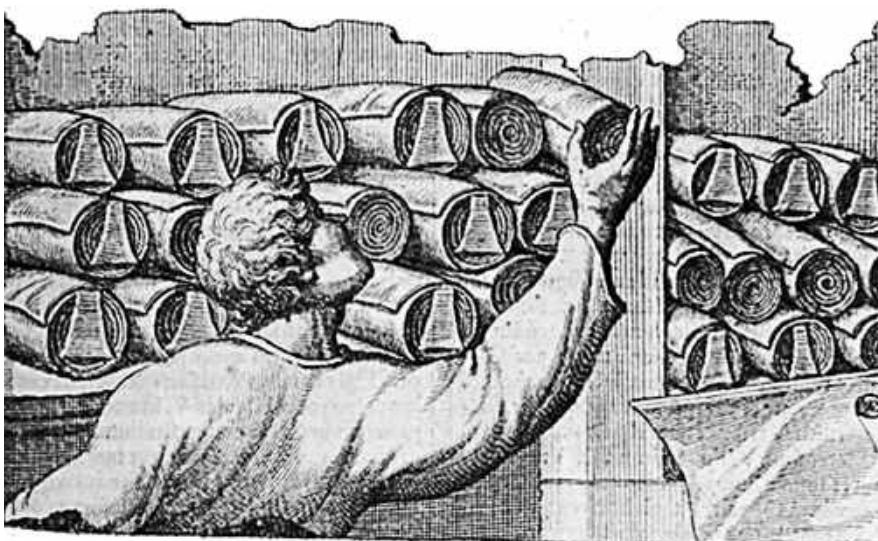


Fig. 1. Scena da una biblioteca antica, da un perduto rilievo romano  
(da Brouwer–Masen 1670)

Anche se non è questo il tema del mio intervento, provo a delineare per sommi capi questa sequenza ipotetica, immaginando il rotolo nella sua consistenza fisica originaria, e nelle due forme in cui si presentava in antico: arrotolato e forse deposto con altri rotoli in una biblioteca (come vediamo in un perduto rilievo funerario da Neumagen [Fig. 1]<sup>8</sup>), oppure srotolato nelle mani di un lettore. La “vita” del rotolo, con le sue disavventure, potrebbe dunque esser stata questa:

**I.** Nella prima fase, esso fu destinato a contenere un testo (o testi) di contenuto geografico. È incerto se questa fosse una vera “edizione” di un testo unitario, un’antologia di più testi o un esercizio di copista o di scuola. In ogni caso, di questo originale progetto dovevano far parte delle carte geografiche: una di esse venne disegnata ma non condotta a termine, per un’altra (forse) venne lasciato un ampio spazio.

**I a.** Nel *primo intermezzo*, i vari fogli che compongono il rotolo (*kolemata*) si scollarono e furono ricomposti, forse cambiandone l’ordine.

**II.** Nella seconda fase fu reimpiegato il *verso* del rotolo, per disegnarvi una sequenza di animali.

**III.** Nella terza fase vennero riutilizzate anche le parti rimaste bianche del *recto*, che furono coperte da disegni di figura.

<sup>8</sup> Riprodotto da Brouwer–Masen 1670, 105 (cfr. Franchi Viceré 2006, 80).

**III a.** In un *secondo intermezzo*, il rotolo si bagnò e sia segmenti del testo che disegni del *recto* e del *verso* vi lasciarono impronte speculari, utili alla ricostruzione della sequenza originaria dei *kollemata*, come ha mostrato D'Alessio.<sup>9</sup> Inoltre, in vari casi le impronte speculari risultano indispensabili per integrare lacune del testo o delle immagini, come già indicato nell'*editio princeps* (sia notato di passaggio che l'abbondanza e coerenza di tali impronte speculari, nella loro evidente casualità, è incompatibile con ogni ipotesi di falsificazione).

**IV.** Infine, l'ultima fase della vita del rotolo fu la sua riduzione a componente di un ammasso di *papier mâché*, in cui esso si mescolò ad alcuni papiri documentari, anch'essi recuperati (ne sono stati pubblicati finora solo due<sup>10</sup>).

Gli studi sul Papiro di Artemidoro riguardano in prevalenza problemi di ricomposizione del rotolo, di datazione, di attribuzione delle due diverse sezioni in cui il testo è diviso, di ricostituzione del testo, di interpretazione, di contesto storico, linguistico, stilistico e culturale. Comparativamente più rari sono, invece, gli studi dedicati agli apparati grafici del Papiro, che pure ne sono la caratteristica più singolare (la più notevole eccezione in questo senso è Jas' Elsner, su cui vedi *infra*).

Se i disegni del Papiro sono rimasti la sua parte meno studiata, è per il carattere eccezionale di un rotolo con apparati grafici così ricchi, ma anche per la difficoltà di indicare confronti adeguati. Questa difficoltà di confronto dipende almeno in parte dall'*habitus* di privilegiare, nelle pratiche della comparazione archeologica, l'identità di genere artistico, accostando pittura a pittura, scultura a scultura. Scarsissime, si sa, sono le vestigia del disegno antico su supporto mobile: si conoscono, ma sono in buona parte inediti, circa mille disegni su papiro, spesso assai frammentari, ma ben pochi sono i tentativi di valutarne stile e significato con una visione generale che li connetta, come è necessario, con la storia generale dell'arte antica, e in particolare della pittura.<sup>11</sup> Per giunta, la più gran parte dei disegni conservati sono di bassa qualità, e spesso in cattivo stato di conservazione: queste generali condizioni comportano lo statuto assai marginale del disegno su papiro nella letteratura specializzata. Esso è anzi quasi assente dall'attenzione degli archeologi, e prende posto piuttosto negli studi papirologici, quasi una specializzazione nella specializzazione. Rischiamo in tal modo di dimenticare l'assoluta centralità del disegno nella cultura greca, quale possiamo ricavarla dalle fonti, e quale fu assai bene intesa da artisti ed eruditi del Rinascimento.

<sup>9</sup> Su questo punto v. anche Tarte 2012, 325–336.

<sup>10</sup> Kramer–Gallazzi 2014.

<sup>11</sup> È questo uno dei temi principali del mio saggio Settis 2008b. Sul progetto di un corpus dei papiri figurati, cfr. anche Settis 2019.

## II

Vorrei ora proporre, per uscire da questa *impasse*, qualche pensiero sul tema della comparazione. Quando si affronta un documento di arte antica relativamente (o assolutamente) isolato, dobbiamo per ciò stesso considerarlo poco interessante o, peggio, estraneo al quadro della cultura antica? O dobbiamo piuttosto cogliere la sfida di ogni nuovo documento, e fare ogni sforzo per rompere il suo isolamento indirizzando il nostro sguardo comparativo verso direzioni che non siamo abituati a frequentare? Quali sono, insomma, le “mosse” da fare per individuare dei *comparanda* che non siano esornativi, ma ci aiutino a comprendere? Comincio con un confronto che non ha niente a che vedere col nostro papiro [Fig. 2]: esso è il primo di tre simili “accoppiamenti giudiziari” proposti dal mio maestro Silvio Ferri in uno studio dal titolo assai significativo, *Confronti ammessi e non ammessi*.<sup>12</sup> Secondo Ferri, la comparazione appare piuttosto tardi nella cultura antiquaria, dopo il dominio assoluto

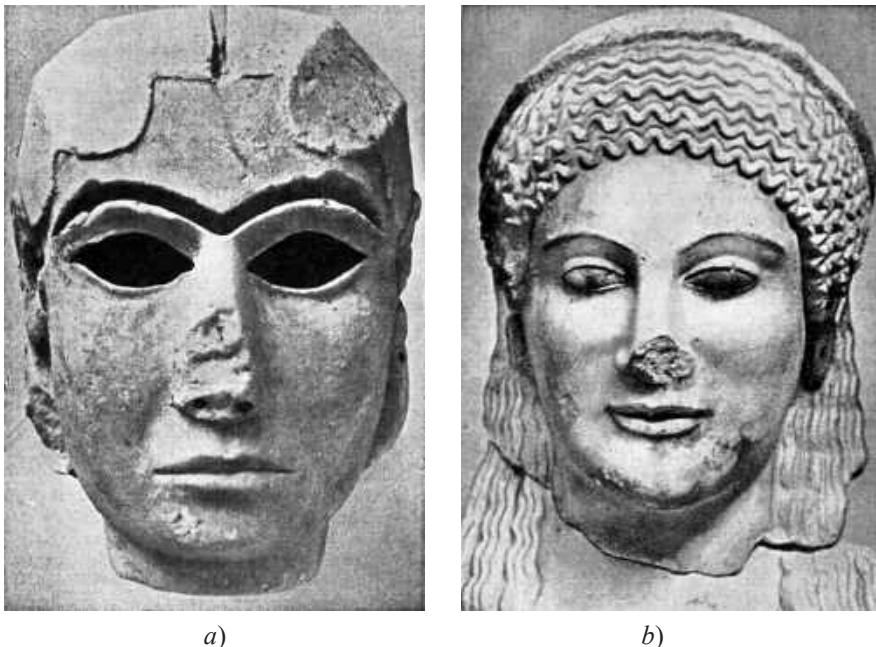


Fig. 2. *a)* Testa di Uruk. Bagdad, museo. *b)* Testa di *kore*. Atene, Museo dell’Acropoli

<sup>12</sup> Ferri 1954 = 1962.

di procedure esegetiche mirate, di volta in volta, a un solo oggetto di studio, da spiegarsi di solito mediante il ricorso a fonti letterarie. Per Caylus, ad esempio, la comparazione ebbe natura solo in parte stilistica, mentre l’ottocentesca *Archäologie der Kunst* di impronta germanica elaborò sofisticate strategie di confronto, secondo cui “si forma una specie di catena cronologica di manufatti artistici”, spesso accorpatis per centri di produzione, ciascuno dei quali ha “un’impronta propria e una cronologia propria”, creando in tal modo un sistema in cui “cronologia e topografia si scindono e si riuniscono a seconda del bisogno”. Ma, prosegue Ferri, “ci si trovò di fronte a una difficoltà procedurale, della quale da principio forse non si era misurata l’importanza: come cioè condurre e moderare i confronti”. Insomma, nel cercare *comparanda*, “dove ci si deve fermare?” La risposta di Ferri è che, per intendere storicamente, è necessario abbattere ogni barriera, tentare ogni confronto che sembri avere una propria evidenza formale: “il confronto precede necessariamente la valutazione critica”, ma deve poi subito “fare i conti con la storia, risalire per le infinite ramificazioni dei fatti”. Il confronto della Fig. 2 fra una testa da Uruk del III millennio e la kore 684 del Museo dell’Acropoli, per esempio, ha un’apparente eloquenza formale: e però non può avere sostanza storica, a meno che non lo si voglia considerare un confronto “genetico”, ipotizzando fra Sumeri e Greci un sostrato culturale comune, stabile nel corso dei secoli.

Veniamo a un simile esempio che ci riguarda più da vicino in quanto addotto da Luciano Canfora,<sup>13</sup> il quale ritiene il Papiro un falso ottocentesco, come ha cercato di dimostrare in numerosi libri e ancor più numerosi articoli (ciascuno dei quali invariabilmente contiene un nuovo “argomento decisivo”). Fra le “prove” da lui proposte c’è, appunto, il confronto fra il disegno di una mano nel Papiro di Artemidoro e due mani dipinte da Raffaello [Fig. 3]. Chiediamoci dunque: un tal confronto è “ammesso” o “non ammesso”? Subito è evidente dove sta l’affinità fra la mano del Papiro e le due del maestro urbinate: non certo nello stile, bensì nella postura, e in particolare nella leggera ma evidente divaricazione dell’indice dal medio, oltre che nello scostamento del pollice. Questo è dunque certamente, per la sua immediata evidenza visuale, un confronto ammesso: ma quale deduzione se ne può trarre? Secondo Canfora, il confronto sarebbe una “prova” che questo disegno del Papiro è ricalcato sulle mani dipinte da Raffaello; e che, dunque, l’intero Papiro (testi e immagini), non può essere antico.

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<sup>13</sup> Canfora 2008, 278 e Figg. 1 a–b–c.

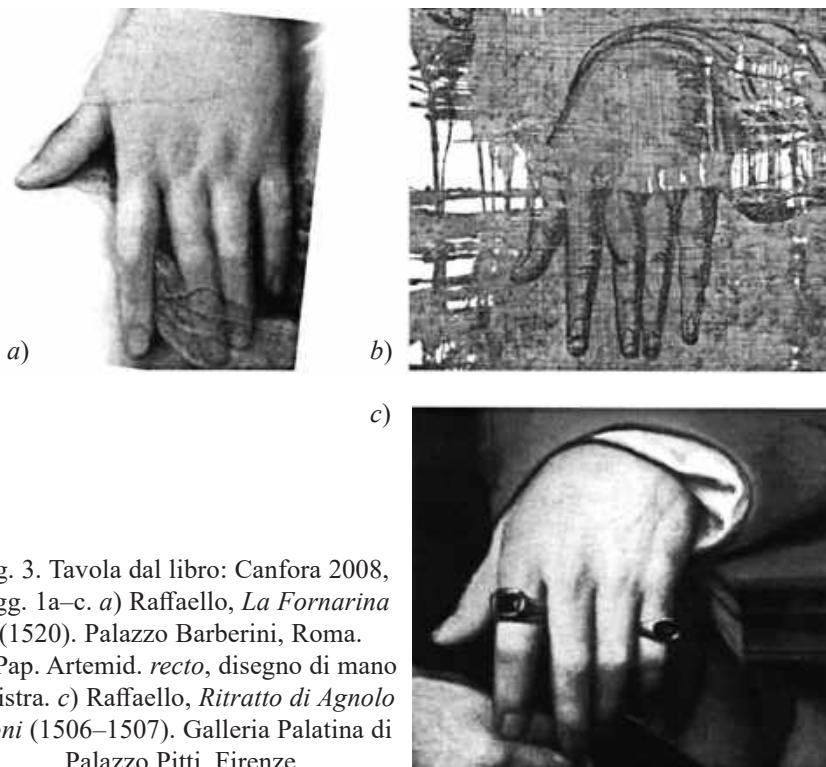


Fig. 3. Tavola dal libro: Canfora 2008, Figg. 1a–c. a) Raffaello, *La Fornarina* (1520). Palazzo Barberini, Roma.

b) Pap. Artemid. *recto*, disegno di mano sinistra. c) Raffaello, *Ritratto di Agnolo Doni* (1506–1507). Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Firenze

Per quanto ne so, nessuno storico dell’arte antica ha dato ascolto a questa argomentazione; in compenso, la tesi di Canfora è stata ripresa tal quale da una storica dell’arte moderna, Anna Ottani Cavina, che in un articolo di giornale menziona “l’incongruità di alcuni gesti, difficilmente riconducibili alla gestualità classica”;<sup>14</sup> il confronto proposto da Canfora è stato giudicato “puntuale” anche da uno storico dell’arte moderna e contemporanea, Maurizio Calvesi.<sup>15</sup> Secondo Canfora e i due storici dell’arte post-antica che lo hanno fedelmente seguito, dunque, la somiglianza fra queste mani lascia aperte solo due possibilità: o Raffaello prelevò quel gesto dal Papiro (cosa impossibile, perché esso venne alla luce nel Novecento), o chi disegnò il Papiro prelevò il gesto da Raffaello (dunque, il Papiro non è di età greco-romana).

<sup>14</sup> Ottani Cavina 2008.

<sup>15</sup> Calvesi 2008. Non discuto qui, perché già confutati da G. Adornato 2016, altri confronti iconografici frettolosamente addotti da Janko 2009 (un filologo classico).

Le cose non stanno così. Prima di tutto, questa postura della mano è così poco caratterizzata, che si potrebbe ben dire che non c'è bisogno di cercarne precedenti o paralleli. Tuttavia, proviamo a farlo. La mano “a indice divaricato” è frequentissima nell’arte europea almeno dal Quattrocento in qua. È quasi solo per gioco che propongo quattro esempi scelti a caso, tratti da pittori così diversi come Giovanni Bellini, fra’ Bartolomeo, Parmigianino, Savoldo [Fig. 4]: chiunque avesse un po’ di tempo da perdere in una biblioteca modestamente fornita potrebbe trovare centinaia di altri esempi in poche ore. Se vogliamo inseguire una sequenza storica di questo atteggiarsi della mano, dunque, un confronto fra le mani della

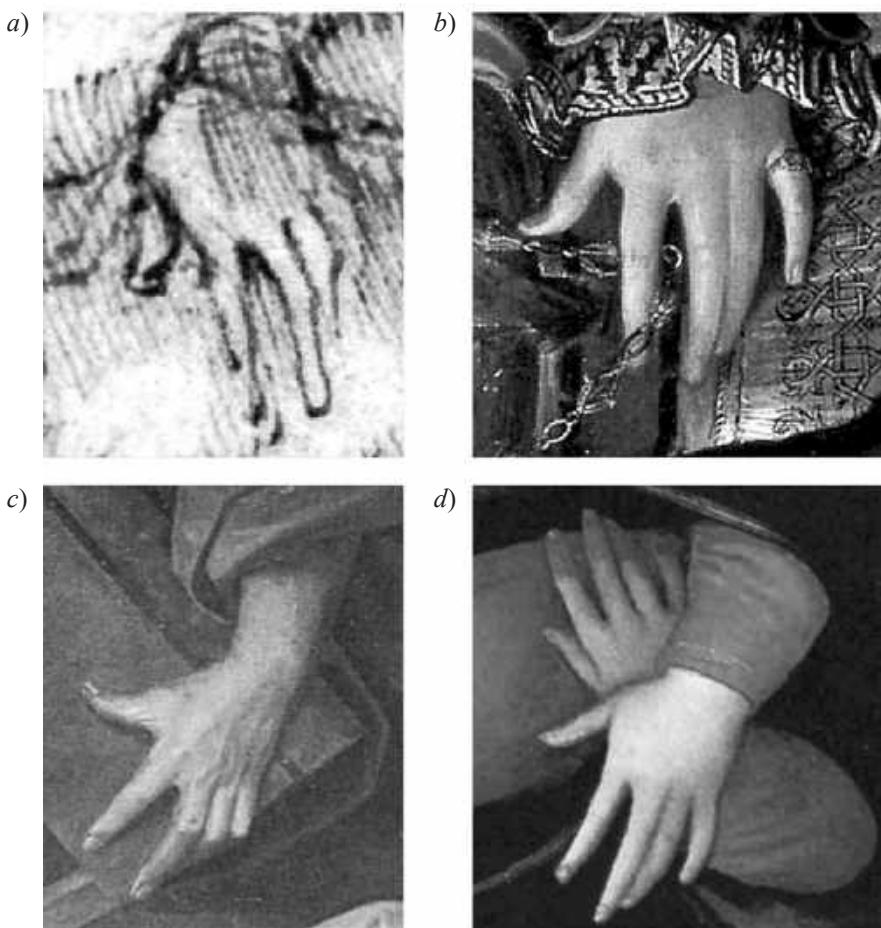


Fig. 4. Esempi di mani “a indice divaricato” nel Rinascimento:

a) Giovanni Bellini; b) Parmigianino; c) Cerchia di G. Savoldo;

d) Bottega di San Marco

Fig. 4 e le due di Raffaello non solo è ammesso, ma si interpreta facilmente, facendo i conti con la storia, come una modalità rappresentativa diffusissima fra i pittori di quell'età. In altri termini, queste mani “fanno serie” tra loro, e non è necessario ipotizzare che l'una derivi dall'altra: la mano “a indice divaricato”, possiamo ben dire, è una formula corrente, un dato “lessicale” che viene costantemente iterato tra Quattro e Cinquecento.

Anche il confronto fra questa formula e le sue occorrenze (ivi incluso Raffaello) e la mano del Papiro di Artemidoro è certamente ammesso sul mero piano delle ragioni formali: ma se vogliamo fare i conti con la storia prima di dedurne che chi disegnò la mano sul Papiro conosceva l'arte del Rinascimento italiano è buon metodo chiedersi se, per caso, l'identica formula non ricorra anche nell'arte antica. Anche qui, fin troppo facile è l'esercizio di raccogliere un manipolo di esempi, che si potrebbero moltiplicare a piacere. Indico, anche qui a caso, alcuni esempi [Fig. 5]: due da pitture pompeiane, uno da un telo egizio del II secolo d.C., un mosaico del II secolo d.C. Si può aggiungere un confronto ancor più pertinente, un disegno su papiro da Ossirinco del II secolo d.C. (a Firenze) [Fig. 6], con Eros e Psiche: qui è la sinistra di Psiche ad essere atteggiata secondo

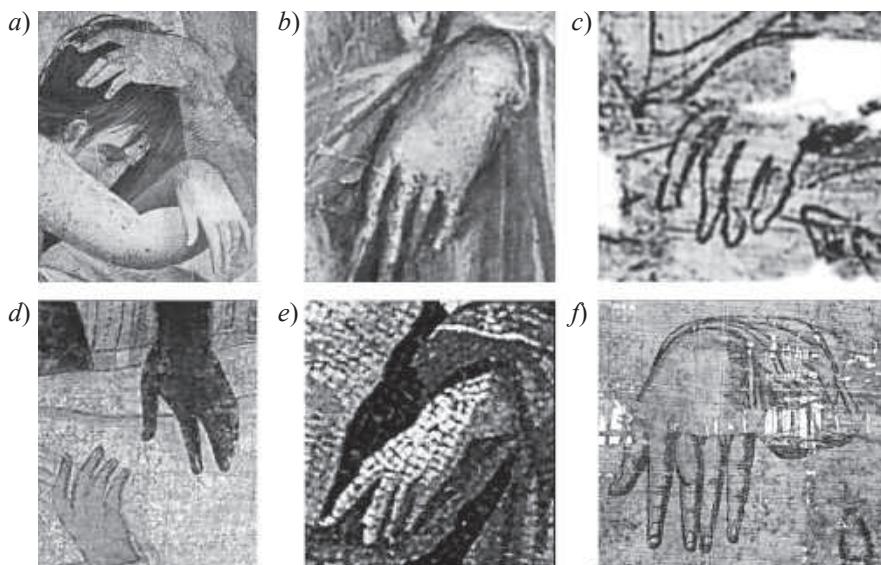


Fig. 5. Esempi di mani “a indice divaricato” nell'antichità.

- a) Affresco pompeiano (Villa dei Misteri), fine I sec. a.C.;
- b) Affresco pompeiano (Casa del Bracciale d'oro), I sec. d.C.;
- c) Papiro da Ossirinco con *Amore e Psiche*, II sec. d.C.;
- d) Telo da Saqqara, II sec. d.C.; e) Mosaico da Antiochia, II sec. d.C.;
- f) Papiro di Artemidoro, I sec. d.C.



Fig. 6. Papiro da Ossirinco con *Eros e Psyche*.  
Firenze, Museo Egizio

la modalità “a indice divaricato”, che anche nell’antichità era dunque assai frequente. Come questo esempio mostra bene, prima di giudicare in termini di sequenza storica dobbiamo ricostituire la serie, anzi propriamente la formula: la domanda sulla sequenza cronologica e genetica viene necessariamente dopo, e non sempre un confronto che appaia formalmente “ammesso” può ritenersi storicamente pertinente.

La diffusione universale di questa formula nell’arte antica rende inutile, anzi frivolo, il confronto con l’analoga serie di mani similmente atteggiate nell’arte rinascimentale. Se proprio volessimo tracciare una possibile storia di questa gestualità peraltro assai generica, la domanda da porsi sarebbe semmai un’altra, e cioè come una tal formula sia nata, e se la sua frequenza nell’arte del Rinascimento sia o meno debitrice a modelli antichi. Proviamo a fare anche questo esercizio. Nessuno degli esempi antichi citati finora può aver ispirato un artista rinascimentale, perché tutti sono stati scoperti secoli dopo. Ma la stessa identica formula ricorre anche in una classe di monumenti ben noti, anzi spesso studiati e disegnati, nel Rinascimento: i sarcofagi romani. Un chiaro esempio [Fig. 7] è il famoso sarcofago di Fedra reimpiegato nel secolo XII a Pisa per la sepoltura di Beatrice di Toscana, che come racconta Giorgio Vasari fu studiato già da Nicola Pisano quando lavorava al pergamo del Battistero di Pisa (1259–1260).<sup>16</sup> Per chi volesse ritener necessaria una mediazione fra la

<sup>16</sup> Sul dialogo di Nicola Pisano e del figlio Giovanni con la scultura antica, vedi Seidel 2012, 49–81.

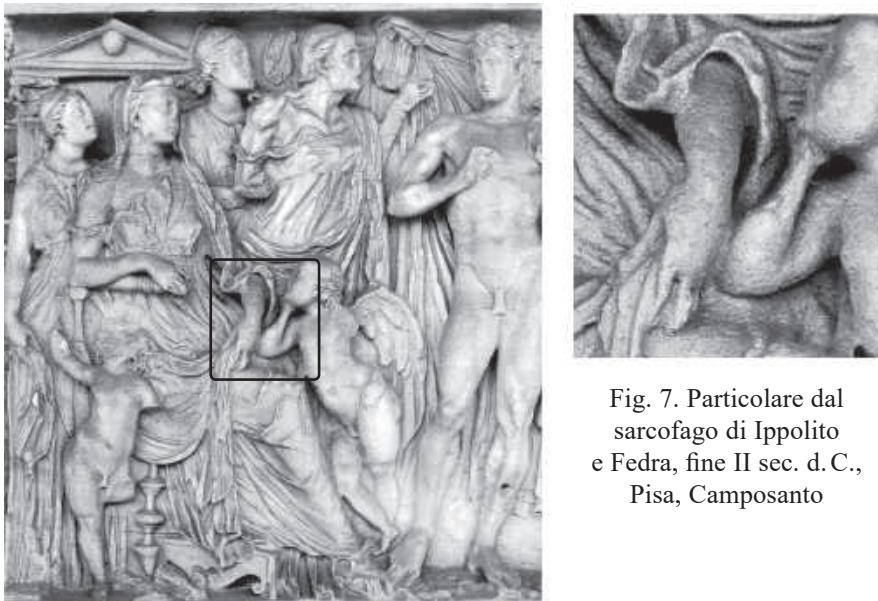


Fig. 7. Particolare dal sarcofago di Ippolito e Fedra, fine II sec. d.C., Pisa, Camposanto

*serie* antica e la *serie* rinascimentale, i sarcofagi romani reimpiegati e i disegni che ne furono tratti sarebbero il tramite più plausibile. Né questo è il luogo per insistere sul valore euristico e cognitivo della *serialità* nella storia dell'arte antica.<sup>17</sup>

Se poi volessimo spingerci ancor oltre, e additare una possibile origine di questa formula per rappresentare la mano, la direzione giusta è forse indicata da una ulteriore, ed egualmente amplissima, serie di esempi, in cui la divaricazione dell'indice dal medio è funzionale al gesto di reggere uno scettro, come fanno la Venere di un sarcofago vaticano e la sposa di Alessandro in una pittura pompeiana [Fig. 8], mentre in altri esempi in luogo dello scettro possono esservi, cito a caso, una spada o una lancia. Solo una ricerca accurata, che non ho fatto, potrebbe misurare quanto sia, o non sia, probabile che il gesto della mano “a indice divaricato” che regge qualcosa sia diventato una formula di dignità anche quando l'indice e il medio non reggono più nulla.

Questo piccolo esercizio dovrebbe aver mostrato che oltre al confronto diretto, 1:1, fra una singola immagine e un'altra (una mano dal Papiro, una da Raffaello) esiste un'altra e più fondata modalità di confronto, quello fra due diverse *serie* iconograficamente e storicamente definite e determinate.

<sup>17</sup> V. Settimi 2015.

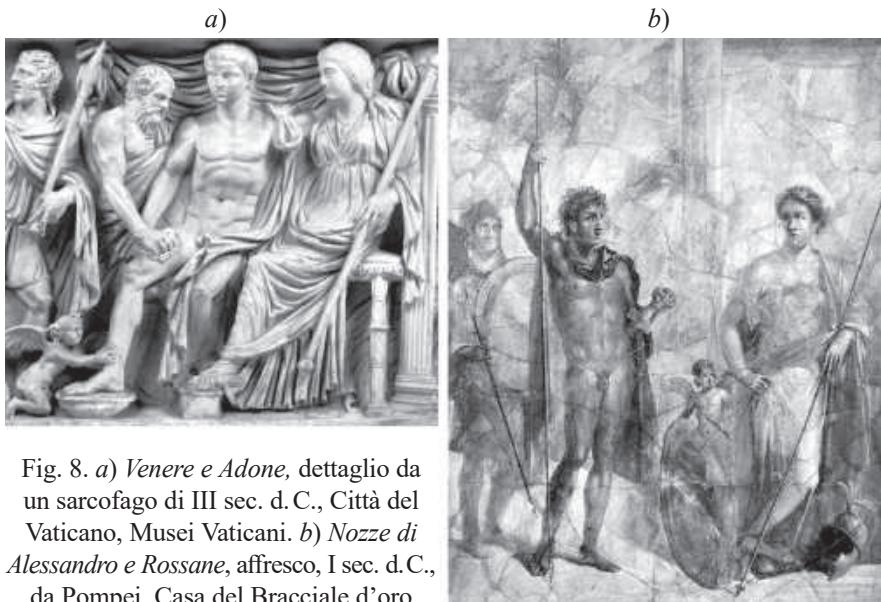


Fig. 8. a) *Venere e Adone*, dettaglio da un sarcofago di III sec. d.C., Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani. b) *Nozze di Alessandro e Rossane*, affresco, I sec. d.C., da Pompei, Casa del Bracciale d'oro

Proprio il parallelo fra le due *serie*, quella antica e quella rinascimentale, mostra assai bene che un confronto “ammesso”, come quello fra mani di Raffaello e mano del Papiro, diventa “non ammesso” quando se ne vogliano trarre conclusioni a-storiche che ignorino un dato essenziale: l’esistenza di serie figurative, di formule che si formano e si consolidano nell’antichità classica, e qualche volta migrano fin nel Rinascimento. Chi disegnò quella mano sul Papiro non aveva bisogno di guardare Raffaello, proprio come Raffaello non aveva bisogno di guardare il Papiro: le formule iconografiche, come le parole, circolano secondo regole che non sono quasi mai quelle di un rapporto di filiazione 1:1.

Fanno tuttavia eccezione poche formule rarissime, altamente convenzionali e codificate che, quando ricorrono a distanza di secoli, autorizzano l’ipotesi di una filiazione diretta; esigono, per la ripresa di un gesto antico, l’individuazione di un puntuale modello. Tale è l’indimenticabile gesto espressivo della disperazione, con entrambe le braccia gettate violentemente all’indietro, che in uno skyphos d’argento dalla Casa del Menandro (I sec. d.C.)<sup>18</sup> caratterizza un’ancella sconvolta dal dolore di fronte a Semele che, nel dare alla luce Dioniso, sta morendo tragicamente fra le braccia di una nutrice [Fig. 9]. Dopo questo e altri

<sup>18</sup> Stefani 2006, in particolare 200–201 n. 282.

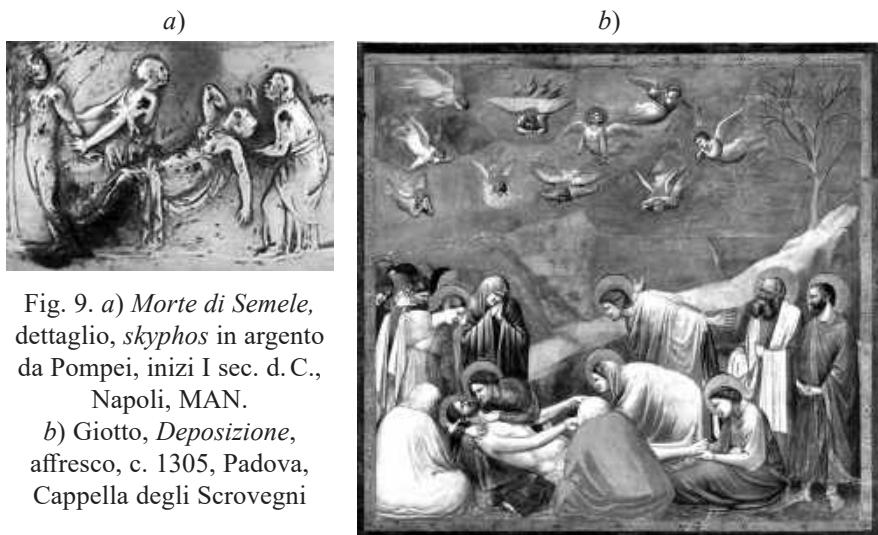


Fig. 9. a) *Morte di Semele*, dettaglio, *skyphos* in argento da Pompei, inizi I sec. d.C., Napoli, MAN.

b) Giotto, *Deposizione*, affresco, c. 1305, Padova, Cappella degli Scrovegni

pochi esempi antichi del gesto, per mille anni esso scomparve dall’arte europea, per essere poi ripreso nel Medioevo italiano: il caso più celebre è la *Deposizione* di Giotto nella Cappella degli Scrovegni (c. 1305), dove lo stesso gesto è usato per la figura di San Giovanni. Anche in questo caso, il confronto è ammesso per l’evidenza di un’identica gestualità espressiva: ma nessuno vorrà utilizzare questo confronto né per sostenere che Giotto dedusse il gesto di San Giovanni dallo *skyphos* pompeiano (scoperto il 4 dicembre 1930), né per sostenere che lo *skyphos* è un falso, e che il gesto dell’ancella di Semele dev’essere stato dedotto da quello dell’affresco di Padova. Tuttavia, il gesto di cui stiamo parlando ha un carattere così altamente distintivo, codificato e convenzionale, che ci spinge a ipotizzare un legame genetico fra la sua invenzione nell’arte antica e il suo riuso nell’arte medievale (da cui derivano tutti i successivi riusi, fino a *Guernica* di Picasso).

Questo necessario tramite è stato riconosciuto da tempo (sin da studi di Aby Warburg, Frida Schottmüller e André Jolles del principio del Novecento<sup>19</sup>): lo stesso gesto dell’ancella di Semele è infatti adoperato in una piccola serie, quella dei sarcofagi di Meleagro, per una delle piangenti che

<sup>19</sup> Nel 1901, indipendentemente l’uno dall’altra, Aby Warburg (Warburg 1932, 154 sg.) e Frida Schottmüller (Schottmüller 1902) indicarono nel sarcofago fiorentino di Meleagro la fonte di un simile gesto nella tomba di Francesco Sassetti in Santa Trinita. La sequenza dal sarcofago antico a Nicola Pisano a Giotto fu poco dopo indicata per primo da André Jolles (Jolles 1905).

circondano l'eroe morente.<sup>20</sup> Un sarcofago di questo tipo, c. 180 d.C., si trovava a Firenze, presumibilmente reimpiegato nel Medio Evo (ora a Milano, collez. Torno) [Fig. 10].<sup>21</sup> Di qui la *Pathosformel* della “disperazione davanti alla morte” fu prelevata e riusata da Nicola Pisano per una madre della *Strage degli Innocenti* nel pergamo di Siena (c. 1265):<sup>22</sup> Giotto potrebbe aver dedotto lo schema da Nicola, o direttamente dal sarcofago. Possiamo dunque in questo caso ricostruire una puntuale catena genetica, che si incardina sopra due fondamenti complementari: da un lato la rarità del gesto e il suo carattere altamente convenzionale; dall’altro lato, la possibilità di documentare fra le due serie, quella antica e quella rinascimentale un plausibile punto di contatto (un sarcofago romano reimpiegato nel Medio Evo).



Fig. 10. a–b) *Morte di Meleagro*, e dettaglio, sarcofago romano, II sec. d.C., Milano, Collezione Torno. c) Nicola Pisano, *Strage degli Innocenti*, dettaglio, c. 1265, Siena, Duomo, Pergamo

<sup>20</sup> Su questo tema rimando a un mio lavoro: Settis 2000, poi anche Settis 2013. Nel medesimo volume è da leggere, con puntuale riferimento anche allo skyphos pompeiano, il saggio di M. L. Catoni (Catoni 2013).

<sup>21</sup> Robert 1904, 341 sg. nr. 282; Koch 1975, 121 nr. 117; Bober–Rubinstein 2010, 145 nr. 114; Catoni 2013, Figg. 19 a–e. Non ho potuto consultare Paribeni 1975.

<sup>22</sup> Seidel 2012.

