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STUDIA CLASSICA

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὐροῖς
ἐς Ἵπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν

(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29–30)

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CONSPECTUS

VIKTORIA T. MUSBAKHOVA	
A Scythian Ares (Aesch. <i>Ch.</i> 161–162)?	181
CARLO M. LUCARINI, MARIA SCERMINO	
Il ruolo di Posidonio e della dossografia per la datazione del <i>Περὶ κόσμου</i> e i rapporti di quest'ultimo con l' <i>Elogium geographiae</i> . I	198
AUDRONĖ KUČINSKIENĖ	
Play on the Meaning of Name in Cicero's <i>Verrines</i> : Some Remarks on <i>Div. Caec.</i> 48–50	229
WJATSCHESLAW K. CHRUSTALJOW	
<i>Sic est (non) iusta causa belli?</i> Issues of Law and Justice in the Debate Concerning a Roman Annexation of Egypt in 65 BC	244
SOFIA EGOROVA	
<i>Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox</i> (Hor. <i>Epod.</i> 16. 6)	265
DENIS KEYER	
The Train of Thought in Horace, <i>Epist.</i> 2. 2. 213–216	274

EPIGRAPHICA

NADEZHDA NOVOSELOVA, ANNA NAMOYLIK	
A Chalcedonic Die of Astynomos Ἡράκλειος from Tauric Chersonesus	289
NATALIA PAVLICHENKO, NIKOLAJ FEDOSEEV	
A New Inscription of Herakas, Son of Pontikos, ἀρχερμηγεὺς Ἀλανῶν	315

COMMENTARII BREVIORES

S. DOUGLAS OLSON	
Some Late 4 th -century Comic Fragments (Antiph. fr. 288 = Timocl. fr. 41 = adesp. tr. fr. 123a; Antiph. fr. 167; adesp. com. fr. 149) and Eratosthenes of Cyrene on Demosthenes	339
ЕКАТЕРИНА НОВИКОВА	
De <i>rutilo</i> metri Graeci nomine	343
Keywords	346

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A SCYTHIAN ARES (AESCH. CH. 161–162)?

It is usually assumed that in the astrophic lyrics of the first act of Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* the chorus refers to the Scythian bow. Unfortunately, the passage in question is seriously corrupted, and despite multiple corrections no consensus has been reached as to how it should be interpreted. I cite it from Page's edition, which preserves the main difficulties of manuscript tradition,¹ adding in the apparatus some further conjectures which will be discussed below, Ch. 160–163:

ἴτω τις δορυσθενῆς ἀνὴρ,
ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων †Σκυθιτὰ τ' ἐν χεροῖν
παλίντον' ἐν ἔργῳ† βέλη ἑπιπάλλων Ἄρης
σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν ξίφη.

160 ἰὼ M : ἴ<τ>ω Bothe : δορυσθενῆς <εἶς> Weil | 161 Σκυθιτὰ, supra ιτ in M additum ης : Σκυθικά Robortello : Σκύθην Heimsoeth | 162 παλίντον' del. Paley tamquam e schol. ad Σκυθικά illatum : παλίντονον Wilamowitz : παλίντον<ον ἰέντ> Groeneboom | ἐν ἔργῳ M : ἐναργῶς Bothe : del. Murray : ἐν del. Headlam | Ἄρης M : Ἄρη Heimsoeth : Ἄρεως Blaydes (cum ἐν ἔργῳ iungendum) : ἄρης Headlam | 163 βέλη M : del. Wilamowitz : ξίφη Pauw ex M²

The transmitted text lacks a verb, so Bothe's ἴτω instead of M's ἰὼ, accepted by Page, seems to be an easy solution. The insertion of εἶς before ἀνὴρ proposed by Weil is evidently less preferable. The argument that it restores two dochmiac cola in the line cannot be regarded as decisive because dochmiac cola are frequently combined with iambics. Page has also accepted Pauw's ξίφη for M's βέλη, which can be easily explained away by the influence of βέλη in the previous verse.

A more serious corruption seems to have affected the key word of our Scythian reference, for which M preserved a nonsensical reading

¹ Page 1972. Page's reading of the text is reproduced in Garvie's edition of the *Libation Bearers* (Garvie 1986).

σκυθιτατ. It spreads into the following verse, probably affecting its first part: παλίντον' ἐν ἔργῳ. M's σκυθιτατ was corrected into σκύθης by a scribe who wrote ης above the letters ιτ. The reading Σκύθης was accepted by a number of scholars, including R. Porson (1806), Ch. G. Schütz (1823) and M. Untersteiner (1947).² U. Wilamowitz (1914) and G. Murray (1947) adopted Heimsoeth's correction Σκύθην... Ἄρη, but understood Scythian Ares as a reference to the bow.³ Wilamowitz deleted βέλη and corrected παλίντονον (to be combined with Ἄρη): Σκύθην ἐν χεροῖν / παλίντονον ἐν ἔργῳ [βέλη] ὑπὸ πάλλων Ἄρη, while Murray rejected both παλίντον' βέλη and ἐν ἔργῳ – the former as a gloss on Σκύθην Ἄρη and the latter on ἐν χεροῖν.⁴ Σκύθην... Ἄρη is also the reading adopted by P. Groeneboom (1949), who additionally supplemented the text: Σκύθην τ' ἐν χεροῖν παλίντον<ον ἰέντ> ἐν ἔργῳ βέλη ὑπὸ πάλλων Ἄρη, conceiving βέλη as arrows. In all three cases, the sentence is thought to have only one subject – a man.

However, the majority of modern readers prefer Robortello's conjecture Σκυθικά, conceived as modifying βέλη.⁵ In this case, it is Σκυθικά βέλη that is understood as a Scythian bow, and the question now shifts to the person holding that bow. If one retains the transmitted nominative Ἄρης, the sentence has two subjects – ἀνὴρ and Ἄρης, with the bow placed in the hands of Ares. So for instance A. Garvie who reproduces Page's text.⁶ Another solution is suggested by Blaydes' emendation Ἄρεως which is to be combined with ἐν ἔργῳ (in the deed of Ares). It was accepted by M. West who produced the following restoration of the text:

ἰώ, τίς δορυσθενῆς <εἶς> ἀνὴρ
ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων, Σκυθικά τ' ἐν χεροῖν
{παλίντονα} ἐν ἔργῳ βέλη ὑπὸ πάλλων Ἄρεως
σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν βέλη;

² For others see Marengi 1959, 322.

³ F. Heimsoeth himself conceived Scythian Ares as iron (Heimsoeth 1861, 132). Because he thought that the avenger to whom the chorus appealed was Orestes, he reasonably supposed that he could not be equipped with all kinds of arms but only with normal Greek spear and sword: "Allein es kann hier <...> nicht unbestimmt und phantastisch von allerlei Bewaffnung oder von allen Arten zugleich die Rede sein, sondern nur von der gewöhnlichen griechischen Bewaffnung, also von einem Kriegermanne mit Speer und Schwert".

⁴ Garvie correctly objects that one would expect τόξον, not βέλη as such a gloss and that ἐν χεροῖν does not mean ἐν ἔργῳ here (Garvie 1986, 84 f.).

⁵ Mazon 1925; Thomson 1966; Rose 1958, 134 f.; Garvie 1986, 86 f.; West 1990; Citti 2006, 78; Sommerstein 2008; 2010.

⁶ Garvie 1986, 85. More on his interpretation of Ares in the passage will be said below.

Headlam's emendation ἔργω... ἄρῆς accepted by G. Thomson in his edition did not find support elsewhere.⁷

In both Thomson's and West's readings, as well as in the readings of those who print ἄρη (see above), the sentence has only one subject – ἄνῆρ. This poses an interpretive problem, for in that case we would have to imagine a man skilled at wielding not only a spear, i.e. a Greek hoplite, but also a Scythian bow. However, the Greeks of the Classical Age clearly distinguished between these types of weapons and related them to two different kinds of warriors (more on this below). F. Heimsoeth rightly saw the difficulty but found no better solution than to construe the Scythian Ares as iron, i.e. a spear wielded by a spearman,⁸ which cannot be supported by any reliable evidence. G. Thomson tried to get round this difficulty by suggesting that the chorus refers to Heracles, and supported this idea by adducing the evidence of Soph. *Tr.* 510–512 where Heracles is described as brandishing a spear, a bow and a club (τόξα καὶ λόγχας ῥόπαλόν τε τινάσσων).⁹ Though this image of Heracles is attested, it is highly unusual (Heracles' arms are normally a bow and a club), and it would deserve a separate discussion.¹⁰ A more serious objection to Thomson's hypothesis is that it is very unlikely that the chorus would have referred to Heracles as simply *a* man (τις ἄνῆρ). It would doubtless be more appropriate for Heracles as a paradigmatic Greek hero to be called ὁ ἄνῆρ, *the* man (cf. Soph. *Phil.* 727). On the other hand, it would probably be rather anachronistic to assume that the chorus is here summoning *a* Heracles, i.e. someone like Heracles, to come. Garvie also points out that the identification of Orestes with Heracles “would be much less clear and specific than that of Orestes with Perseus” at *Ch.* 831.¹¹

⁷ Thomson 1966, 134. Blaydes' ἄρεως in combination with ἔργω is, however, by far more preferable in view of Homeric ἔργον ἄρηος (*Il.* 11. 734, cf. also Simon. 107).

⁸ See n. 3.

⁹ Thomson 1966, 134. In this he follows W. Headlam's hypothesis (Headlam 1909, 225 n. 3).

¹⁰ R. C. Jebb in his commentary to Soph. *Tr.* 510 parallels it in *Phil.* 727 where Heracles is named ὁ χάλκασπις ἄνῆρ (Jebb 1955, 727). The arms and the armor of hoplites were first given to Heracles in [Hes.] *Sc.* (Boardman 1988, 729). But they did not become his constant characteristic. Probably the use of hoplites' arms by Heracles was associated particularly with the capture of Oechalia (Soph. *Tr.* 478: καθηρέθη ... Οἰχαλία δορί) which was followed in Sophocles by Heracles' death and rise to Olympus (this would explain Heracles' image in *Phil.* 727, so Ussher 2001, comm. ad loc.). But according to Eur. *HF* Heracles had never used any spear or shield (159–160) and Oechalia was captured with the bow (472 f.). See in particular vv. 157–164, where the bow, Heracles' weapon, is called the worst of the arms and sharply opposed to spear and shield, the arms of a true man.

¹¹ Garvie 1986, 85.

To return to the passage in question, the restoration Σκυθικά is unconvincing for a number of reasons. First of all, Aeschylus uses as an adjective only the form Σκύθης (*Sept.* 218 Σκύθη σιδήρω; *PV* 2 Σκύθην ἐς οἶμον, 417 Σκύθης ὄμιλος), not Σκυθικός, which is otherwise attested in tragedy only once (Agathon 4. 3 Snell–Radt). Garvie’s argument that the latter was used in our passage *metri gratia* does not work because Σκύθης would perfectly fit another common form of the dochmiac (Σκύθης τ’ ἐν χεροῖν: $\cup - - \cup -$). Besides, it is not easy to explain why the form Σκυθικά, which is more usual in later periods and which, in the context, would modify βέλη, could have been misconceived and corrupted. In view of these problems, the scribe’s conjecture Σκύθης seems far more attractive. It would agree with Ἄρης, and, quite plausibly, it is the distance between the noun and the adjective that could have occasioned the later misconception and corruption of the original reading Σκύθης.

The question of how to read the corrupt σκυθιτατ has consequences for our understanding of the following verse as well. Those who assume that Σκυθικά τ’ modifies βέλη reject παλίντον’ as a gloss on Σκυθικά.¹² It is hardly justified, however. One can easily recognize in the expression παλίντονα βέλη an allusion to the standard Homeric formula παλίντονα τόξα (*Il.* 8. 266, 10. 459, 15. 443; *Od.* 21. 11, 59), which makes the rejection of παλίντονα in the Aeschylean text utterly unwarranted. The use by Sophocles of an almost identical expression (*Tr.* 511 f.: παλίντονα... τόξα... τινάσσω) only strengthens the impression that παλίντονα must be genuine. If we retain παλίντονα, then Σκυθικά as another epithet modifying βέλη would be superfluous, as it would produce a rather awkward style and weaken the Homeric allusion.

The rejection of παλίντονα on metrical grounds is not necessary either. It is true that, if we keep the transmitted reading of v. 162, we will have to postulate a combination of a rare form of the dochmiac (παλίντον’ ἐν ἔργῳ / $\cup - \cup\cup - -$)¹³ and a syncopated ia dim (ia cr: βέλη ἑπιπάλλων

¹² Garvie is inclined to accept the following restoration: Σκυθικά ἐν χεροῖν ἐν ἔργῳ βέλη ἑπιπάλλων Ἄρης (*ibid.*).

¹³ Conomis 1964, 27 (no. 27). The only two examples would be Eur. *IT* 894, 896 though, according to Conomis, not certain because of the mixed context. Garvie classifies Euripidean instances as reizianum in dochmiac surroundings (Garvie 1986, 357). However there would be no other example of Aeolic cola in this song and the multiple alternation of dochmiacs with dactylo-anapestics prove Conomis’ point more plausible. The duality of the colon $\cup - \cup\cup - -$ as dochmiac (?) among dochmiacs and reizianum among Aeolic cola would be paralleled in the dochmiac of the form $- \cup\cup - \cup -$, one of the most popular in the Drama, which in Aeolic context is known as dodrans A.

᾿Αρης / ◡ – ◡ – – ◡ –) rather than the two standard dochmiacs found in the previous and the following verses. But it is not at all unusual for dochmiac lyrics to be mingled with iambics, and when dealing with such astrophic lyrics as the passage in question, we have no internal criteria for preferring dochmiac rather than iambic cola. The closest parallel to our case is *Ch.* 940 = 951 (ia cr: ◡ – ◡ – – ◡ –), which stands between dochmiac cola in a predominantly dochmiac strophe.¹⁴

However, in the absence of any reliable evidence for ◡ – ◡◡ – – as a variant of the dochmiac, one should probably look for another restoration of the verse that would not affect παλίντονα. It was rightly remarked that ἐν ἔργῳ in v. 162 after ἐν χεροῖν in the previous verse is not an elegant expression.¹⁵ If we were to delete the second ἐν and read παλίντον ἔργῳ βέλη πιπάλλων ᾿Αρης, the text would look much less problematic in terms of metre: v. 162 would then consist of ia cr followed by a standard dochmiac (◡ – – ◡ –). This correction was in fact proposed by Headlam though he combined it with the reading ἄρης instead of M's ᾿Αρης (see above). But if we retain the manuscript reading ᾿Αρης, we should ask ourselves what ἔργῳ could mean by itself in the context. I will turn to this question below.

Further arguments against the reading Σκυθικά can be adduced on the basis of a more in-depth interpretation of the passage in question. Ares, if we retain the transmitted reading, should be imagined with a bow. However, it has been observed that Ares does not normally fight with a bow but with a spear and a sword (*Il.* 5. 852; 15. 125–127, cf. also Ares' epithet χάλκεος).¹⁶ But is Ares here a god at all? If we read Σκύθης with Ares, we would arrive at a totally different understanding of the passage. Irrespective of how we read v. 160 (I prefer Bothe's ἴτω τις as it demands the slightest change in the manuscript text), the syntactic structure of the whole remains transparent. We have two subjects: ἀνὴρ and ᾿Αρης. The former is characterized as skilled as wielding a spear, i.e. as a hoplite warrior. Both of the two participles that modify Ares refer to one of his characteristic weapons – the bow and the sword, which only makes sense if the Scythian Ares is understood as a Scythian warrior in opposition to the Greek hoplite. We may suggest then that the chorus

¹⁴ The percentage of iambics in *Ch.* 935–941 = 946–952 is near to *Ch.* 160–163 as it stands.

¹⁵ Thomson 1966, 134; Garvie 1986, 85. On the other suggestions see Citti 2006, 75.

¹⁶ Thomson 1966, 134. It is even more so if παλίντονα is rejected: Σκυθικά τ' ἐν χεροῖν / ἐν ἔργῳ βέλη πιπάλλων ᾿Αρης, as Garvie is inclined to read; in this situation Bothe's ἐναργῶς seems to him deserving attention (Garvie 1986, 85).

appeals in its song to two kinds of warriors – the Greek hoplite fighting with a spear and the Scythian archer armed with a bow for distant fight and a sword for close combat.

A telling parallel in support of this interpretation is provided by Aeschylus' *Persians*. In this drama, Xerxes is said to lead Ares who conquers by his bow, i. e. a host of Persian archers, against men renowned for their spear, i. e. the Greeks (*Pers.* 85: ἐπάγει δορυκλύτοις ἀνδράσι τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη). The same opposition appears once again when Atossa asks, which of the two, the drawing of the bow or the might of the sharp spearhead, has prevailed (*Pers.* 146–149: πότερον τόξου ρῦμα τὸ νικῶν, / ἢ δορυκράνου / λόγχης ἰσχὺς κεκράτηκεν;).¹⁷ In this context τοξόδαμνος Ἄρης clearly means a warrior fighting with a bow or, as is clear from the context, the Persian army. So, according to this logic, in the *Libation Bearers* Σκύθης Ἄρης could mean a Scythian warrior. Likewise, a hoplite and a Scythian archer as two types of warriors are referred to in the fragment of Sophocles' *Nauplius* (fr. 427 Radt: ὡς ἀσπιδοῦχος ἢ Σκύθης τοξεύμασιν;), which would be the closest parallel to our Aeschylean text.

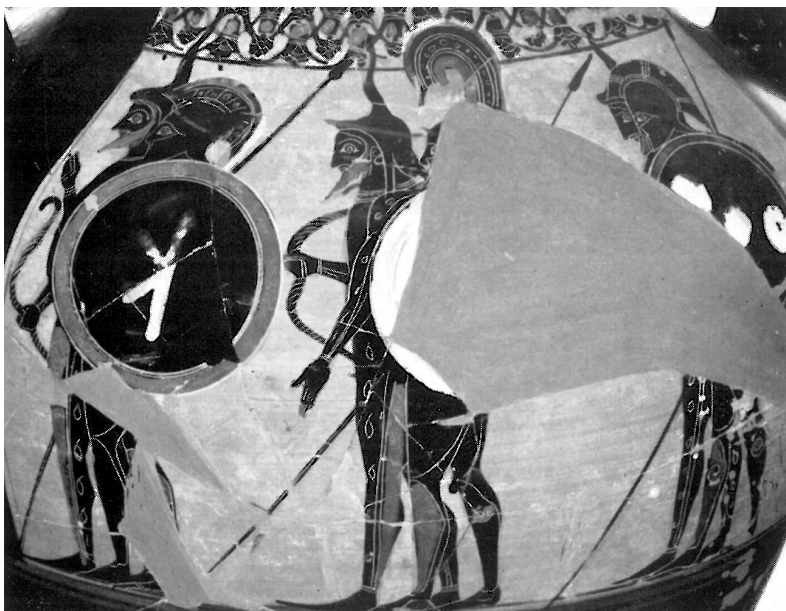
But we still have to specify the meaning of ἔργῳ, which has been proposed for the v. 162 in lieu of the manuscript reading ἐν ἔργῳ. To this end, it is necessary to define more exactly the function of the participles modifying Ἄρης. One possibility is to understand them as attributive ones. In this case ὀπιπάλλων and νωμῶν would constitute a general depiction of how Scythian Ares acts in the battle: he brandishes his bow and wields a sword in close combat. It is clear that the manuscript ἐν ἔργῳ in this context would mean 'in the action', i. e. in the battle. However, it seems preferable to ascribe to these participles a circumstantial function. It would convey an immediate picture of the action accompanying the advent of the Scythian Ares: when he comes, he will brandish his bow and wield a sword in close combat.¹⁸ In this context, ἔργῳ meaning 'in very deed, actually' (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 80: Ἦρας τ' ἀγῶν' ἐπιχώριον | νίκαις τρισσαῖς ... δάμασσας ἔργῳ; *Ol.* 10. 63: εὐχος ἔργῳ καθελῶν) would add to the chorus' appeal a highly emotional note and greatly enhance the impression produced by Ares' anticipated deeds.