## III

La relativa rarità dei disegni su papiro (ne sono noti circa mille) induce ad affrontarne lo studio con particolare attenzione, ampliando al massimo l'attenzione in cerca di plausibili *comparanda* che tolgano i disegni più inattesi dal loro apparente isolamento. Un esempio efficace è il papiro da Ossirinco recentemente pubblicato da Helen Whitehouse e John J. Coulton [Fig. 11],<sup>23</sup> che è (si può dire) il solo disegno di architettura su supporto mobile finora conosciuto da tutto il mondo greco-romano, e come scrivono gli editori si può considerare “a student drawing” del II secolo d.C. Se guardiamo questo disegno, ne è evidente una generica affinità coi disegni di architettura del Quattro o del Cinquecento, ma tale affinità non vuol dire affatto che sia un falso. Il capitello disegnato su una parete di Pompei in preparazione di una decorazione dipinta [Fig. 11 b] è un primo parallelo possibile.<sup>24</sup>

Altri paralleli si possono rintracciare in tutt'altro “genere”, come in alcuni disegni di cantiere, incisi su blocchi di marmo del tempio di Apollo a Didyma (tardo III secolo a.C.) e in simili disegni di cantiere, recentemente raccolti da Antonio Corso in un opportuno censimento:<sup>25</sup> messi insieme con disegni su papiro e testimonianze letterarie, essi possono offrire una prima traccia per studiare il disegno di architettura nel mondo antico.

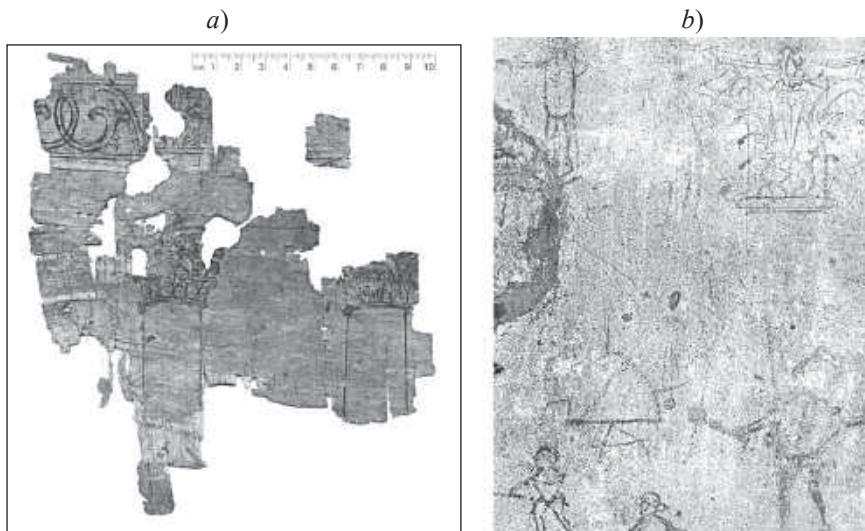


Fig. 11. a) *P. Oxy. LXXI 4842*. b) Disegno di un capitello corinzio su una parete della Casa di Cerere a Pompei (cubicolo *k*)

<sup>23</sup> Whitehouse 2007, 304–306.

<sup>24</sup> Corso 2016, 47 e 111 nr. 55.

<sup>25</sup> Corso 2016.

## IV

Tornerò ora al Papiro di Artemidoro, e per ciascuno dei tre apparati grafici (mappa, sequenza di animali e disegni di figura) proverò a indicare qualche possibile *comparandum*, seguendo solo una delle due modalità della comparazione che ho sopra distinto, e cioè non indicando à *bâton rompu* a-storici rapporti 1:1 fra i disegni del Papiro e qualcos’altro, ma estendendo lo sguardo in cerca di un orizzonte storicamente garantito, o almeno plausibile, entro il quale i vari disegni del Papiro possano collocarsi.

Cominciamo dalla mappa, che come ho ricordato all’inizio è ancora di assai controversa interpretazione, anche perché incompiuta (mancano tutti i toponimi). Ci aspetteremmo che possa rappresentare una regione della penisola iberica, data la sua contiguità alle due colonne di testo che la riguardano, ma finora non si è potuto provare che sia così, anche se Robert C. Knapp ha provato a individuare la zona intorno a Huelva, con la confluenza fra Rio Tinto e Rio Odiel,<sup>26</sup> e se verso il Sud-est della penisola iberica ha più recentemente indirizzato le sue ricerche e ipotesi di lettura anche Pablo Jaime Carrasco Carrasco.<sup>27</sup> Tuttavia, si è tentato e si tenta di individuare la zona rappresentata sulla mappa del Papiro in aree geografiche lontanissime dalla penisola iberica e fra loro: per esempio, secondo Francesca Mattaliano, potrebbe trattarsi di una zona dell’Asia Minore,<sup>28</sup> secondo Pierre Moret, l’area rappresentata sarebbe invece il delta del Nilo,<sup>29</sup> proposta riformulata di recente anche da Jean-Yves Carrez-Maratray;<sup>30</sup> secondo Richard Talbert, invece, la mappa si riferirebbe non a un’area geografica, ma a una proprietà privata.<sup>31</sup> Interpretazioni come queste, se dimostrate, potrebbero convergere con l’idea di un carattere “antologico” del Papiro.

Ma in una giornata di studi alla Società Geografica Italiana nel 2009 è stata sollevata da alcuni una domanda ancor più radicale: è pensabile, all’epoca di Artemidoro o almeno al momento in cui il Papiro fu scritto e disegnato, la presenza e l’uso di carte regionali? Secondo Francesco Prontera, per esempio, “l’assenza dell’illustrazione cartografica appare come una norma generale”, e le carte regionali sono “estranee alla cartografia tardo-ellenistica”.<sup>32</sup> Anche le carte regionali di Tolomeo, secondo

<sup>26</sup> Knapp 2004.

<sup>27</sup> Carrasco Carrasco 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Mattaliano 2008.

<sup>29</sup> Moret 2012.

<sup>30</sup> Carrez-Maratray 2019.

<sup>31</sup> Talbert 2012.

<sup>32</sup> Prontera 2012.

Prontera, “sono concepite come divisioni della carta generale dell’ecumenie e non come premessa alla sua realizzazione”. Ma è davvero così?

Un tetradramma argenteo, noto in almeno 35 esemplari (a cui si aggiungono sei monete in bronzo della stessa tipologia) sembra indicare un’altra direzione [Fig. 12]. Il diritto presenta la figura del re persiano nello schema della “corsa in ginocchio”: insieme ad altri indizi, fra cui l’uso del sistema ponderale rodio, questo prova che le monete furono emesse da una città dell’Asia Minore che era ancora sotto il dominio persiano, prima della conquista di Alessandro Magno, dunque in un arco di tempo che va dal 394 al 334 a.C. Ma che cosa è mai la raffigurazione sul rovescio, un incuso granulato di forma quadrata con un’immagine in apparenza informe? Secondo A. E. M. Johnston, che ha dedicato al tema uno studio molto accurato sul *Journal of Hellenic Studies* del 1967 (poi ripreso pochi anni dopo in *Imago Mundi*),<sup>33</sup> si tratta di una ridottissima mappa in rilievo del territorio intorno a Efeso: un’area di circa 233 kmq., precisamente identificabile, a causa della conformazione del terreno, con



Fig. 12. Tetradrammi d’argento di area ionica, D/ e R/

<sup>33</sup> Johnston 1967; id. 1971.

la valle del fiume Cayster fra i contrafforti dei monti Tmolos e Messogis [Fig. 13]. L'area rappresentata in questa micro-mappa include le città di Efeso, Magnesia sul Meandro e Sardi, ma questi insediamenti umani non sono mostrati in alcun modo, mentre le caratteristiche fisiche della zona sono ben individuate e riconoscibili: “the degree of topographical detail on these coins is extraordinary and must reflect a developed cartographical technique”, scrive Johnston.

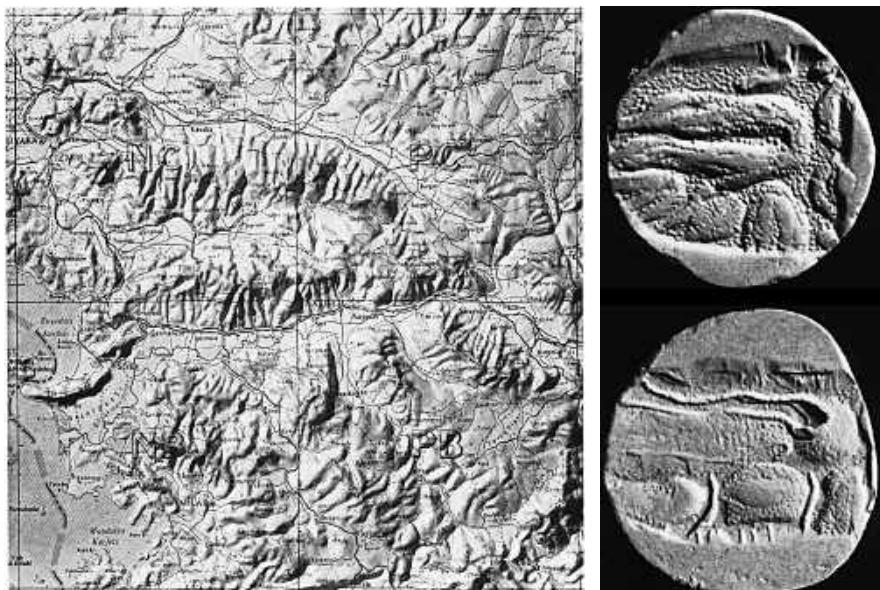


Fig. 13. Mappa orografica della regione di Efeso e rappresentazione del territorio sul rovescio di due tetradrammi d'argento di area ionica

Questi tetradrammi furono assai probabilmente emessi negli anni in cui alcuni Greci di Efeso chiesero l'aiuto di Filippo il Macedone, mentre la città venne occupata da truppe persiane al comando di Memnone di Rodi, finché il “partito” anti-persiano prevalse con la vittoria di Alessandro sul fiume Granico (334 a.C.); le monete erano state forse coniate per pagare i mercenari al soldo di Memnone, e la mappa può aver avuto la funzione di designare un territorio di cui il re persiano rivendicava la sovranità in quelle circostanze. L'interpretazione di Johnston non è stata (che io sappia) mai messa in dubbio: l'uso, per quanto rarissimo, di una mappa regionale come tipo monetale ha importanti implicazioni che vorrei sottolineare, ed è in ogni caso assai diverso da quello che secondo Dilke è l'unico possibile parallelo, la più antica coniazione di Zancle, dove un delfino s'inarca all'interno di un semicerchio che rappresenta la “falce”

(*zanklon* in siculo), cioè la forma del porto di Messina; i cinque punti in alto sarebbero secondo Dilke edifici portuali.<sup>34</sup> Si tratta però, in questo caso, di una rappresentazione compendiaria e convenzionale, appoggiata all’etimologia sicula del nome più antico della città, e non di una vera e propria resa cartografica: Dilke cita anche esempi di età romana, monete di Claudio e di Traiano che mostrano in “veduta aerea” due dei porti di Roma, e le monete di Cnosso con un labirinto schematizzato.

I tetradrammi micro-asiatici che abbiamo citato presuppongono senza dubbio l’esistenza di una mappa dello stesso territorio di dimensioni ben maggiori, tanto che la sua “riduzione” a minuscolo geroglifico cartografico-territoriale risultasse riconoscibile ai “primi utenti” delle monete. L’uso di una “cartina muta” (senza toponimi e senza rappresentazione delle città) come questa presuppone una particolare competenza del pubblico a cui era destinata, una specializzata *conoscenza locale* (nel senso della nozione antropologica di *local knowledge*, introdotta da Clifford Geertz<sup>35</sup>). Possiamo immaginare che mappe regionali come quella presupposta e “citata” da questi tetradrammi avessero usi militari o fiscali, o ancora che fossero adoperate in connessione con viaggi e occupazioni di territori. Come dice Johnston, “it should not be surprising that map makers were so competent in Ionia in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., since the area was renowned for its tradition in geography and cartography”. Insomma, se ci chiediamo di qual patria dovesse mai essere un geografo che, conoscendo l’uso di mappe regionali, possa aver deciso di trasferirle nello spazio librario, Efeso sarebbe il nome più indiziato. Efeso, la città di Artemidoro.

## V

Vorrei ora offrire qualche esempio a proposito del secondo apparato grafico del Papiro, la serie di animali che vi furono disegnati sul *verso*. Essi sembrano comporre una sorta di repertorio di bottega, che sarebbe in tal caso l’unico dell’antichità classica giunto fino a noi, con importanti paralleli nella prassi delle botteghe dei tessitori, come vedremo. Molte delle bestie del Papiro ricorrono anche altrove: cito qui un caso particolarmente interessante, quello della lotta fra due animali fantastici, uno dei quali è una sorta di ippopotamo con muso di coccodrillo e denti aguzzi, che la scritta designa come ξιφίας, una parola collegata

<sup>34</sup> Dilke 1985, 146 sg.

<sup>35</sup> Geertz 1983.



Fig. 14. a) Lo ξιφίας del Papiro di Artemidoro.  
b) Lo ξιφίας del mosaico di Palestrina

a ξίφος, ‘spada’, e usata di solito per designare il pesce spada [Fig. 14]. La stessa bestia si trova anche nel famoso mosaico di Palestrina, opera di maestranze alessandrine della fine del II secolo a.C., ma qui la scritta è stata danneggiata nelle molteplici vicende del mosaico. Irene Pajón Leyra ha dimostrato che tutti i tentativi di lettura dal sec. XVII ad oggi sono falliti, e che la miglior “restituzione” del testo originario è ξιφίας, proprio come nel Papiro.<sup>36</sup>

Fra i paralleli al repertorio di animali del Papiro che si possono proporre, il mosaico di Palestrina è forse il più ovvio; fra gli altri, citerò anche il fregio della tomba di Marissa (II secolo a.C.).<sup>37</sup> Questo orizzonte di *comparanda* si può estendere in varie direzioni, per esempio aggiungendo un interessante caso di decorazione domestica con animali esotici nell’Italia centrale. In due diverse case di *Forum Sempronii* (Fossombrone), entrambe del I secolo d.C., la decorazione parietale recentemente recuperata e restaurata include un partito decorativo con un pannello centrale interamente dedicato alla rappresentazione di un animale [Fig. 15].<sup>38</sup> In ambo i casi (come del resto anche nella tomba di Marissa e nel nostro Papiro) si tratta di rappresentazioni approssimative e di non grande qualità: a stento ammettiamo che la prima di queste due figure possa davvero essere una giraffa, tanto essa è disegnata goffamente. Quanto alla seconda, gli editori la intendono come un ippopotamo con un serpente in bocca: dato il suo stato assai frammentario, potrebbe

<sup>36</sup> Pajón Leyra 2009, 64. Per l’interpretazione del bestiario del *verso* del Papiro come “paradossografia visuale” si veda I. Pajón Leyra 2016.

<sup>37</sup> Jacobson 2006.

<sup>38</sup> Cardinali 2007.



Fig. 15. Due animali dalla decorazione di una *domus* romana di Fossombrone (*Forum Sempronii*).  
Fossombrone, Museo archeologico

invece trattarsi forse di un elefante in lotta col serpente, un tema spesso menzionato dalle fonti classiche (per esempio Strabone, Diodoro, Plinio), e rappresentato, oltre che sul Papiro di Artemidoro, anche a Pompei e in un mosaico del museo di Cartagine.<sup>39</sup>

Più inattesa è un'altra possibile direzione di confronto: decorazioni animalistiche sono frequenti nei vasi globulari meroitici, come quelli provenienti dalla necropoli romano-nubiana di Karanòg, scaglionati a cavallo fra il II secolo a.C. e il II d.C.<sup>40</sup> Sono alti da 30 a 40 centi-

<sup>39</sup> Adornato 2008, 322–326 e 376–377.

<sup>40</sup> Woolley – Randall-Maciver 1910, I, pp. 56–58 e II, tavv. 41, 42, 45, 53, 61 e *passim* (per queste e altre indicazioni desidero ringraziare Marilina Betrò). Si veda anche Wenig 1978, 284 sg. e Baud 2010, 76.

metri, e a quel che pare erano usati per il vino. Sono decorati con cani, scimmie, sciacalli, gazzelle, coccodrilli, ibis, civette, struzzi, leopardi, giraffe [Fig. 16]. In questi vasi, come gli studi specialistici hanno ben riconosciuto, la fauna rappresentata è tipicamente africana, ma lo stile della rappresentazione presuppone l'esperienza e l'influenza del naturalismo ellenistico, mediata (lo ha supposto László Török<sup>41</sup>) da importazioni dall'alto Egitto.



Fig. 16. Vasi meroitici con decorazione animale dalla necropoli di Karanòg (Nubia), I sec. a. C. – I sec. d. C.

Anche in questa classe monumentale, come in ogni altra nell'antichità, le raffigurazioni di animali sono in genere sommarie e infedeli. Per esempio, se mettiamo insieme un campionario di giraffe, da Marissa a Fossombrone, dalla Nubia al Papiro di Artemidoro [Fig. 17], non vi troviamo né una puntuale illustrazione zoologica né il filo di una tradizione iconografica uniforme. Due soli ingredienti legano fra loro queste rappresentazioni: l'uso di convenzioni disegnative di tradizione latamente

<sup>41</sup> Török 1994.

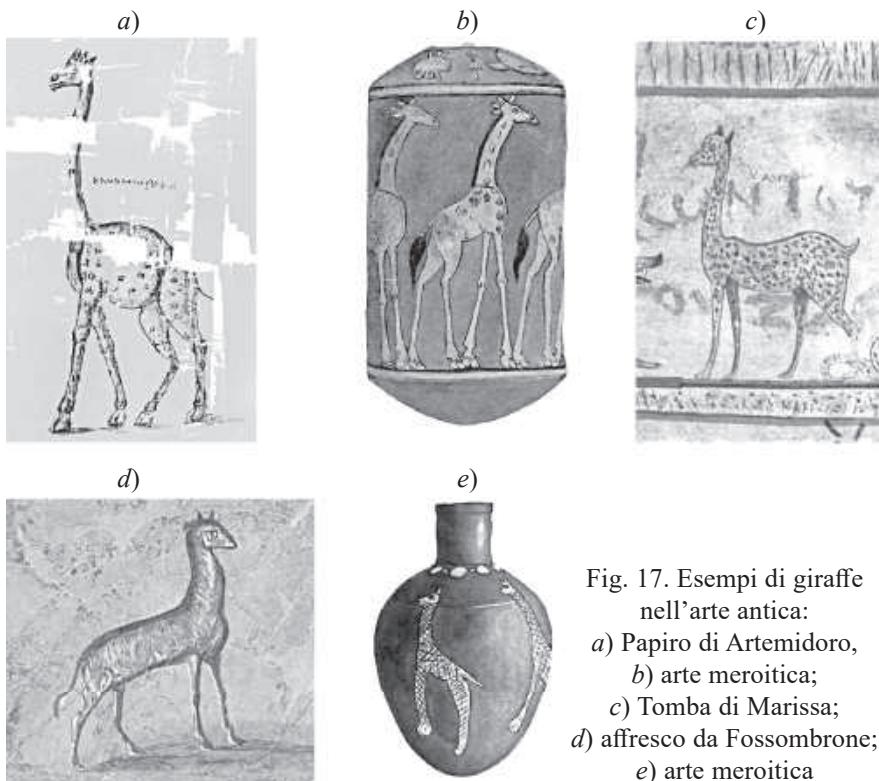


Fig. 17. Esempi di giraffe nell'arte antica:

- a) Papiro di Artemidoro,
- b) arte meroitica;
- c) Tomba di Marissa;
- d) affresco da Fossombrone;
- e) arte meroitica

ellenistica e l'intensa, diffusa curiosità per animali dalle strane caratteristiche, come il lunghissimo collo della giraffa; ma anche per scene di lotta fra animali, come quella fra l'elefante e il serpente. È per soddisfare una curiosità come questa (per rispondere, insomma, alla stessa sete di notizie vere o finti che ispirò la letteratura paradossografica<sup>42</sup>) che può esser nato un prontuario di animali buoni da pensare, buoni da rappresentare, come quelli che affollano il *verso* del Papiro di Artemidoro. Anche i disegni di animali su papiro, conservati in buon numero tra i papiri di Ossirinco a Oxford e solo in parte pubblicati [Fig. 18],<sup>43</sup> offrono ulteriori paralleli e indizi in tal senso.

<sup>42</sup> In gen., Sassi 1993; Pajón Leyra 2012.

<sup>43</sup> Whitehouse 2016.

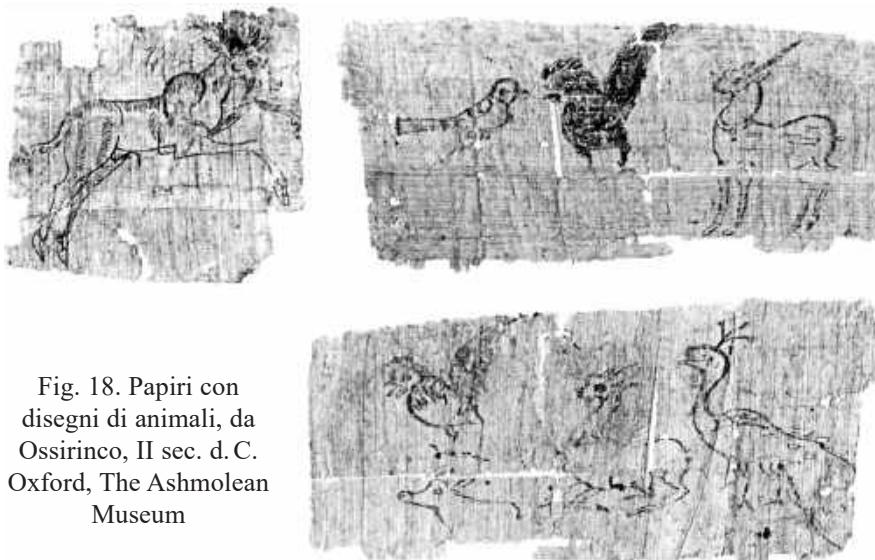


Fig. 18. Papiri con disegni di animali, da Ossirinco, II sec. d.C. Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum

## VI

Passo ora brevemente al terzo degli apparati grafici del Papiro: i disegni di figura. Qui la difficoltà di trovare confronti è ancor maggiore, in particolare sui due punti sottolineati già nell'*editio princeps*:<sup>44</sup> primo, il fatto che alcuni disegni (in particolare delle teste) si rifanno a modelli scultorei che appartengono all'arco di circa quattro secoli, dal 350 a.C. circa all'età di Augusto; secondo, il fatto che essi si presentino come *disiecta membra*, forse esemplati su calchi in gesso, del tipo di quelli ben noti da Baia, interpretati come i calchi (parziali) di statue per una bottega di copisti del I secolo d.C.<sup>45</sup>

L'uso (o meglio il riuso) disegnativo di tipologie statuarie non è senza paralleli. Tale è il caso del tondo a encausto del Museo Egizio del Cairo da Antinoe, detto per molto tempo “dei due fratelli” e da qualche tempo, con mutata sensibilità, “dei due amanti” [Fig. 19].<sup>46</sup> Accanto ai due ritratti, sono raffigurate come in *grisaille* due divinità: a destra, accanto al “fratello maggiore” (o ἑραστής), un Hermes-Anubi (riconoscibile dal caduceo); a sinistra, accanto al “fratello minore” (o ἐρώμενος), un Antinoo-Osiride (almeno secondo Parlasca). Non sono ancora del tutto chiare le implicazioni religio-

<sup>44</sup> Adornato 2008, 463–465 e *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> Landwehr 1985.

<sup>46</sup> Parlasca–Berger–Pintaudi 1985, 31.



Fig. 19. Tondo “dei due fratelli” da Antinoe, pittura a encausto, 120–140 d.C. Il Cairo, Museo Egizio

se e culturali di questa composizione singolare, dove le due piccole figure ai lati non sono certo intese come epifanie divine, ma come tipi statuari, che servivano forse a caratterizzare i due protagonisti del tondo. Certo è che l’ignoto pittore egizio (la scritta sulla sinistra non è una firma, ma una data) dipinse qui come due statuette di bronzo, ciascuna con la sua base: la tecnica a *grisaille* crea, rispetto ai due ritratti, un consapevole effetto di distanza.

Per cercare *comparanda* per i disegni del Papiro di Artemidoro vanno raccolti sotto un unico sguardo tutti i papiri figurati, spesso frustuli assai minimi: in questo senso sarà molto importante la pubblicazione degli inediti da Ossirinco a cura di Helen Whitehouse, come lo è stato il recente volume di Harald Froschauer sui papiri figurati di Vienna e di Berlino.<sup>47</sup> Un altro sostanziale contributo è stato offerto da Annemarie Stauffer, che nel suo libro *Antike Musterblätter* non solo ha raccolto e sistemato un centinaio di papiri figurati, ma ha anche messo in evidenza per la prima volta una intera classe di documenti, i modelli per tessitori: una pratica di bottega strettamente affine a quella che abbiamo presupposto per il prontuario animalistico sul *verso* del nostro Papiro.<sup>48</sup> In questa direzione

<sup>47</sup> Froschauer 2008.

<sup>48</sup> Stauffer 2008; ead. 2016.

si deve lavorare ancora via via che nuovi papiri figurati vengono pubblicati, come è il caso di uno schizzo su legno nel Phoebe Hearst Museum di Berkeley, Ca., un *unicum* su cui ha recentemente attirato l'attenzione Jean-Luc Fournet [Fig. 20 e].<sup>49</sup> È una sorta di disegno preparatorio a inchiostro nero, di probabile età antoniniana, con numerose indicazioni in greco, evidentemente rivolte al pittore, che danno l'indicazione dei colori da usare.

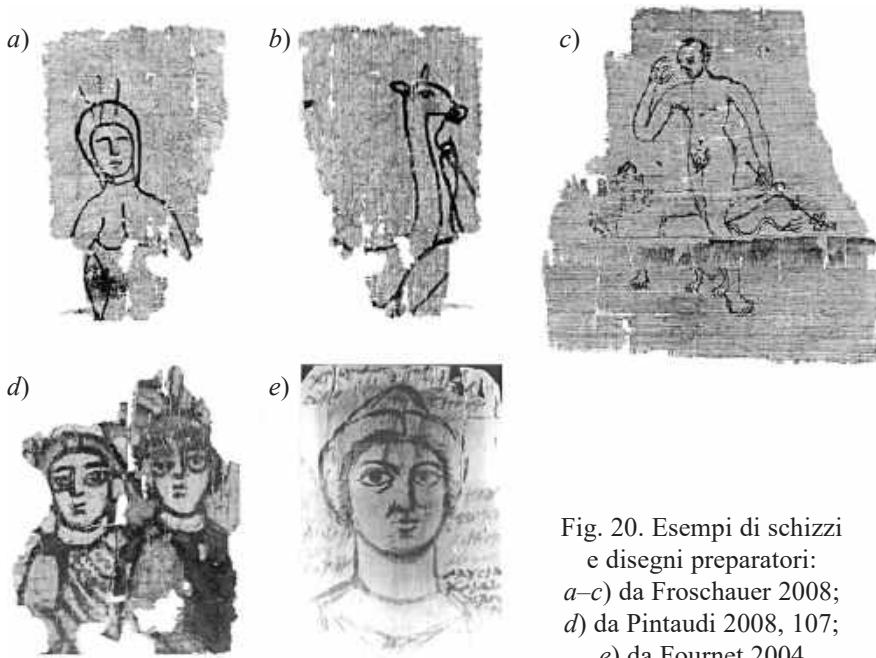


Fig. 20. Esempi di schizzi e disegni preparatori:  
a–c) da Froschauer 2008;  
d) da Pintaudi 2008, 107;  
e) da Fournet 2004

Vorrei ora suggerire la possibilità di esplorare le pratiche grafiche dell'antichità classica, e in particolare quella del disegno al tratto, ricorrendo a un'altra classe monumentale: i graffiti. L'ampia monografia di Martin Langner facilita una visione d'insieme.<sup>50</sup> Si tratta quasi sempre di disegni “non professionali”, fatti in momenti d'ozio da persone assai varie per età, estrazione ed educazione: come, per citare solo due casi frattanti, un'arma dal ginnasio di Delo [Fig. 21] e una parete della casa del Criptoportico a Pompei, dove nello specchio sotto le ghirlande qualcuno tracciò a graffito numerosi animali e scene di *venatio*.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Fournet 2004.

<sup>50</sup> Langner 2001. Keegan 2014 si riferisce in gran parte a graffiti testuali.

<sup>51</sup> Langner 2001, 97 e 106.

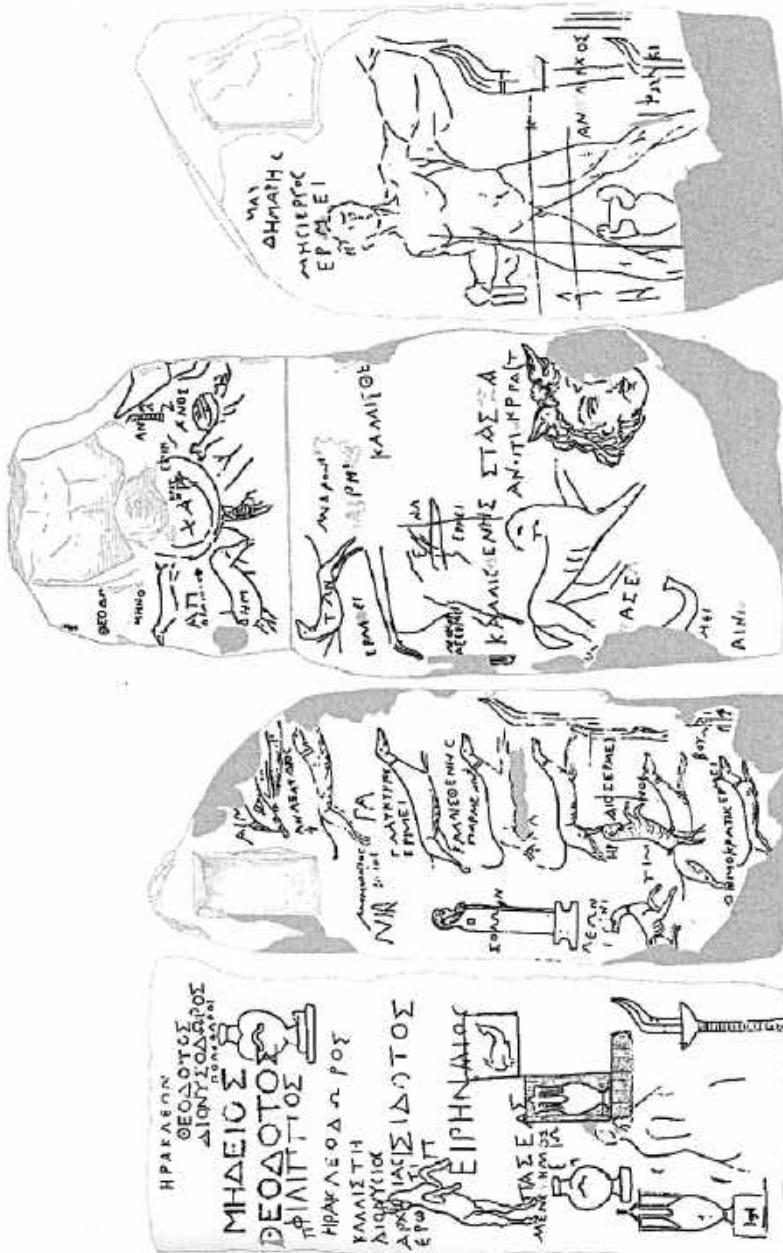


Fig. 21. Riproduzione dei disegni graffiti sui quattro lati dell'ermà del ginnasio di Delo, da Langner 2001, fig. 46

I graffiti dell'erma di Delo mostrano la tipica mescolanza di testi e immagini che caratterizza le zone di accumulo dei graffiti. Cavalli, cani, vasi, torce, un'erma di Solone, una testa di Medusa e una statua di Hermes o di un atleta. È evidente la disparità delle mani di chi tracciò questi disegni, ora con modi assai incerti, ora invece con tratto rapido e sicuro, come è qui il caso della statua citata sopra e del *gorgoneion*; mentre la ripetizione di uno stesso cane in corsa pare quasi una competizione improvvisata fra frequentatori del ginnasio. Per il loro carattere “popolare”, che tuttavia implica certo la volontà di condividere il proprio disegno con chi lo guarderà, e magari ne aggiungerà altri lì vicino, i graffiti sono assai utili per ricavarne qualche congettura sulle abitudini grafiche degli Antichi, e soprattutto sui loro filtri di selezione di “cose degne di esser rappresentate”.

Rarissimo è il caso di graffiti di alta qualità, come quelli, di sicura impronta greca, che troviamo sul piede di una statua colossale di Dario da Persepoli (al Metropolitan Museum) [Fig. 22]. Sulla base di confronti con la ceramica attica, questi graffiti (teste umane e di leoni) sono databili

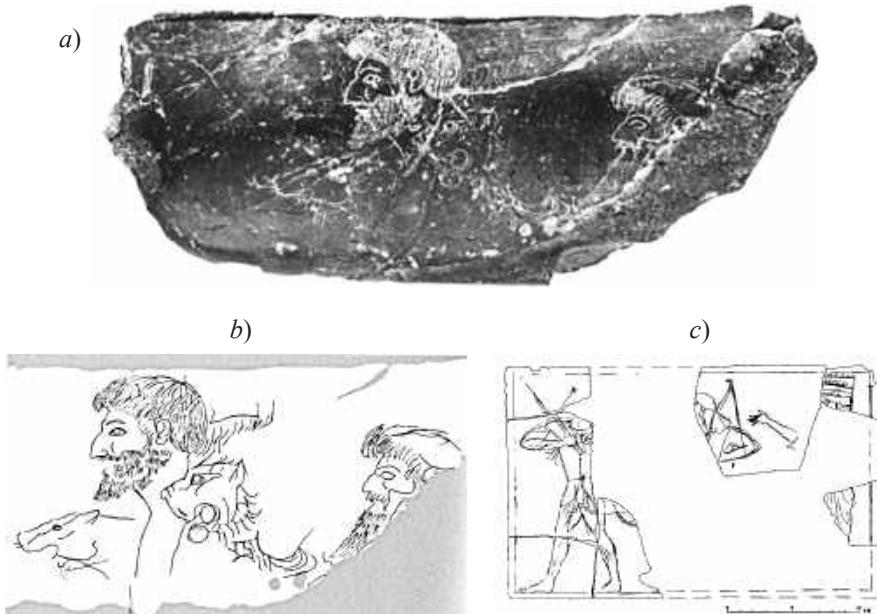


Fig. 22. a–b) Graffiti rinvenuti presso il Palazzo di Dario a Persepoli sul piede di una statua colossale del sovrano, c. 490-480 a.C. e disegno ricostruttivo da Langner 2001, p. 92. c) Apollo ed Eracle, disegno graffito su una lastra rinvenuta a Persepoli, c. 500 a.C.

verso il 490–480 a.C.; secondo Boardman, potrebbero essere opera di schiavi o mercenari greci.<sup>52</sup> Il perduto graffito su lastra di calcare grigio, anch’esso da Persepoli, è invece un disegno preparatorio inciso da una mano professionale. Michael Roaf e John Boardman hanno identificato la scena come la lotta fra Eracle e Apollo per il tripode delfico, al cospetto di Artemide con alto *polos*, datandola circa 500 a.C.<sup>53</sup> Poiché lo schizzo è su calcare locale, questo *pinax* dev’esser stato eseguito *in loco* da un artista greco, ed era destinato ad essere completato col colore. Chiunque ne fossero l’artista e il committente, esso era considerato abbastanza prezioso da finire nel tesoro del Gran Re, dove i frammenti sono stati recuperati in due riprese.

Teste umane e profili di animali sono i due temi più frequenti in cui si esercitavano, improvvisando, gli autori dei disegni di graffiti, ma anche di altre rappresentazioni altrettanto autoschediastiche, come i due disegni al carboncino su una tegola dalla volta della tomba Barberini sulla Via Latina (II d.C.):<sup>54</sup> da un lato un cane in corsa a semplice contorno, dall’altro una testa barbata disegnata al carboncino e poi ritoccata con colore rosso-bruno, probabilmente polvere di mattone bagnata (quello che Plinio chiama *testa trita*) e applicata con le dita.

Fra i graffiti sparsi dappertutto nel mondo antico, Langner ha identificato la presenza di tipi statuari, solo di rado resi con qualche accuratezza, ma sempre in modo da risultare genericamente riconoscibili. Ancor più frequenti sono le teste umane, più spesso di profilo che di fronte: anche di queste raccolgo nella Fig. 23 una selezione casuale, ma sufficiente a mostrare, nonostante l’“aria di famiglia” che questi graffiti hanno fra loro, quanto siano grandi i dislivelli nell’esecuzione, che rispecchiano naturalmente consimili dislivelli di competenza nel disegno. Langner ha osservato che il 44% delle teste sono mostrate nella forma di un busto, o hanno comunque in basso una netta linea di separazione che ne fa rappresentazioni in sé concluse: una convenzione disegnativa in sé degna di nota, anche perché prossima a simili artifizi rappresentativi nel Papiro di Artemidoro. Nel caso dei graffiti nrr. 317 e 318, entrambi dal Palatino, che sono state interpretate come ‘caricature’ di Nerone e di Domiziano, il modello potrebbero essere stati busti dei due imperatori.