Now we have reached the final peculiar detail of our text. In contrast to the *Persians*, where the hoplites and the archers are opposed to each other

¹⁷ "The phrase τόξου ρῦμα stands here for the Persian archers (cf. 86), opposed to the Greek spearmen (δορυκλύτοις ἀνδράσι, 85)" (Broadhead 1960, comm. ad loc.).

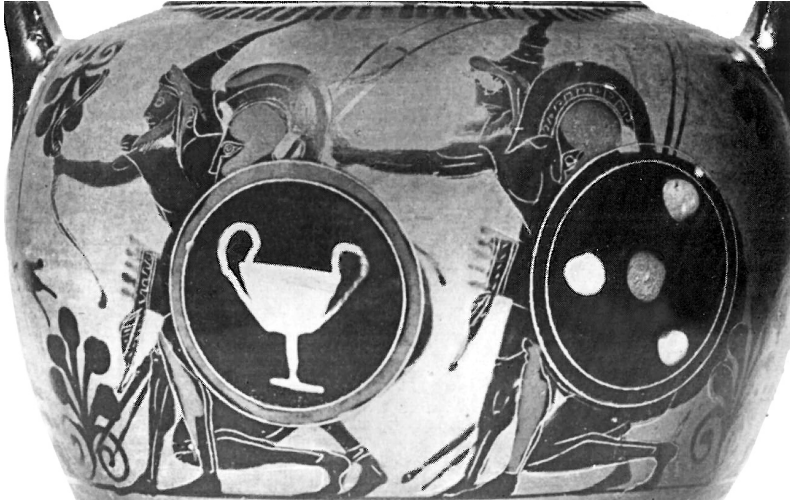
¹⁸ For a similar use of present participle. see Aesch. *Agam.* 1449–1451: φεῦ, τίς ἄν ἐν τάχει <...> / μόλοι τὸν αἰεὶ φέρουσ' ἐν ἡμῖν / μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον <...> (cf. Goodwin 1998, 335, § 840).

as representative of two civilizations about to clash with each other, the use of additive τε in the *Libation Bearers* (δορυσθενῆς ἀνὴρ ... Σκυθῆς τ' ... Ἄρης) indicates that a spearman and an archer are invited to come together.¹⁹ Thus, far from being opposed to each other, the hoplite and the archer form an even closer link than in Sophocles' fragment. This poses some difficult questions. Firstly, how are we to interpret this pairing of a hoplite and an archer? And secondly, is the "Scythian Ares" a reference to a real ethnicity or is it simply a way to underscore the distinction between an archer and a spearman? What I find particularly relevant in this connection is that the juxtaposition of a spearman and a Scythian archer in our text finds a close parallel in numerous Archaic Attic vases where hoplites and archers in Scythian attire are represented as marching in pairs or acting together in battle, as is the case on the following images.



1. Black-figure amphora, Basle market
(from: Vos 1963, Pl. V a)

¹⁹ Garvie in his interpretation of vv. 161 f. ('or Ares brandishing in his hands in combat the Scythian weapons') disregards the τε in the phrase, although it can only be understood as an additive conjunction that joins ἀνὴρ and Ἄρης. The general sense of the passage according to him would be that "the Chorus is comprehensively enumerating the three possible types of weapons in the hands of **either** man **or** god" (Garvie 1986, 85).



2. Black-figure amphora, Berlin 1865
(from: Vos 1963, Pl. VI b)



3. Black-figure hydria, London B. M. B 304
(from: Burow 1989, Taf. 107)

There are about 700 extant images of Scythian archers in Attic vase painting, most of them, with the exception of a small group of earlier depictions, dating to the period between c. 540 and c. 490 BC, with the majority falling into an even shorter period between 530 and 510 BC. Since the end of the 19th century the origin and the meaning of these images have been the focus of attention of many studies – especially after the publication of M. F. Vos' book on the topic, in which a large number of vases (more than 400) with Scythian archers was for the first

time catalogued and studied, thereby giving a new impulse to the scholarly discussion of the phenomenon.²⁰ A constant characteristic of archers, who first appear in Attic vase painting on the Francois vase (a volute crater now in Florence, c. 570 BC), is a pointed cap and a sigma-shaped Scythian bow. From about 530 BC, the archers in Attic depictions acquire a full Scythian costume featuring either a combination of overly decorated trousers and a jacket or a one-piece suit.²¹ Their weapons, in addition to the bow, may include either an axe or a dagger (an *akinakes* usually pictured next to the quiver at waist level). For reasons of space, I cannot go into a detailed discussion of the topic. Instead, I will restrict myself to a few observations accepted by most experts.

Contrary to earlier scholarship, it is now generally agreed that the vase paintings featuring archers do not imply that there were real Scythians among the residents of the sixth-century Athens.²² It also seems very probable that the Scythian attire of these archers is not a mark of their ethnicity (it is clear from a number of images in which such non-Scythian characters as Heracles or Paris are depicted in this way), but simply constitutes part and parcel of the typified visual representation of archers in general.²³ It is also agreed that battle scenes on Archaic Attic vases reflect the realities of epic battles and not of contemporary war tactics of the mid-sixth century Athenians (the painters' predilection for chariots is perhaps the most telling giveaway).²⁴ In his structural analysis of several typical scenes (arming, hieroscopy and departure), which feature archers alongside with hoplites, F. Lissarague saw archers as subordinate figures whose role was "to secure the excellence of the hero-worshipped

²⁰ Vos 1963. The discussion continued in the following studies: Ferrari Pinney 1983; Lissarague 1990; Osborne 2004; Ivantchik 2006; Davies 2013.

²¹ In fact, during the entire period of the existence of the depictions with archers in Attic vase painting they were also represented in a short belted (decorated or not) tunic in which they appear on the earliest vases, and even naked. The variants of archers' dressing and equipment are at length discussed in Vos 1963, 40–43. Despite the variety of dressing attested on vases Vos thought that painters depicted a really existing costume from nature (see critical remarks on this: Ferrari Pinney 1983, 129–130).

²² K. Wernike (1891) and W. Helbig (1897) thought that the archers represented real life Scythians at the service of Peisistratids. Vos, to explain archers' persistence on vases after the fall of Peisistratids, argued that they formed an independent archers' corps at the service of the Athenian state. However we have no reliable data in support of this suggestion, on the contrary there is some evidence that Athens first acquired a corps of archers after Salamis (Andoc. *De pace* 5. 7; Aeschin. *De falsa legatione* 173. 5, cf. Hdt. 6. 112 on the absence of archers in Athenian host in the battle of Marathon), see Welwei 1974, 9–17; Lavelle 1992, 78–97; Ivantchik 2006, 241–243.

²³ Lissarague 1990, 103f., Ivantchik 2006, 203 ff.

²⁴ Ferrari Pinney 1983, 131; Lissarague 1990, 97 f.

hoplite”.²⁵ However, his study did not explain, to quote R. Osborne, “what made setting the hoplite off against e.g. a Thracian so different from setting him off against a Scythian”.²⁶ Moreover, while Lissarague focuses extensively on the above-mentioned types of images, which are much less widespread, he pays too little attention to the by far more numerous representations in which archers are depicted as engaging in battle or marching in pairs with hoplites.²⁷

Far from being supplementary figures relegated to the background in order to underscore the predominant role of the hoplites, the archers in these battle scenes are represented as warriors equal in worth to the hoplites and fighting side by side with them. On some images, for instance, the archers are portrayed as shooting their arrows from behind the hoplites’ shields and thereby evoking the tactic that the *Iliad* attributes to Teucer who shoots his arrows protected by the shield of Aias (8. 266–272).²⁸ It is quite likely, therefore, that the archers featured in the battle scenes of Attic vase painting were depicted because they were an integral part of the epic warfare.

R. Osborne stresses the strikingly small number of serious military confrontations in which Athens was involved between 560 and 510 BC, which suggests that the scenes depicting hoplites and archers represented a virtual world “both linked to and distanced from the world of epic”.²⁹ It is primarily in the battle scenes that the martial world of Attic vase painting displays close ties with the epic world while other scenes, such as the scenes of departure that take place in the hoplite’s *oikos* (emblemized by the presence of a woman and an old man), show how the vase painters reflected the realities and the emerging ideals of their own contemporary world. But be that as it may, the basis of this imagined reality is located in the world of heroic epics which we know from the *Iliad* and it is from there that the visual representation of archers may ultimately derive.

Indeed, in the *Iliad* we find not only famous archer-heroes among both the Trojans and the Achaeans (such as Pandarus and Teucer) but also the companions of Philoctetes described as τόξων ἐν εἰδότες ἱφι

²⁵ Lissarague 1990, 101. He is more precise in the Conclusion of his book: “Le guerrier lourdement armé vu au centre de l’oikos où il figure la cité en armes ne peut être perçu comme tel qu’à côté d’un compagnon qui ne soit pas porteur de ces valeurs et dont la différence fasse apparaître ce qui est central dans les catégories de la guerre” (*ibid.*, 236).

²⁶ Osborne 2004, 47.

²⁷ For the statistics on the different scenes with archers see Osborne 2004, 53 (Table 1).

²⁸ Welwei 1974, 17; Ferrary Pinney 1983, 131.

²⁹ Osborne 2004, 50.