Anche i disegni sui papiri mostrano grandi dislivelli di qualità, come nel caso di due schizzi tracciati velocemente sul *verso* di documenti

<sup>52</sup> Boardman 1993, 37 sg.

<sup>53</sup> Roaf–Boardman 1980, 204–206.

<sup>54</sup> Egidi 2006, 358.

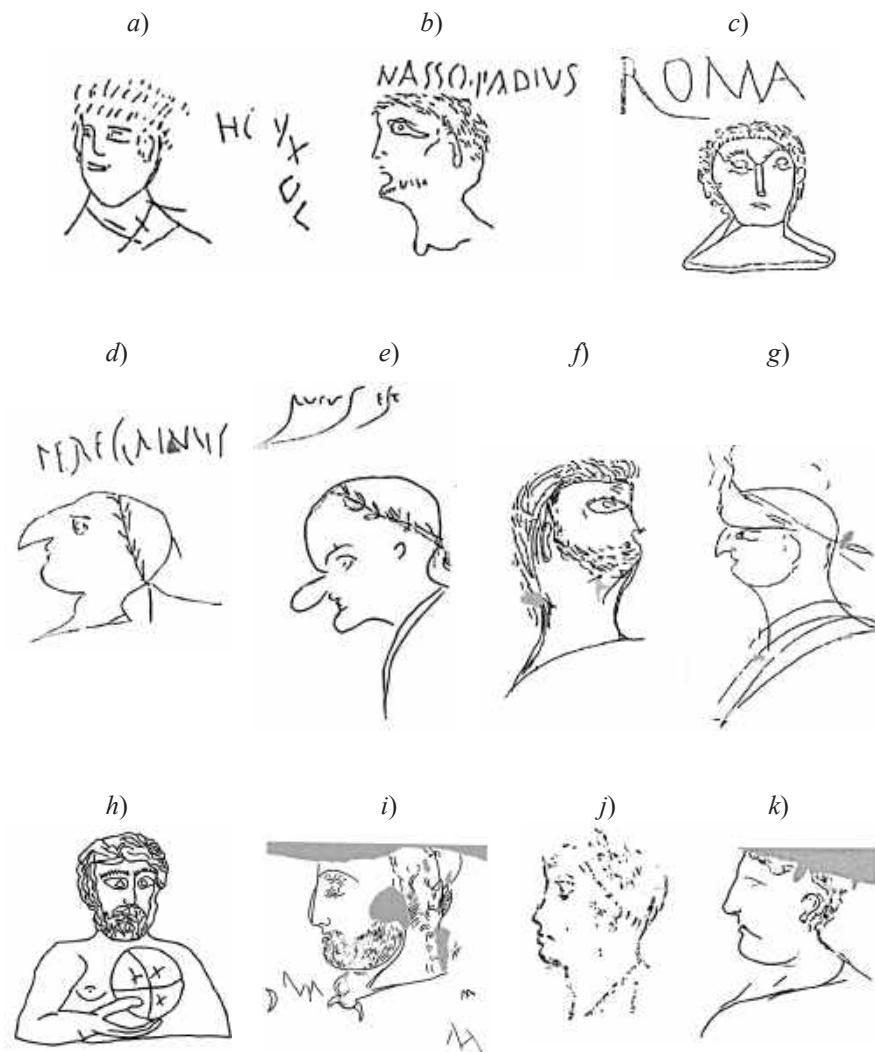


Fig. 23. Disegni graffiti con teste umane, da Langner 2001.

- a) Pompei II 7 (Palestra grande). Alt. 7,5 cm. b) Pompei VIII 7, 20 (corridoio del teatro). Alt. 8 cm. c) Pompei VI 16, 35: Triclinium H. Alt. 8 cm. d) Pompei VIII 1, 1. 2. 6 (Basilica), parete interna. Alt. 6,5 cm. e) Pompei, Villa dei Misteri. Atrio. Alt. 7,2/3,1 cm. f) Roma. Domus Tiberiana. Taberna 7 SW. Alt. 26,5 cm. g) Roma. Palatino Clivus Victoriae, ambiente 4. Alt. 48 cm. h) Leptis Magna. Teatro, parapetto dell'orchestra. Alt. 80 cm. i) Roma. Domus Tiberiana. Criptoportico. Alt. 23 cm. j) Sicilia. Tomba a Milocca. Alt. 16 cm. k) Roma. Domus Tiberiana. 7 SW. Alt. 27 cm

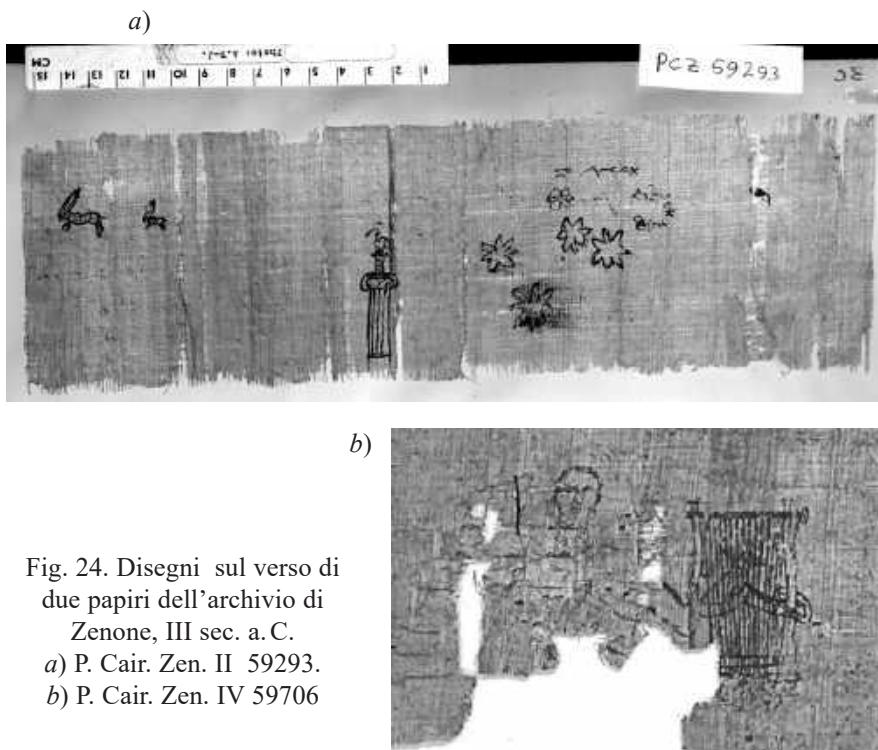


Fig. 24. Disegni sul verso di due papiri dell'archivio di Zenone, III sec. a.C.  
a) P. Cair. Zen. II 59293.  
b) P. Cair. Zen. IV 59706

dell'archivio di Zenone (al Cairo) [Fig. 24].<sup>55</sup> Il primo documento, datato 251 a.C., è l'elenco dei beneficiari di una distribuzione di orzo; sul *verso* furono rozzamente disegnate due lepri in corsa, una colonna ionica sormontata da un ibis e alcuni fiori o stelle. Il secondo è il diario delle spese di un viaggio sul Nilo, databile anch'esso al III secolo a.C.; sul *verso* qualcuno schizzò con mano assai inesperta una sommaria figura di Apollo citaredo. Al confronto, i disegni del Papiro di Artemidoro, certo non di alta qualità, appaiono subito di natura assai più “professionale”. Grande è tuttavia la loro distanza dai prodigiosi vertici del disegno antico, quali ci sono descritti dalle fonti, soprattutto da un celebre passo di Plinio che espressamente cita a questo proposito gli scritti sulla pittura di Senofane di Atene e di Antigono di Caristo, dove si poteva leggere che i *graphidis vestigia in tabulis ac membranis* di Parrasio si tramandavano nelle botteghe degli artisti di generazione in generazione,<sup>56</sup> anche perché

<sup>55</sup> Horak 1992, 234 nrr. 75 e 76.

<sup>56</sup> Plin. *NH* XXXV, 68 (vedi quel che ne ho scritto in Settim 2008b, spec. 594–596).

la sua tecnica disegnativa seppe sfidare la scultura attraverso tratti e scorci fortemente espressivi e l'uso sapiente delle ombreggiature. Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli ha dedicato molta attenzione all'inafferrabile disegno di Parrasio, provando a rintracciarne riflessi e affinità nella pittura vascolare attica, in particolare nei vasi del Pittore del Canneto (c. 420 a.C.). La linea disegnativa di Parrasio, argomenta Bianchi Bandinelli, doveva collocarsi sul crinale “fra l'affermarsi di una nuova concezione del disegno, non più come limite di piani, ma come interpretazione di volumi, e una prossima concezione di esso in senso più che altro cromatico e luministico”. Quella di Parrasio fu insomma una “linea funzionale” in senso proprio, e cioè tale “che, circoscrivendo un corpo, non ne determina soltanto le compatte superfici, ma crea relazioni di volume”.<sup>57</sup>

Il disegno a monocromo ebbe nell'antichità un ruolo assolutamente centrale, che la poverissima documentazione conservata non consente di immaginare facilmente. È perciò necessario utilizzare al meglio i frustuli di disegno che abbiamo, individuandone tecniche, sviluppo e funzione al fine di sostanziare, per quanto possibile, ogni congettura sulla storia del disegno antico. È per questo che il Papiro di Artemidoro, offrendo quello che è fino ad oggi il più vasto campionario di disegni su supporto mobile, merita di essere studiato a fondo nonostante la qualità dei suoi disegni non sia alta. L'analisi al dettaglio dei disegni del Papiro mostra un ventaglio di accorgimenti tecnici, gestualità artigianali, artifizi nell'uso delle ombreggiature che corrispondono molto bene al quadro che si può ricostruire per il disegno antico sulla base di sparsi indizi (e di altri papi-ri figurati).<sup>58</sup> Ombreggiature al tratteggio obliquo, a zig-zag o incrociato; ombreggiature lungo i contorni o per macchia; linea funzionale e uso dello scorcio: tutti questi elementi ne confermano la natura di disegni d'esercizio e la pertinenza alla pratica di bottega.

In una bella pagina, Bianchi Bandinelli evocava la tendenza, inaugurata da Parrasio, “a voler ottenere il modellato mediante ombreggiature con tratteggi a linee brevi e parallele, oppure con linee che seguono l'andamento della forma”.<sup>59</sup> È quel che vediamo, sul principio del IV secolo a.C., in una grande lekythos a fondo bianco dall'Attica (alta cm. 75), dove si mostra un giovane defunto seduto tristemente presso la propria tomba [Fig. 25].<sup>60</sup> Il giovane è rappresentato combinando nel volto, di tre quarti, veloci pennellate (specialmente nei capelli), e accurate linee di contorno, ancor

<sup>57</sup> Bianchi Bandinelli 1980, spec. 11, 109 e *passim* (“linea funzionale”). 207–211 (Parrasio).

<sup>58</sup> Elsner 2016. Cfr. Moormann 2016.

<sup>59</sup> Bianchi Bandinelli 1980, 210.

<sup>60</sup> Cohen 2006, 237 sg.

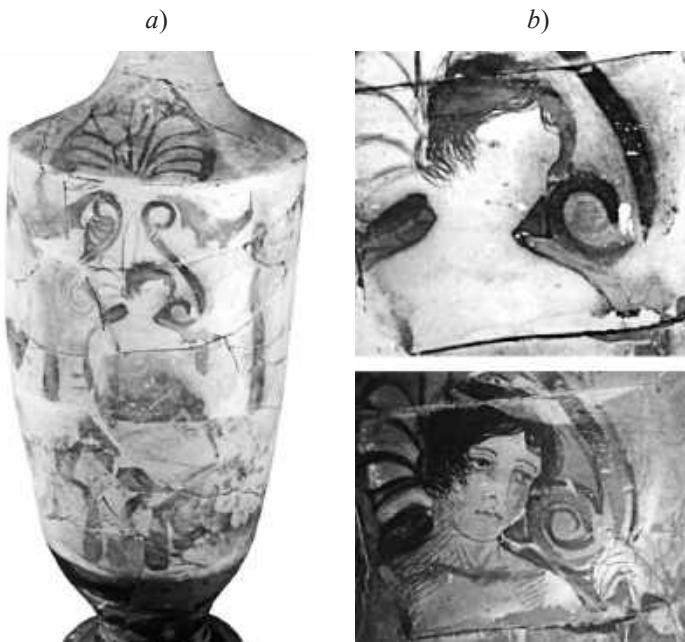


Fig. 25. a) *Lekythos* a fondo bianco da Alopeke, c. 400 a.C. Berlino, Antikensammlung b) Particolari della *lekythos* alla luce normale e alla luce ultravioletta (in basso a destra)

più evidenti nella mano. La figura è arricchita da sapienti ombreggiature al tratteggio sulle spalle e sul collo, ben visibili da una ripresa a raggi ultravioletti. Anche i ben più modesti disegni sul Papiro di Artemidoro sono ombreggiati con tecnica del tutto analoga a questa: traccia, tenue ma visibile, di una continuità di pratiche artigianali che incoraggia a studiare, anche sui papiri, le rare reliquie del disegno antico, mettendole in serie con testi e monumenti, secondo un'accurata strategia della comparazione che congiunga, come dev'essere, l'immediata evidenza formale a un'accurata analisi storica.<sup>61</sup>

Salvatore Settis  
Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei  
salvatore.settis@sns.it

<sup>61</sup> Non ho potuto tener conto in questo articolo di J. Elsner, “The Artemidorus Papyrus. Imagination and the Digital-Photographic Archaeology of Pictures”, in: A. Morris-Reich, M. Olin (edd.), *Photography and Imagination* (London 2019) 52–68.

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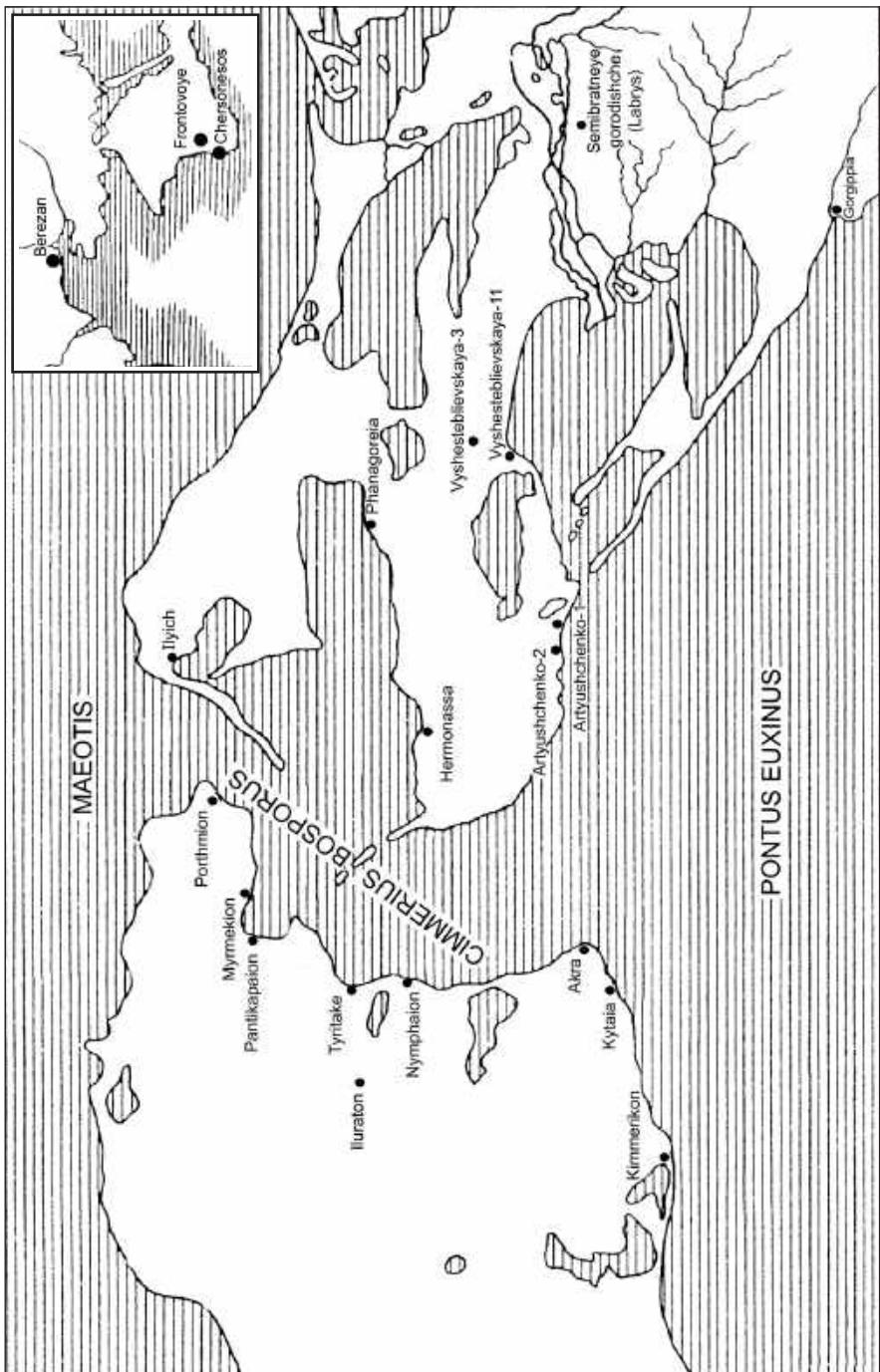
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A proper archaeological comparison, while based on immediate and convincing visual affinities, must also be verified and controlled according to parameters of a properly historical, and art historical, nature. The “Papyrus of Artemidorus”, with its three series of drawings (a map, numerous animal drawings and a series of figure drawings) lends itself to considerations of great methodological interest. Some comparisons that have been proposed do not stand up to the test of historical analysis, but the search for other comparisons (or *comparanda*) opens new avenues for research, which this paper explores in part. The central role of drawing in ancient art, so difficult to grasp from an extremely fragmented documentation, can at least in part be understood by widening the gaze from the few drawings on preserved papyrus (about 1000 are known) to other monumental classes: coins, graffiti, paintings, vases, sculptures.

В археологическом исследовании, проводя параллели, основанные на непосредственном и очевидном внешнем сходстве, следует проверять их на соответствие историческим и искусствоведческим критериям. “Папирус Артемида”, содержащий три серии рисунков (карту, многочисленные изображения животных и ряд изображений людей), располагает к заключениям, интересным с методологической точки зрения. Некоторые из предлагавшихся параллелей не выдерживают исторического анализа. Однако поиск других параллелей (или, точнее, *comparanda*) открывает новые перспективы исследования, которые отчасти реализуются в этой статье. Центральная роль рисунка в античном искусстве, понимание которой затрудняет крайняя фрагментированность материала, может быть понята хотя бы отчасти, если не ограничиваться рассмотрением немногочисленных рисунков на сохранившихся папирусах (их известно около 1000), а включить в обзор другие классы памятников: монеты, граффити, живопись, вазы и скульптуры.

# **ARCHAEOLOGICA**



## INVESTIGATIONS ON BEREZAN ISLAND IN 2014–2018 (HERMITAGE MUSEUM ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION)

The present article continues a series of brief reports<sup>1</sup> on the investigations of the archaeological mission of the State Hermitage museum on the island of Berezan; it contains a brief overview of the main results of the excavations in the North-Eastern part of the site (sector “O-Western”) during the last five field seasons (2014–2018).

The survey conducted during these years was focused on the investigation of the environment of two Late Archaic public buildings, which were excavated earlier in the same area. Buildings of a similar size and layout were located within the territory of neighboring *insulae*; both houses emerged in the late 6<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and had existed up to approximately the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. These houses are hypothetically interpreted as dining rooms, *hestiatoria*, which served for public banquets associated with religious and social activities and fests. The concentration of public buildings, fragments of sculpture and architectural details suggest the localization of the civic center of the colony in this particular area of ancient Borysthenes.<sup>2</sup>

The information obtained in the course of the recent excavations confirms the above supposition. It was established that the city block, within the boundaries of which Building no. 1 was located, had an unusual triangular shape (Fig. 1). The streets which limited it from the west and east in the southern part of the *insula* intersected at an acute angle and converged into one street which continued further northwards. Building no. 1 had a courtyard located in front of it on the south. The southwestern part of the same ‘triangular’ *insula* was occupied, in the late 6<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, by another large courtyard surrounded by fences. No traces of any building were found within the boundaries of this courtyard, but there was some structure there, which was undoubtedly of a religious purpose. It consisted of a circular limestone altar and an

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<sup>1</sup> Chistov 2005; 2015a.

<sup>2</sup> Chistov 2015b; Bujskikh-Chistov 2018.

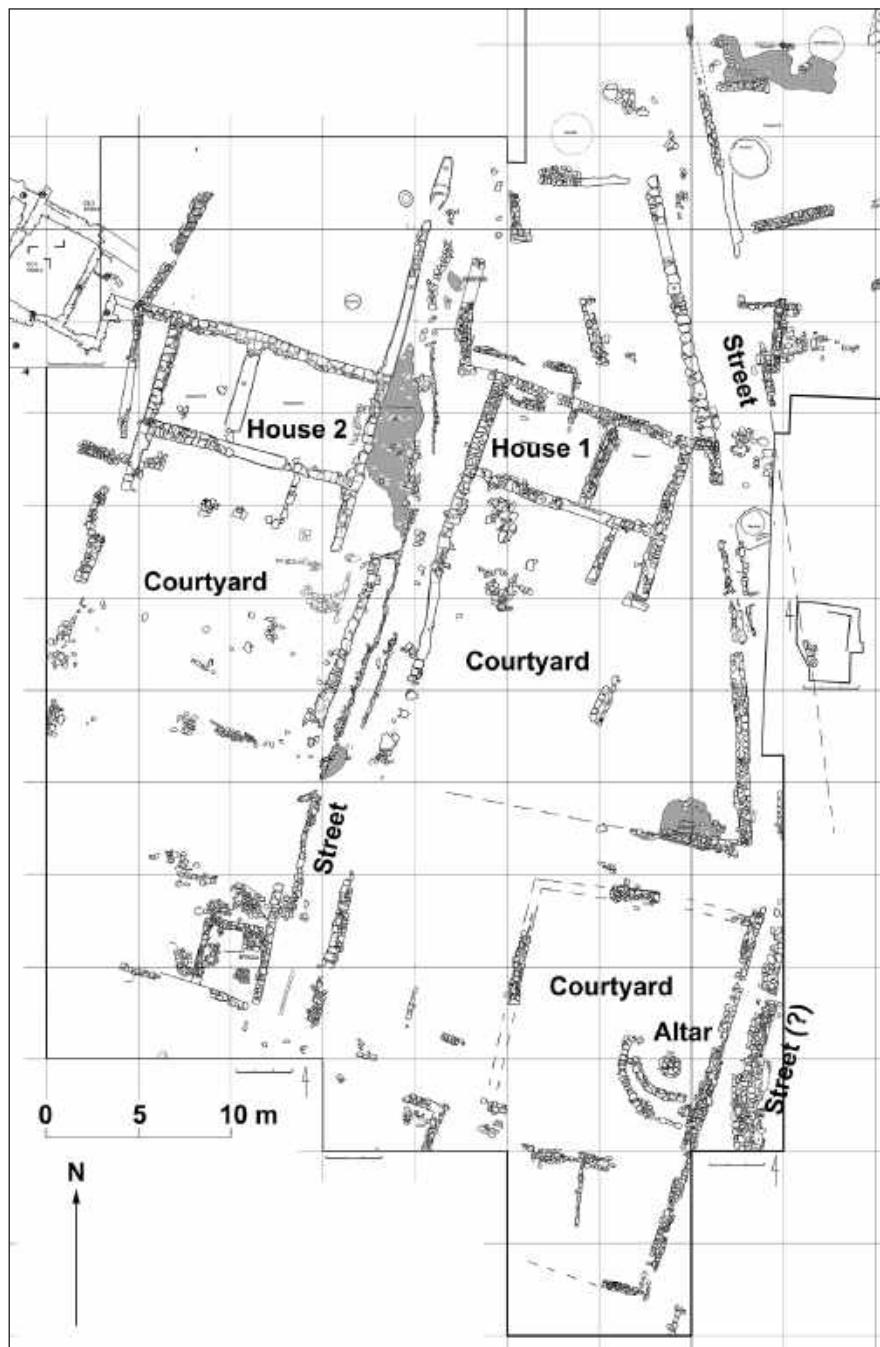


Fig. 1. Sector "O-Western", plan of the 'triangular' insula  
in the late 6<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC

apsidal wall that surrounded the altar from the south and west (Fig. 1, 2). This semicircular fence had two construction phases, its internal area having been considerably reduced after its reconstruction. The passage to the altar was obviously situated on the north. The base of the altar was of a rounded plan (about 1.30 m in diameter), and consisted of one row of roughly processed limestone blocks. The altar itself was a stone structure with a diameter of 0.93 and 0.34 m high, built of well-dressed blocks, two courses in height (0.34 m). This structure was erected in the late 6<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC; among its closest parallels there is a similar altar from the so-called Sanctuary of Aphrodite,<sup>3</sup> situated 98.5 m to the SWW from it, as well as cylindrical altars of the earliest *temenos* of Olbia.<sup>4</sup> *Terminus post quem* for the altar is determined through dating of the ceramics from two large pits or dugouts (nos. 80–81) backfilled immediately prior its construction. Among these finds noteworthy are fragments of an Attic cup of type “B” with a representation of mounted warriors. This painting belongs to some early red-figure vase painters of



Fig. 2. Circular limestone altar and its semi-circular fences.  
View from SE

<sup>3</sup> Nazarov 2001 [Б. В. Назаров, “Святилище Афродиты в Борисфене”], 156, fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Rusyaeva 2006 [А. С. Русяева, “Глава IV. Строительные остатки алтарей”], 59–60, 332–333 fig. 51–52.

ca 510–500 BC (Fig. 7.1). Thus, in the Late Archaic period (stratigraphic phase IIB-2), a significant part or even the entire territory of this *insula* was a public space. The Eastern Street in this sector of the block was unusually wide, and it was paved with stone. It is possible that here the street was facing a corner of a big square.

In the south-western part of the same insula, remains of residential buildings of the previous stratigraphic phase II-A (ca. 540ies – 520/500 BC) were disclosed. Among them there was semi-basement premise no. 24 (Fig. 3), as well as the remains of a building destroyed in fire which was located to the south of the latter. In one of its premises there was a well-preserved adobe domed oven; under the partially collapsed dome, a set of cooking and tableware remained (Fig. 4). This pottery, as well as finds from the fills of premise no. 24, are dating not later than ca. 520/500 BC: the building had been destroyed and its semi-basement was filled with soil just before the construction of city buildings nos. 1 and 2.

To the north of Building no. 1, merging of two meridional streets was revealed, as well as part of an *insula* located to the east.

Within that city block, a large residential house (no. 3) has been completely investigated,<sup>5</sup> as well as the remains of at least one other household



Fig. 3. Semi-basement premise no. 24, view from the east

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<sup>5</sup> Chistov 2016, 15–20.

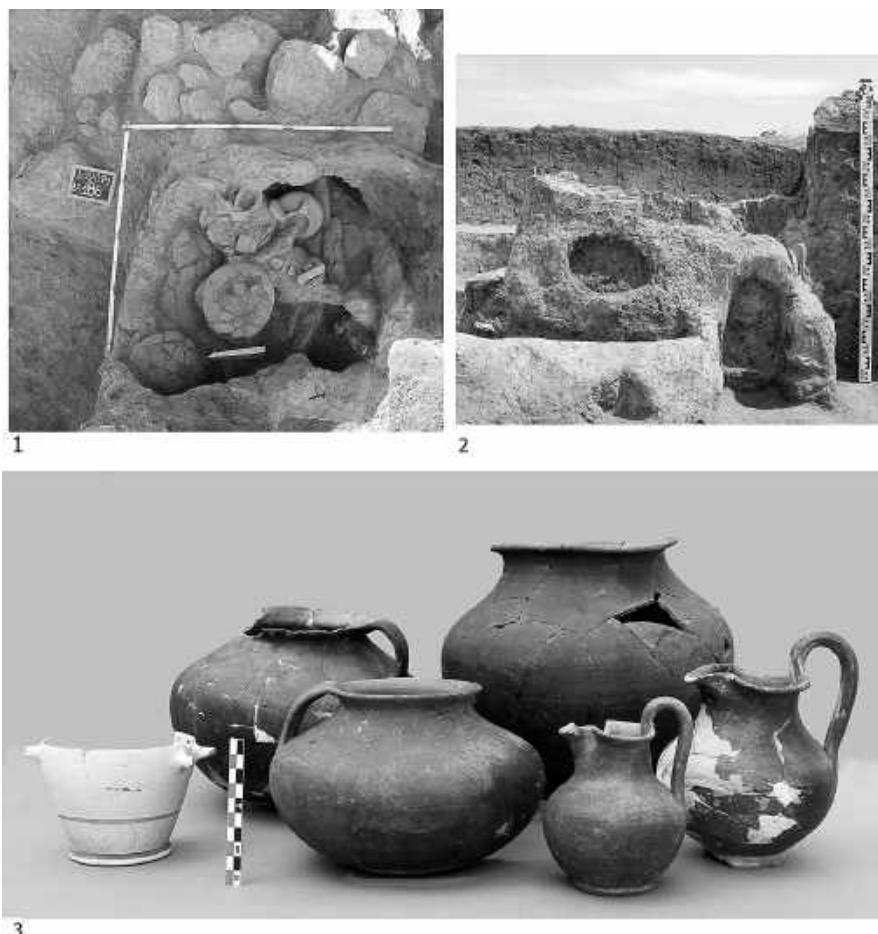


Fig. 4. Adobe domed oven (1–2) and the assemblage of vessels (3) from it

area located to the north of the latter. Stone and mudbrick houses in this part of the excavation area were built regarding the relief of the terrain. The ancient surface was sloped markedly towards the modern coast of the island; for this reason, to the north of House no. 3, the slope was cut to form a small terrace up to 0.5 m high. To the north of this terrace, several premises of the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC were uncovered (nos. 27, 28, and 29); however, the layout of the house, to which they belonged, is unclear because of the poor preservation of its walls. Nor the northern border of the *insula* was elucidated.

In the course of these excavations, building remains of stratigraphic phase II-A (ca. 540ies – 520/500 BC), as well as of the later building

phase II-B, were revealed. Layers of fire and destruction, completing the phase II-A, were found in many areas of these houses, as well as in the territory of the street. They yielded findings reliably dating this period (Fig. 7.3–4). Thus, in a small room (no. 26) in the north-western part of House no. 3, in the destruction layer near an oven, three Chian bulging-neck transport amphorae were found together with three handmade vessels of local forms (Fig. 5). This noteworthy assemblage demonstrates that handmade cooking ware was used in everyday life of the inhabitants of a large multi-chambered Greek house. In storage pit no. 238, located within the courtyard of the same household, and probably associated with the earliest period of its occupation, an outstanding finding of a big Ionian cup of type B2 was made (Fig. 6.1). A single-line graffito running along the inner surface of its rim contains the name of the owner of the cup, and, probably, of the entire household: Pytheas, son of Perikles.<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 5. House no. 3, premise 26, view from the north

<sup>6</sup> The preliminary reading of the graffito inscribed on this cup, as well as on the other cup from storage pit no. 232, which is mentioned below, was proposed by S. R. Tokhtas'yev. During the *XXI Readings in memory of prof. I. M. Tronsky*, on 28.06.2017, he presented the report “Two archaic graffiti from Borysthenes”. Unfortunately, the sudden death has not allowed the researcher to prepare a full publication of these inscriptions.

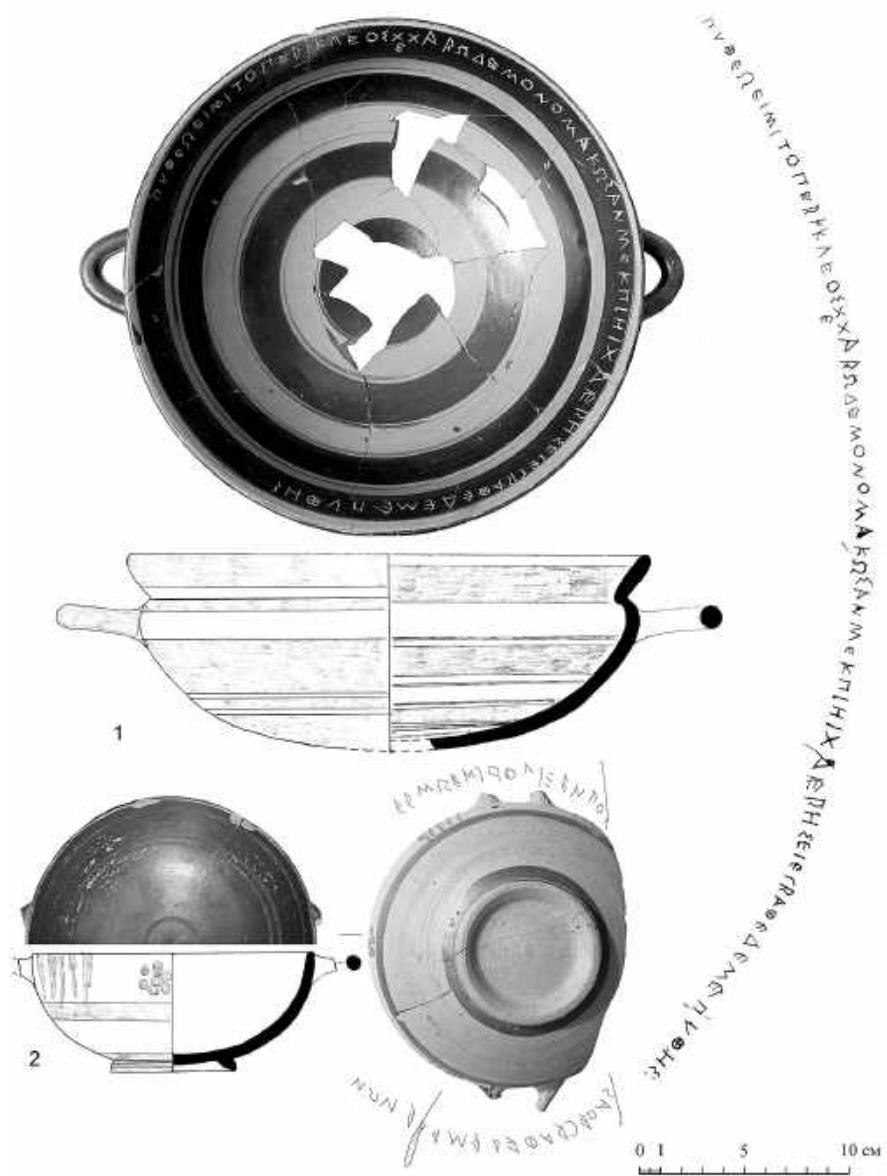


Fig. 6. Ionian cups with *graffiti*:  
1 – cup from the storage pit no. 238,  
2 – rosette bowl from the storage pit 232

Cups of this type were produced for a long time span between 590/580 and 550/540 BC<sup>7</sup> in northern and southern Ionia.<sup>8</sup> Although this type of cups was widespread, bowls of such a size are very rare.

A rare find was made in a similar layer of destruction to the north from the ‘House of Pytheas’: a segmented cast trapezoid copper coin with the image of a ribbed arrowhead in the relief on one side, and a fish head (tuna?) on the other (Fig. 7.2).<sup>9</sup>

In the course of excavations of early deposits in the northern part of the sector, numerous structures of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, preceding the first stone houses, were uncovered: semi-dugouts and storage pits. Most of dugouts were of a rounded plan with a posthole in the central part suggesting the use of a conical roof. Three semi-subterranean dugouts (nos. 67, 69, and 73) had rectangular outlines. In one case, traces of wattle-and-daub wall were recorded, and in another (no. 69), a rectangular wattle-and-daub structure adjoined the dugout.

Apparently, the appearance of such structures at the Berezan settlement belonged to a relatively short phase preceding the beginning of mass construction of surface houses; it is noteworthy that these earth dwellings are located along the street of the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC on both sides of it.<sup>10</sup> An important finding was retrieved from the fill of storage pit 266, dated to 575–550 BC. It is a lead letter with an inscription in seven lines. In the following issue (*Hyperboreus* 25: 2), a special article will be devoted to its publication. Jointly with an Ionic rosette bowl with a graffito – dedication to Hermes (Fig. 6.2), this letter can be considered as an additional evidence of the substantial Greek component among the population of the early Berezan settlement of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The bowl mentioned was found in storage pit 232 of the same period which is synchronous to a group of dugouts of an oval plan within the area where later House no. 3 was built.

Dmitry Chistov  
State Hermitage museum  
[d.chistov@gmail.com](mailto:d.chistov@gmail.com)

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<sup>7</sup> Schlotzhauer 2001, 107–108, 516–517, Kat. 175–178.

<sup>8</sup> Cook–Dupont 1998, 131.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. an earlier find of a similar type from Berezan (1989): Borisen – Berezan 2005 [Борисфен – Березань. Начало античной эпохи в Северном Причерноморье], 119, cat. 208.

<sup>10</sup> Chistov 2017 [Д. Е. Чистов, “Землянки архаической Березани”], 132–139.

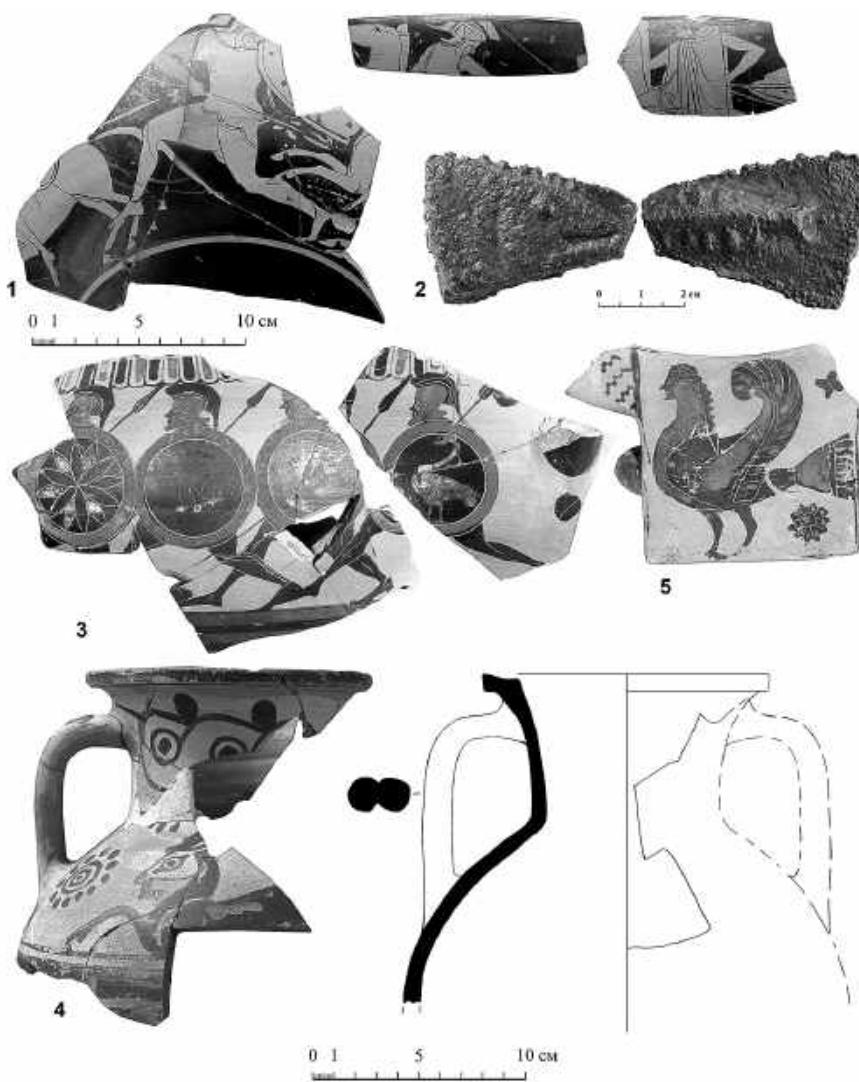


Fig. 7. 1 – Structure no. 80 (in front of the altar). Fragments of Attic red-figure cup, 510–500 BC. 2–4 – Findings from layers of destruction of 525–500: 2 – segmented cast coin, 3 – fragments of a black-figure Attic krater, Lydos painter circle, 540ies BC; 4 – upper part of a North Ionian amphora (580–550 BC). 5 – Territory of the courtyard with the circular altar: Attic black-figure krater handle, 575–550 BC

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**'THE HOUSE OF ARCHELAOS':  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS  
OF THE STATE HERMITAGE EXPEDITION  
IN QUARTER XX OF THE TAURIC CHERSONESOS  
IN 2014–2018**

Tauric Chersonesos is situated at the south-western extremity of the Crimean Peninsula. In 2014–2018, the State Hermitage Archaeological Expedition continued its investigations of the south-western part of ancient living quarter XX in Tauric Chersonesos. The quarter is located at the corner of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Longitudinal and the 11<sup>th</sup> Transverse Streets.

This paper introduces materials concerned with architectural complexes and finds of the Hellenistic period. During the seasons of 2014–2018, a house of the Hellenistic period was investigated. Due to the discovery of an owner's graffito ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ on the wall of a Colchian amphora,<sup>1</sup> it has got the name of the 'House of Archelaos'. The graffito was carved on the neck of a Colchian amphora of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC after it was fired.<sup>2</sup>

The State Hermitage Archaeological Expedition started its investigations in the south-western part of Quarter XX in 1979. The excavation of the 'House of Archelaos' began in 1989 when Yu. P. Kalashnik discovered a large cellar of a house of the Hellenistic period, which is now called Cellar 3, and began to excavate Cellar 1. However, his investigations were then interrupted.<sup>3</sup>

Now, after the surveys of 2014–2018, it has been established that in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, at the corner of the 11<sup>th</sup> Transverse Street and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Longitudinal Street, there was a typical Greek house with an internal courtyard and rooms surrounding it, built on the natural bedrock. It was established that the courtyard was located at the corner of the

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<sup>1</sup> The graffito was interpreted by A. S. Namoylik, Research Fellow of the State Historical and Archaeological Museum-Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos.

<sup>2</sup> Tsetskhladze 1992 [Г. Р. Цецхладзе, "Производство амфорной тары в Колхиде"], 68–89, fig. 4–5.

<sup>3</sup> Kalashnik 2012 [Ю. П. Калашник, "Астрагал с надписью из Херсонеса"], 106.

2<sup>nd</sup> Longitudinal and the 11<sup>th</sup> Transverse Streets and was surrounded by 5 above-ground rooms. Beneath three of these rooms there were cellars cut in the rock (Fig. 1).

The ‘House of Archelaos’ was constructed in five masonries discovered by now (nos. 21, 22, 24–26). According to the known analogues reported by A. V. Buyskikh and the dimensions of the preserved masonries, the dimensions of the House were presumably 11.4×12.4 m extending from the north to the south.<sup>4</sup> The total area of the house therefore must have been 143.6 sq. m.

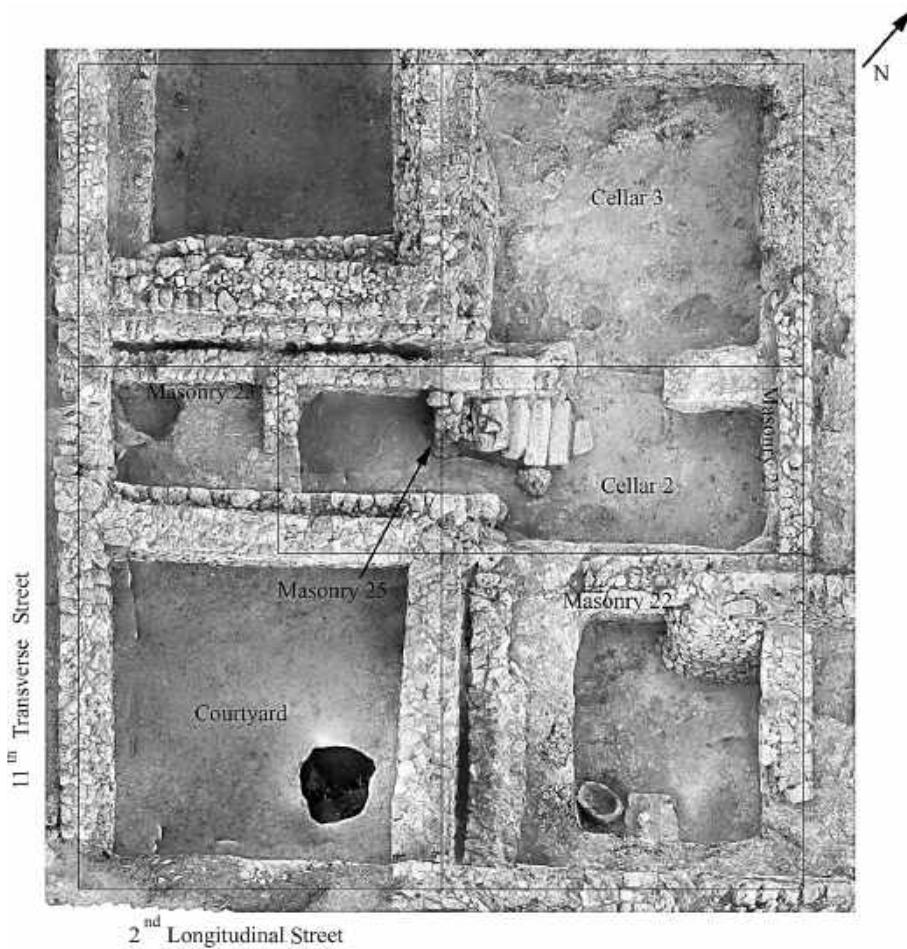


Fig. 1. Orthophotoplans of the ‘House of Archelaos’

<sup>4</sup> Buyskikh 2008 [А. В. Буйских, *Пространственное развитие Херсонеса Таврического в античную эпоху*], 128.

The ‘House of Archelaos’ had two façade walls facing the 2<sup>nd</sup> Longitudinal and the 11<sup>th</sup> Transverse Streets. These walls are not preserved. An outer wall of the house is also missing. The northern outer wall of the house, i. e. the 21<sup>st</sup> masonry, is preserved better than the other ones.

Masonries 22 and 24 constitute the internal walls of the house, extended from the north to the south, and masonries 25 and 26 are the internal walls of the house extending from the west to the east.

All the masonries were constructed on the natural rock from rectangular stone blocks using mud mortar; the average size of the blocks was 0.40×0.20 m / 0.35×0.20 m.

Below, the cellars of the ‘House of Archelaos’ are described particularly since they contained numerous representative finds.

### Cellar 1

Cellar 1 was filled with a homogenous yellow loam with admixtures of ash. The cellar was filled at a time.

The date of the filling of the cellar is indicated by stamps on the handles of Rhodian amphorae found here. The first stamp Τεροκλεῦς (inv. no. 47/37648, Fig. 2) belongs to groups V–VI (145–86 BC) and the second stamp Μήδα↑—bunch of grapes, caduceus (inv. no. 60/37648, Fig. 3) belongs to group V (145–108 BC) according to G. Finkelstein.<sup>5</sup>

Among the same assemblage, a stamp on a handle of a Chersonesean measuring vessel was found. In it, the name of the father of a Chersonesean official is stated and also the name of his grandfather:

Απολλωνίου το-  
ῦ Απολλωνίου τοῦ  
Εὐμήλου ἀστυνο-  
μοῦντος

This is the first discovery of a stamp of this kind.<sup>6</sup>

Our preliminary studies suggest that, according to paleographic features, this inscription is datable to not later than the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

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<sup>5</sup> Finkelsztejn 2001, 197.

<sup>6</sup> Namoylik–Novoselova 2019 [А. С. Намойлик, Н. Ю. Новоселова, “Мерные сосуды эллинистического Херсонеса: новые находки и промежуточные итоги исследования”], 405–409.



Fig. 2. Rhodian stamp (inv. no. 47/37648)



Fig. 3. Rhodian stamp (inv. no. 60/37648)

## Cellar 2

Cellar 2 was filled with a loose yellow loam containing a great amount of ash, pieces of charcoal and riverine clay.

The neck of a ‘Colchian’ amphora with an owner’s graffito Ἀρχελάου (inv. no. 51/37685, Fig. 4) must be considered as the most important find here. This inscription is dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

Stamps ἐπὶ Πυ[θοδώ/ρου Δαλίου and Ἰμᾶ (Fig. 5) on the handles of a Rhodian amphora (inv. no. 88/37671, groups IVb/IV – 150/160–146 BC according to Finkelstein<sup>7</sup>) date the time of filling of the cellar to the period not earlier than the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

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<sup>7</sup> Finkelsztein 2001, 197.

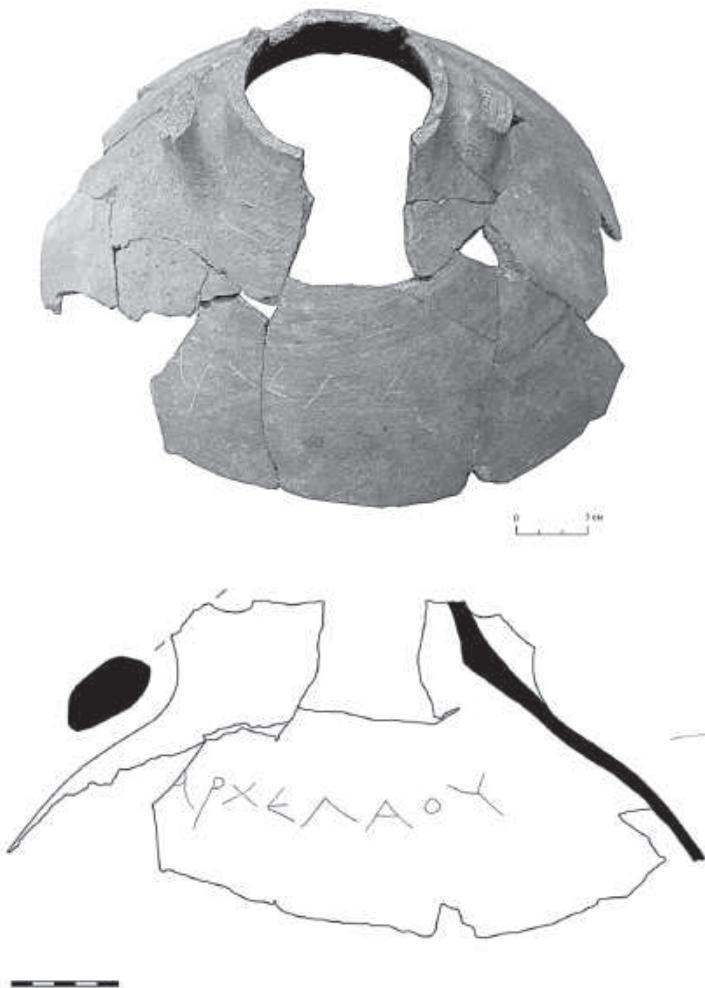


Fig. 4. 'Colchian' amphora with a graffito Αρχελάου,  
drawn by A. S. Namoylik (inv. no. 51/37685)



Fig. 5. Rhodian stamp, inv. no. 88/37671

In 2016, during the investigation of Cellar 2, a dump of painted decorative stucco was discovered (Fig. 6). Totally, 1027 fragments of plaster have been collected. The range of colors on the unearthed fragments is constituted by red, yellow, blue, black and white hues. There were also fragments with a polychrome decoration supposedly imitating marble ('marbalization').

It is known that the wall paintings of the Hellenistic time imitating cladding with marble were applied on the wall surface in the form of horizontal rows and were sometimes divided with relief horizontal lines, terminating in a relief cornice. The frescoes at Amphiapolis, Pella, and Delos are the well-known examples.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, in the cities of the Northern Black Sea region, wall frescoes are rarely found. The most of the Hellenistic wall-paintings were discovered in the territory of Bosporos: in Panticapaeum,<sup>9</sup> Nymphaion<sup>10</sup> and in the rural chora.<sup>11</sup>

Finds of painted stucco are very rare in Chersonesos. This is why special attention must be paid to the remains of plaster found by G. D. Belov in Quarter XXVIII of Chersonesos (inv. no. The State Hermitage museum X.1974–149).

The known analogues collected during investigations in Bosporos and the paintings from Quarter XXVIII in Chersonesos are suggestive as to how the plaster painting found during the investigations of Quarter XX might have looked.

I. L. Budnichenko, conservator-restorer of the Laboratory of Monumental Art, basing on her investigations, proposed the following hypothesis for the reconstruction of the paintings: the length of the painting was 220 cm and its height was ca 150 cm. The upper part of the painting was red, below there was a cornice, a thin pink band beneath the latter, and still lower there were checkered yellow, black, red and blue squares. Below the latter, a second cornice and applied blocks of black, blue and marble-like paintings followed. In the lowest area, a belt of yellow color was rendered.

More than 100 individual vessels have been identified during the examination of the ceramic collection from Cellar 2. This assemblage is divisible into two main groups: kitchenware and tableware.

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<sup>8</sup> Baldassarre–Pontrandolfo–Rouveret–Salvadori 2006, 67–70.

<sup>9</sup> Rostovtsev 1914, 114–116.

<sup>10</sup> Grach 1984 [Н. Л. Грач, *Новый исторический источник из Нимфея*], 46–65.

<sup>11</sup> Kastanayan 1969 [Е. Г. Кастанаян, *Стенная роспись сельской усадьбы эллинистического времени близ Пантикалея*], 116.

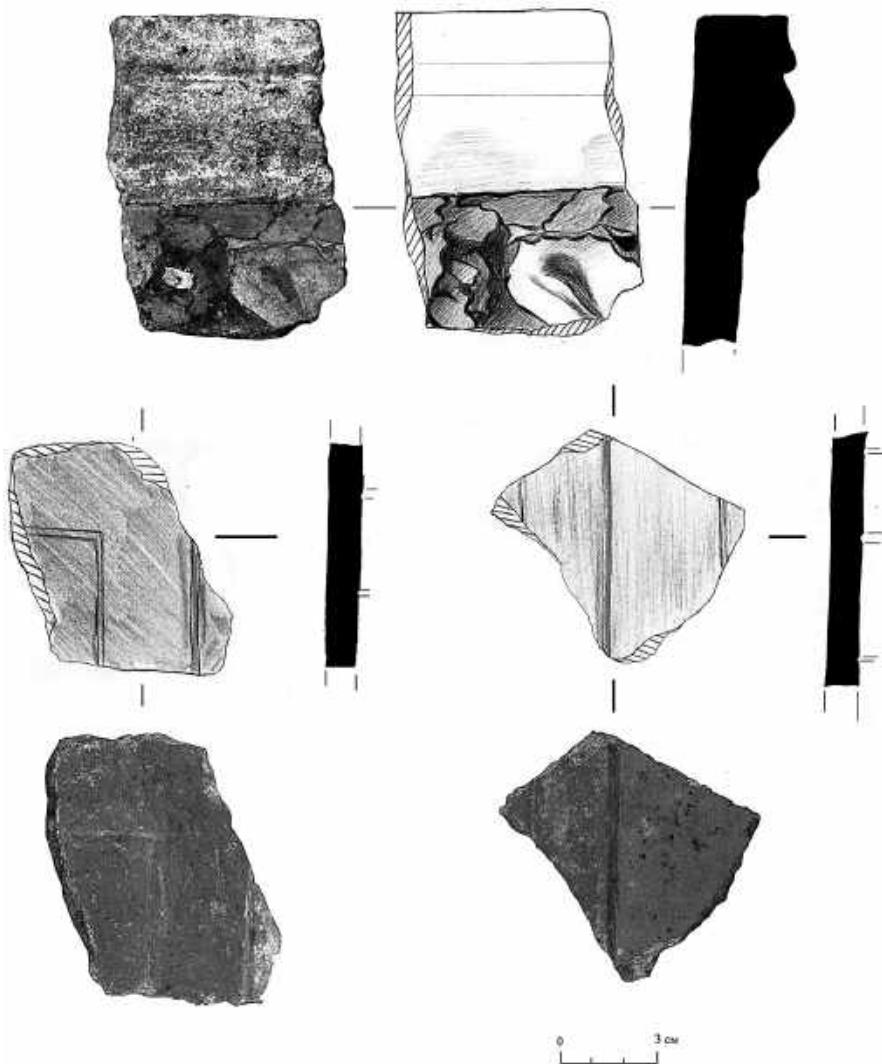


Fig. 6. Fragments of the wall painting from the 'House of Archelaos'



Fig. 8. Molded bowl  
(inv. no. 29/37671)



Fig. 7. Brazier with an image of  
the bearded head of a satyr  
(inv. no. 22/37671)



Fig. 9. Molded bowl  
(inv. no. 28/37671)



Fig. 10. Molded bowl  
(inv. no. 27/37671)



Fig. 11. Molded bowl  
(inv. no. 26/37671)



Fig. 12. Molded bowl with a graffito  
[...]IEPON (inv. no. 11/37671)

Among the kitchenware, there were fragments of pans, skillets and pots. In addition, noteworthy is a large redware brazier of Asia Minor provenance (inv. no. 22/37671, Fig. 7).<sup>12</sup>

The predominant majority of the relief ceramic specimens belong to the East Mediterranean region of production; our collection practically lacks any representative fragments of Attic, Peloponnesian or Bosporan manufacture. Moreover, the main bulk of the finds seem to have been produced in one of the ceramic centers of Ephesus. An exception is only one bowl fragment which could have been made in some Pergamon workshop. In terms of chronology, all the fragments are dated to a single period: mid–second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (inv. no. 29/37671, Fig. 8; inv. no. 28/37671, Fig. 9; inv. no. 27/37677, Fig. 10; inv. no. 26/37671, Fig. 11).

Also noteworthy is the discovery of a fragmentary molded bowl with a graffito [...]IEPON on the outer surface of its rim (inv. no. 11/37671, Fig. 12). The inscription includes the adjective ἱερός ('holy, sacred') or the noun ἱερόν ('a sanctuary'). Before this word, the name of a god must have been written. The bowl possibly belonged to a home sanctuary.<sup>13</sup>

## Cellar 2–2

The most important find among all the objects uncovered during the investigations in Cellar 2–2 is a chalcedony stamp seal bearing the name of *astynomos* Ἡράκλειος (inv. no. 37708/31).<sup>14</sup> The seal was identified, described and attributed by A. S. Namoylik, Research Fellow of the State Historical and Archaeological Museum-Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos.

This object is a rectangular plate measuring 3.4×2.4 cm. On its back side there is a small ledge with a groove for attaching a handle. On the main surface of the stamp seal, a three-line retrograde inscription and two emblems are carved in a deep-relief technique.

← ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ  
 ← ΝΤΟΣΗΡΑΚ      bunch-of-grapes  
 ← ΛΕΙΟΥ            caduceus to the left.

The reading and translation: ἀστυνομοῦντος Ἡρακλείου – “during the time of *astynomos* Herakleos”. Paleographically this inscription is datable to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Şahin 2001, 91, fig. 1.

<sup>13</sup> The graffito was interpreted by A. S. Namoylik.

<sup>14</sup> See Novoselova–Namoylik 2018, 296 Fig. 6–7.

<sup>15</sup> Novoselova–Namoylik 2018, 289–314, fig. 6–7.

Summarizing the results of the excavations of 2014–2019, it may be concluded that in Quarter XX, a house of the Hellenistic period has been excavated. The house had a ceremonious room decorated with a stucco painting and a home sanctuary. When the house was destroyed, the items of the household became buried among the debris in the cellars. These objects included amphorae, other ceramic containers, pots and skillets, and tableware. It seems impossible to establish the functions of particular rooms of the house on the basis of the finds from the cellars.

The ‘House of Archelaos’ was built in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and got ruined not earlier than the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

Nadezhda Novoselova  
*State Hermitage, St Petersburg*  
[novoselova-n@yandex.ru](mailto:novoselova-n@yandex.ru)

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## ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF THE LATE SCYTHIAN SITE OF FRONTOVOYE 2 IN 2018

In May–July 2018, protective and rescue archaeological researches were conducted by the Frontovoye group of the Crimean Rescue Archaeological Expedition (CRAE) of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the zone of civil engineering works: “Construction and reconstruction of the public road Kerch – Feodosiya – Belogorsk – Simferopol – Bakhchisaray – Sevastopol. Stage 7”. The ‘Settlement of Frontovoye 2’ is a site of archaeological heritage located in Nakhimov District, Sevastopol, 1 km north-east from the village of Frontovoye, on the first terrace above the flood plain of the Belbek River.

Previously, in October–November 2016, archaeological surveys were conducted along the route of Stage 7 of the road construction. They revealed various sites of archaeological heritage in the area of the construction, including the ‘Settlement of Frontovoye 2’ of the Roman period.

The settlement is located in the west part of the slope of the Mekenziyevy Gory mountain. In the post-war period, two terraces were built here. By the beginning of the archaeological work, the surface of the site was grass-covered while on the side of the floodplain, the entire slope was planted with wild shrubbery.

Stratigraphic studies revealed four horizons of ancient buried soil (CL-1 where CL means *cultural layer*; CL-2; CL-3; CL-4). The depth of CL-1 was from 0.1 to 0.7 m, CL-2 – from 0.5 to 3.8 m, CL-3 – from 2.1 to 5.2 m, and CL-4 – from 3.5 to 6.2 m. All the features found during the excavations were positioned in some of these horizons. During the excavations, we were focused on investigation of these cultural layers each pertaining to a particular period. The thickness of each layer indicates the length of occupation of the settlement as well as fairly intensive activities of the population in this part of the chora of Chersonesos in the Roman period.

During the excavations the site was divided into three areas of digging (Excavations nos. 1–3). The total excavation area amounted to 13 665 sq. m. A unified grid of squares numerated by letters was chosen for all of the three excavations. Each excavation was subdivided into areas marked ‘areas nos. 1–20’ each. For exactness, each area was marked

by letters and numbers of the unified excavation grid. Stratigraphic designation was assigned individually to each excavation.

Prior to the beginning of the works, levels and photos were taken from the entire surface. On the west side of the site, the upper made ground from 0.4 to 1 m thick was reliably identified in 8 test pits dug in the excavation area. This layer was constituted by soil added for fruit trees and it was removed by means of mechanical equipment.

The excavation squares were dug manually or using excavators layer by layer 0.1–0.2 m deep according to the accepted methods of excavating settlement sites. In this way, all finds were registered at a corresponding level. The excavation axis was deviating 15 degrees to the east from the magnetic north. The digging was carried out over areas of 20×10 m, 15×10 m, and 10×10 m of each excavated layer 0.2–0.25 m thick. The excavated soil was carefully examined. Stratigraphy was recorded at the edges of each excavation area.

During the excavation, 1660 archaeological features have been investigated: household pits and pillar holes, pit-houses or semi-dugouts, and child burials in amphorae pertaining to the Classical culture of the Black Sea region from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Fig. 1). Also, there were found three household pits dating from an earlier period, i. e. the Kizil-Koba culture (9<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century BC), as well as about 40 objects dated to the mediaeval Golden Horde time (13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century AD).

Excavations uncovered also 11 child burials of the early Roman period. Some of these contained no grave goods, but a number of interesting finds were recovered from the other.

*Burial no. 1 (Feature No. 229)* was found in square G-5, at level 2. It is a burial of two children, one lying above the other; the upper skeleton lied on his back with the head to the east. There were a kantharos near to the lower child's head, a beaded bracelet on his wrist and a necklace on his neck. A necklace was on the neck of the upper child's skeleton as well.

*Burial no. 2 (Feature No. 327)*. Child burial in an amphora. The child was lying on the side in a flexed position with the head to the west, face to the south. Near the hip joint there was a red-glossed kantharos with a floral decoration and a handmade saltcellar inside, the arms crossed on the chest.

*Burial no. 5 (Feature No. 559)*. A child burial in an amphora at the third level of record. At the first level here there were fragments of an amphora of brown clay with two handles, and a jar. Behind the debris, a skeleton was lying head to the south-west. Near the bedhead, a red-glossed goblet with two handles was found, at the right wrist there were glass beads, near the ribs and at the right foot there were two fibulae and a fluted bead.

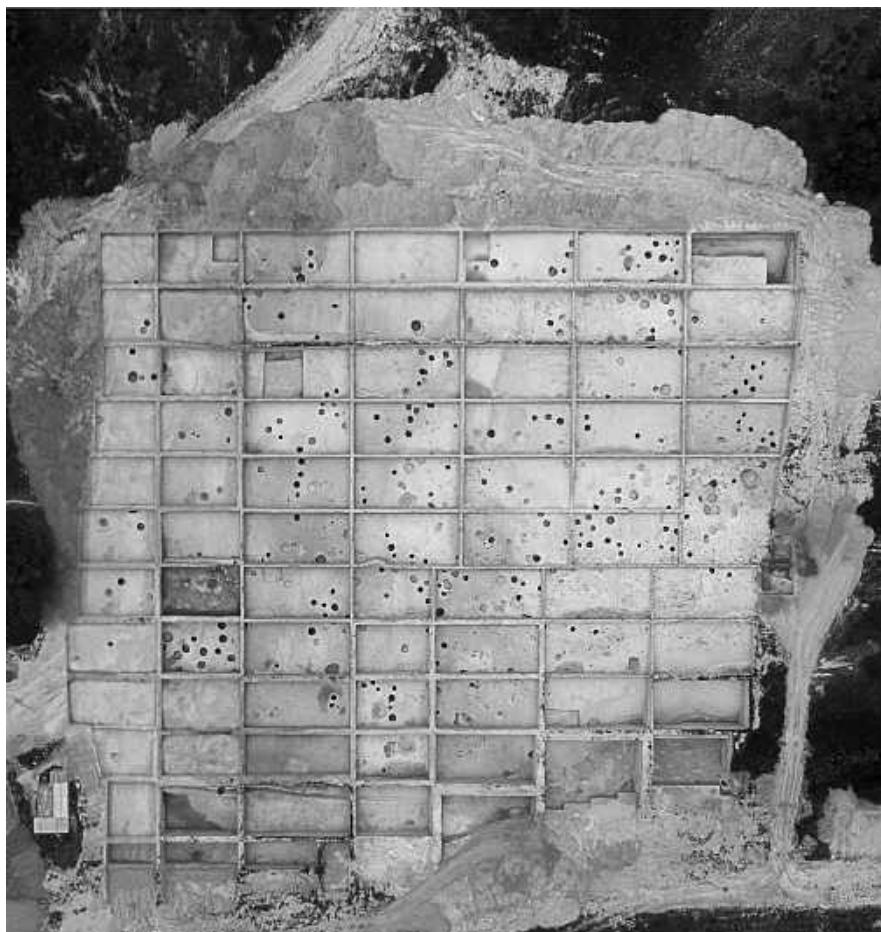


Fig. 1. View from above at the excavations of the archaeological heritage site of the "Settlement Frontovoye 2". Objects in CL-2 and CL-3.  
View from the east

*Burial no. 6 (Feature No. 764).* Child burial in a light-clay amphora at the level of the virgin soil. The walls of the grave pit gradually tapered toward the bottom; the bottom was flat. The size of the pit was 1.18×0.53 m, the depth was 1.7 m. The fill was ashy grey loam. The finds were pottery of pale-coloured and red clay.

*Burial № 8 (Feature No. 841).* A burial in an oval-shaped amphora found at the level of the virgin soil. The size of the amphora was 0.7×0.4 m. The object was intruded from the second cultural layer. The fill was grey ashy loam with remains of decay. The finds were a greyware kantharos and beads of different types.

In addition to child burials, which through the types of beads, pendants and red-glossed pottery are dated to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, 18 dwelling buildings were opened, mostly pit-houses. Stone was almost not used in the construction of the settlement buildings by contrast to other late Scythian settlements of the same period. Almost all the buildings have numerous household pits suggesting that the settlement had been abandoned by the beginning or the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, since already material dated to the middle or second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD was encountered in these later pits.

From the east, the settlement was separated from the floodplain of the Belbek River by a deep ditch, which ran along the entire eastern part of the settlement. The walls of the ditch narrowed toward its flat bottom. The width of the upper part of the ditch was 1.8 m; the width of the bottom was 0.4 m. The depth was 0.8–1 m. The ditch was dug from horizon CL-2.

The most of the finds are household pits and pillar holes (about 1600 objects). The number of pillar holes is considerably greater than that of the pits. So far, it has been impossible to trace the particular lines of fences and other pillar structures (perhaps also pertaining to dwelling areas) since they were repeatedly rebuilt.

Archaeological materials are represented mainly by fragments of light-clay amphorae of type C1, red-clay amphorae of Sin 3 type (Fig. 2, 1). Fragments of Colchian brown-clay amphorae of Ch I type and light-clay narrow-necked amphorae of CIVA type were also encountered. Some of the amphorae were stamped (Fig. 2, 4).<sup>1</sup>

Red-glossed pottery was also represented in a significant number by fragments of bowls, plates and goblets, as well as by complete kantharoi from child burials (Fig. 2, 3). Some plates had ‘planta pedis’ stamps (Fig. 2, 2).

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<sup>1</sup> All definitions and dates are according to S.Yu. Vnukov: Vnukov 2003 [С. Ю. Внуков, *Причерноморские амфоры I в. до н. э. – II в. н. э. (морфология)*]; Vnukov 2006 [С. Ю. Внуков, *Причерноморские амфоры I в. до н. э. – II в. н. э. Часть II (петрография, хронология, проблемы торговли)*].