μάχεσθαι (*Il.* 2. 720) or the Locrians who fought with a bow despite the fact that their leader Aias, son of Oileus, was a spearman (*Il.* 13. 712–718; 5. 527–530). It deserves attention that when the Locrians are described as archers they are contrasted to those who fight with shields and spears. On another occasion, Homer explains that Ereuthalion was named κορυνήτης (mace-bearer) because he fought neither with a bow nor with a spear, but with a mace (*Il.* 7. 140 f.: οὐνεκ' ἄρ' οὐ τόξοισι μαχέσκετο δουρί τε μακρῷ / ἀλλὰ σιδηρεῖη κορύνη ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας). It is clear from this that two usual types of epic warriors were a spearman and an archer.

Though some archer-heroes in the *Iliad* can fight also with spear and shield, the two types of warfare are differentiated because these arms could not be used simultaneously: when Teucer is forced to leave his bow, he puts it ἐνὶ κλησίσῃσι and takes the arms and the armor of a spearman – the shield, the spear and the helmet (15. 478–482). It is worth noting that, while the archers can also fight with spear and shield, the spearmen in the *Iliad* never use a bow. This probably says something about a correlation between the respective statuses of spearmen and archers. Although it does not doubt the merits of archery, as it begins to be the case in the fifth-century martial discourse,³⁰ the *Iliad* surely represents the spearman as a predominant figure of epic battle.

If we see the battle scenes with archers in this perspective, we can assume that multiple depictions of archers and hoplites marching in pairs refer to the same reality of epic battle where two main kinds of warriors were the spearman and the archer. Chronologically earlier, the depictions of archers as companions of heavy-armed soldiers in battle scenes may have spread to the other types of scenes featuring hoplites, such as the scenes of departure and, later, the scenes of arming and hieroscopy, which take place at the hoplite's *oikos*. It is only in these scenes that archers make the impression of redundant and decorative figures because they do not take part in the interactions between the hoplite and his relatives.³¹

³⁰ A condescending attitude towards the bow was clearly articulated in Soph. *Ai.* 1120–1123; later the spear and the bow are sharply contrasted in Eur. *HF*, see n. 10 above.

³¹ Scenes of arming and hieroscopy were in detail analyzed by Lissarague who rightly notes that in them, in contrast even to the scenes of departure, the archer is constantly dissociated from the hoplite who alone interacts with the representatives of his *oikos*: “À l'intérieur de la série hiéroskopique <...>, l'archer scythe a une position spécifique par rapport à toutes les catégories de la cité. Comme dans les scènes de l'armement, il est du côté de ceux qui partent, avec l'hoplite, face à ceux qui restent, femme et vieillard. Cependant, face aux opérateurs, vieillard et hoplite, il n'est que spectateur, à la fois présent et en marge” (Lissarague 1990, 68).

This hypothesis agrees with the chronological and quantitative distribution of different scenes with archers.³²

Why Attic vase painters portrayed archers wearing Scythian attire is a separate question that so far has not found any satisfactory answer. However, the clue may be found in fifth-century literary sources that show that the Greeks of the Classical Age firmly associated the art of archery with the Scythians. This is the case in Sophocles' fragment mentioned above. Herodotus, too, knew that even the Medes had learned the art of archery from the Scythians (Hdt. 1. 73). According to Socrates in Xenophon, the Scythians are as unsurpassed in archery as the Spartans (i. e. the Greeks) are unconquerable as hoplites (armed with a large shield and a spear) and as the Thracians are the best in the use of the light shield πέλτα and the javelin.³³ It is clear from this evidence that for the Greeks the art of archery was of Scythian origin, even though, from their first-hand experience of the Persian Wars, they knew well enough about the widespread use of archery in the Persian army. It is therefore a fairly obvious hypothesis that this view may well go back to the VI century BC. If so, Scythian attire could have been associated with archers as a result of the renown that the Scythians acquired in the Aegean world as archers from the time of their raids to the Middle East. In the beginning, as our earliest examples show, the only Scythian attributes of the portrayals of archers on Attic vases were a pointed cap and a bow. This primary information about Scythian attire could have reached Athens through connections with the Ionian Greeks who had first-hand experience with the Scythians not only in Asia Minor but also in their colonies in the North Black sea. A full Scythian costume does not appear on Attic vases until 530 BC, and even then it was not uniform, so that it seems highly unlikely that these images were based on autopsy.³⁴ So, one can assume that it was a kind of idealized costume that reflected the basic traits of its real prototype, which included not only the ubiquitous pointed cap but also trousers and was made of a highly ornate fabric. With this general picture

³² According to the statistics adduced by Osborne arming and hieroscopy scenes comprise in the whole only 35 cases (24 and 11 accordingly) and date from the years c. 520–500, while departure scenes, numerous in this period (127 cases), appear only 4 times before 520 BC; at the same time battle scenes of all kinds (with or without chariots) by far outnumber all these categories in both periods, before and after 520 BC (Osborne 2004, 53).

³³ Xen. *Mem.* 3. 9. 2: Νομίζω μέντοι πᾶσαν φύσιν μαθήσει καὶ μελέτη πρὸς ἀνδρείαν αὖξεσθαι· δῆλον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι Σκύθαι καὶ Θρᾶκες οὐκ ἂν τολμήσειαν ἀσπίδας καὶ δόρατα λαβόντες Λακεδαιμονίοις διαμάχεσθαι· φανερόν δ' ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐτ' ἂν Θρᾶξι πέλταις καὶ ἀκοντίοις οὔτε Σκύθαις τόξοις ἐθέλοιεν ἂν διαγωνίζεσθαι.

³⁴ See n. 21.

in mind, individual painters could modify it according to their imagination. The appearance of this imaginary costume around 530 BC and the quick rise of its popularity in this particular period may be linked to the fact that under Peisistratus the Athenians had remarkably improved their positions on the Hellespont and had already established trading contacts with the North Black sea, as can be judged from numerous finds of Attic pottery there.³⁵ Through these contacts, even though they were probably partly mediated by Ionians and Aeginetans,³⁶ Attic artists could have acquired more precise information about what Scythian archers looked like.³⁷

Concluding this excursus into the representations of archers in Attic vase painting, I would like to argue that the frequent appearance of Scythian archers in different kinds of battle scenes inspired by epic not only confirms the view that Scythian attire served as a typical visual marker of archers, but it also prompts the suggestion that the very adjective Scythian could have been perceived as a generic reference to archers – although the connection of the archers' attire with real Scythians was probably never forgotten. I suggest, therefore, that the Scythian Ares in the *Libation Bearers* may simply mean an archer, and that the chorus in the passage under discussion refers to the epic pair of warriors, a spearman and an archer, which it summons to come and to revenge the death of Agamemnon.

This interpretation of *Ch.* 161 f. is perfectly in keeping with how the theme of a future avenger is introduced and articulated in the Parodos of the drama. Here Aeschylus very carefully differentiates between Orestes and the

³⁵ Shapiro 1983, 112. It is in 530^{ies} BC that Peisistratus won back Sigeion in the Troad which lies just on the way to the Black sea. Earlier in 560 BC the Thracian Chersonese was colonized by the Athenians under Miltiades the Elder, and thus Athens acquired control of the entrance to the Black sea from both sides (Andrewes 1982, 403–405; Brashinskij 1963, 23–34; Bouzek 1990, 40, 42).

³⁶ G.R. Tsjetskhladze argued that the evidence for direct Athenian trading interests in the Black sea in the VI century BC is weak and drew attention to the Ionian trademarks on Archaic Attic painted pottery from the North Black sea sites, which suggests Ionian mediation. He also adduces some evidence for possible role of Aeginetans as mediators of Athenian trade with the North Black sea (Tsjetskhladze 1998, 51 f.). We should not neglect however another sort of historical evidence, which tells us that Athens by the middle of VI century BC had already in its disposal a fleet, was very active in the Aegean and that in particular it increased its influence on the Hellespont (see n. 35). It would be strange if this advantage had not been used by Athens for its trading purposes with the Black sea without mediation.

³⁷ Regarding the problem of sudden rise and decline of archers' popularity during the last third of VI century BC, I suppose that we should not separate it from the statistics on the popularity of battle scenes in general. Their comparative study may well show some interesting results which will help further comprehension of archers' phenomenon in Attic vase painting. But this work is yet to be done.

notion of a possible avenger. Orestes is mentioned for the first time among those who are well-disposed to Agamemnon (*Ch.* 109–116) when the chorus instructs Electra what to say during the libation. Thus, when immediately thereafter the chorus sings that Electra should pray for somebody to come who will kill the killer (117–121), it is not Orestes that they have in mind. This contraposition – on the one side Orestes and herself, on the other an avenger who will retaliate the death of their father – is twice repeated in Electra's prayer (142–148) being strongly underlined by repeated structural oppositions. In her prayer for Orestes (138 f.), Electra wishes for him to come back home and for herself (140 f.) to become better than her mother (142: ἡμῖν μὲν εὐχὰς τάσδε ... 145: ταῦτ' ἐν μέσῳ τίθημι τῆς καλῆς ἀρᾶς, 147: ἡμῖν δὲ πομπὸς ἴσθι τῶν ἐσθλῶν ἄνω), but at the same time, in a curse, she wishes for a future avenger to punish her father's killers (142 f.: τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις / λέγω φανῆναι σοῦ, πάτερ, τιμάορον, 146: κείνοις... τὴν κακὴν ἀράν). Of course, this arrangement only serves to express a deeply ironical vision of Orestes who is at the same time an object of Electra's prayer and the subject of her curse. But this will become clear only after Orestes reveals Apollo's decision to make him take revenge on his father's murderers (269–274, note especially ἀνταποκτεῖναι λέγων in v. 274 which echoes chorus's ὅστις ἀνταποκτενεῖ in v. 121). Thus, in the short astrophic lyrical passage that precedes Orestes' revelation to Electra and to the chorus, it is the idea of an unknown avenger that still dominates, and it is ironically associated with the image of the military might symbolized by the epic pair of a spearman and an archer. It is tempting to suggest that this pairing also plays a special part in Aeschylus' dramatic irony in that it anticipates the appearance of the pair of Orestes and Pylades, who in fact join forces in effectuating the revenge. Aeschylus most effectively uses the mute person of Pylades by giving him only a few words (*Ch.* 900–902) at the crucial moment of Orestes' indecision as he confronts Clytemnestra (*Ch.* 899), which urge him to make a decisive step and to kill his mother. Thus, he makes Pylades' figure absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of Apollo's order.

So, on the basis of the above interpretation, I propose the following reading of the *Ch.* 160–163:

ἴτω τις δορυσθενῆς ἀνὴρ	υ – – υ – υ – υ –	do ia
ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων Σκυθῆς τ' ἐν χεροῖν	υ υ υ – υ – υ – – υ –	do do
παλίντων ἔργῳ βέλη πῖπάλλων Ἄρης	υ – υ – – υ – υ – – υ –	ia cr do
σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νομῶν ξίφη.	υ υ υ – υ – υ – – υ –	do do

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After a survey of multiple textual problems of Aesch. *Ch.* 161 f., the author proposes (1) to accept the scribe's correction Σκύθης for the nonsensical manuscript σκυθιτα, (2) to retain the manuscript reading Ἄρης, which is to be combined with Σκύθης, and (3) to read ἔργω, instead of ἐν ἔργω, which results in the following restoration of the text: ...Σκύθης τ' ἐν χεροῖν / παλίντων' ἔργω βέλη ἑπιπάλλων Ἄρης (do / ia cr do). The Scythian Ares, who finds a parallel at Aesch. *Pers.* 85: τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη, is to be understood as a Scythian warrior, i.e. an archer, who would thus be juxtaposed with a spearman. As a result, the sentence (*Ch.* 160–163) has two subjects and may be interpreted as the chorus' appeal to a spearman and a Scythian archer to come together as rescuers of the house of Agamemnon. This pairing can be paralleled in Archaic Attic depictions of heavily armed warriors and archers in Scythian attire acting together in battle or marching in pairs – depictions that evoke the virtual world of epic battles as it is known from the *Iliad*, where spearmen and archers also fight side by side. The chorus' summoning of this pair of warriors as a combined symbol of epic warfare should be understood along the lines of the ironical treatment of the theme of a future avenger in the Parodos, where Aeschylus does his best not to connect the retaliation of Agamemnon's death with Orestes until, at a later point, he reveals his mission as his father's avenger. Besides, this pairing anticipates the joint role that Orestes and Pilades play in fulfilling Apollo's order.

В статье рассматриваются проблемы чтения стихов 161–162 трагедии Эсхила "Хоэфоры" и предлагается принять поправку переписчика Σκύθης вместо рукописного σκυθιτα, а также читать ἔργω вместо ἐν ἔργω, что дает следующую реконструкцию текста: ...Σκυθῆς τ' ἐν χεροῖν / παλίντων' ἔργω βέλη

ἡπιόλλων Ἄρης (do / ia cr do). Скифский Арес, на основании Aesch. *Pers.* 85: τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη, понимается как скифский воин, т. е. лучник, который в тексте противопоставлен “мужу, сильному копьем”, т. е. гоплиту. Т. о., призыв хора прийти и освободить дом Агамемнона обращен к копьеносцу и лучнику (Aesch. *Ch.* 160–163). Подобное объединение находит параллель в архаических аттических вазовых изображениях тяжеловооруженных воинов и скифских лучников, действующих совместно или марширующих парами, где средствами живописи воссоздаются картины эпических битв, некоторое представление о которых дает “Илиада”. Призыв хора к этой паре воинов, олицетворяющей эпическую воинскую мощь, может быть понят с учетом драматической иронии, применяемой Эсхилом в пародии “Хоэфор” с тем, чтобы не связывать фигуру мстителя с Орестом, пока он сам не объявит об этой своей роли. Кроме того, призыв к паре воинов предвосхищает совместные действия Ореста и Пилада в осуществлении убийства Клитемнестры.

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

La parte iniziale del *Περὶ κόσμου* e le colonne I–II (secondo l'ordine dell'*editio princeps*: noi chiameremo il testo che ivi si legge *Elogium geographiae*) del papiro di Artemidoro presentano alcune impressionanti somiglianze. Capire l'origine e il significato di tali somiglianze è reso difficile dall'assoluta incertezza circa gli autori dei due testi e la loro cronologia sia assoluta sia relativa. Lo scopo del presente contributo è fornire una cronologia attendibile del *Περὶ κόσμου* e stabilirne i rapporti con l'*Elogium geographiae*. I capitoli 1–6 sono opera di M. Scermino, il capitolo 7 di C. M. Lucarini.

1. Stato dell'arte e scopo della ricerca*

Il problema della datazione del trattato pseudo-aristotelico *Περὶ κόσμου* è questione discussa e spinosa. Per quanto breve, quest'opera possiede una fisionomia sfuggente, essendo caratterizzata dalla commistione di elementi riconducibili a varie correnti del pensiero antico, dall'aristotelismo allo stoicismo, passando per le venature platoniche del proemio, per giungere ai versi orfici dell'*Inno a Zeus* che concludono l'opera.

Con questo lavoro non s'intende intraprendere un riesame globale dell'opera, che tenti di determinare l'appartenenza dell'autore all'una o all'altra scuola filosofica, i suoi intenti, il contesto e il pubblico per cui scrisse. Lo scopo, più modesto, sarà quello di mettere a punto alcune coordinate cronologiche per la sua stesura, a partire dal riconoscimento di un preciso termine *post quem*: la diffusione delle opere meteorologiche di Posidonio di Apamea. Fino a pochi decenni fa, probabilmente, non sarebbe stato necessario dedicare un approfondimento a questo tema, dal

* Dove non altrimenti indicato, le traduzioni di passi del *Περὶ κόσμου* sono tratte da Bos–Reale 1995. Ringrazio Maria Michela Sassi, Francesco Verde e Alexander Verlinsky, che hanno letto una precedente versione di questo lavoro dandomi utili consigli. Spero di averli messi adeguatamente a frutto.

momento che l'influenza posidoniana sul trattato era considerata come un dato acquisito. Oggi lo stato dell'arte è in parte cambiato: molte delle idee che si avevano su Posidonio all'inizio del ventesimo secolo si sono trasformate (in generale ci siamo resi conto di sapere sul suo conto molto meno di quanto non si credesse uno o due secoli fa) e molti dubbi sono stati sollevati a proposito della paternità del *Περὶ κόσμου*, con ipotesi di datazione che ne anticipano la stesura di vari secoli. Alcuni studi hanno rivendicato la paternità aristotelica del trattato: l'operazione – che pur ha avuto il merito di attrarre l'attenzione della critica su un'opera spesso trascurata – non è potuta però avvenire senza evidenti forzature, e in generale non ha ottenuto grande credito tra gli studiosi.¹ Numerosi e solidi argomenti, di carattere sia linguistico che contenutistico, escludono che Aristotele sia l'autore del trattato:² in primo luogo la dottrina teologica, la cui contaminazione con dottrine stoiche è denunciata da chiare coincidenze verbali,³ poi la sezione geografica, che risulta sicuramente successiva alla diffusione dell'opera di Artemidoro di Efeso,⁴ infine alcuni dettagli descrittivi impiegati dall'autore all'interno delle proprie metafore.⁵

¹ Reale 1974, Bos 1977, Bos–Reale 1995. A testimonianza del rinnovato interesse per l'opera, basti citare il volume appena edito da Johan C. Thom 2014, che presenta una nuova traduzione inglese e alcuni saggi, e l'importante articolo sulla sezione geografica di Bartoš–Pajón *forthcoming*.

² Fondati su un approccio linguistico e stilistico i lavori di Barnes 1977; Schenkeveld 1991; Mansfeld 1992; Sanz Morales 1993.

³ Sulla teologia del *Περὶ κόσμου*, sarà appena il caso di notare che nel quinto capitolo (397 b 9–26) la descrizione della potenza divina richiama aspetti della dottrina stoica, con parallelismi anche verbali, quali l'impiego del verbo διήκω ('aggirarsi' 349 b 11) a indicare la presenza nel cosmo di un dio immanente e l'utilizzo della perifrasi συνεκτική αἰτία ('causa che tiene insieme tutte le cose' 397 b 6) adoperata dagli stoici, ma qui dotata di sfumature diverse (cf. Mansfeld 1992, 401), mentre nel capitolo sesto (397 b 16–20, 398 a 1–6) viene introdotta una distinzione tra οὐσία ('essenza' trascendente) e δύναμις ('potenza' immanente) della divinità che sembra pensata per prendere le distanze dallo stoicismo. Nell'insieme, la dottrina appare dunque composita e poco coerente, e di certo non aristotelica. Per una recente trattazione su οὐσία e δύναμις nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, cf. Tzvechova–Glaser 2014.

⁴ Bartoš–Pajón *forthcoming*.

⁵ La descrizione dell'Atena crisoelefantina di Fidia fornita dall'autore che l'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* riflette una tradizione aneddótica risalente ai secoli I a. C. – I d. C., come è stato osservato da Mansfeld 1991, su cui v. *infra* p. 207. Pur concordando sul carattere pseudo-epigrafo del trattato, i lavori citati sono lontani dal configurare una soluzione univoca sulla datazione e genesi dello stesso, e presentano talvolta opinioni molto discordanti. Da questo punto di vista, i sostenitori dell'autenticità hanno gioco facile nell'affermare che la controparte non è fino ad oggi riuscita a raggiungere una soluzione condivisa, ma questo fatto testimonia piuttosto del carattere composito ed elusivo dell'opera, non certo della paternità aristotelica.