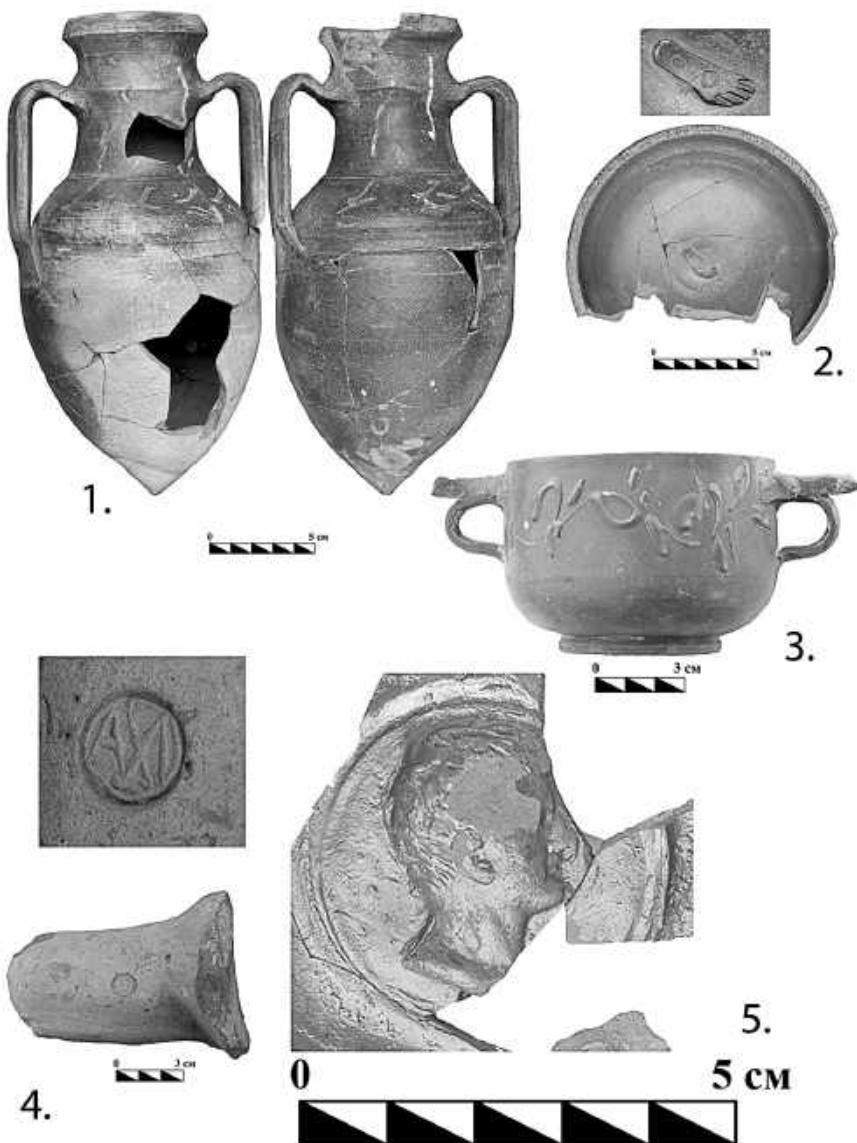


Fig. 2. Frontovoye 2. Finds from features in CL-2 and CL-3:

- 1) object no. 398;
- 2) object no. 398;
- 3) object no. 327;
- 4) object no. 25;
- 5) object no. 876

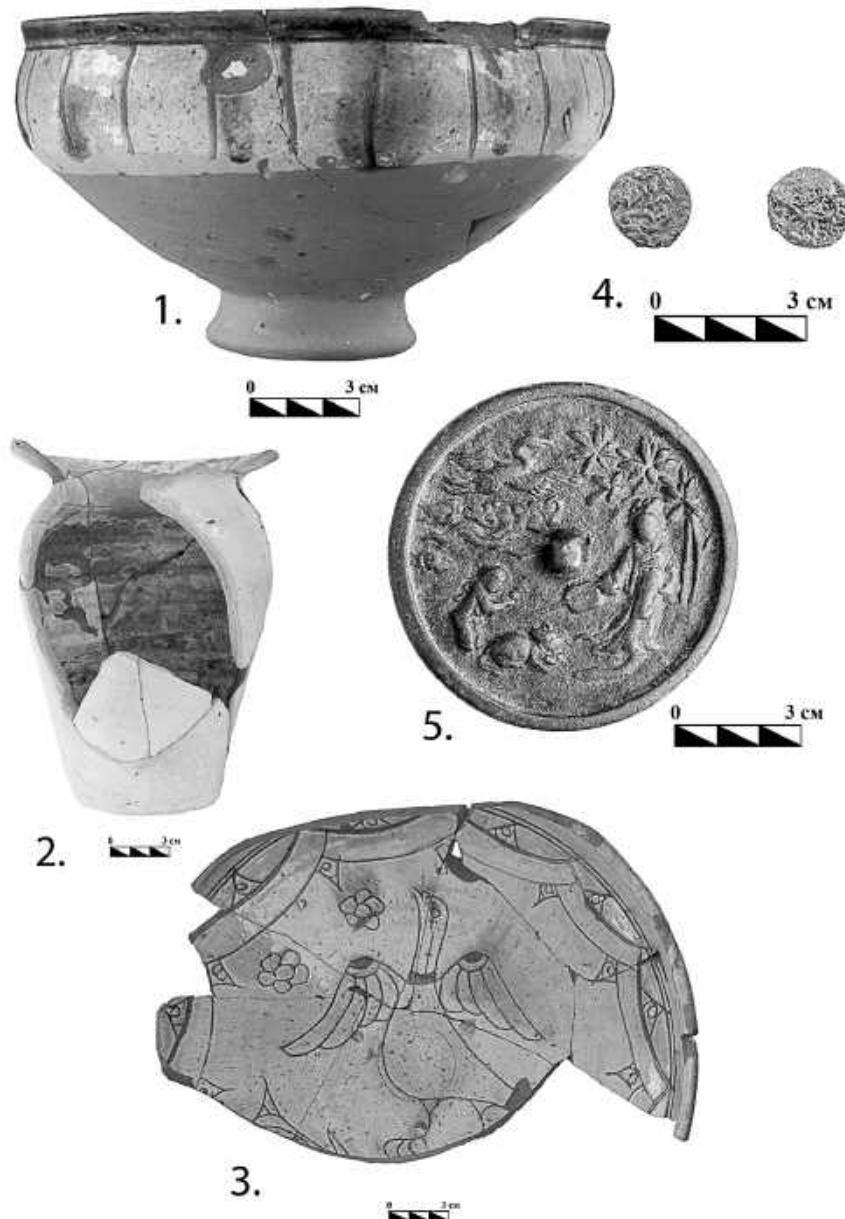


Fig. 3. Frontovoye 2. Finds from feature in CL-1

A unique finding is a fragment of a brown-glossed plate with a central medallion depicting a Roman emperor (Fig. 2, 5). Through its stylistics and iconography, the portrait resembles much the Roman emperor Tiberius, although perhaps it may be Octavian August.<sup>2</sup>

One of the features yielded fragments of an ancient terracotta depicting a character from the retinue of Dionysus, and in other object there was an anthropomorphic clay statuette depicting a Late-Scythian goddess. There were also many finds of Roman hinged fibulae of the Aucissa type which were encountered only in horizon CL-2 dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

The Golden Horde period is represented by 40 features found in horizon CL-1. These included household pits and pillar holes and yielded a considerable collection of coins of the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Fig. 3, 4) and glazed ware of the same time recovered from garbage pits (Fig. 3, 1–3). The numismatic collection gained includes also some coins of the Russian Empire under Alexander II and Alexander III. A unique find from this horizon is represented by a bronze Chinese mirror dated to the Jin Dynasty (1115–1234 (Fig. 3, 5).

There were only three features attributed to the Kizil-Koba culture. These were middens discovered only in the north-western part of the excavation. Only within this area, horizon CL-4 was recorded. The fill of feature no. 785 yielded a large handmade grey-clay earthen vessel ornamented with relief dots and garlands (Fig. 4) typical of the early stage of that culture.

object no.785

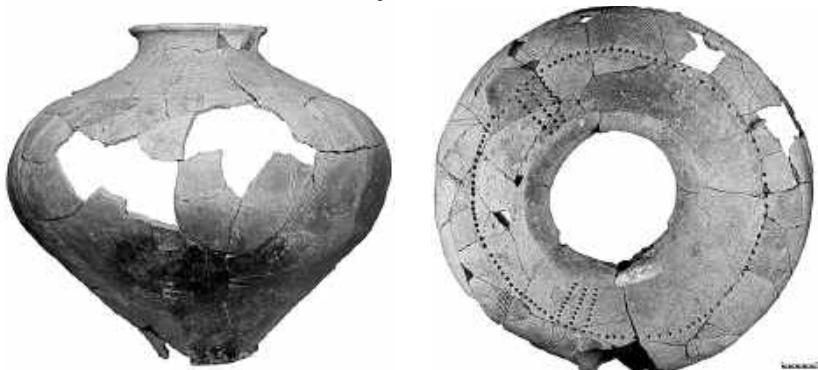


Fig. 4. Frontovoye 2. Handmade earthen vessel. Finds from feature in CL-4

<sup>2</sup> Vinokurov-Trejster 2013 [Н. И. Винокуров, М. Ю. Трейстер, “Портретные медальоны краснолаковых чаш I в. до н.э. – I в. н.э. на поселении Артезиан в Крымском Приазовье”]; Trejster 2014 [М. Ю. Трейстер, “Кто изображен на портретных медальонах из Пантикалея и Китея?”].

A preliminary conclusion is that two cultural levels (CL-2, CL-3) are identifiable at Frontovoye 2 dated to the chronological period of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century AD indivisible before. After examination of all the complexes of the Classical period and attributing them to horizons CL-2 or CL-3 we shall be able to date them more exactly.

Oleg Sharov  
*Institute of Archaeology, RAS*

olegsharov@mail.ru

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## INVESTIGATION OF THE ANCIENT SETTLEMENT OF KYTAION IN 2015–2018: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION OF THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM

The ancient townsite of Kytaion is one of the well-known ancient archaeological sites in Eastern Crimea. It is located in the southeast of the Kerch peninsula, 38 km south from the city of Kerch.

First excavations at the site started in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1821, French researcher Paul Du Brux described the site and drew its first plan. In 1927–1929, small-scale archaeological excavations of the town were carried out by the Kerch Museum supervised by the Director Yuliy Yu. Marti. In 1957, works at the settlement were headed by N. Belova, in 1970–1974, by S. Bessonova. From 1974 onwards, regular excavations of the settlement have been conducted by E. Molev. In 2015, Kytaion Archaeological Expedition of the State Hermitage Museum began its work at the settlement and its surroundings. The study of the site was conducted together with the Nizhny Novgorod University expedition headed by E. Molev.

In 2015, the main goal of the expedition was to survey the urban area outside the defensive walls of Kytaion. The uncovered archaeological remains and layers were dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. This date suggests that, during the specified chronological period, the territory adjacent to the settlement was occupied and actively developed.

In 2016–2018, the excavations were carried out at the ash hill, which is the largest ash accumulation in the Northern Black Sea region. It is formed by layers of brown and yellow-brown loam with inclusions of mussel shells and numerous interlayers of ash. There are also different intercalations of yellow and grey loam here. The ash hill is rich in numerous clusters of ceramics, seaweed (*Zostera marina*), hearth fragments, mussel shells and many other abundant finds.

The excavation area was 280 sq. m and its depth was up to 3.8 m (Fig. 1). The upper layers are datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. The ceramic material found in these layers includes fragments of amphorae, red- and brown-glossed ware, fragmentary wheel-made ware, kitchenware and handmade pottery. In addition, terracottas, objects of clay, metal,



Fig. 1. The archaeological trench

bone, glass and stone were encountered. 45% of the pottery is represented by amphorae while the remaining 55% belong to other types; this ratio is typical for this period.

In the southeastern sector of the site, part of a wall was uncovered in a layer of brown loam. The extant length of it was 2.5 m, with the width of 0.8 m. All the construction parts traced earlier are located at a considerable distance from this wall making it difficult to link them together. The layer and the wall are dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

The thickness of the stratum of the first centuries AD is small as compared with the layers of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century AD uncovered in 2017–2018.

During the excavation, numerous accumulations of remains of hearth fragments, ceramics, mussel shells, seaweed and ash were recorded. Six dog's skeletons, vertebrae and skulls have been identified. One of the dogs was placed over a small pit filled with ash and covered with remains of a fireplace at the mouth. Three pits have been excavated. Two of them, located near each other, had a few flat stones in the center of the bottom. Among the findings from the fill of one of the pits there was a fragment of a jug neck with a red dipinto, a fragment of handmade ware and two

fragments of incense burners. In another pit, the skull of a seagull with a drilled hole in the center was found. All the finds mentioned above suggest the use of the pit in a religious and ritual practice, or as a place where the material is thrown out after ritual activities.

In the northern part of the ash hill, a stone wall (ash hill fence) was uncovered (Fig. 1). The wall was 0.6 m high with the total length of 4.5 m. On the northern side of the fence, probably there was a road or a small town street.

The stone wall on the southern side of the road was most likely built to protect the street against the layers constantly collapsing from the ash hill and to outline the borders of the ash hill in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

The layers of the ash hill were extremely saturated with finds. During the works in 2017–2018, more than 70 000 ceramic fragments have been found; more than half of them were amphorae. The lower layers contained significantly less ceramics, their number two times lower than above, the osteological material amounting to only one third.

The pottery included numerous fragments of amphorae, fragmentary wheel-made, red-glossed and brown-glossed ware, kitchenware and hand-made pottery. There were also ceramic fragments with stamps, coins, terracotta objects, weights, spindle whorls, touchstones, ceramic plugs, lamps, various products made of clay, bone, glass and stone. A separate group of finds is constituted by fragments of vessels with graffiti. Most of the latter were lines scratched in the form of straight or oblique crosses, occasionally with additional lines or grids. In addition to the numerous graffiti in the form of crossed lines, there were more uncommon findings. One of them is a fragment of red glossed pottery with a graffito. The latter was part of a name, possibly *Bp(άδακος)* (Fig. 2). Such finds were encountered in Pantikapaion of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>1</sup> A similar graffito is found on an amphora from Nymphaion. The supposed name is rare and not of Greek origin. It seems that one of the fragments, the bottom of an open vessel, bears a primitive image of a ship. The layers dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD contained terracottas: numerous fragments of legs, hands, fragments with representations of folds of clothes, pedestals, and parts of dolls. One fragment of a terracotta figurine is an example of an imitation of imported products. It represents part of a woman's figure in a chiton with an animal in one hand and a basket with fruit in the other (Fig. 3). Terracotta statuettes of similar types were found in layers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD at different settlements

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<sup>1</sup> CIRB 324, 76<sub>9</sub>.



Fig. 2. Fragment of red glossed bottom with a graffito

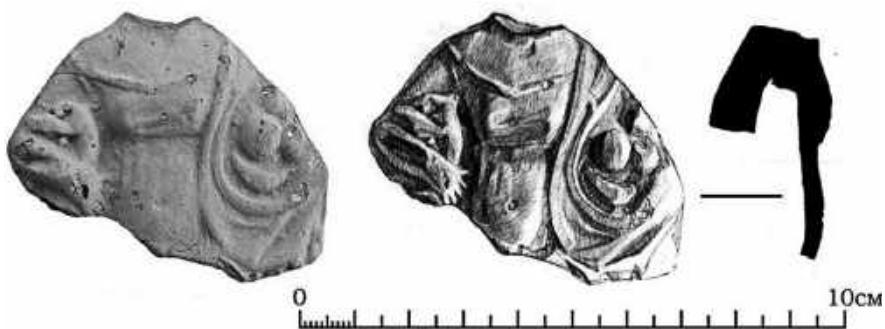


Fig. 3. Terracotta fragment: part of a woman's figure in a chiton with an animal in one hand and a basket with fruit in the other

of the Northern Black Sea region. An example is a completely analogous polychrome figure of a girl from the excavations of the ancient town of Myrmekion. It was manufactured in Asia Minor in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> SAI 1970 [Свод археологических источников. Часть I/II], 98, v. 43.5. Denisova 1981 [В. И. Денисова, Коропластика Боспора], v. XVIII.



Fig. 4. Terracotta fragment: female head with traces of black and red gloss.

Among the rather rare finds there is a terracotta fragment in the form of a female head with traces of black and red gloss. Its size, slightly exceeding 10 cm, allows us to estimate the total height of the statuette as ca 70 cm. In the upper part of the fragment there is a small hole for a decoration (probably a diadem) while the ears have similar holes for earrings (Fig. 4).

Among the various bone objects, of most interest is a bone plaque with a representation of half of a man's face in low relief (Fig. 5). Similar finds are reported from Olbia, Myrmekion, Kepoi, Phanagoria, Pantikapaion, Tyritake and Nymphaion.<sup>3</sup> Probably such plaques were

used to decorate the backs of chairs or armchairs. Bone was a popular material for decorating furniture, and bone appliqués in the form of a bearded head of Silenus became popular in the Hellenistic period. Our bone plaque is an example of products of local bone-carving as suggested by the use of bones of domestic animals and rudeness of the style.

Another uncommon find is represented by a fragment of red-glossed pottery with a portrait of a beardless young man in low relief (Fig. 6). Only ten such portrait medallions have been reported from Crimea. Two of them (considering this new one) were found at Kytaion.<sup>4</sup> There is no consensus among researchers concerning the attribution of images on portrait medallions from Bosporos. The relief on the medallion from Kara-Tobe<sup>5</sup> is the most stylistically close to our example. This fragment is datable to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

<sup>3</sup> Sokol'skii 1971 [Н. И. Сокольский, *Древообрабатывающее ремесло в античных государствах Северного Причерноморья*], 95.

<sup>4</sup> Vinokurov–Treister 2013 [Н. И. Винокуров, М. Ю. Трейстер, “Портретные медальоны краснолаковых чащ I в. до н.э. – I в. н.э. на поселении Артезиан в Крымском Приазовье”], 270 ; Treister 2014 [М. Ю. Трейстер, “Кто изображен на портретных медальонах из Пантикопея и Китея?”], 417; Shaptsev 2016 [М. С. Шапцев, “Портретные эмблемы римского времени на доньих краснолаковых сосудов из раскопок античных памятников Крыма”], 427; Shaptsev 2015 [М. С. Шапцев, “Портретные эмблемы римского времени на доньих краснолаковых сосудов из Крыма”], 110.

<sup>5</sup> Shaptsev 2007 [М. С. Шапцев, “Портретный оттиск с городища Кара-Тобе”], 354.



Fig. 5. Bone plaque: half of a man's face in low relief



Fig. 6. Fragment of red-glossed pottery with a portrait of a beardless young man in low relief

Bosporan ash hills are a continuous subject of investigations and scientific discussions. One of the largest and most extended objects of this type is that at the ancient settlement of Kytaion. The results gained during the excavations under consideration allow researchers to widen their knowledge about ash hills of the Roman time.

Alexandra Kattsova  
The State Hermitage Museum  
av-ershova@yandex.ru

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## INVESTIGATIONS OF NECROPOLEIS OF KYTAION IN 2014–2018

In 2014–2018, the archaeological expedition of the Institute of Archaeology RAS continued protective and rescue archaeological investigations in the zone of the shore abrasion in the south-western area of the necropolis of Kytaion. Along with these works, one of the kurgans of the necropolis on the Chatr-Tav Ridge, 2 km north-west from the townsite of Kytaion, was excavated to completion. This barrow was rifled not once in the early 2000s.

### South-western area of the necropolis of Kytaion

Ten years ago, in the south-western area of the necropolis of Kytaion, systematic excavations were started due to the necessity of investigation of the zone of intensive shore abrasion doomed to vanish in the foreseeable future. In the course of the studies it was established that extremities of four (of the total 24) easternmost earthen ‘banks’ were located here. Running parallel to each other 50–650 m to the west from the western defensive wall of Kytaion, they extended in the meridional direction from the shore precipice towards the ridges of Dzhurg-Oba and Chatr-Tav. All of them were distinctly discernible to as far as the country road running along the coast and were lost in the ploughed field. The largest ‘bank’ (no. 1, the closest to the western defensive wall of Kytaion) was at least 40 m wide, 2.5 m high and its extant length was 140 m. The other ‘banks’, no. 2 to no. 24, gradually diminished in size and lowered westwards (Fig. 1 a, b).

Already during excavation of ‘bank’ no. 4 (excavation area XLVI) in 2010–2013, beneath its fill at the level of the ancient horizon, several burial complexes and ritual deposits were discovered: sacrificial (?) pits nos. 377–379, 381 and 383, ritual complex no. 380 (a rectangular structure with the walls constructed of small limestone pieces and plates and a deep pit with a discoid stone altar inside) and two flat graves nos. 382 and 384. These objects suggest that we are dealing here with a part of a late Classical necropolis. The fill covering the ‘bank’ was rich in numerous fragments of diverse amphorae (including those with stamps of Thasos, Herakleia,

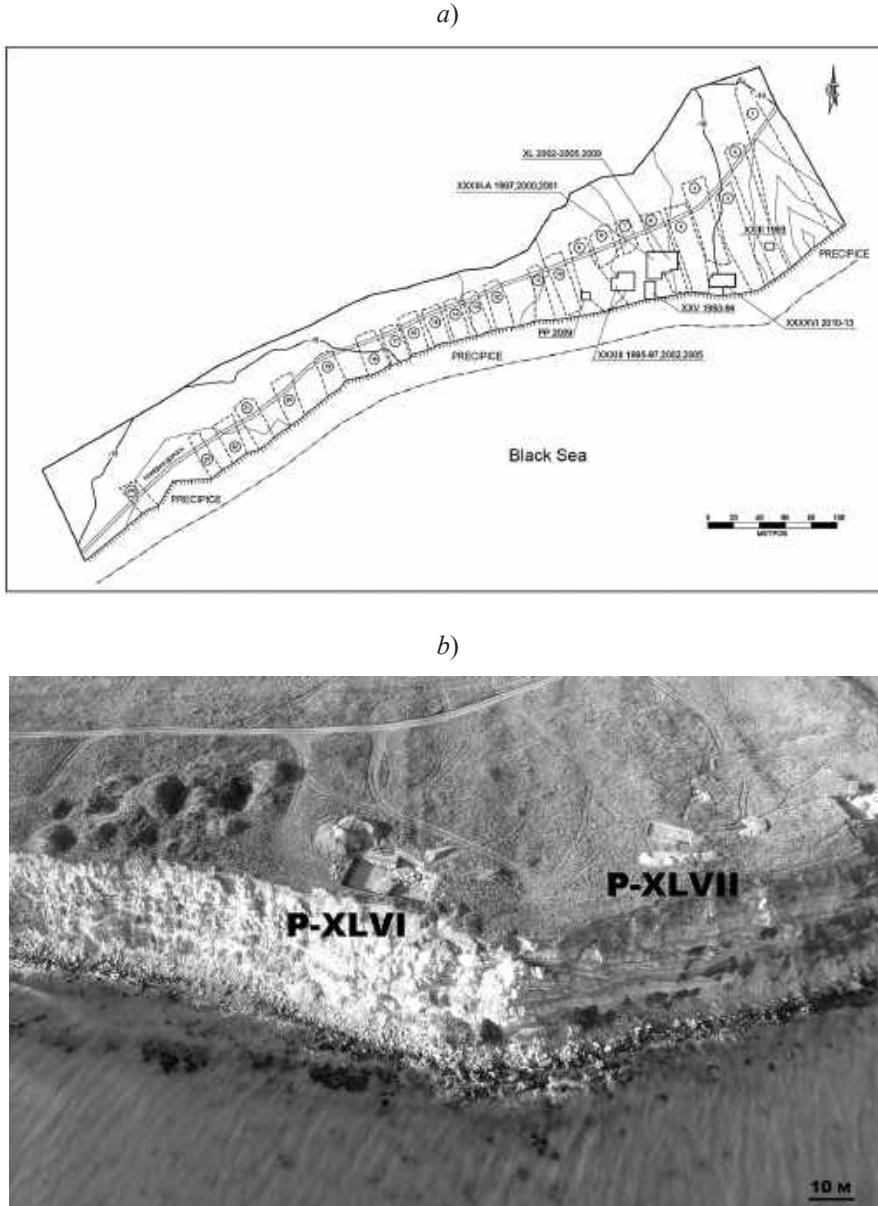


Fig. 1. South-western area of the necropolis of Kytaion.

*a) 'Banks' – mounds. Topographic plan.*

*b) Excavation areas XLVI and XLVII. Aerial photos*

Sinope, Rhodes and Rome), black-glossed and red-glossed ware (some with graffiti), red-ware, black-polished, handmade pottery of different periods (from the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC to the early 5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD). In the course of the excavations, fragments of terracotta figurines, clay lamps and copper coins (examples from Pantikapaion dated to the turn between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC and last Bosporan ones of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD)<sup>1</sup> were recovered, as well as bones of animals (horses, cows, pigs, sheep and goats, dogs), birds, dolphins and fishes.<sup>2</sup>

Investigations of the last five years have confirmed the earlier supposition of the functional purpose of the ‘banks’. Under the fill of mentioned ‘bank’ no. 4 in excavation XLVI, at the level of the ancient horizon, still other seven sacrificial (?) pits (nos. 385, 387–391 and 393) from 0.2 to 1.8 m deep, a fenced-off ritual area with ash deposits and several limestone altars were found, as well as two flat graves without funerary inventory (nos. 386, 392) oriented meridionally similarly to the above ones (nos. 382 and 384).

The finds of the last five years at excavation XLVI generally differed from the previous examples neither in their repertoire nor in the chronological range. However, found among the amphora pottery in pit no. 391 there was a rim fragment of an amphora from Klazomenai dated to the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC,<sup>3</sup> which is one of the earliest specimens from Kytaion. The imported ceramic stamps were represented by Thasian, Herakleian and Sinopean examples.<sup>4</sup> Their chronological range was from 390 to 240 BC. Among the Herakleian imprints there was a retrograde stamp absent in *IOSPE* III and, perhaps, altogether not encountered before (Fig. 2): Ἀπολλο(- -) / ἐπὶ Εὐθ(- -).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khrshanovskiy 2015, 111–114 Fig. 4–6.

<sup>2</sup> Kasparov–Khrshanovskiy 2019 [А. К. Каспиров, В. А. Хршановский. Фаунистические остатки из юго-западного участка Китейского некрополя (по итогам раскопок 2010–2018 гг.), in: *Боспорские чтения: Боспор Киммерийский и варварский мир в период античности и средневековья. Основные итоги и перспективы исследований. Материалы международной научной конференции*], 272–283.

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<sup>4</sup> Pavlichenko–Khrshanovskiy 2017 [Н. А. Павличенко, В. А. Хршановский, “Керамические клейма из тризна на юго-западном участке некрополя Китея”, in: *Боспорские чтения: Боспор Киммерийский и варварский мир в период античности и средневековья. Торговля: пути – товары – отношения. Материалы международной научной конференции*], 385–393.

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Fig. 2. Fragment of the neck of a Herakleian amphora with a stamp

In addition to the amphora stamps, a stamp Βα[σιλική] was found on a Bosporan tile dated to the 290–280 BC or 245–235 BC. All these stamps reliably marked the lower chronological limit of the finds from excavation XLVI. However, along with fragments of imported amphorae of the Classical and Hellenistic period, in this layer, like previously, late Hellenistic amphora remains were encountered dating from the turn of the eras and the Roman period right up to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD. The chronological span established through the amphorae was confirmed additionally by other ceramic fragments: from red-figured and black-glossed ones, sherds of ‘Megara’ bowls and painted late Hellenistic ware to late red-glossed vessels (3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD). Probably, the handmade pottery was synchronous to the practised funerary rituals. It included numerous fragments (e.g. examples decorated with ornamentation) found in the fill layer and at the level of the ancient horizon. The identified copper Bosporan coins of Ininthimeos (no. 677 after Anokhin) and Rheskouporis IV (nos. 700, 720) minted between 238/239 and 276/277 AD)<sup>6</sup> defined the *terminus post quem* of the upper chronological level. Judging by the results of palaeozoological analysis, the range of species of animals and birds, of which the remains were found during recent seasons in excavation XLVI, also did not differ in its composition from the skeletal remains encountered here before.

In order to verify the conclusions drawn in the course of investigation of ‘bank’ no. 4 in 2016, excavation XLVII was started at ‘bank’ no. 1,

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<sup>6</sup> Anokhin 1986 [В. А. Анохин, *Монетное дело Боспора*], 169–171.

the nearest one to the western defensive wall of the Kytaion townsite (Fig. 1 b). The supposition that under the mound here another defensive wall of the city or a front defence proteichisma could have been located was not confirmed. Under a thin humic stratum (only 0.1–0.3 m), a layer of an artificial mound was uncovered with ritual areas containing fragments of stucco (!), hearth clay and accumulations of valves of sea shells. Similarly to the fill of ‘bank’ no. 4, that of ‘bank’ no. 1 proved to be saturated with numerous (over 10 thousand) fragments of amphorae, wheelmade and handmade pottery. In the same layer, along with sherds of imported Classical/Hellenistic amphorae (including those with Herakleian and Sinopean stamps), there were a fragment of a Bosporan tile (with the same stamp Βα[σιλική] as in excavation XLVI) and profile fragments of light-clay amphorae of type E after Shelov and redware amphorae of type 100 after Zeest (‘Delakeu’ type) dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD. The fragments of painted red-figured, black-glossed and red-glossed pottery correspond to the chronological ‘fork’ identified here earlier. Similarly to excavation XLVI, fragments of handmade vessels (including decorated ones) were also fairly numerous and miscellaneous.<sup>7</sup>

Along with the numerous ordinary finds there were also exclusive specimens, e.g. a fragment of a louterion (presumably Syrian) with the inscription on the edge: Διονε[ι]κου (Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup>

Fragments of a light-clay bowl of a large diameter must also be considered as a rare find (and unexpected in a ‘barbarian’ context). It had an upright wall bearing relief representations of Greek theatrical tragic masks, a bunch of grapes, the muzzle of a goat and the body of yet another quadruped: goat or dog (Dionysian motif?). The bowl was covered with a thin light yellowish slip and painted in blue (Fig. 4). No parallels to this example have been found so far.

Among the artefacts from excavation XLVII, similarly as at excavation XLVI, there were weights, spindle whorls, badly corroded copper coins (unidentifiable reliably prior to their restoration but according to some indirect indications also dated to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> cent. AD), fragments of glass vessels, bone objects and numerous skeletal remains of domestic and wild animals (horses, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, red deer, wild boars, foxes, grey hares), as well as of birds and fishes, and crab claws. In terms of its composition this material is almost completely identical to the palaeozoological finds from excavation XLVI.

<sup>7</sup> Khrshanovskiy 2017 [В. А. Хршановский, “Между готами и гуннами”], 208–228.

<sup>8</sup> Reading by N. Pavlichenko. At the moment of publication, no parallels have been found for the stamp on the louterion.



Fig. 3. Fragment of a South Pontic (?) louterion  
with a stamp

Thus, basing on the evidence now available, it may be supposed that ‘banks’ nos. 4 and 1 belong to a single historical epoch of the 4<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> cen. AD and the same ethnocultural unity. They represent funerary and ritual structures never before revealed at Classical Bosporos, i. e. the preserved part of the late Classical necropolis situated south-west from the townsite of Kytaion.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Khrshanovskiy 2018 [В. А. Хршановский, “Боспорский некрополь нового типа на некрополе Китея”, in: *Ольвийский форум. Памяти В. В. Крапивиной. Материалы международной научной конференции*], 78–80.

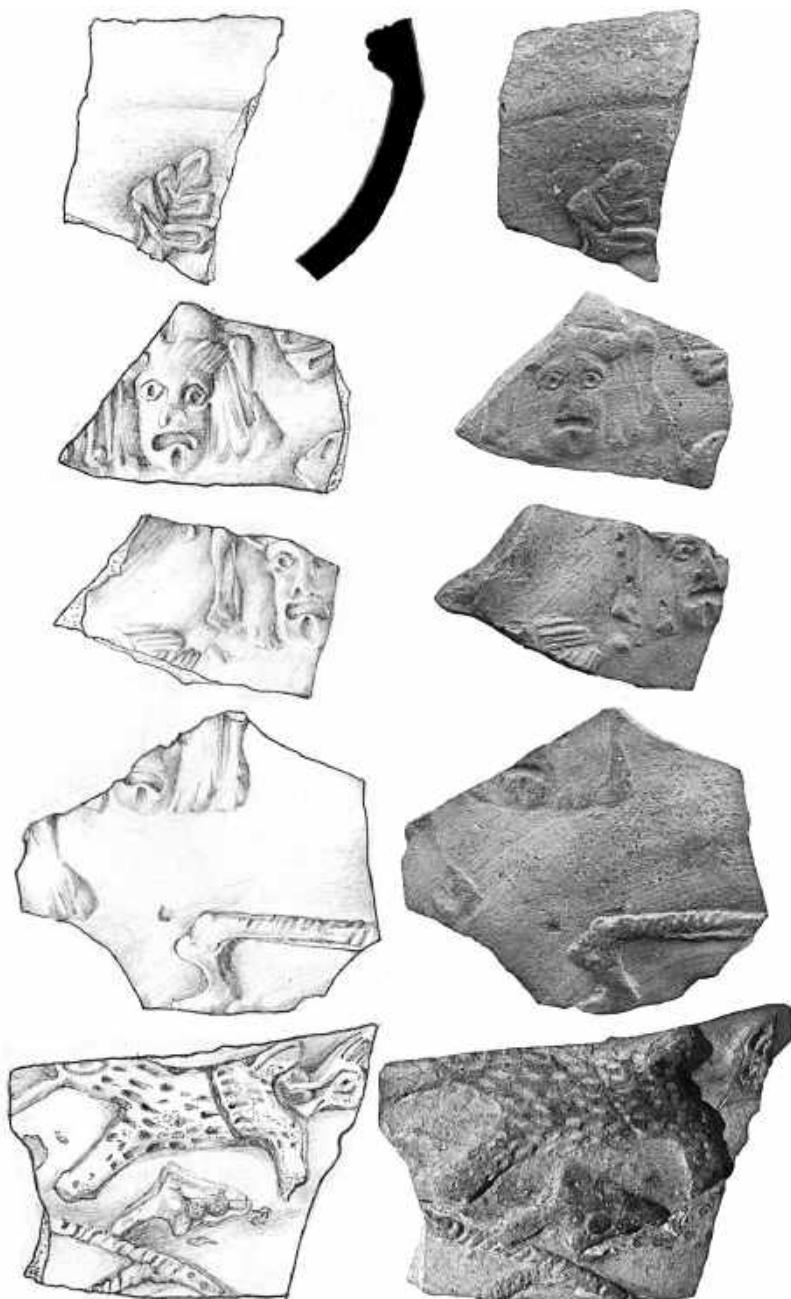


Fig. 4. Fragments of a vessel with a relief decoration (Dionysian motif?)

### The kurgan necropolis of Chatr-Tav

In 2015, topographic surveys were conducted at the kurgan necropolis situated on the Chatr-Tav Ridge bounding the Plain of Kytaion from north-west. These efforts resulted in obtaining a plan comprising six tumuli ranged along the ridge. At all of the mounds there were fresh robbers' trenches and heaps of spoil.

The largest mound (no. 5) was located at the eastern extremity of the ridge in its highest point – Mt Chatr-Tav. In the same field season, investigation of kurgan no. 5 was started and continued in 2018 along the robbers' trench.

The investigations established that under the mound disturbed by illicit excavations there was a monumental tomb intruded into the rock. It was constructed of limestone blocks and slabs up to 0.4 m thick (Fig. 5) on a levelled rock surface. In plan, the tomb was a regular rectangle extended in the latitudinal direction. The length of the tomb (along the external contour) was 2.95–3 m, width (across the external contour) 1.8 m, and height 1.23–1.25 m. The walls of the tomb were built from carefully worked limestone slabs and blocks (ashlars). The upper blocks of the walls supported the roofing slabs displaced and partly broken by the robbers.

The irregular size of the roofing slabs of the tomb and, particularly, of the blocks and slabs of the walls suggested a possible reuse of ‘parts’ of some other earlier structure.

To some extent, this supposition is confirmed by the fairly sparse finds. Presumably, the materials dating the time of construction and initial use of kurgan no. 5 (Scythian period) include fragments (the rim and walls with traces of bands rendered in red paint) of a Chian amphora with a straight neck of Nymphaion variant IV A dated to the 430–440 BC,<sup>10</sup> and also rim and bottom fragments of black-glossed vessels. The possible secondary use of this funerary complex (perhaps after a reconstruction of the tomb) in the Roman period is suggested by a glass handle and fragments of a late redware pitcher (with a ribbed neck) retrieved from the robbers' spoil. The other fragments of redware and handmade pottery and indistinct iron objects are useless for establishing a more precise chronology of kurgan no. 5 on the Chatr-Tav Ridge.

Vladimir Khrshanovskiy  
*Institute of Archaeology RAS, Moscow*

vax48@mail.ru

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<sup>10</sup> Monakhov 2003, 19–20 Pl. 8. 6.



Fig. 5. Chatr-Tav Ridge. Slab tomb in kurgan no. 5

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## THE NYMPHAION EXPEDITION OF THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM (2014–2018)

In 2014–2018, studies were continued at Nymphaion. This is a Bosporan town, the ruins of which are traceable in the southern part of the modern town of Kerch, on the outskirts of the village of Eltigen (Geroyevskoye).<sup>1</sup> The works were concentrated on the southern slope of the Nymphaion plateau (sector ‘M’) where cultural layers and building remains of the Hellenistic and Roman periods were excavated and the terrace at the western side of sector ‘M’ was investigated. The area under investigation amounted to about 500 sq. m (Fig. 1).

The main goal of the studies over several years was to investigate the mound covering the area to the south of the propylaia discovered in 1996–1997.<sup>2</sup> This is a layer of loam of different shades and density with numerous strata of burning, small lenses and layers of pure ash, raw clay, adobe, remains of eelgrass, clusters of charcoal, saturated with debris of quarried stone and fragments of ceramics. The maximum thickness of this layer amounts to almost 7 m (Fig. 2).

In square 1 of the area added in 2010 at the excavation sector ‘M’, the cultural layer was dug to the level of the virgin clay concluding the research. Investigations in squares 2–14 are continued.

The material from the excavated layers is dated mostly to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. Among the finds, fragments of amphorae prevail, represented by products of Thasos, Chios, Herakleia Pontike, Mende, Sinope, Rhodes, Knidos, Kos, Peparethos, Lesbos, Samos, and Aeolian centers. Of note is the presence of fragments of amphorae of Bospors of the first centuries AD, southern Pontic narrow-necked amphorae and amphorae from unknown centers. Noteworthy are finds of amphora stamps, among which those of Sinope of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC and Rhodes dating from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC predominate. There are a few stamps on the necks of Herakleian amphorae dated to 370–360 BC. Stamps of other centers are fairly rare.

<sup>1</sup> On the previous expeditions, see Sokolova 2005; Sokolova 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Sokolova 2005, 298–301.