Indubbiamente, la conoscenza solo frammentaria dell'opera di Posidonio rende ardua una determinazione precisa della sua influenza sugli autori contemporanei e successivi. In passato, la tentazione di attribuirgli influenze su ogni sorta di dottrine non altrimenti identificabili, e di farne addirittura un precursore del neo-platonismo, ha sedotto numerosi interpreti, danneggiando profondamente la comprensione della sua figura. Tale tendenza critica, che oggi va sotto il nome di 'pan-posidonismo',⁶ ha dominato la prima metà del secolo XX (con strascichi fino agli anni '80), suscitando nei decenni successivi una reazione eguale ed opposta. L'impronta di Posidonio è stata allora messa in dubbio anche in contesti non particolarmente problematici, persino in presenza di coincidenze verbali molto precise con frammenti attribuitigli da fonti affidabili, come per l'appunto nel caso del *Περὶ κόσμου*.

Ma anche grazie all'aiuto offerto dall'edizione commentata dei frammenti di Posidonio a cura di Ludwig Edelstein e Ian G. Kidd è oggi possibile riprendere in considerazione l'ampio *dossier* sulla relazione del *Περὶ κόσμου* con Posidonio, poggiando i piedi su un terreno meno scivoloso di qualche tempo fa. Negli ultimi decenni, inoltre, gli argomenti a favore di un'influenza posidoniana sulla dottrina di questo trattato si sono arricchiti di nuovi elementi, abbastanza forti da sostenere l'urto provocato dal riflusso dell'onda 'pan-posidoniana'. In tale contesto, affermazioni come quelle di Bos e Reale, che trattano l'ipotesi dell'influsso posidoniano come un residuo di tendenze critiche antiquate, risultano fuorvianti.⁷ Sarà dunque utile riesaminare la storia delle interpretazioni

⁶ Secondo Vimercati 2004, Werner Jaeger può essere considerato il capostipite della tendenza 'pan-posidoniana', che avrebbe avuto avvio con lo studio da lui dedicato a Nemesio di Emesa 1914. Gli studi di Heinemann 1921–1928 hanno enfatizzato, senza apportare una documentazione cogente, l'influenza di Posidonio su Cicerone, e si sono spinti fino a discutere del rapporto tra il pensiero del filosofo di Apamea e alcuni libri dell'Antico Testamento. Una tendenza portata avanti anche dagli studi di Karl Reinhardt (1921, 1926, 1953) e di Willy Theiler (1930). La monumentale edizione dei frammenti posidoniani curata da Theiler e pubblicata postuma nel 1982 include un gran numero di passi di incerta attribuzione (si pensi che i frammenti dell'edizione Theiler sono 471, mentre quelli dell'edizione Edelstein–Kidd solo 293) e viene pertanto trattata dalla critica con il dovuto scetticismo.

⁷ Bos–Reale 1995, 47 n. 84: “La morte di Posidonio è accolta generalmente come *terminus post quem*, perché, anche dopo la confutazione della tesi di Capelle, si continua a credere che un qualche influsso di Posidonio sull'autore del *De mundo* ci sia stato. Nelle dottrine filosofiche del *De mundo*, di Posidonio non c'è neppure l'ombra; e quelle dottrine scientifiche che si riteneva di far risalire a lui, come vedremo, recenti scoperte di estratti dei *Meteorologici* di Teofrasto tradotti in siriano e poi in arabo, hanno dimostrato che Posidonio non c'entra”. In realtà, la teoria dell'influsso della *Meteorologia* di Teofrasto sul *Περὶ κόσμου*, formulata da Strohm 1987, si può confutare: cf. Kidd 1992 e v. *infra*

‘posidoniane’ del *Περὶ κόσμου*, distinguendo quanto vi era di eccessivo e non provato da quanto, invece, si può ancora oggi mantenere come base per la datazione del trattato. Ciò permetterà, inoltre, di avanzare qualche ipotesi sul modo in cui l’autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* potrebbe aver attinto al materiale posidoniano reimpiegato nella sua opera. La nostra ipotesi è che l’autore, nel corso della stesura del capitolo meteorologico, non abbia attinto direttamente alle opere originali di Posidonio, ma piuttosto a una fonte intermedia appartenente alla tradizione dossografica, che presentava notevoli consonanze di struttura e contenuto con la letteratura dei *Placita*. Tale considerazione potrebbe rivelarsi non priva di conseguenze sul piano più generale dell’interpretazione: pur recuperando alcuni argomenti elaborati in seno alle interpretazioni posidoniane del *Περὶ κόσμου*, infatti, questo lavoro intende marcare una discontinuità rispetto alle letture che, in passato, consideravano Posidonio come la fonte immediata o addirittura unica del trattato, facendo di quest’ultimo una sorta di *patchwork* dei vari libri del filosofo di Apamea.

L’ipotesi della fonte dossografica non implica necessariamente che l’autore ignorasse i trattati meteorologici originali di Posidonio (ma lo stesso si potrebbe dire della *Meteorologia* di Aristotele). La scelta di impiegare riassunti dossografici al posto delle opere originali era funzionale alle finalità del trattato, tra le quali non rientrava l’approfondimento delle dottrine meteorologiche. Queste ultime, al pari di quelle geografiche, ricoprivano un ruolo sussidiario e preparatorio al nucleo teologico esposto negli ultimi capitoli. La sintesi dossografica, ricca di definizioni e priva di argomentazioni, offriva dunque una messe di materiali pronti all’uso, particolarmente utili alla stesura di un capitolo dal contenuto semplice e divulgativo.

2. Il *Περὶ κόσμου*, tra pan-posidonismo e anti-posidonismo

Il *Περὶ κόσμου* non compare in nessuna delle più antiche liste di scritti aristotelici, probabilmente perché la sua composizione fu successiva alla stesura di tali cataloghi. Ciononostante, il trattato entrò a far parte della tradizione aristotelica e la sua paternità fu raramente messa in dubbio nell’età tardo-antica. È tuttavia significativo che la grande maggioranza dei quasi cento manoscritti greci del *Περὶ κόσμου* non trasmetta quasi mai trattati autenticamente appartenenti al *Corpus Aristotelicum*. L’opera

p. 207–210, mentre si conferma la parentela con alcune dottrine meteorologiche posidoniane. Per una trattazione più dettagliata delle forzature argomentative adoperate da Reale e Bos in questa sezione del loro saggio, v. *infra* p. 204.

fu tradotta in siriano in un'epoca piuttosto precoce, intorno al VI secolo d.C., e dal siriano all'arabo tra VII e VIII sec., sicuramente con finalità didattiche: un destino condiviso anche da altri scritti pseudo-epigrafi di Aristotele, come il *De virtutibus et vitiis*.⁸

A nostra conoscenza, il primo autore antico a mostrare qualche dubbio circa l'autenticità del *Περὶ κόσμου* fu Proclo nel suo commento al *Timeo*. Notando una differenza tra la definizione di εἰμαρμένη usata da Aristotele 'in un qualche luogo' (πov) e quella data dallo stesso autore 'una volta' (πάλιν) nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, Proclo chiosava significativamente 'se effettivamente è suo il libro *Περὶ κόσμου*'.⁹ Ma anche se Proclo ci tramanda la prima notizia scritta di un sospetto sull'autenticità, non è detto che sia stato lui il primo a metterla in questione, anzi, è piuttosto improbabile, alla luce dell'espressione usata da lui stesso, che lascia presumere non si trattasse di una sua idea, ma piuttosto di una convinzione espressa da qualcun altro, forse di un'ipotesi diffusa tra alcuni esegeti di Aristotele, di cui Proclo voleva dimostrarsi al corrente, pur mantenendo una posizione possibilista rispetto all'attribuzione. Ma non è tutto. Alcuni secoli prima, il trattato aveva conosciuto un rifacimento in latino per mano di Apuleio, che talvolta compare nei manoscritti con il titolo di *De mundo*, talvolta sotto la denominazione *De cosmographia* o *De philosophia*.¹⁰ Aprendo la propria opera, un testo a metà tra la traduzione e la parafrasi, Apuleio, non senza una certa auto-indulgenza, presentava se stesso come co-autore accanto ad Aristotele e Teofrasto. La scelta di tirare in ballo i due primi scolarchi del Liceo denotava forse l'incertezza di Apuleio nell'identificare chiaramente il responsabile di un'opera comunemente ritenuta peripatetica? Possibile. Che dubbi sull'autenticità esistessero anche

⁸ Che la spinta propulsiva per tali traduzioni dipendesse da interessi didattici lo si comprende analizzando le altre opere contenute nei manoscritti siriani e arabi del *Περὶ κόσμου*: si tratta in genere di scritti diffusi nelle scuole della tarda antichità, che comprendono opere di filosofia, di sapienza popolare, di grammatica e di retorica. Il British Library Manuscript Additional 14658, unico testimone della traduzione in siriano del *Περὶ κόσμου* e capostipite della successiva tradizione araba, sembra infatti concepito come una raccolta di tutti i testi greci allora disponibili in siriano (con l'esclusione di quelli a contenuto medico o religioso): accanto alla traduzione del *Περὶ κόσμου* compaiono altre opere filosofiche (l'*Isagoge* di Porfirio, le *Categorie* di Aristotele e un adattamento dei *Principi dell'universo* di Alessandro di Afrodisia), alcuni scritti di 'filosofia popolare' (le *Sentenze* attribuite a Platone, Pitagora e Theano) e di retorica (Ps.-Isocrate *Ad Demonicum*). Sulla tradizione testuale del *Περὶ κόσμου* in siriano e in arabo, cf. Takahashi 2014, soprattutto p. 155–156; sulle citazioni del trattato nella letteratura scientifica e teologica arabo-islamica, cf. Daiber 2014.

⁹ In *Tim.* 322 E, III p. 272, 21. Sul carattere sussidiario della fisica rispetto alla teologia nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, v. *infra* pp. 205–206.

¹⁰ Mansfeld 1992, 406 n. 35.

prima di Proclo, lascia presagire anche l'attenzione scarsa o nulla dedicata al *Περὶ κόσμου* dalla tradizione esegetica aristotelizzante e platonizzante, da Alessandro a Simplicio,¹¹ insieme al fatto già menzionato che molto raramente, nella tradizione manoscritta, esso comparisse insieme ad opere autentiche di Aristotele.¹²

Nel secolo XIX, la presenza, nella dottrina del *Περὶ κόσμου*, di una commistione di elementi peripatetici e stoici tra loro non completamente armonizzati (né, di fatto, armonizzabili in alcun modo) fu notata da vari interpreti.¹³ La lettura più influente dell'epoca fu quella di Eduard Zeller, che propose di attribuire l'opera ad un autore peripatetico eclettico, desideroso di contemperare in un'unica filosofia aristotelismo e stoicismo per meglio rispondere alla temperie culturale di un'epoca che desiderava conciliare tra loro le dottrine delle maggiori scuole filosofiche. La medesima tendenza a contemperare aristotelismo e stoicismo era attribuita da Zeller a Posidonio, che veniva pertanto individuato come uno dei filosofi a cui l'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* si sarebbe ispirato.¹⁴ L'idea della dipendenza del *Περὶ κόσμου* da Posidonio fu portata (fin troppo) avanti da Wilhelm Capelle, nel suo celebre scritto *Die Schrift von der Welt* del 1905. Attraverso un serrato confronto con dottrine che egli considerava genuinamente posidoniane, Capelle pensò di poter dimostrare non solo che l'intera impostazione del *Περὶ κόσμου* sarebbe derivata da quella di un omonimo trattato attribuito a Posidonio (in realtà noto solo in forma frammentaria), ma che per ciascun capitolo dell'opera si potrebbe riconoscere come fonte di ispirazione un lavoro di Posidonio. Il primo capitolo sarebbe stato tratto dal suo *Protrettico*; il secondo dalla *Meteorologia*; il terzo dal *Sull'Oceano* o da un'altra opera; il quarto ancora dalla *Meteorologia*; il quinto, il sesto e il settimo dal *Sugli dèi*. Secondo Capelle, dunque, nel *Περὶ κόσμου* dovremmo riconoscere una rielaborazione organica e sintetica dell'intera filosofia di Posidonio. L'ipotesi di Capelle conobbe dapprima una certa fortuna, ma la sua struttura spiccatamente pan-posidoniana (in un senso duplice: ricondurre tutta la dottrina del *Περὶ κόσμου* ad un'unica fonte, alla quale nello stesso tempo si attribuivano dottrine incerte come se invece fossero incontestabili) cominciò dopo alcuni decenni a mostrare le prime, gravi crepe. Colpi molto seri furono inferti dall'accurata disamina di Joseph P. Maguire, che nel 1936 dedicò un lungo articolo alla ricerca delle

¹¹ Mansfeld 1992, 399.

¹² Moraux 1984, 5 n. 1

¹³ Ma una ricca discussione si era già sviluppata a partire dal XVI sec. Cf. Kraye 2014, con ulteriore bibliografia.

¹⁴ Zeller 1885, 399–415.

fonti del *Περὶ κόσμου*. Non è possibile riportare in questa sede tutti gli argomenti di Maguire, che affronta la questione delle fonti capitolo per capitolo, spietatamente smontando gran parte delle teorie di Capelle. Vale però la pena di ricordare quali furono le conclusioni del suo studio: l'autore del trattato sarebbe un peripatetico influenzato da alcune idee neo-pitagoriche; il quinto e il sesto capitolo, di contenuto filosofico e teologico, deriverebbero dunque da una tradizione apertamente ostile a Posidonio. Per quanto concerne la sezione scientifica, l'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* deve aver attinto ad uno o più manuali di ispirazione stoica, ma non direttamente alle opere di Posidonio.¹⁵ Tuttavia Maguire, pur determinato a ridurre all'osso l'importanza di Posidonio come modello filosofico, non si spinge all'eccesso di negare ogni suo influsso sul *Περὶ κόσμου*. Al contrario, di fronte a paralleli verbali stringenti come quelli del quarto capitolo (si tratta della sezione sui fenomeni ottico-meteorologici, di cui andremo a occuparci di qui a poco), lo studioso riconosce apertamente l'impronta posidoniana, seppur mediata dal passaggio attraverso forme manualistiche.¹⁶

Contrariamente a quanto affermato da Reale e Bos, dunque, lo studio di Maguire non dimostra affatto che “nelle dottrine filosofiche del *De mundo*, di Posidonio non c'è neppure l'ombra”, né dovrebbe essere citato pretestuosamente a sostegno di tale ipotesi, quando invece è vero il contrario.¹⁷ Secondo Maguire, l'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* dipende sicuramente, almeno per quanto concerne la sezione scientifico-meteorologica, da una fonte che conosceva Posidonio e utilizzava anche le sue dottrine. Una cosa è affermare, con Capelle, che il quarto capitolo del *Περὶ κόσμου* sarebbe un ‘insieme coerente’ (*zusammenhängendes Ganze*) estrapolato da

¹⁵ Maguire 1939, 126.

¹⁶ Maguire 1939, 128–129: “Chapter four, which treats of meteorology and seismology, is unique in the fact that one section of it (395 a, 29 b, 17) contains at least five definitions which are either in verbal agreement with Posidonian definitions, or which can be traced to Posidonius with high probability. [...] Of these four main divisions, I am convinced that *none except the third* (*scil.*: a peculiar passage which distinguishes between those phenomena of the air which have actual substance, like shooting stars and comets, and those which are merely appearances, like rainbows and streaks) can be shown to have been *certainly influenced* by Posidonius” (corsivo mio).

¹⁷ Bos–Reale 1995, 39: “Altri studiosi hanno poi smantellato punto per punto quasi tutte le congetture del Capelle circa le fonti posidoniane dello scritto che ci occupa [con rimando a Maguire 1939]”. Ciò che gli autori passano sotto silenzio è tutto sotteso a quell'avverbio ‘quasi’. Maguire smonta ‘quasi tutti’ gli argomenti del Capelle, ma quanto di quegli argomenti è rimasto in piedi è abbastanza solido da dimostrare la priorità cronologica di Posidonio rispetto al *Περὶ κόσμου*, confutando così irrimediabilmente la teoria della paternità aristotelica.

un'unica fonte (la *Meteorologia* di Posidonio); altra cosa affermare che in quella sezione sono confluite dottrine che dimostrano la conoscenza di tale opera. Maguire non aveva alcuna difficoltà a riconoscere questo secondo tipo di rapporto tra il *Περὶ κόσμου* e la *Meteorologia* di Posidonio, che gli appariva supportato da chiare evidenze testuali.¹⁸

Mette conto ricordare qui il contributo all'analisi del *Περὶ κόσμου* offerto da Paul Moraux nel suo studio dedicato allo sviluppo storico della tradizione peripatetica.¹⁹ Secondo Moraux, la peculiare concezione del rapporto tra scienze della natura e scienza del divino presente nel *Περὶ κόσμου* induce a escludere una sua attribuzione ad Aristotele. È vero che in *Metafisica A* Aristotele faceva culminare la ricerca delle cause del movimento cosmico nella dimostrazione di una causa prima di ordine divino, domandandosi infine se il principio del cosmo fosse separato, immanente, o l'uno e l'altro.²⁰ Tuttavia, neppure in *Metafisica A*, dove pone con forza il problema del rapporto tra filosofia prima e teologia al vertice del sistema delle scienze,²¹ Aristotele teorizza la riduzione della fisica (e di altre scienze particolari, come la meteorologia e la geografia) al rango di conoscenze puramente ausiliarie e funzionali alla teologia, che troviamo invece nel *Περὶ κόσμου*. Già la disposizione della materia nel *Περὶ κόσμου* dimostra invece tale presupposto: il programma del trattato è annunciato sin dal primo capitolo protrettico (θεολογῶμεν περὶ τούτων συμπάντων: 391 b 4) e i capitoli di descrizione scientifica (2. cosmologico; 3. geografico; 4. meteorologico) sono appunto descrizioni, formate da affermazioni apodittiche prive di ogni intento dimostrativo, il cui unico ruolo è quello di fornire una rappresentazione plastica dell'ordine divino del cosmo. Avendo così posto le basi per il proprio ragionamento, in seguito l'autore affronta il tema principale del trattato

¹⁸ Infatti Maguire 1939, 128 fa un'apertura di credito all'ipotesi alternativa di Capelle sulla genesi del capitolo quarto, pur rimanendo in disaccordo con lui rispetto all'interpretazione generale dell'opera: "Capelle's alternative suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 551) that the source of the chapter was an handbook by a pupil of Posidonius if not the *Meteorology* of Posidonius himself, is perhaps partially true, but if so, it tells against Capelle's general position on the origin of the *de Mundo* rather than for it".

¹⁹ Moraux 1984, 5–82.

²⁰ Arist. *Metaph.* A 10, 1075 a 12–24.

²¹ Si pensi alla problematica definizione della metafisica come 'scienza della sostanza immobile' presente in *Metaph.* A 1, non dissimile da quella fornita in *Metaph.* E 1, dove tale scienza è descritta come la 'conoscenza di ciò che è eterno, immobile e separato'. Per la loro chiara inclinazione teologica, entrambe queste definizioni presentano difficoltà di conciliazione con quelle offerte da Aristotele in A 1–2 (metafisica come conoscenza delle cause prime e dei principi) e Γ 2 (metafisica come scienza dell'ente in quanto ente).

(nei capitoli 5–7, di contenuto teologico), cioè la questione di come si possa conciliare la trascendenza di dio con la sua attività di organizzazione e conservazione del cosmo. Secondo Moraux, la prospettiva teologica dell'autore ricorda quella del *Timeo* platonico, in cui il cosmo è presentato come una meravigliosa creatura del demiurgo, e non quella di Aristotele.²² Oltre all'influenza platonica, Moraux rinveniva nel trattato chiare tracce del pensiero di Posidonio ed era portato a datarlo all'epoca di Filone di Alessandria, intendendolo come un testo pensato per un pubblico colto, ma non esercitato alla filosofia.