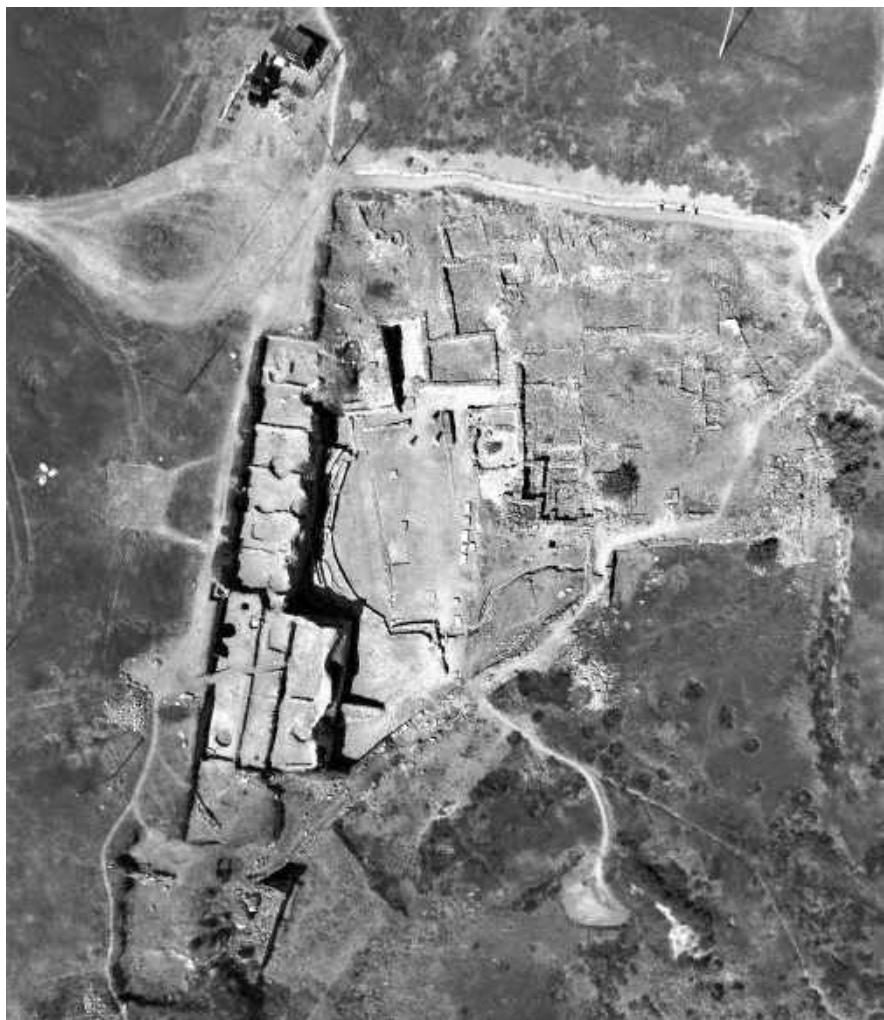


Fig. 1. Nymphaion. Sector 'M'. 2016. Photo by A. V. Nesterov



Fig. 2. Nymphaion. Sector 'M', area added in 2010.  
View from the east. 2017. Photo by S. V. Pokrovskiy

The black-glossed pottery is represented by Attic and Asia Minor products, which include a bottom fragment of a bowl with a relief medallion depicting a female figure and some unclear image. The clay of this Nymphaion bowl resembles that of the products of the Pergamon workshops. The bowl is datable to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. Similar bowls were repeatedly encountered during excavations of Nymphaion.<sup>3</sup> Forms of the black-glossed tableware vary: oinochoai, pelikai, kraters, unguentaria, kylikes, skyphoi, kantharoi, bol-sals, refined stemless bowls, saltcellars, plates and fish dishes, including examples with stamped ornament. Noteworthy are a few products painted with liquid clay and white paint, as well as single fragments of red-figured vessels.

The redware is fairly diverse in form and is presented mainly by products of Bosporan workshops. Of note is a fragment of a redware measuring vessel with a part of three-line stamp (Fig. 3). Similar finds have been known at Nymphaion before.<sup>4</sup> Greyware pottery is represented by few fragments. The assemblage of kitchenware consists of pots, their lids and bowls, as well as handmade vessels. Among the finds, of note is a fragment of a pan handle in the form of a boar. Vessels with zoomorphic handles are found in the layers of the 1<sup>st</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD and are characteristic of the settlements of the Sarmatian culture of Ciscaucasia, the Northern Caspian and the Northern Black Sea region.<sup>5</sup>

Specially noteworthy are fragments of terracotta figurines, a fragment of a small marble statuette, a fragment of an architectural detail from limestone, as well as bone and horn objects,<sup>6</sup> among the latter, an elegant antler overlay in the form of a capital in Ionic order, which probably served as decoration of a casket or a cist (Fig. 4). Of note are fragments of iron nails of the size suggesting their use in construction. Bronze artifacts, strongly corroded, are represented by three-bladed arrowheads, as well as very poorly preserved coins. The identifiable coins belong to Panticapaeum issues of the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC.

<sup>3</sup> Danilchenko 2011 [С. А. Данильченко, “Чаши с медальоном из Нимфея”], 12–13.

<sup>4</sup> Fedoseev 1991 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, “Три новых клейма на тонкостенных сосудах”], 244–245; Fedoseev 2013 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, “К вопросу о существовании полисных магистратур на Боспоре”], 25–33, Fig. 1.3; 2.3 and 6.

<sup>5</sup> Scalon 1941 [К. М. Скалон, “Изображения животных на керамике сарматского периода”], 73.

<sup>6</sup> The definition by A. K. Kasparov, senior researcher of the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

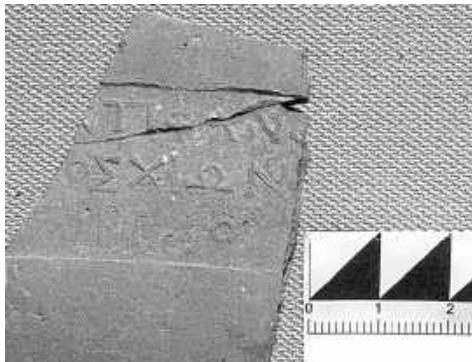


Fig. 3. Nymphaion. The fragment of a measuring vessel with a part of a stamp (H. 14.53).

Photo by S.V. Pokrovskiy



Fig. 4. Nymphaion. Antler overlay in the form of a column capital (H. 14.25).

Photo by S.V. Pokrovskiy

Among the finds, of note are also fairly numerous bones of domestic animals, including goats and sheep (predominating), cow, pig, horse, dog, and single bones of a domestic cat. The bones of wild animals (hare, fox, wolf, wild boar, red deer, and ferret) are few. Birds are mostly represented by bones of domestic hen. There were also bones of wild birds: great bustard (*Otis tarda*), mute swan (*Cygnus olor*), red-necked grebes (*Podiceps auritus*), cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo*), black-necked loon (*Gavia arctica*), gray goose (*Anser anser*), duck (*Anatidae* indet.), wild duck (*Anas platyrhynchos*), Goldeneye (*Bucephala clangula*), shelduck (*Tadorna tadorna*), tufted duck (*Aythya fuligula*), herring gulls (*Larus argentatus*), gannetwhale (*Sula Bassana*), hawkish (*Accipitridae* indet.), white-tailed eagle (*Haliaeetus albicilla*), blue dove (*Columba livia*), and hooded crow (*Corvus cornix*).<sup>7</sup> In addition, the finds included bones of fish, dolphins, a fragment of a crab shell and a fragment of a tortoise shell.

Numerous household pits were intruded into the thickness of the mound (Fig. 5). In 2014–2018, 28 pits were discovered and excavated. Of note are a number of pits with the mouth decorated with brickwork (nos. 60, 62, 65, Fig. 6). According to the finds from the fill all these pits are dated to the first centuries AD.

<sup>7</sup> The definition by A. N. Panteleev, junior researcher, Zoological Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences.



Fig. 5. Nymphaion. Sector 'M', area added in 2010. Squares 7–14.

View from the south.

Photo by S.V. Pokrovskiy

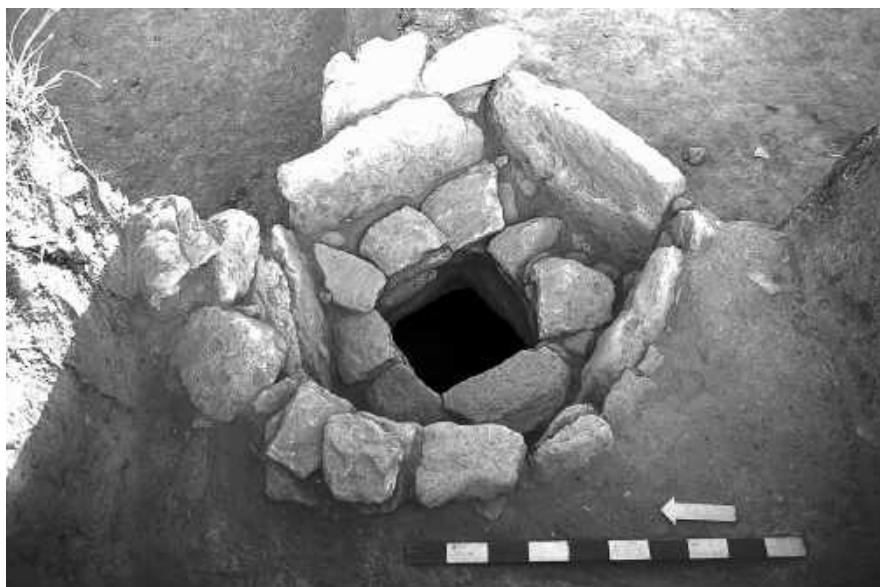


Fig. 6. Nymphaion. Sector 'M', area added in 2010. Squares 7–8.

Stone lining of the mouth of pit no. 65. View from the West.

Photo by S.V. Pokrovskiy

In pit no. 76, the skeleton of a man aged 20–30 years was found in a crouched position on the left side, his chest was crushed by stones. On the skeleton, signs of pathological and traumatic changes were revealed: the Kashin-Beck disease (Urovskaya disease), Paget's disease, tumor-like formations on the ribs, as well as metastasis of a malignant tumor in the lumbar vertebrae, which led to deformity of the spine in the lumbar area and disability of the man.<sup>8</sup> The cause of death was possibly a chopped rib damage.

Excavations were also carried out in western sector 'M'. The finds from the uncovered layers date back to the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. However, they include also ceramics of the 5<sup>th</sup> and single fragments of the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. Most of the finds, as usually, are represented by fragments of amphorae mostly from Thasos, Herakleia, Sinope, Chios (with hollowed toes), Rhodes and some unknown centers. Noteworthy are a few amphorae of Kos, Knidos, Chersonesos, Mende, Peparethos, brown ware (Colchian?), Chian plump-necked and grayware Lesbian ones, as well as single fragments of amphorae of the circle of Thasos, Samos, Amastris, Klazomenai, and Lesbian redware amphorae. On the walls of the amphorae from Chios, Thasos, Sinope, and Rhodes, graffiti and red dipinti were found. Among the amphora stamps, the earliest are those of Thasos and Herakleia Pontike, dating from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The most numerous group is from Sinope, dating back to the second and fourth quarters of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The stamps of the other centers are represented by single finds.

The set of black-glossed tableware includes products of the Attic and Asia Minor workshops, among which the open forms predominate, while lekythoi, pelikai and guttoi are represented by single fragments. The black-glossed ceramics are dated to within the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC.

Of particular interest is a fragment of a sculptured vessel in the form of a bird's head (Fig. 7). It is a fragment belonging to a figure vessel in the form of the body of a bird that was found in 2013 (Fig. 8).

Brown- and red-glossed Hellenistic pottery, as well as bowls with a relief decoration, are sparse.

The rare tableware is represented by redware and grayware specimens. Redware ceramics include the usual set of forms, characteristic of the layers of the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC at settlements of the Northern Black

<sup>8</sup> The definition by D. Yu. Ponomarev, the employee of the State Budgetary Institution of Health of the Republic of Crimea "The Crimean Republican Office of the Chief Medical Examiner".



Fig. 7. Nymphaion.  
The fragment of a figure vessel in the form of a bird's head (H. 15.95).  
Photo by S.V. Pokrovskiy

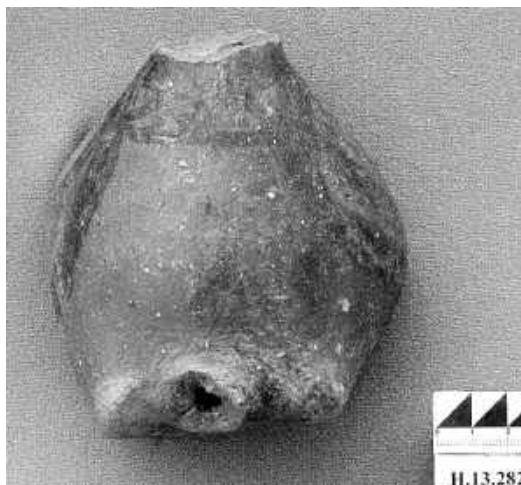


Fig. 8. Nymphaion.  
The fragment of a figure vessel in the form of a bird's body (H. 13.282).  
Photo by S.V. Pokrovskiy

Sea Coast, among which products of the Bosporan workshops prevail. Especially noteworthy is possibly a fragment of the lower part of a thick-walled bottle with a worn rectangular two-line stamp on the wall. Such bottles can have been used for drugs. The clay of the most of grayware vessels is rather dense, similar to the clay of the ware originating from the kilns excavated in the temple of Demeter.

The assemblage of kitchenware consists mainly of pots and lids for them, as well as of a small number of fragments of pans. Among the handmade vessels, pots predominate; most of the latter have an outturned edge, and some are ornamented with finger impressions or pinched pieces of clay. Also notable is the presence of handmade bowls with a flat bottom.

There are numerous fragments of tiles, among which products of Bosphorus predominate, including stamped examples dated to within 380–330 BC. Noteworthy is the find of two small fragments of ceramic water pipes.

Also of interest are fragments of terracotta figurines and a fragment of an architectural detail in the form of a Silen's head with traces of brown and red paint. It probably decorated an antefix (Fig. 9). Finds from iron and bronze in the excavated layers were few and poorly preserved.



Fig. 9. Nymphaion. The fragment of the architectural detail in the form of a Silen's head (H. 15.170).  
Photo by S.V. Pokrovskiy

The southern part of the complex opened in 2009<sup>9</sup> was cleared, and a continuation of the amphitheater with the second and fourth (lower) rows of the seats was uncovered. The southern end of the second row was partially preserved in the form of six plates laid on the tamped ground. It was dug to a length of 4.7 m. Further, the plates extend to the western side of the excavation. The southern end of the lower row of the seats is a continuation of arcuate wall no. 213 excavated in 2013. The northern end of wall no. 213 rests on a staircase that divides the amphitheater into two halves and extends to the western part of the excavation (Fig. 10). On the northern side, the staircase is framed with a balustrade of blocks of marmorized limestone separating it from the northern part of the amphitheater.<sup>10</sup> To the east of wall no. 213, a crushed stone pavement was traced bounded by wall no. 216, which separates the pavement from the area with the propylaea (Fig. 11).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Buyskikh–Sokolova, 2010 [А. В. Буйских, О. Ю. Соколова, *Полевой отчет украинско-российской археологической экспедиции ИА НАНУ и Государственного Эрмитажа за 2009 г.*], 24–30.

<sup>10</sup> Kulikov–Sokolova 2014 [А. В. Куликов, О. Ю. Соколова, *Полевой отчет украинско-российской Нимфейской археологической экспедиции Керченского историко-культурного заповедника и Государственного Эрмитажа за 2013 год*], 26.

<sup>11</sup> Sokolova 2017 [О. Ю. Соколова, *Научный отчет о результатах полевых исследований на античном городище Нимфей в 2016 году (Российская Федерация, Республика Крым, г. Керчь)*], 47–49.



Fig. 10. Nymphaion. Sector 'M', western excavation.  
View from the east. 2017. Photo by S.V. Pokrovskiy



Fig. 11. Nymphaion. Sector 'M', western excavation.  
View from the north. 2017. Photo by S.V. Pokrovskiy

Simultaneously with the excavations, conservation of the discovered objects was carried out.

Olga Sokolova  
*The State Hermitage Museum,  
 St Petersburg*  
 oyusokol@mail.ru

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## INVESTIGATIONS AT THE SITE OF THE NECROPOLIS OF THE ANCIENT TOWN OF NYMPHAION

In July of 2018, the State Hermitage archaeological expedition resumed investigations at the site of the necropolis of the ancient town of Nymphaion. This necropolis is located in northwestern, western, and southern parts of Cape Kamysh-Burun on the shore of the Kerch Strait, 17 km from the center of the city of Kerch. According to preliminary information, the total area of the flat ground necropolis is estimated to be ca 45 hectares. In addition to excavations of the pre-Soviet period,<sup>1</sup> the necropolis was extensively studied in the 1970s,<sup>2</sup> and afterwards the investigations were continued in the 1990s and 2000–2010s.<sup>3</sup>

The main goals of the field season of 2018 were to prepare a base for future activities, in order to provide a good state of preservation of the necropolis and to stop its destruction. Thanks to the cooperation between the State Hermitage and the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Science, an aerial photographic survey of the entire area of the Nymphaion necropolis was fulfilled by means of a quadcopter. Using the method of photogrammetry, a 3D model of the necropolis was obtained and a topographic plan (scale 1:2000) was drawn. The high effectiveness of aerial photography has made it possible to establish the current condition of the site. In the photographs obtained, pits of illicit excavations are clearly discernible (totally 405 such pits

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<sup>1</sup> Silant'eva 1959 [П. Ф. Силантьева, “Некрополь Нимфея”, *МИА* 69], 5–107.

<sup>2</sup> Grach 1999 [Н. Л. Грач, *Некрополь Нимфея*].

<sup>3</sup> Solov'ev 2003 [С. Л. Соловьев, *Археологические памятники сельской округи и некрополя Нимфея*], 212; Avetikov 1997 [А. А. Аветиков, “Охранные раскопки некрополя Нимфея”, in: *Археологические исследования в Крыму. 1994 год*], 8–10; Sokolova 2014 [О. Ю. Соколова, “Охранные работы на некрополе Нимфея (2006–2009, 2012 гг.)”, in: *Погребальная культура Боспорского царства*], 136–141; Zin'ko 1997 [В. Н. Зинько, “Охранные исследования некрополя Нимфея”, in: *Бахчисарайский историко-археологический сборник 1*], 67–75; Smekalova–Goroncharovskij 2017 [Т. Н. Смекалова, В. А. Горончаровский, “Топография курганныго некрополя Нимфея”, in: *Российские археологи XIX – начала XX в. и курганные древности европейского Боспора*], 393–406, etc.

have been located), as well as fortifications of the World War II period, modern debris, roads, artificial hills, and other features of interest. All this information enabled us to draw a plan of the necropolis with a designation of its current condition. In addition, the boundaries of the archeological excavations of the 1970s, 1990s, and 2000s have been more precisely defined and a general plan of the excavations at the cemetery was compiled. In the season of 2018, besides, magnetometric surveys were conducted in two areas (200 sq. m each) of the necropolis. According to Dr. T. N. Smekalova, who carried out the magnetic investigations, traces of the necropolis are detectable in the southern part of the area under study. However, this supposition can be confirmed reliably only through archaeological excavations.

In the course of the investigations of 2018, 9041 fragments of ceramic pottery and 750 pieces of ancient tiles have been found at the site. This number of finds seems to be ordinary for archeological sites of this type. It is of note, that there were numerous cartridges, fragments of shells and other objects left from World War II here. Pieces of ceramics belonging to trade amphorae amounted to 8608 items. Diagnostic ceramic fragments belong to various ancient centers dating from the Archaic to the Roman period. Fragments of medieval amphorae were also occasionally encountered.

Among the finds there were fragments of black-figured and red-figured vessels, redware pottery, kitchenware and stucco. Except for amphorae, the most common ceramic material comprised red clay tableware. Finds of this type include 220 fragments. Medieval glazed ceramics of the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries were represented by yellow-glazed vessels.

Findings of special interest comprise 22 artifacts. There is a fragment of a red clay amphora from Lesbos dated to the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC with a graffito scratched in the raw clay. Noteworthy finds include stamps on amphora handles and throats of the Classical, more often, Hellenistic period from Herakleia, Thasos, Sinope, and Rhodes. The finds also include two pieces of amphorae with red dipinti; two stoppers made from amphora fragments, and one from a fragment of a thick-walled vessel, and a grinding pestle made from an amphora handle.

A fragment of a red-figured krater with ‘laurel branch’ decoration is very remarkable. It belongs to the types of the vessels that are contemporary to the ‘Plainer Group’,<sup>4</sup> dating from ca. 475–375 BC.

Of special note is also a fragment (lower central part) of a ceramic architectural detail – an acroterium, from Sinope (Fig. 1). Acroteria

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<sup>4</sup> Beazley 1963, 1418–1424.

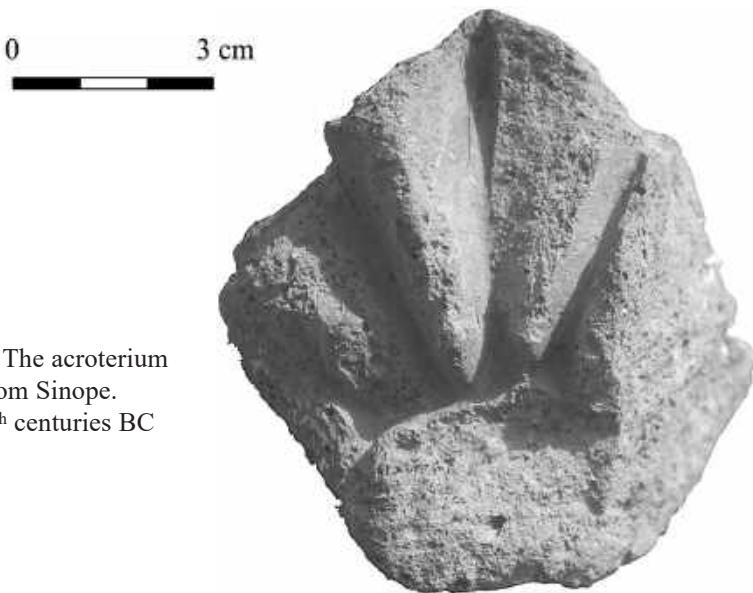


Fig. 1. The acroterium  
from Sinope.  
5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC

similar to this one were found during excavations at the sanctuary of Aphrodite (5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) at the city of Nymphaion.<sup>5</sup> Terracotta architectural details are fairly common among archaeological materials from the ancient towns of the Northern Black Sea region,<sup>6</sup> Anatolia and the Mediterranean.<sup>7</sup>

Among ceramic finds there was also a tiny pyramidal clay loom weight. The stone items included a fragment of a large fishing sinker with a hole and a piece of a trough (possibly, part from an altar). The two objects both are made from local limestone.

The most remarkable finds of the season are represented by two tombstones with anthropomorphic reliefs. Monuments of this type are known among materials of the Greek and barbarian necropoleis in the Northern Black Sea region, the Mediterranean, Anatolia, and finds dating from the time span from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC to the first centuries AD.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Hudjak 1962 [М. М. Худяк, *Из истории Нимфея (VI–III веков до н. э.)*], 26–27.

<sup>6</sup> Brashinskij 1963 [И. Б. Брашинский, “Экономические связи Синопы в IV–II вв. до н. э.”, in: *Античный город*], 135.

<sup>7</sup> Kästner 1994, 253–268; 422–425.

<sup>8</sup> Stoyanov 2010 [Р. В. Стоянов, “Антропоморфные надгробия в погребальной практике греков и варваров в VII – II вв. до н. э.”], 36; 37.



Fig. 2. The tombstone.  
3<sup>rd</sup> century BC



Fig. 3. The tombstone.  
3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC

One of the tombstones (Fig. 2) was found on the surface northwest of the site. It is a broken rectangular stele made of local limestone, measuring 80.5×55×15 cm. Only the upper right part of the tombstone with a low relief is preserved. It represents the head, neck, sharp shoulder and part of the body of an anthropomorphic figure. The known parallels, as well as specific details, such as part of the neck of suggest that another anthropomorphic image was located to the left. This stele must have belonged to group 2 of the 16<sup>th</sup> type of the anthropomorphic gravestones according to the classification by of N. V. Moleva<sup>9</sup> and is dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

The second monument (Fig. 3) was revealed in the grass in the area of the ‘Crypt Alley’, where the State Hermitage expedition carried out studies in the 1970s.<sup>10</sup> It is a rectangular stele made of local limestone similar to the one mentioned above, but bears a single relief image. The size of the fragmentary tombstone is 70×16×12 cm. The preserved part of

<sup>9</sup> Moleva 2016 [Н. В. Молева, *Антропоморфные изваяния. Из собрания Керченского государственного историко-культурного заповедника. Лапидарная коллекция*], 14–19.

<sup>10</sup> Grach 1999.

the head with the shoulder, the torso and part of a spike for fixation of the stele in the ground are well-preserved. The stele is dated to the period of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>11</sup>

Anthropomorphic gravestones of this kind usually were covered with plaster and painted; unfortunately, no traces of paint on the finds under consideration are now preserved.

Anna Eremeeva  
*The State Hermitage*  
a.eremeeva2014@yandex.ru

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<sup>11</sup> Moleva 2016, 15.

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## INVESTIGATIONS OF THE MYRMEKION EXPEDITION IN 2014–2018

Over the last five years, the Myrmekion expedition of the State Hermitage museum continued a comprehensive study of the ancient settlement of Myrmekion, located in the modern town of Kerch in the area of Cape Karantinny (Cape Quarantine). Initially, the main efforts of the expedition were concentrated on sector “I” in the central part of the settlement. After the completion of this task, the center of gravity of the expedition’s work was focused on excavations in the area of the Karantinny (Quarantine) Rock in sector “TS” (Fig. 1).

In the preceding period, investigations of a part of Hellenistic ash-hill II were carried out at sector “I”.<sup>1</sup> After the complete removal of the ash-hill layers, traces of a Classical time building were found underneath and were most completely excavated in 2013. Just a small building measuring 1.56×2.4 m with a stone pavement and the remains of a furnace were explored here only in 2014. It is interesting that the house was built immediately above the pavement of an earlier street.

The main purpose of the excavation of ash-hill II was to investigate a wide area below a building of the Late Archaic period. The eastern sector of this block, as well as part of the northern household of the western sector, had been investigated before 2013. In 2014–2016, a significant area of the Archaic quarter was unearthed under the ash-hill and excavations were carried out in order to prove the supposition that it continued to the south.<sup>2</sup>

As a result, other economic areas, separated by a wall from the eastern sector, were excavated here. On the northern side of the site there was a dwelling house stretched out in the latitudinal direction, and in the south there was a courtyard parallel to it and paved with stone.

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<sup>1</sup> Butyagin 2015a, 429–434; Butyagin 2015b [А. М. Бутягин, “Раскопки города Мирмекий в 2010–2013 гг.”], 770–773.

<sup>2</sup> Butyagin–Chistov 2015 [А. М. Бутягин, Д. Е. Чистов, “Палеорельеф Карапинного мыса и архаическая застройка Мирмекия”], 31–35.

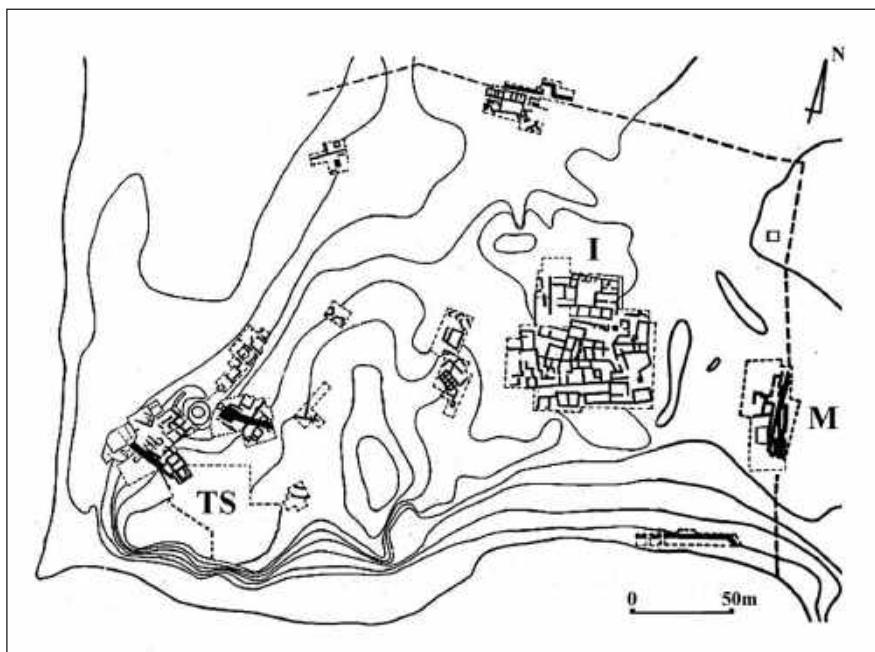


Fig. 1. Scheme of the Myrmekion site.  
The marked areas were excavated in 2014–18

The houses were composed of 2–3 rooms. The buildings bear traces of repeated reconstructions and the pavements showed multiple renewals. The dimensions of the buildings are  $5.5 \times 16$  m; the courtyards were measuring  $4.5 \times 16$  m. The average thickness of the stone plinths of the house walls was 0.5 m. On the west side, the quarter was bounded by a street about 3 m wide, and in the southern part of the site, stretched along the slope, a stone pavement was constructed with a narrow drain. Presently, the Late Archaic block excavated in Myrmekion is one of the best preserved ones in the entire ancient Bosphorus (Fig. 2).

At the west side of the street, a poorly disturbed masonry of buildings of the next quarter was uncovered. Of the most interest is a structure in the northern part of the excavation area. Here, a small room with traces of several reconstructions was found. It is noteworthy that, from the side of the street, the masonry was lined with large orthostatic polygonal stone plates. This type of construction has been first encountered in Myrmekion. Possibly, the building was of a public character, although no other evidence of this fact has been discovered.

It was suggested that the quarter under study continued in the southern direction. In order to prove this supposition excavations were started

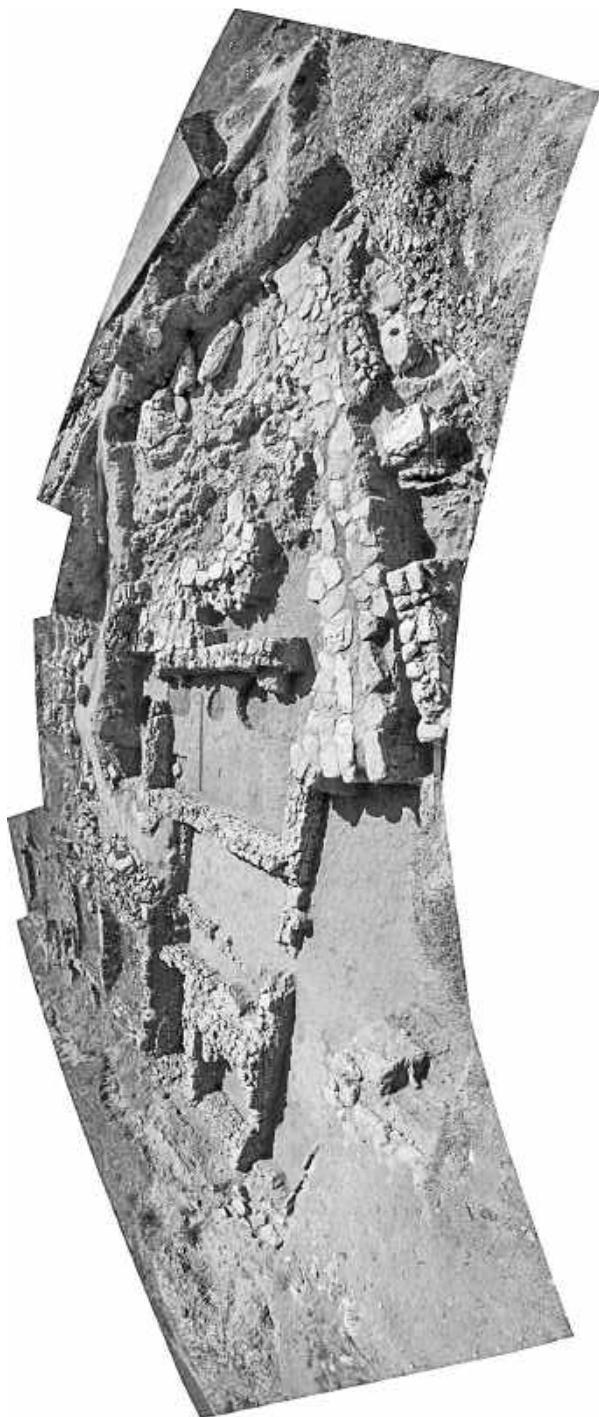


Fig. 2. Street and houses of the first half of  
the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Sector "I"  
Excavations of 2014. View from the west

which revealed structural remains of the Hellenistic and Roman period in the central part of sector "I". These digs were continued along the presumed lines of the walls bounding the quarter and dividing the household areas comprised by it. However, no traces of the continuation of the quarter to the south were revealed. Apparently, the block was oriented in the latitudinal direction. In the course of the excavations, part of a quadrangular semi-dugout house measuring  $3.1 \times 1.5$  m and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC was uncovered. This was the second pit dwelling found in the central part of the site.

Among the numerous finds from the excavated area, including fragments of painted Attic vessels, noteworthy are paired bone scabbard chapes of swords-*kopides*. These were unearthed directly in the street, apparently, at the bottom of a deep puddle formed in an ancient gully.

In 2017–2018 in the northern side of sector "I", a new excavation of about 80 sq. m was started at the cross-section of the street in order to uncover its intersection. However, the significant thickness of the cultural layer here will take several years to dig it. Presently, only traces of a surface structure of the Roman period and a courtyard fenced by a mudbrick wall have been discovered. A small bone figure of Mercury, probably a finial, is so far the most interesting finding from here.

In 2013, the excavations were concentrated at sector "TS" located north of the rock on which the Myrmekion acropolis is situated. Two lines of excavation squares of  $5 \times 5$  m were started parallel to the southern border of the site. It turned out that during the World War II, the Wehrmacht conducted digging here, apparently for construction of anti-aircraft battery positions. As a result, the ancient layers turned to be overlapping the layer of the waste soil up to 1.2 m thick. It seems that in the course of these works, construction remains of the medieval period and the 19<sup>th</sup> century were disturbed. In the eastern part of the site, where the leveling of the soil was inconsiderable, it was possible to trace the remains of a large structure bordered by masonry of orthostate stone slabs of the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The overall dimensions of the building were at least  $10.5 \times 5$  m. In the northern part of the structure, a room was well preserved with traces of stone structures possibly left from a winery press. There were also numerous pits dated to the medieval period.

The main task at the site now is to continue the study of a large villa of the Roman time preliminarily dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. Part of it was discovered in the early 1990s and another area was investigated in the 2000s. It was established that during the construction of the villa, the earlier layers were carefully leveled almost down to the virgin soil. Along the edge of the cliff there was a terrace lined with stonework

probably built during the Hellenistic period. Several rooms were added to it; to the south of these rooms a courtyard was located. New excavations showed that the courtyard was fairly small, while to the south of it there were numerous rooms of different sizes. It was established that the villa was repeatedly reconstructed during the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD. Afterwards it was demolished. It is of note that in the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and in 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, some of the rooms of the villa were used for a new villa which was located to the southeast.

In the western sector, a room was excavated with several pithoi. A drain passed from the courtyard through the southern wall of the room, possibly for filling the pithoi with rainwater.<sup>3</sup> Nearby, there was a large fragment of the lower part of a stone plate measuring 49×25×20 cm built into the wall (Fig. 3). This plate bore an inscription of seven lines containing a list of names attributed to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD. So far, it is the largest lapidary inscription found in Myrmekion during all the years of excavations.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 3. Fragment of the plate with a list of names.

First half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD. Limestone

<sup>3</sup> Butyagin 2017 [А. М. Бутягин, “Водоснабжение древнего Мирмекия”], 34–37.

<sup>4</sup> Bekhter-Butyagin 2017 [А. П. Бехтер, А. М. Бутягин, “Новый памятник лапидарной эпиграфики из Мирмекия”], 978–990; Bekhter-Butyagin 2016 [А. П. Бехтер, А. М. Бутягин, “Новый памятник лапидарной эпиграфики из Мирмекия”], 381–386.



Fig. 4. Fragmented statue  
of Asclepius.  
1 cent. AD. Marble

carving manufacture were found.<sup>5</sup> From the same pit, the first lead letter from Myrmekion was recovered (Fig. 5). The letter is measuring 2.8–3.8×10.8 cm. The inner side of the roll contained 5 lines of the inscription and on the outside there were still 3 other lines. The letter was written by some Oreos and contains two messages sent to Pithokles and Kerkio[n?] concerned with trading operations of the author.

Near the pit, there was a burial dated to the Bronze Age with a skeleton in a crouched position on the side. A clay pot was a grave offering. Presumably, the interment belonged to the Srubnaya (Timber-Grave) archaeological culture dating from the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century BC. Earlier, another such burial was discovered. Evidently during the Bronze Age, there was a necropolis on Cape Karantinny.

In 2018, in the course of excavation of a stone accumulation covering the walls of the villa, a fragmentary marble statue 1.1 m high was uncovered (Fig. 4). This was a half-naked torso belonging probably to a sculpture of Asclepius. The right hand and ankles of the sculpture were broken off and the left hand and the head of the figure were fastened by pins, in antiquity, as may be judged through the holes left behind. The statue is excellently well preserved. This is the largest sculpture unearthed in Myrmekion by now. In addition, the torso of a small marble statue of a sitting male deity, possibly Jupiter, was found among stone debris of the medieval period. Presumably, these sculptures come from a sanctuary of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD but the location of the latter is so far unknown.

In the western part of the site, under the walls of a manor and the pavement of a small courtyard, pits of an earlier period were preserved. In one of these, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, wastes of bone-

<sup>5</sup> Behter-Butyagin-Dana 2018 [А. П. Бехтер, А. М. Бутягин, М. Дана, “Свинцовое письмо из Мирамекия”], 901–918.

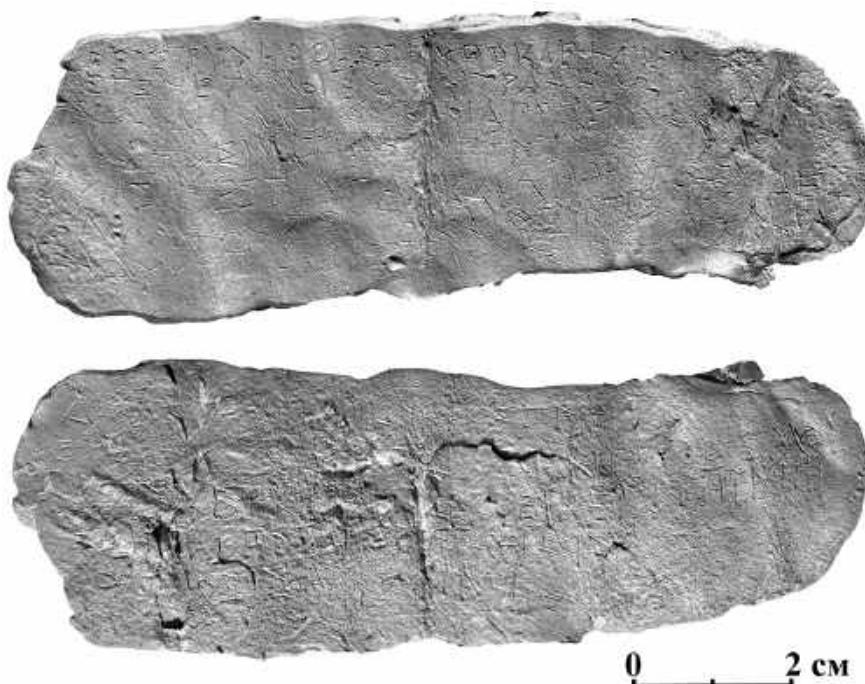


Fig. 5. Two-sided lead letter. 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC

In 2017–2018, new investigations were started in sector “M” located near the eastern border of the ancient town. Here no works had been carried out after the expansive studies in 1957–1958. At the site, the ground surface and excavated structures had been overgrown with plants. The investigations were resumed in order to clarify the boundaries of the city at the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. It was supposed that the previous digs had not reached the Late Archaic layer presumably present here. Therefore the work was started immediately within the boundaries of the old excavation area. Previously discovered remains of a winery of the Hellenistic period were cleared out. It became then evident that the researchers generally had reached the virgin soil during the investigations of the 1950s, but did not excavate some spots of the pits here. The renewed excavations revealed six burials dated to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC and several pits of different periods. In the next season, two more graves were discovered. A total of three burials of children in amphorae, three graves with crouched skeletons and two burials with the dead lying supine on their backs were excavated. The grave inventory was extremely scarce including gray-polished pots of a similar type from burials with the dead

crouched and supine on the back. Noteworthy is the number of the types of burials within a rather small area. Presently, this is the earliest part of the necropolis of Myrmekion. The presence of children's burials in amphorae suggests that in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC there was a permanent Greek population at the settlement.

In addition, in 2015, minor investigations were carried out in the territory of the 'Moscow-Crimea' (formerly 'Kiev') hotel in order to check the presence of a cultural layer here. No traces of the latter however have been found.

Alexander Butyagin  
*The State Hermitage Museum;  
 Saint Petersburg State University*  
 butyagin@gmail.com

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## INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COASTAL PART OF ILYICH-1 SETTLEMENT IN 2015–2016

The ancient settlement of Ilyich-1 in Temryuk District of Krasnodar Kray, investigated in 2015–2016 by expeditions of the Institute for the History of Material Culture (St Petersburg), the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow), and the independent non-profit organization “Scientific Research Centre for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage” (Saratov), is situated around the well-known archaeological site of Ilyich. The settlement of Ilyich is located on the north-eastern outskirts of the modern village of Ilyich, about 2 km north-east from the beginning of the Chushka Spit and about 0.5 km from the modern coastal cliff (35 m above sea level). Together with the archaeological site of Ilyich, the site of Ilyich-1 is a monument of Federal significance, designated in the State Register under the number 3337 as the “Settlement and the archaeological site of Ilyich”. The distribution of the excavated artefacts suggests that the settlement covers an area of about 42 hectares.<sup>1</sup> The core of the site is a fortress, which was built around the turn of the eras. It was surrounded by a settlement of the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC within its limits marked by an earthen rampart.

According to E. Ya. Nikolaeva, no ditches were revealed in front of the ramparts, “however, to the east of the site of the ancient settlement, N. I. Sokolsky found the remains of a ditch: an external system of fortifications which protected the settlement from land attacks from the inland of the island”<sup>2</sup>. Beyond this ditch to the south and southeast, the economic periphery of the settlement was found. E. Ya. Nikolaeva<sup>3</sup> assumed that the area of the settlement of Ilyich-1, including the nearest economic zone, was about 6.5 hectares. In addition, within the borders

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<sup>1</sup> Paromov 1992 [Я. М. Паромов, “Археологическая карта Таманского полуострова”], 98.

<sup>2</sup> Nikolaeva 1981 [Э. Я. Николаева, “Поселение у д. Ильич”], 88; Nikolaeva 1990 [Э. Я. Николаева, “Ильичевское городище – крепость трапезитов”], 136.

<sup>3</sup> Nikolaeva 1979 [Э. Я. Николаева, “Раскопки Ильичевского городища”], 376.

outlined by surface finds, economic complexes were excavated 0.5 km to the west from the settlement (excavations “Bereg-I” [“Coast-I”] and “Bereg-III”).

During the archaeological excavations of 1993, a part of a wine-making complex was discovered at “Bereg I” excavation area. It was investigated under the direction of E. R. Ustaeva. At the winery, one complete pressing platform was preserved, a second one was preserved partially as well as a cistern adjacent to area no. 1. In the southern sector of the excavation, a section of masonry was discovered, which served as the foundation for mudbrick walls. The length of the preserved masonry is 15 m, the width is 0.70 m, and the maximum height is 0.35 m. The bases of the walls of the complex were constructed of flagstones, cobblestones and sandstone. Areas of a courtyard paved with large stone slabs were opened. The complex was strongly disturbed. The finds from its layer are dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC – 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.<sup>4</sup>

At the Bereg-III area excavated under the direction of A. A. Zavojkin in 1996–1997,<sup>5</sup> the remains of a residential and economic building (farmhouse), of the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century were discovered. It was constructed on a low stone foundation (only 3–4 courses). The upper parts of the walls, apparently, were made of mudbricks.

The assemblage of the youngest finds, according to A. A. Zavojkin, dates the destruction of the building to the period of the interneccine war between the sons of Aspourgos/Mithridates VIII and Kotys I, i.e. to the 40 BC.<sup>6</sup>

The “Bereg-IV” excavation was started in the western part of the settlement, on the high bank of the Kerch Bay with a total area of 5,675 sq. m.

It is of note that in the settlement of Ilyich-1, prior to the excavations of 2015–2016, amphora finds of the Classical and Hellenistic periods were uncovered only sporadically. The same was with coins from the Bosporan minting of the 4<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC which had previously been found only in “Bereg-I” excavation site.

Most of the material studied and most of the objects of the “Bereg-IV” excavation belong to a narrow chronological period (mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC –

<sup>4</sup> Ustaeva 1993 [Э.Р. Устаева, “Раскоп ‘Берег-1’”, in: Э. Я. Николаева, Э. Р. Устаева, *Отчет о работах Ильичевского отряда Таманской археологической экспедиции ИА РАН г. Москвы и Ильичевского отряда Таманского отдела Краснодарского музея-заповедника в 1993 г.*], 25–33.

<sup>5</sup> Zavojkin 1996 [А. А. Завойкин, “Полевой отчет о раскопках на Ильичевском городище в 1996 году”]; Zavojkin 1997a [А. А. Завойкин, “Полевой отчет о раскопках на Ильичевском городище в 1997 году”].

<sup>6</sup> Zavojkin 1997a, 32.

first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD). These are finds provenient from the excavation of a large ancient manor house with an area of about 450 sq. m and from excavations of three wineries (Figs. 1, 2), one of which was partially investigated in 1993 by an archaeological expedition of the Taman Museum under the direction of E. R. Ustaeva. To this period, also over 225 objects of household and manufacturing purpose are dated.

In addition, we studied a number of complexes of the Hellenistic period of the 4<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. These include materials from two ash pits, four baby burials in amphorae and five middens. The most interesting objects are presented by two ash-pits, which yielded the predominant majority of amphorae containers, mostly stamped, of the Hellenistic period.

*Objects nos. 15, 15A.* The ash-pit in the southern part of the excavation was of an elongated plan 8.5 m long and at least 0.7 m wide in the southern part and up to 1.8 m wide in the northern sector. Some of the amphorae found in the ash-pit have stamps dating the object to the time span from the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>7</sup>

*Object no. 265.* The deep oval ash-pit in the north-eastern section of the excavation area (the excavated part was measuring 18×7 m) was filled with grey loose loam with a high content of ash and mussel shells. The thickness of the layer was from 0.8 m to 1.2 m. A significant number of amphora stamps were found in this layer dating primarily from the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC.<sup>8</sup> A. A. Zavoykin believed that the space separating the coastline from the main settlement was not built up and possibly there was a small rural settlement in the area of the excavation “Bereg-1” in the 4<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>9</sup> This hypothesis was confirmed in 2015–2016

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<sup>7</sup> All definitions of the stamps were made by N. A. Pavlichenko (The Institute for the History of Material Culture, RAS). See also the results of pre-processing of the stamps: Sharov 2016 [О. В. Шаров, “Новые комплексы протомеотской эпохи на Тамани”], 127–129; Sharov–Pavlichenko 2017 [О. В. Шаров, Н. А. Павличенко, “Предварительные итоги исследований амфорных клейм, происходящих из раскопок береговой части поселения Ильич-1”] 630, 631 (Herakleia: nos. 3–8; Sinope: no. 10, 56, 58).

<sup>8</sup> Sharov 2015 [О. В. Шаров, “Отчет о спасательных археологических раскопках на территории поселка Ильич Темрюкского района Краснодарского края Российской Федерации в 2015 году”], Appendix no. 1, no. 2 – Thasos; nos. 11–15, 17, 20, 21, 23, 27, 29–32, 35, 39, 41, 44, 53, 55 – Sinope; nos. 62, 63, 65, 67, 69 – Rhodes; no. 73 is an unknown centre.

<sup>9</sup> Zavojkin 1997b [А. А. Завойкин, “Археологический комплекс ‘Ильичевское городище’. Итоги исследований и перспективы. Рукопись статьи по плановой теме в 1997 году”], 67.

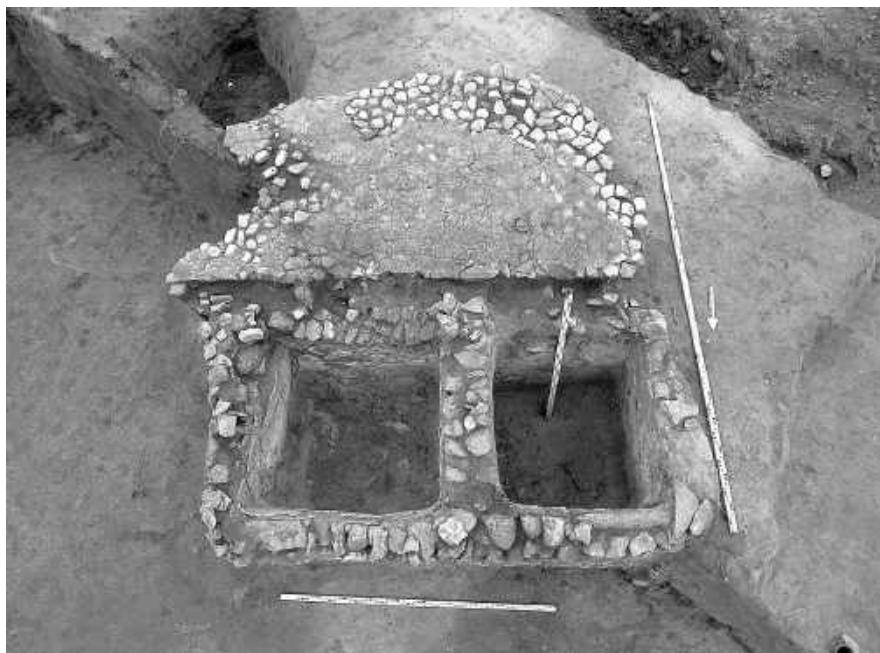


Fig. 1. Settlement Ilyich-1. Excavation “Bereg IV”. Winery no. 1



Fig. 2. Settlement Ilyich-1. Excavation “Bereg IV”. Winery no. 2

through the discovery of complexes of the Hellenistic period. In addition, coin finds support this theory: of 28 identifiable coins, 23 pieces are dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. Judging from the voluminous ash-pits in the north-eastern and south-eastern parts of the excavation, the settlement of the 4<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC was located to the east and north from the boundaries of the excavation. Probably, we are dealing with at least two farm estates of the Hellenistic time.

A total of 77 stamps have been found at the excavation of Bereg-IV including: Thasos – 2 items, Rhodes – 9, Kos – 3, Sinope – 51, Herakleia – 6, Bosporos – 2, and unidentified manufacturing centres – 4.

The evidence gained suggests the usual combination of a relatively small number of Thasian and Herakleian stamps at rural settlements of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. In the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC also stamped amphorae of Sinope appear. The overwhelming majority of stamped amphorae of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD comes from Sinope, and only in the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Rhodian wine appears here. The latter completely dominates the market in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. By the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, Koan wine appears. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the complete predominance of Heraclean wine in amphorae of the ‘pseudo-Koan’ type is already observable at the market.<sup>10</sup>

The most unexpected discovery here was that of complexes presumably datable to the Late Bronze Age.<sup>11</sup> V. S. Bochkarev attributed them to the Sabatinovka archaeological culture of the 12<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. These complexes include materials from six stone wells and ten other objects the purpose of which is still not completely clear. At all these objects, chronologically diagnostic, specific moulded handmade pottery was found: scoops with loop-shaped handles (object no. 192), scoops with protrusions on the handles (objects nos. 188–189), handmade black-polished pottery with an accentuated neck (objects nos. 225, 229, 257, 45A, E, D, 55, 145–145A, 156, 199), handmade black-polished vessels with two handles (objects nos. 60, 145).

The following types of buildings are distinguishable:

- 1) stone wells (objects nos. 55, 76D, 226, 220, 145, 192);
- 2) pits up to 5–6 m deep and up to 6–10 m in diameter of unknown purpose (objects nos. 67, 153, 164, 188–189, 194–194A);
- 3) stone structure – ‘reservoir’, adjacent to a stone well (objects nos. 45A–E and 192) (Figs. 3–4).

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<sup>10</sup> Sharov–Pavlichenko 2017, 629–631.

<sup>11</sup> Sharov 2016 [О. В. Шаров, “Новые комплексы протомеотской эпохи на Тамани”], 127–129.



Fig. 3. Settlement Ilyich-1. Excavation “Bereg IV”.  
Reservoir and well



Fig. 4. Settlement Ilyich-1. Excavation “Bereg IV”.  
Reservoir. Masonry of red sandstone

Thus, the excavations at archaeological complexes of the settlement of Ilyich revealed three chronological horizons: of the Late Bronze – Early Iron Age, of the Hellenistic period, and of the early Roman time. The most unique discovery made in 2015–2016 in this region is that of the Late Bronze Age complexes related to the water supply of a large area. Possibly, the large pits (type 2) cut in the layer of ferruginous sandstone also served as water reservoirs, since a layer of black silty clay was traced on their bottom. So far, this is naturally a preliminary supposition.

The archaeological complexes we discovered on the Taman Peninsula provide new data about the settlement pattern here in the pre-Greek and Greek period suggesting a very high level of the development of the material culture of the local population.

Oleg Sharov  
Institute of Archaeology, RAS

[olegsharov@mail.ru](mailto:olegsharov@mail.ru)

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## EXCAVATIONS OF THE TAMAN DETACHMENT OF THE BOSPORAN EXPEDITION OF IHMC RAS IN 2014–2018\*

In 2014–2018, the Taman Detachment of the Bosporan Expedition of the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IHMC) RAS conducted regular excavations of the archaeological site “The settlement and necropolis of Artyushchenko-2”.<sup>1</sup> This site is situated in the southern part of the Taman Peninsula, on the precipitous coast of the Black Sea, 17 km to the south-east from the Cossack village of Taman and 4 km to the south-east from the settlement of Artyushchenko.

Excavations of 2014–2018 were focused on Sector “N” (necropolis). During five years, an area of 1400 sq. m has been investigated. In the course of excavations, 63 burials were revealed (nos. 131–188, Г13–Г17) of which five had been ‘investigated’ by clandestine diggers before. The latter burials obtained a special numeration with the letter ‘Г’.

The skeletons in early graves (5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) are oriented with the head to the east or north-east. In burials of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, the skeletons are most frequently oriented with the head towards the southern and eastern cardinal points, in burials of the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> cent. AD the dead are positioned with the head to the north. The combination of interments with the eastern orientation and rare graves with the western orientation is traditional at the Taman necropoleis of the 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.<sup>2</sup>

In terms of sex and age, the following types of interments are distinguishable:<sup>3</sup>

- Individual interments of males (burials 156, 182, 187).
  - Individual interments of females (burials 175, 185, Г13).
  - Paired interments of a male and female (burials 136, Г17).
- All these burials were made either in flat graves or in mud-brick cists.
- Interments of an adult and a child. So far, these were encountered only in flat graves. The age of the children varies from newborn

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<sup>1</sup> Kashaev 2015, 140–156.

<sup>2</sup> Korovina 1987 [А. К. Коровина, “Раскопки некрополя Тирамбы”], 4.

<sup>3</sup> Only some of the burials are adduced as examples.

to approximately up to 3–5 years old. The babies in this case were sometimes placed in amphorae (Burial 166) or simply laid beside the adult's body (Burial 183).

- Intermets of children. Babies were interred in amphorae, the elder children laid in flat graves (Burials 142, 180).
- Cenotaphs. Burials of this kind were found only in flat graves (burials 165, 174).

Among the materials retrieved during excavations, the basic set of the grave inventory may be distinguished which was put to the graves both of males and females. It included a single vessel from each group of pottery:

- A vessel for wine – amphora, pitcher, oinochoe (wheelmade or handmade): for instance, in Burial 175, the grave offerings included a proto-Thasian amphora (Fifth series; here and below the types of amphorae are indicated after Sergey Yu. Monakhov)<sup>4</sup> and a ring askos<sup>5</sup> all dated to the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Fig. 1. 1, 2).
- A vessel for food – bowl (wheelmade or handmade), black-glossed bowl on a pedestal, one-handled bowl: e.g. the inventory of Burial 165 consisted of a table amphora painted in white on the shoulder<sup>6</sup> and a redware bowl of the late 6<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Fig. 1. 3, 4).
- A drinking vessel – black-glossed kylix, skyphos, kantharos. Here a black-glossed kylix<sup>7</sup> found in Burial 148 can be suggested as an example. The vessel had a stamped pattern on the bottom and was dated to the middle or third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Fig. 2. 2).
- A vessel for incense – lekythos, askos, amphoriskos, or alabastron. Thus a black-glossed fluted lekythos<sup>8</sup> found in Burial 168 is dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Fig. 2. 1). From Burial 136, a large ring askos<sup>9</sup> and a cylindrical lekythos of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Fig. 2. 3, 4) were recovered. In Burial 157 there was an alabastron from blue-yellow Phoenician glass<sup>10</sup> of the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Fig. 3. 3).

<sup>4</sup> Monakhov 2003 [С. Ю. Монахов, “Греческие амфоры в Причерноморье. Типология амфор ведущих центров-экспортеров в керамической таре”], 256, Pl. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Bujskikh 2013 [А. В. Буйских, “Архаическая расписная керамика из Ольвии (восточногреческая, лаконская, коринфская, имитации)”), 133.

<sup>6</sup> Skudnova 1988 [В. М. Скуднова, “Архаический некрополь Ольвии”], 68, Cat. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Sparkes-Talcott 1970, no. 459, 460.

<sup>8</sup> Sparkes-Talcott 1970, no. 1129.

<sup>9</sup> Bujskikh 2013, 133.

<sup>10</sup> Kunina 1997 [Н. З. Кунина, “Античное стекло”], 249, Cat. 11.

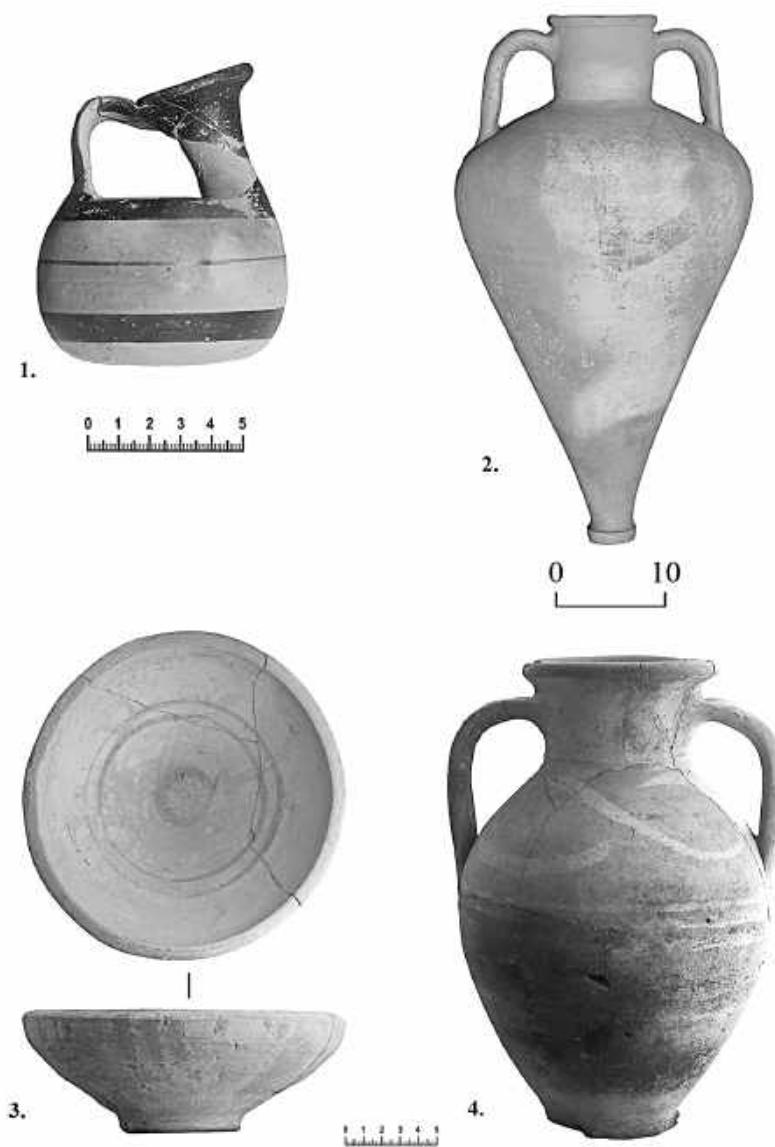


Fig. 1. Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2. Finds of 2014–2018.

1 – ring askos; 2 – proto-Thasian amphora (Burial 175);  
3 – redware bowl; 4 – table amphora (Burial 165)

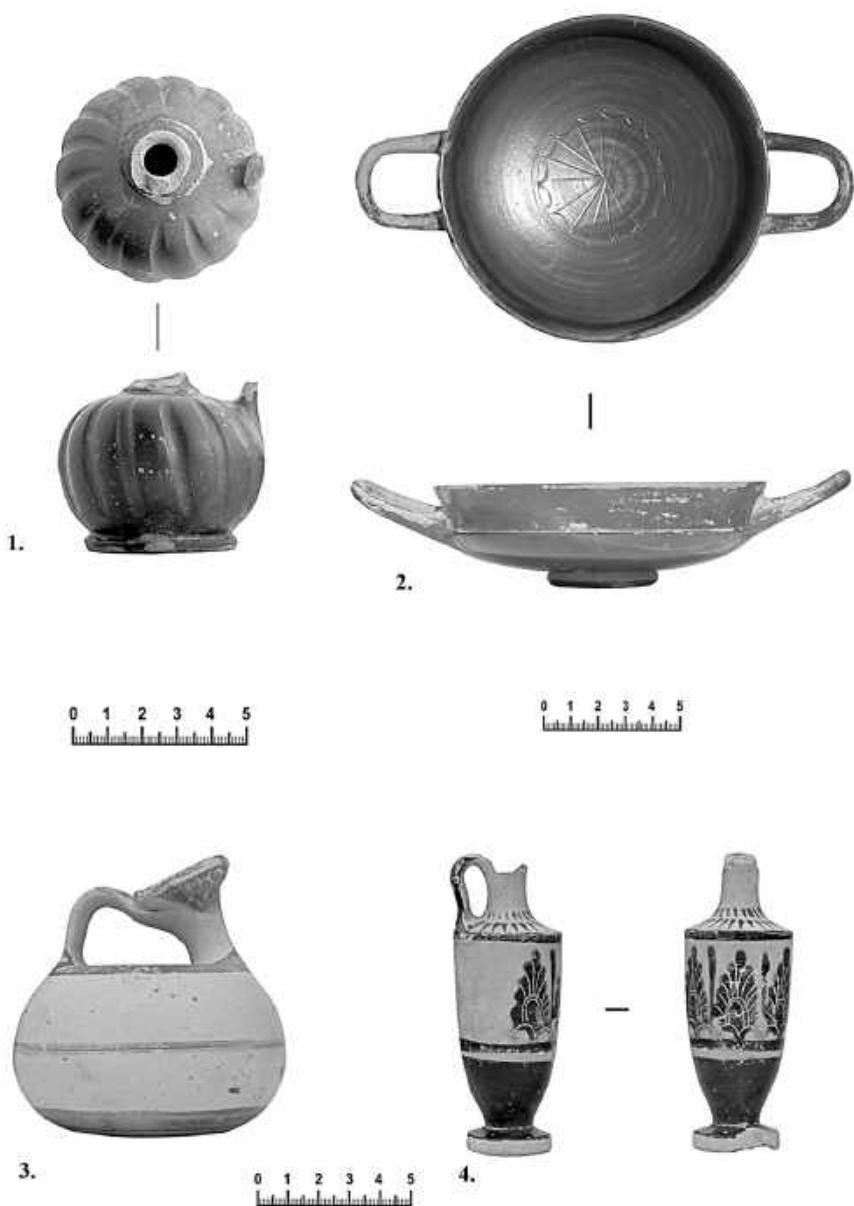


Fig. 2. Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2. Finds of 2014–2018.  
 1 – black-glossed lekythos (Burial 168); 2 – black-glossed kylix  
 (Burial 148); 3 – ring askos; 4 – cylindrical lekythos (Burial 136)

In addition to the basic set of ceramic vessels, weaponry – swords, spears and arrows (Burials 183, Г17); bridle items – strap ornaments, buckles; tools – knives, awls, needles (Burial 182) were put into the male graves. To women, ornaments (pendants, beads) were additionally offered (Burial 144) as well as tools (knives, needles, spindles), mirrors, and small cosmetic bowls (Burial 174).

In Burial 144 there were found a bronze rhomboid pendant, beads from gold and jet dated, presumably, to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD (Fig. 3. 1). During the previous seasons, gold ornaments in the form of beads and pendants were not once recovered at the necropolis, but these finds were made in burials of an earlier date of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

In Burial 146 disturbed by the shore abrasion, a gem (intaglio) of the late 5<sup>th</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC was preserved. Carved from rock crystal, it bore a representation of a half-naked sitting woman (Fig. 3. 2).

Burials Г13–Г17 have been excavated to completion after modern illegal diggers. In 2009–2013, over 60 unscientific excavations were recorded at the necropolis. In these burials, a number of items of grave offerings were found overlooked or neglected by the robbers. Among these objects, of note is an amorphiskos from Phoenician glass<sup>11</sup> of the early 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Fig. 3. 4) from burial Г13.

Besides the burials, in the course of excavations, still several other complexes were revealed which were interpreted as ritual deposits obviously unrelated to any particular burial. From these deposits, complete or fragmentary amphorae were recovered.

In Ritual Deposits 24 and 25, bodies of amphorae with richly profiled feet were found – proto-Thasian type (Third series)<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 4. 2, 3). In Ritual Deposit 28 there was an analogous amphora (Fourth series)<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 4. 1). All these finds are dated to ca. 500–450 BC.

In Ritual Deposit 27, two amphorae were found – a bulbous-necked Chian (Variant III-A)<sup>14</sup> and a redware Lesbian one (Variant I-C)<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 4. 4, 5). These amphorae are dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.

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<sup>11</sup> Kunina 1997, 251, Cat. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Monakhov 2003 [С. Ю. Монахов, “Греческие амфоры в Причерноморье. Типология амфор ведущих центров-экспортеров в керамической таре”], 255. Pl. 25.

<sup>13</sup> Monakhov 2003, 255. Pl. 25.

<sup>14</sup> Monakhov 2003, 234. Pl. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Monakhov 2003, 261. Pl. 31.

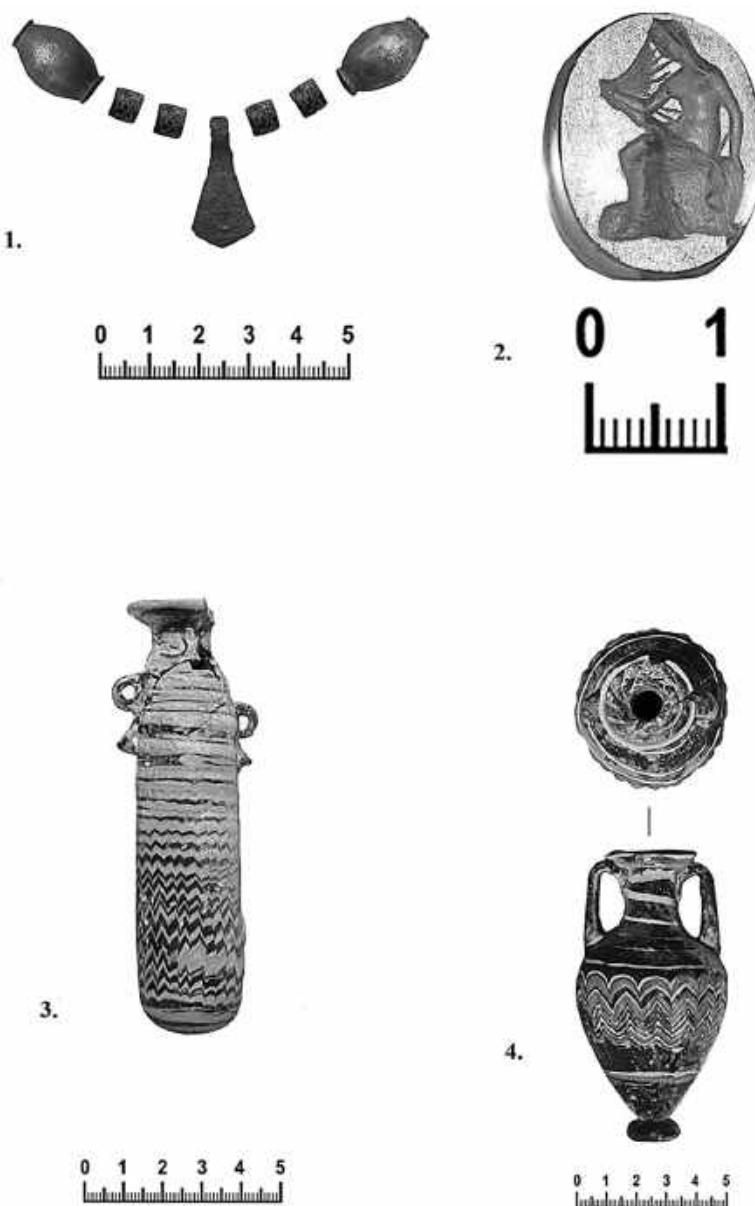


Fig. 3. Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2. Finds of 2014–2018.  
 1 – set of pendant ornaments (Burial 144); 2 – gem (intaglio) from rock crystal (Burial 146); 3 – glass alabastron (Burial 157);  
 4 – glass amphoriskos (Burial Γ13).

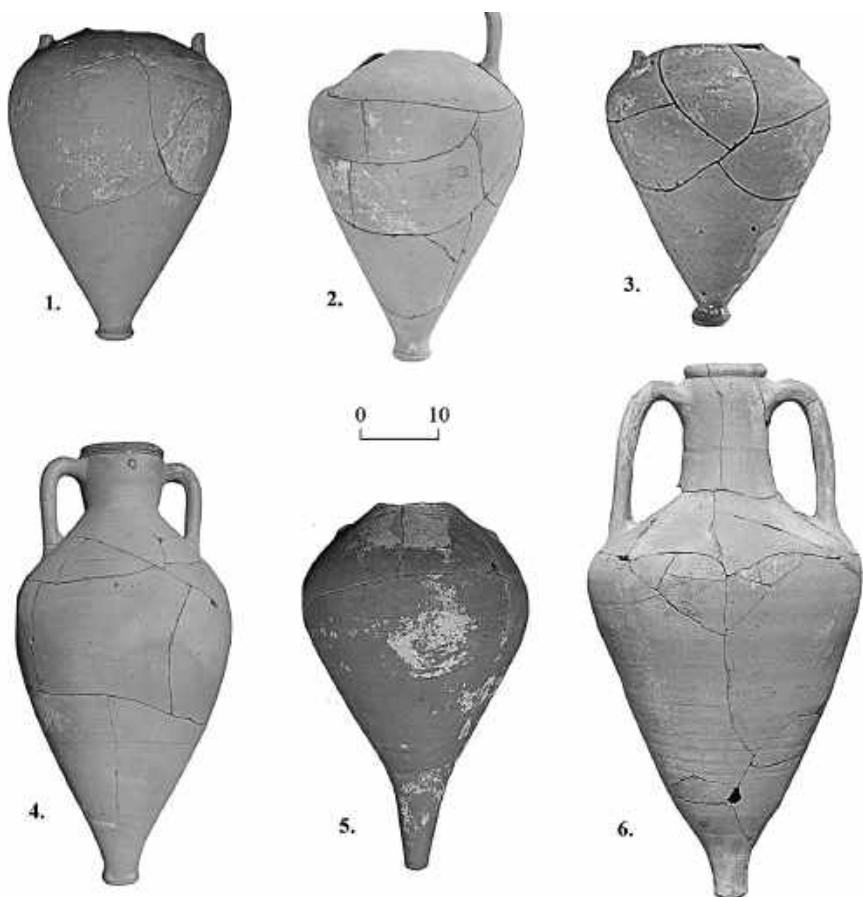


Fig. 4. Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2. Finds of 2014–2018.

- 1 – proto-Thasian amphora (Ritual Deposit 28);
- 2 – proto-Thasian amphora (Ritual Deposit 24);
- 3 – proto-Thasian amphora (Ritual Deposit 25);
- 4 – Chian amphora;
- 5 – Lesbian amphora (Ritual Deposit 27);
- 6 – Sinopean amphora (Ritual Deposit 21)

A Sinopean amphora (Variant II-C)<sup>16</sup> of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC (Fig. 4. 6) comes from Ritual Deposit 21.

The finds recovered from the necropolis prove that the settlement of Artyushchenko-2, although it was situated at the periphery of the Classical world, had fairly prosperous inhabitants.

Sergey Kashaev,

*Institute for the History of Material Culture,  
St.-Petersburg (IHMC RAS)*

kashaevs@mail.ru

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# INVESTIGATIONS OF THE RURAL SANCTUARY AT THE SETTLEMENT OF ARTYUSHCHENKO-1 (BUGAZSKOE) ON THE TAMAN PENINSULA IN 2015–2018\*

The agricultural site of Artyushchenko-1 is situated on the shore of the Black Sea, four kilometers south-east from the farmstead of Artyushchenko (Novotamansky rural district). Excavations at the site were started in 1998 by the Bosporan expedition of the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St Petersburg). The site has been partly destroyed by the coastal abrasion.<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that the settlement-site is divided into eastern and western parts by an ancient ravine. The excavations have revealed a chronological difference between these two parts. The eastern side was inhabited in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, while the western part was occupied only during the Roman and the Early Medieval periods.<sup>2</sup>

Excavations were carried out during the last years in the western part of the site. Its occupation started in the first century AD. The settlement's history includes two periods of occupation in the Roman epoch: pre-Gothic (before the invasion of the Northern Black Sea region by the German Gothic tribes): the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD – first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, and the post-Gothic period: the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

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\* The investigation was conducted according to the program 0184-2019-0005 of Fundamental Scientific Investigations of the State Academies of Sciences (FNI GAN): “Culture of states of the Classical period in the Northern Black Sea region. Subcultures of the ruling elite and common people”.

<sup>1</sup> Vinogradov-Kashaev 2016 [Ю. А. Виноградов, С. В. Кашаев, “Античные поселения Артющенко-1 и Артющенко-2 на Таманском полуострове. К оценке масштабов природного разрушения”, *Боспорские исследования*], 95–105.

<sup>2</sup> Vinogradov 2013 [Ю. А. Виноградов, “Основные итоги изучения поселения Артющенко I (Таманский полуостров)”, *Проблемы истории, филологии и культуры*], 233–241; Vinogradov 2018 [“Поселение Артющенко-1 (Бугазское) на Таманском полуострове. Итоги археологических исследований 1998–2017 гг.”, *Боспорский феномен*], 271–277.

The remains of eight primitive ground dwellings and numerous pits belong to the pre-Gothic period. The materials from these pits and ground dwellings are typical of the culture of the agricultural population of the Bosporan Kingdom during the Roman period. It is also noteworthy that numerous finds of handmade pottery uncovered here were manufactured in a technique typical of local barbarian tribes, and are characteristic materials at settlements of this region.

Part of a very unusual structure was excavated at the western sector of the site in 2012 and 2015–2018. It is an area with a layer of clay (5 cm thick): a clay platform, which contained a large amount of charred grains of bearded wheat (*Triticum monococcum*). In 2017, this structure was excavated completely. It is measuring 16×4.5–9.5 m and is dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. Initially it was interpreted as a threshing floor,<sup>3</sup> although bearded wheat was not common for the Taman peninsula (and for the Kuban region in general).<sup>4</sup> The latter circumstance forced us to look for another explanation of the site, i.e. as a sanctuary. No coins or terracotta figurines have been found here, but it is a very characteristic feature of Greek shrines. However, fragments of well-ornamented handmade pots, which were found in this area, as well as small sacramental ceramic ‘loaves of bread’ made it possible to consider this structure as a cult installation.<sup>5</sup>

A number of large pits were investigated within this area. Some of them contained skeletons of animals (dogs, pigs, cows, etc.) and occasionally human remains. Materials from these pits support the proposed interpretation of the place. Four of the pits were excavated in 2015–2018.

Pit no. 69 was investigated in 2015 (Fig. 1). Dog’s skeletons were lying in the upper part of it, and below there were numerous bones of other animals.<sup>6</sup>

Pit no. 80 was excavated in 2016 (Fig. 2). In its upper part, there was a dog’s skeleton lying on a fragment of a cow’s vertebral column. A handmade bowl was put upon these bones. Numerous skeletons of young animals were found in the lower part of the pit.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Vinogradov 2015, 158–159.

<sup>4</sup> Pashkevich 2016 [“Археоботанические исследования Боспора”, *Боспорские исследования*], 205–298.

<sup>5</sup> Vinogradov 2017 [“Молотильный ток или сельское святилище? К интерпретации объекта, открытого на поселении Артющенко-1 (Таманский полуостров)”, *Ex Ungue Leonem. К 90-летию Льва Самуиловича Клейна*], 322–333.

<sup>6</sup> Vinogradov 2017, 326.

<sup>7</sup> Vinogradov 2017, 327–329.



Fig. 1. Pit no. 69. Dog skeleton



Fig. 2. Pit no. 80. Dog skeleton lying on a piece  
of a cow's vertebral column

Pit no. 89 was investigated in 2017 (Fig. 3). A cow (without legs) was thrown into the pit and a handmade pot was put in front of its head.

A shallow pit, no. 87, was excavated in 2017 in the northern section of the clay platform. There was a human skeleton there (Fig. 4). None accompanying object was found near the bones, but undoubtedly this burial was made here in no way accidentally.

It is also of special note that a considerable number of complete vessels, mostly handmade, were found in the large pits with animal bones (Fig. 5). Hence, there is a reason to consider them as sacrificial.

There is almost no doubt that this part of the settlement was used to perform sacrifices to gods of fertility. The presence of dogs among the sacrificial animals is quite common at Bosporan settlements and cemeteries.<sup>8</sup> These animals were considered as mediators between the world of the living and the dead. With their help, the sacrifices could reach the gods easier. To understand the nature of this sacred ground, its localization is also of importance. It was situated not in the center of the settlement, but in its western outskirts. Possibly, it was *inter alia* a sacred protection of the inhabitants of Artyushchenko-1 against malicious demonic forces.

Summing up, it can be accepted that the clay platform and the pits associated with it (with animal sacrifices and human burials) were parts of a rural sanctuary. Some similarities (firstly to sacrificial pits) can be found in Thrace, where so-called pit-sanctuaries existed.<sup>9</sup> Human sacrifices were found there many times.<sup>10</sup> The period of flourishing of these sanctuaries was the 6<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, but this tradition was retained throughout the whole Roman Age.<sup>11</sup> Naturally, some elements of cultural similarity between Thrace and Bosporos in the Roman period still need a special discussion.

Yuriy A. Vinogradov

*Institute for the History of Material Culture*

*St Petersburg (IHMC RAS)*

vincat2008@yandex.ru

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<sup>8</sup> Moleva 1998 [“Собака в религиозных представлениях боспорян”, *Боспорское царство как историко-культурный феномен*], 60–62; Moleva 2002 [*Очерки сакральной жизни Боспора*], 113–123; Vakhtina 2007 [“Еще раз о погребениях собак на Боспоре”, *Боспорский феномен: сакральный смысл региона, памятников, находок*], 140–144.

<sup>9</sup> Tonkova 2003, 482; Bozhkova 2016, 479.

<sup>10</sup> Tonkova 2003, 496–498, 502; Tonkova 2010.

<sup>11</sup> Tonkova 2003, 482; Theodosiev 2011, 19.



Fig.3. Pit no. 89. Cow skeleton



Fig.4. Pit no. 87. Human remains

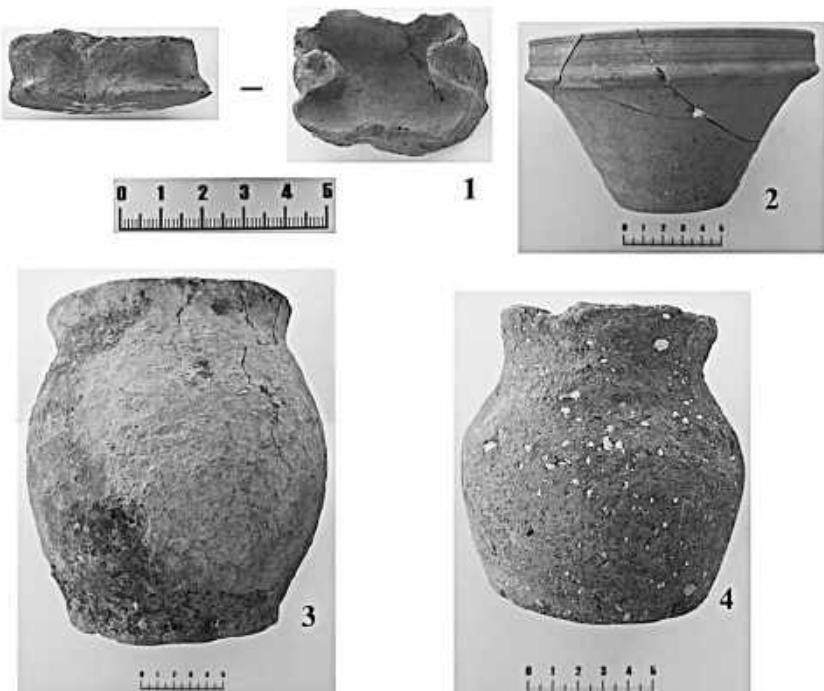


Fig. 5. Pottery finds from the pit no. 89

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## EXCAVATIONS OF GORGIPPIA AND ITS NECROPOLIS IN 2012 AND 2016\*

Excavations of ancient Gorgippia were conducted intermittently over almost one hundred and ninety years and gave a fairly complete picture of its boundaries and dimensions in different chronological periods from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Works of the last decade have complemented these results, although they were inconsiderable and concerned mainly with the areas of construction in connection with various building projects in Anapa. Some of the objects were investigated by the staff of the Department of History of Classical Culture of the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IHMC) RAS.

**Necropolis.** In 2012<sup>2</sup> the Anapa detachment of the Bosporan Expedition of IHMC RAS conducted protective excavations in the area of about 300 sq. m of the cinema and concert hall “Victory” (Fig. 1; 2). In antiquity, here was the south-eastern border of the necropolis of Gorgippia.<sup>3</sup> During the construction of the projected building in 1987, several burials of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC – 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD were opened here. The opportunity to complete the study of this territory appeared in connection with the planned reconstruction of the former cinema hall.

In the course of the preparation of the site for excavation it was necessary to remove a ballast trash layer approximately 2 m thick. Some materials of the Hellenistic time were uncovered in a redeposited stratum beneath it. Among the finds, noteworthy are a Koan stamp of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC (rare in the Northern Black Sea coast) with an

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\* The investigation was conducted according to the program 0184-2019-0005 of Fundamental Scientific Investigations of the RAS: “Culture of states of the Classical period in the Northern Black Sea region. Subcultures of the ruling elite and common people”.<sup>1</sup> Alekseeva 1997 [Е. М. Алексеева, *Античный город Горгиппия*].

<sup>2</sup> For technical reasons a brief report on these excavations was not included in the archaeological section of the journal devoted to the St. Petersburg archaeological expeditions that worked in the Northern Black Sea region in 2006–2013.

<sup>3</sup> Alekseeva 1991 [Е. М. Алексеева, *Греческая колонизация Северо-Западного Кавказа*], 282 Pl. 2.

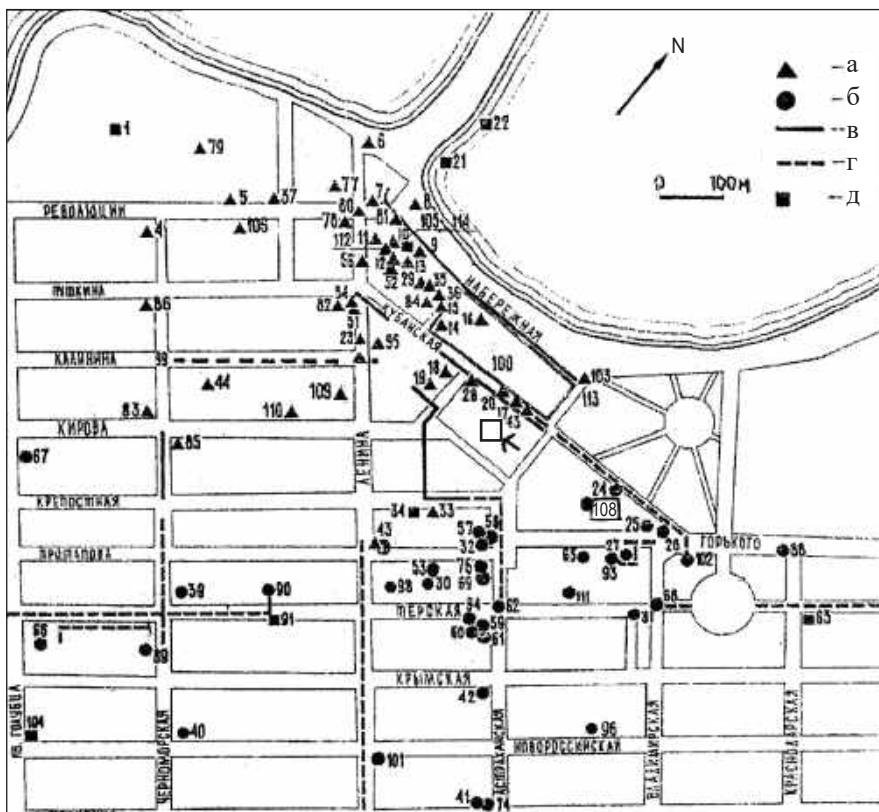


Fig. 1. Archaeological plan of Anapa (by E. V. Alekseeva):  
 а – cultural layers of the townsite; б – area of the necropolis;  
 в, г – building trenches under supervision; д – excavated area of 2016;  
 108 – the legend number for the excavation trench  
 in the territory of the cinema "Victory" in 2012;  
 □ – excavation area of 2016 on the territory of the resort "Motylyok"

emblem representing a caduceus and the name Σαραπ[ί](ωνος)<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 3. 1) and a Sinopean stamp ἀστυνόμου / Ἰοβάκχου τοῦ / [Μολ]παγόρου. / Ἀπατούριος [prow of a ship] of 250–215 BC (Fig. 3. 2).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The only analogy is the stamp from the excavations of Olbia in 1912. I take this opportunity to thank Prof. Sergey Monakhov (Saratov State University) for his advice on this matter.

<sup>5</sup> Compare: Katz 2007 [В. И. Кац, *Греческие керамические клейма эпохи классики и эллинизма (опыт комплексного изучения)*], 266 Pl. 13, 10.

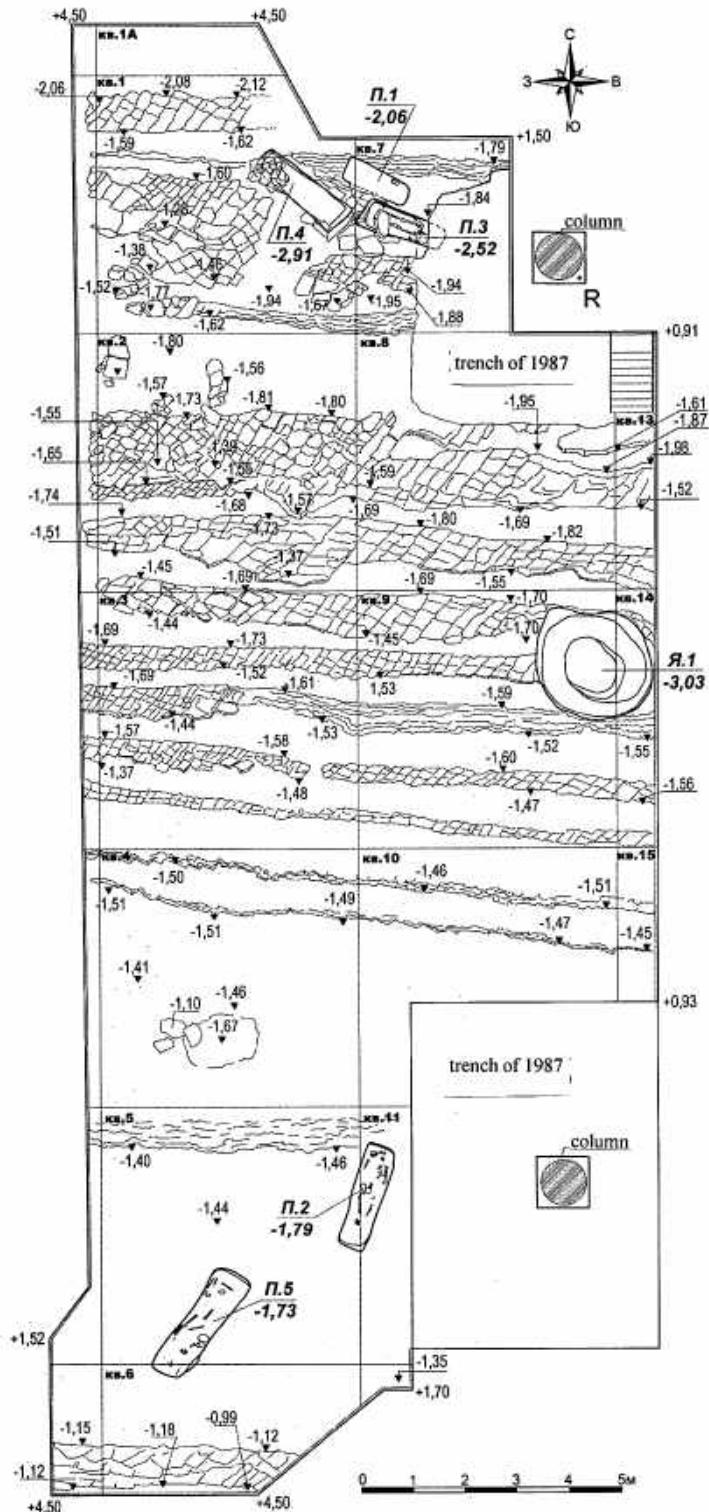


Fig. 2. Plan of the excavation trench of 2012 in the territory of the cinema

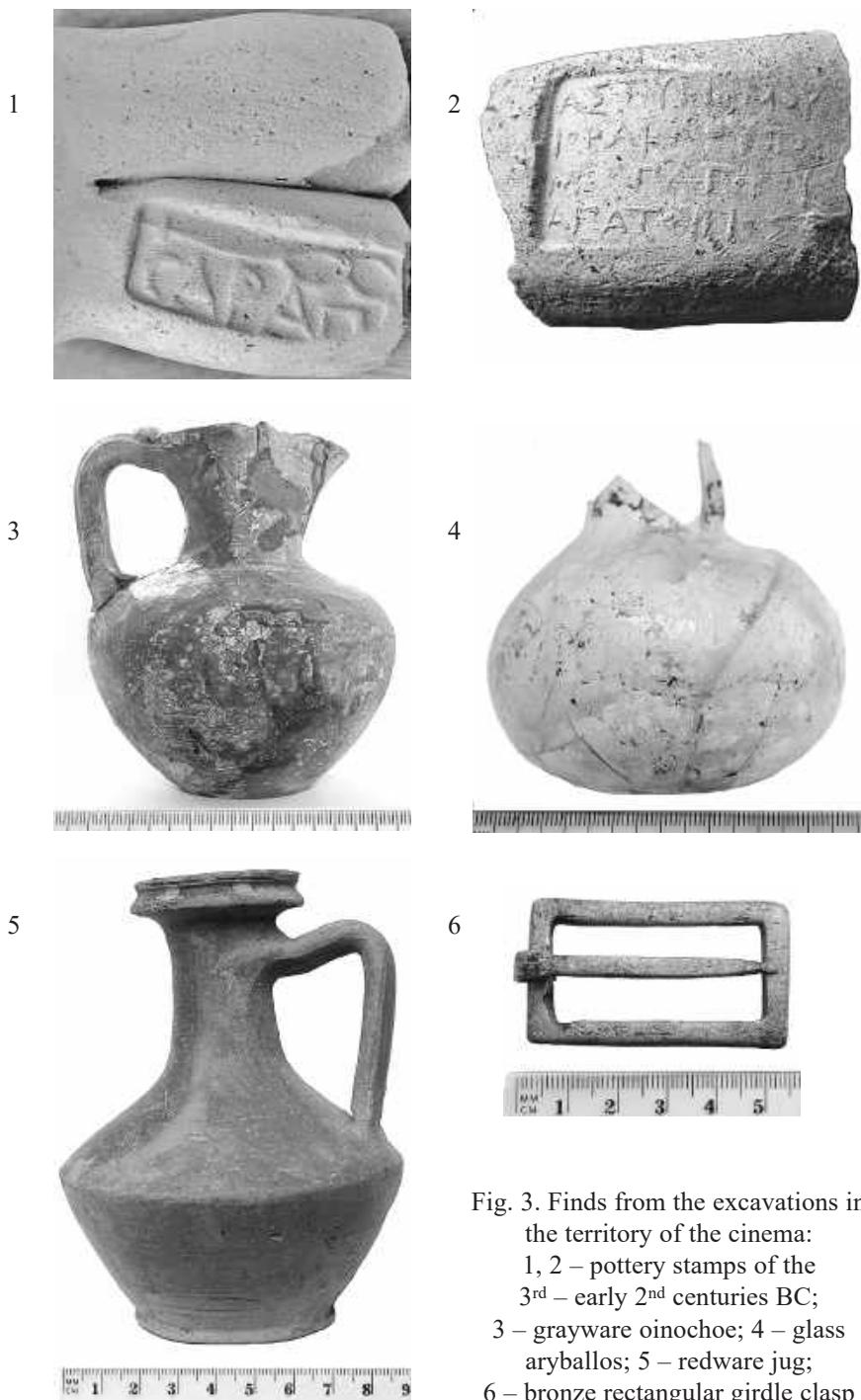


Fig. 3. Finds from the excavations in the territory of the cinema:  
1, 2 – pottery stamps of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC;  
3 – grayware oinochoe; 4 – glass aryballos; 5 – redware jug;  
6 – bronze rectangular girdle clasp

When clearing the rock's surface in the northwestern corner of the excavation trench, Burial 1 was found. Its dimensions were 1.2×0.44 m with the depth of 0.14–0.23 m down the edge of the grave. Its fill contained skeletal remains of a 2–4-year-old child, a grayware oinochoe (Fig. 3. 3) and a glass aryballos of the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Fig. 3. 4). Excavation of a layer of rock debris opened Burial 2 in the southern part of the excavation trench. The dimensions of the grave were 2×0.57 m with the depth of 0.25–0.35 m down the edge of the pit. It contained only skeletal remains of a woman 25–35 years old, a child 3–7 years old and a redware jug of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Fig. 3. 5).

Burial 3 was measuring 1.5 m × 0.52–0.56 m and was 0.64 m deep. At the bottom of the grave there were the remains of a male aged 35–45 years old. At his pelvis there was a bronze rectangular girdle clasp of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Fig. 3. 6).<sup>6</sup> Obviously the interment was made in a wooden coffin. Anyway, wood decay was present under the remains of the skeleton, and two iron nails were found in the upper part of the fill of the grave. Burials 4 and 5 were robbed still in antiquity.

Summing up the results of the rescue excavations it is of note that in the Hellenistic period the investigated site was not used as a cemetery. Two groups of burials in grave pits are chronologically close to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Three burials of the northern group are characterized by their orientation to the south-east or south-east-east. By contrast, the burials of the southern group were directed to north-east or north-north-east. Perhaps these local features are due to the fact that they are associated with burials of relatives.

**Townsite.** In 2016, IHMC RAS jointly with the organization “Kuban Archeology” (Krasnodar) conducted rescue excavations in the south-eastern part of Gorgippia in the territory of the Resort “Motylyok” (Fig. 1). The investigations comprised an area of 250 sq. m intended for the construction of a swimming pool (Fig. 4). Below a rubbish layer about 1.6 m thick, a redeposited layer was found dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC – 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. In addition to the archaeological mass material, a fragment of a black-glossed kantharos with the graffito Πανίσκος (Fig. 5. 1), a terracotta with an erotic scene (Fig. 5. 2), a bronze locking plate from a casket in the form of a herm (Fig. 5. 3), a tetrassarius of the emperor Diadumenian of the 218 AD (Fig. 5. 4), and an oval almandine insert of a ring (cabochon) with a representation of a cornucopia (1<sup>st</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century AD)<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 5. 5) were here unearthed.

<sup>6</sup> Compare: Simonovich 1983 [Э. А. Сымонович, *Население столицы позднескифского царства*], 64 Pl. XXXIX, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems 1993 [Каталог собрания античных гемм], 23 Fig. 12.

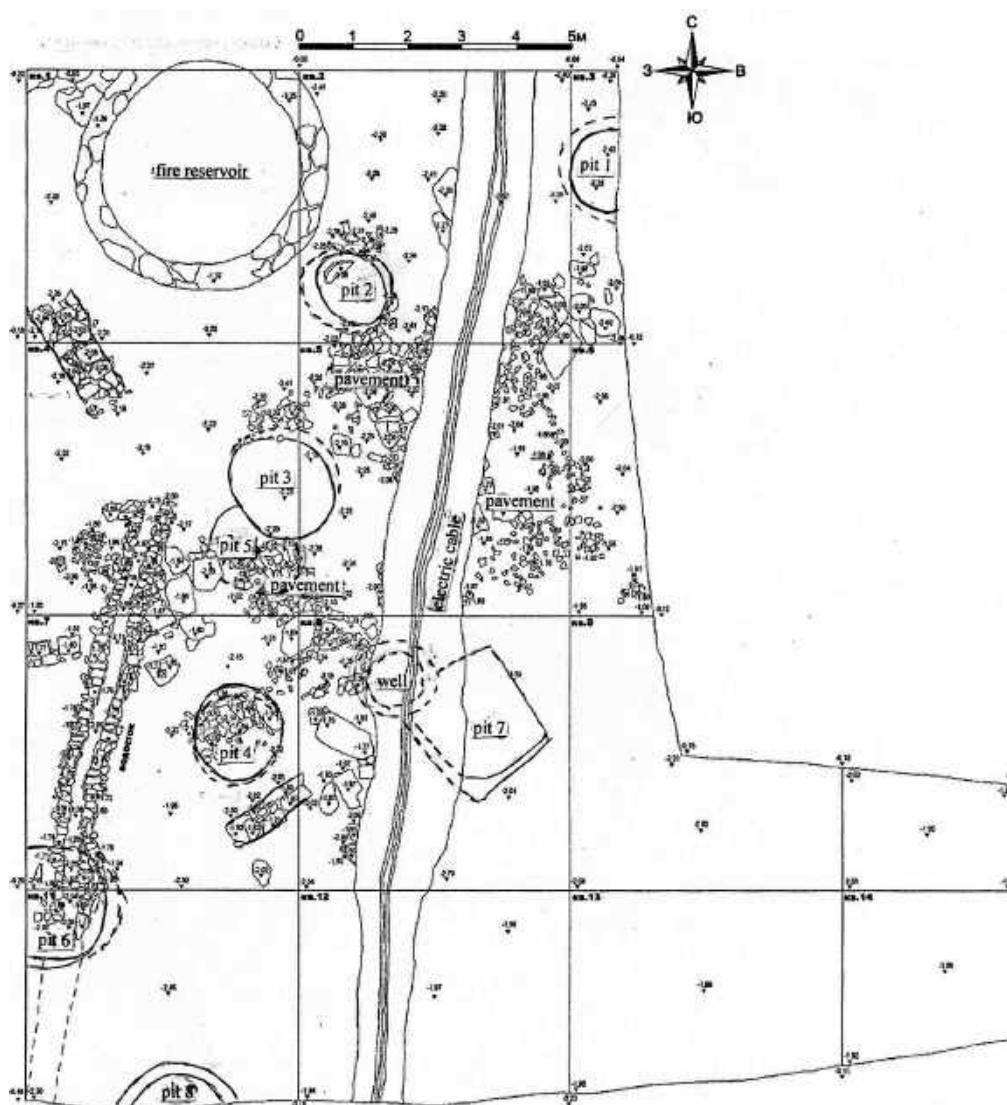
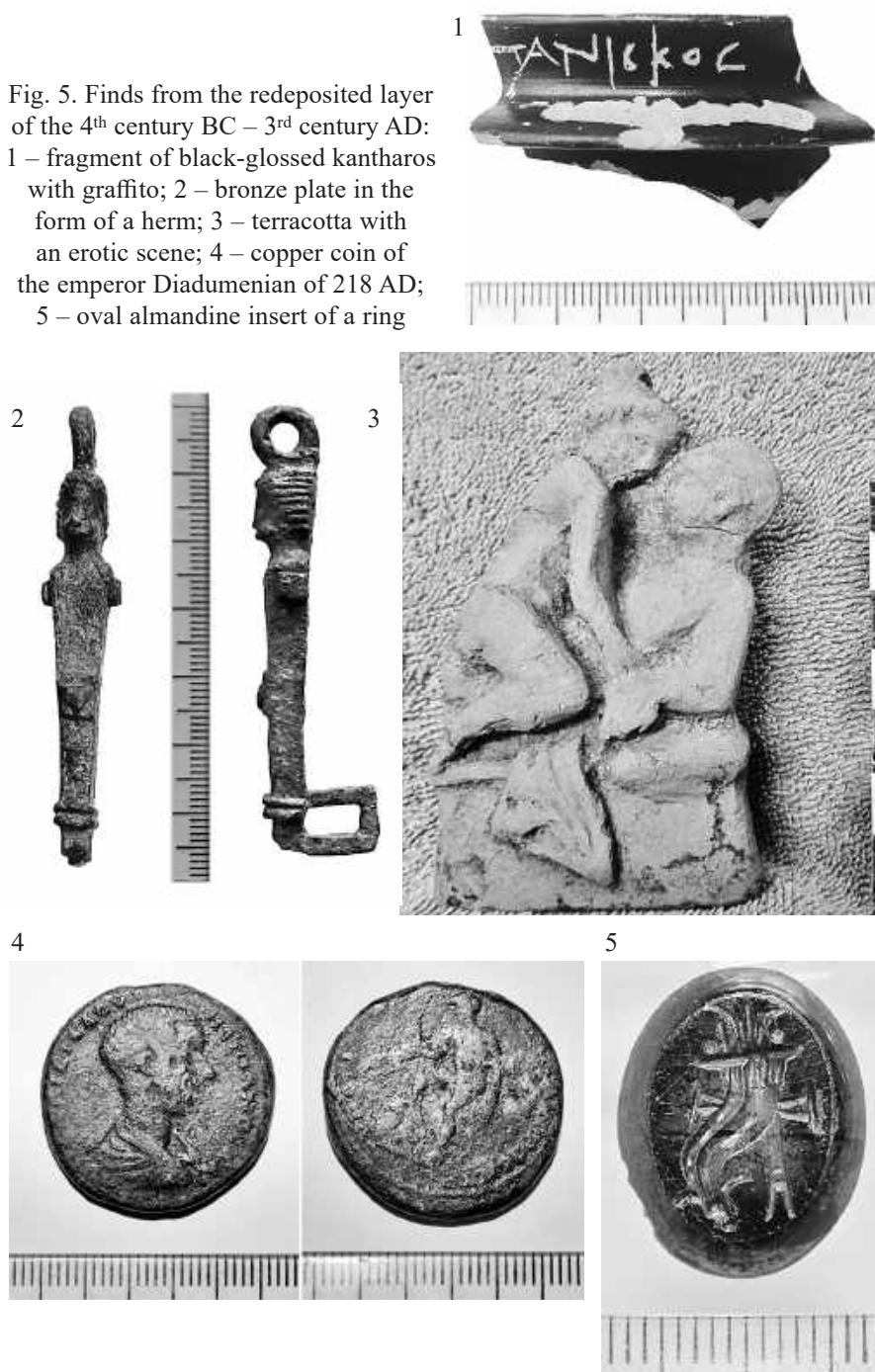


Fig. 4. Motylyok-2016. Plan of the excavation trench

Fig. 5. Finds from the redeposited layer of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC – 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD:  
1 – fragment of black-glossed kantharos  
with graffiti; 2 – bronze plate in  
the form of a herm; 3 – terracotta with  
an erotic scene; 4 – copper coin of  
the emperor Diadumenian of 218 AD;  
5 – oval almandine insert of a ring



In the course of further excavations, the urban area of the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC – 240 AD was investigated. The remains of a house of the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (a section of the wall, a pavement, as well as a pit containing a Chian amphora) were here partially preserved. One of the finds suggests a public purpose of the place. It is a tile of local manufacture with the stamp APXEIA (Fig. 6. 1). Over two dozens of similar stamps are known. It seems that the buildings where they were found were somehow related with authorities of Gorgippia.<sup>8</sup> Of considerable interest is also a bone part of the chair back in the form of a swan's head (Fig. 6. 2).<sup>9</sup> It gives us an idea of some types of ceremonial furniture of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC used in the Bosporan Kingdom.

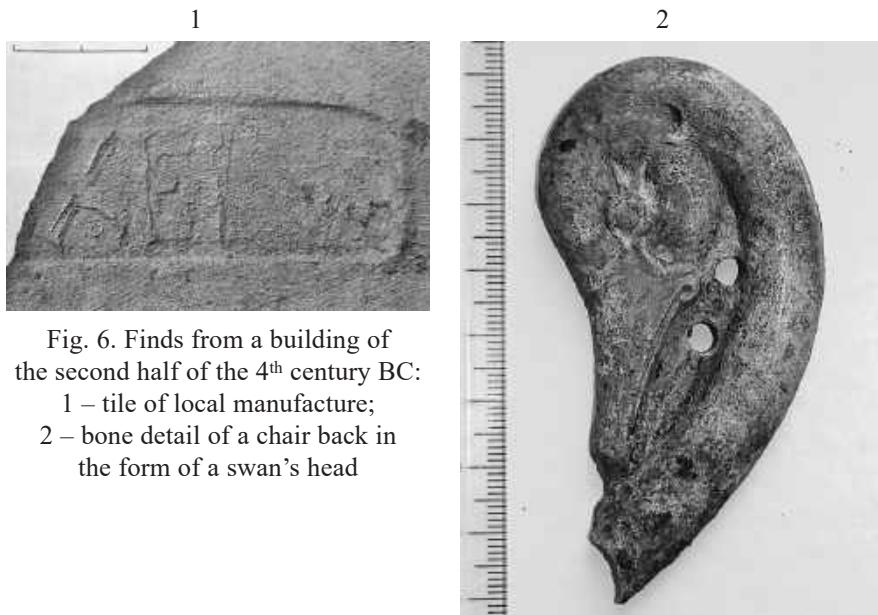


Fig. 6. Finds from a building of the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC:

- 1 – tile of local manufacture;
- 2 – bone detail of a chair back in the form of a swan's head

In the Hellenistic period this urban district was actually abandoned and used only for economic purposes. In particular, the remains of a rectangular hearth and a pit of this date were found near the northern side of the trench. In the southern part of the excavated area a circular well appeared at the same time. Judging by the finds in the fill, the circular well continued in use until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

<sup>8</sup> Katz 2015 [В. И. Кац, *Керамические клейма Азиатского Боспора. Горгиппия и ее хора. Семибратнее городище*], 182, 186–187 Pl. 2, 1–4.

<sup>9</sup> Goroncharovskiy-Tikhonova 2016 [В. А. Горончаровский, Т. С. Тихонова, “Костяная деталь спинки кресла IV в. до н. э. из раскопок Горгиппии”], 79–83.

The next building period (1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) involves the remains of the walls, a paving of tiles and stone in the courtyard between them and four pits. Numerous pottery was retrieved from the fill of one of the latter (no. 2), including two cooking pans (Fig. 7. 1, 2), two frying pans with traces of soot, two one-handled pots, a jug with a zoomorphic handle (Fig. 7. 3), two grayware lamps, a red-glossed goblet (Fig. 7. 4), a bowl (Fig. 7. 5), a cup (Fig. 7. 6), a pinax (Fig. 7. 7), a handmade bowl, a bronze key of a casket (Fig. 7. 8), and two sestertii of Sauromates I (93/94–123/124 AD). Pit no. 2 was 1.41 m deep, 1.92 m in diameter, with the dimensions of the bottom 2.18×1.73 m. To the south of pit no. 2 at the level of the paving of tiles and stone, a bone plaque with four holes (detail of musical instrument?) was found (Fig. 7. 9).

The paving of tiles and stone mentioned above was partially demolished and reused in the construction of a water drain in the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The drain was in use until the destruction of the city around 240 AD. This water drain 0.24 m wide was traceable over a distance of 12 m. It was carelessly blocked with small flat pieces of stone. Two pits of the same period are associated with the final period of the city's occupation. One of them (no. 7) was of a rectangular plan and served for storing lime.

Thus the studied cultural layers excavated belong to the period about six centuries long and give additional information on the boundaries of Gorgippia and its necropolis corresponding to different historical stages.

Vladimir A. Goroncharovskiy  
*Institute for the History of Material Culture,  
 St Petersburg (IHMC RAS)*  
 goronvladimir@yandex.ru

Marina Ju. Vakhtina  
*Institute for the History of Material Culture,  
 St Petersburg (IHMC RAS)*  
 vakhtina@rambler.ru

Sergey V. Kashaev  
*Institute for the History of Material Culture,  
 St Petersburg (IHMC RAS)*  
 kashaevs@mail.ru



Fig. 7. Finds from pit no. 2 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD: 1, 2 – cooking pans; 3 – jug with a zoomorphic handle; 4–7 – red-glossed pottery; 8 – bronze key of a casket; 9 – bone plaque with four holes

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MAYHEW

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Аристотель, Ахилл, Гомер, Поэтика, Порфирий, схолии

SETTIS

Drawing(s), gestures, maps, papyrus, re-use, scrolls, zoological illustration

Жесты, карты, папирус, повторное использование, рисунки, свитки, зоологические иллюстрации

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Artyuschenko-1, Artyuschenko-2, Berezan, Chersonesos, Frontovoye-2, Gorgippia, Ilyich-1, Kytaiion, Myrmekion, Nymphaion

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