La datazione di Moraux riprende in sostanza le tradizionali convinzioni di Zeller e appare confermata, su basi diverse, da uno studio di Jaap Mansfeld.²³ Analizzando la diffusione della locuzione 'περὶ κόσμου' nel titolo o nel corpo del testo delle opere filosofiche antiche, Mansfeld ha osservato che l'espressione non gioca nessun ruolo nella tradizione dell'aristotelismo e del platonismo, mentre comincia ad avere una certa diffusione in epoca successiva, in particolare nel contesto stoico.²⁴ In Aristotele l'espressione non esiste né come titolo (come noto, la sua opera cosmologica circolava infatti con il nome *Περὶ οὐρανοῦ*), né come designazione specifica di un campo di ricerca.²⁵ La prima notizia di un'opera intitolata *Περὶ κόσμου* riguarda infatti un trattato (non conservato) attribuito da Diogene Laerzio a Sfero di Boristene, un discepolo di Zenone e Cleante.²⁶ In seguito, altre opere con lo stesso titolo furono scritte da Crisippo, Antipatro e Posidonio. Ed è ancora in contesto stoico che la formula (senza articolo determinativo) compare per la prima volta a designare una parte della filosofia.²⁷ Ai grandi trattati stoici *Περὶ κόσμου* che si occupavano dell'origine e distruzione del cosmo, del fato e della conflagrazione generale, difficilmente saranno rimaste estranee

²² Moraux 1984, 18–20. V. anche *supra* n. 9.

²³ Mansfeld 1992.

²⁴ Mansfeld 1992, 392, 399.

²⁵ In Arist. *EN* Γ 5, 1112 a 21–22 compare l'unica attestazione aristotelica della formula 'περὶ τοῦ κόσμου'. L'espressione indica sì un campo di ricerca, ma non ha qui la fissità del termine tecnico del linguaggio filosofico. Infatti non si presenta in forma indipendente, come nei titoli o negli elenchi delle parti della fisica stilati dai filosofi stoici, ma in dipendenza da un verbo. Cf. Mansfeld 1992, 395.

²⁶ Diog. Laërt. VII, 178 = *SVF* I 620. Questi trattati stoici erano tutti molto più lunghi del *Περὶ κόσμου* pseudo-aristotelico: l'opera di Crisippo era almeno in due volumi, così come quella di Posidonio. Per Antipatro si ricordano addirittura dieci volumi.

²⁷ Diog. Laërt. VII, 132 riporta la suddivisione della fisica in tre parti secondo gli stoici: "(1) τὸν περὶ κόσμου καὶ (2) τὸν περὶ τῶν στοιχείων καὶ (3) τρίτον τὸν αἰτιολογικόν".

le tematiche teologiche (sicuramente teologici erano i libri VII e VIII di Antipatro). La sezione teologica che chiude il trattato pseudo-aristotelico, dunque, con la sua difesa della dottrina dell'eternità del cosmo contro le ipotesi di una sua perpetua distruzione e rinascita, ha tutta l'aria di una risposta in chiave peripatetica a quel filone di produzione filosofica stoica che circolava con il titolo di *Περὶ κόσμου*. Pertanto, Mansfeld ritiene di poterlo attribuire a un autore vissuto verso la fine del I secolo a.C.: una personalità al corrente delle tradizioni stoiche e di simpatie aristoteliche, che avvertiva l'assenza di un'opera con questo titolo e soggetto nel *Corpus aristotelico*.²⁸

Nella stessa direzione va anche la ricerca di Mansfeld sulla diffusione dell'aneddoto secondo cui Fidia avrebbe scolpito lo scudo dell'Athena del Partenone, ponendo al centro dell'*aspis* un proprio ritratto che, se rimosso, avrebbe fatto crollare l'intera statua. Si tratta di un racconto favolistico molto diffuso tra il I sec. a.C. e il I sec. d.C., nato probabilmente in seno alla letteratura dei *mirabilia* e reimpiegato dall'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* all'interno di una complessa metafora che descrive la natura del dio cosmico.²⁹ Un autore dell'epoca di Aristotele non avrebbe di certo descritto così lo scudo dell'Athena criso-elefantina, le cui fattezze, compresa la presenza di un ritratto di Fidia a figura intera su un lato dello scudo, erano al suo tempo ben note. In entrambi i casi, gli studi di Mansfeld contribuiscono a meglio definire il contesto che potrebbe aver dato vita al trattato, individuando nuovi dettagli capaci di confermare la cronologia tradizionale. Ma se tali considerazioni arricchiscono il quadro d'insieme, gli argomenti più solidi per una datazione del trattato restano tuttavia ancora quelli, già individuati da Capelle, dell'influenza esercitata dalle dottrine meteorologiche posidoniane su alcune sezioni del capitolo meteorologico (IV).

3. La meteorologia del *Περὶ κόσμου*: non pertinenza del modello teofrasteo

Alcuni studiosi hanno tentato di negare la presenza di una chiara influenza posidoniana sul quarto capitolo del *Περὶ κόσμου*, riconducendo invece l'ispirazione principale della sezione alla *Meteorologia* di Teofrasto. Il più documentato tra questi tentativi, dal quale dipendono in sostanza tutti gli altri, fu pubblicato da Hans Strohm con l'intento, di per sé condivisibile, di sottoporre a controllo le conclusioni senz'altro eccessive di Willy Theiler, secondo il quale l'intero quarto capitolo del *Περὶ κόσμου* deriverebbe

²⁸ Mansfeld 1992, 399.

²⁹ *De mu.* 399 b 34 – 400 a 9; cf. Mansfeld 1991, 542–543.

dalla conflazione di otto frammenti di Posidonio.³⁰ In un quadro in cui si sottolinea l'importanza delle influenze medio-platoniche, Strohm elenca i motivi che a suo avviso dimostrerebbero la centralità della dottrina meteorologica teofrastea, per come essa emerge dalle frammentarie traduzioni greco-siriache e siriano-arabe a noi note.³¹ Gli argomenti di Strohm sono tornati utili anche ai fautori della paternità aristotelica, che li hanno adoperati in una maniera sottilmente fantasiosa: una volta eliminata la scomoda presenza di Posidonio, infatti, Reale e Bos hanno sostenuto che Aristotele, nello scrivere il *Περὶ κόσμου*, sarebbe stato influenzato dalla dottrina del suo allievo e successore, superando alcune delle posizioni espresse tempo prima nella propria *Meteorologia*. Ma non è necessario ricorrere a soluzioni così complicate, perché l'intero teorema di Strohm sulla dipendenza del *Περὶ κόσμου* da Teofrasto appare confutato da quanti hanno approfondito la relazione tra le dottrine meteorologiche di Aristotele e Teofrasto, e il rapporto del *Περὶ κόσμου* con il pensiero di Teofrasto e di Posidonio.³²

Le condizioni di trasmissione della *Meteorologia* teofrastea raccomandano prudenza,³³ ma nonostante il carattere frammentario e le ripetute traduzioni subite dal testo, vi sono almeno due punti che consentono di cogliere chiaramente le differenze esistenti tra le teorie di Teofrasto e quelle di Aristotele: la classificazione dei terremoti e la sezione sugli aloni lunari.

La questione è di estremo interesse nella nostra indagine, perché in entrambi i casi è possibile confrontare le idee di Teofrasto con quelle

³⁰ Cf. Theiler 1982; Strohm 1987.

³¹ Strohm 1987, 72 (sugli sviluppi della dottrina delle esalazioni nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, che si potrebbero riportare ai successori immediati di Aristotele e in particolare a Teofrasto); 76 (sulla sismologia del *Περὶ κόσμου* che ricalcherebbe quella della *Meteorologia* di Teofrasto).

³² Come risulterà chiaro dalle singole annotazioni, questa sezione deve molto alle penetranti ricerche di Kidd 1992. Di grande utilità sono state anche la traduzione in inglese e il commento di Daiber 1992 alla *Meteorologia* di Teofrasto, benché egli resti ancorato alla tesi di Strohm 1987 almeno per quanto concerne la teoria dei terremoti (sostanzialmente in accordo con Kidd risulta invece l'analisi della sezione sugli aloni). Nelle conclusioni (p. 293) Daiber sostiene che Posidonio sarebbe stato uno degli autori maggiormente influenzati da Teofrasto, ma il suo stesso commento contiene, seppure *in nuce*, i germi per il superamento di questa teoria: cf. p. 292: "The comparison of Theophrastus' Arabic *Meteorology* with *De mundo* and with Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* is useful for the interpretation and for the investigation of sources of both texts. However, we must still look for an explanation of the divergences among all three texts. [...] Here, as in the case of the *De mundo*, we must be cautious in reconstructing Theophrastus' *Meteorology* from quotations and reports in later sources".

³³ Cf. Daiber 1992, 166–175.

di Posidonio e del *Περὶ κόσμου*, constatando come questi ultimi si trovassero in sostanziale disaccordo con le innovazioni di Teofrasto, e si ponessero invece in continuità con la ‘vecchia’ trattazione aristotelica.³⁴ Per quanto concerne la classificazione dei terremoti, ci limiteremo a sintetizzare le osservazioni di Kidd, facendo particolare attenzione agli argomenti che riguardano più da vicino il *Περὶ κόσμου*. La *Meteorologia* di Teofrasto comprendeva una teoria dei terremoti completamente diversa da quella aristotelica, sia per la genesi dei fenomeni sismici, sia per la loro classificazione.³⁵ Mentre Aristotele faceva derivare tutti i terremoti da un'unica causa, il movimento violento dell'aria calda (πνεῦμα) che fuoriesce dalle cavità della terra o vi penetra bruscamente, Teofrasto indicava quattro diverse cause dei terremoti, facendo derivare da ciascuna di esse una diversa tipologia di sisma, ed includendo lo πνεῦμα nel novero dei principi causali, senza però trattarlo come principio monocausale.³⁶ Di conseguenza, per Aristotele esistevano solamente due tipologie di terremoto, quello verticale simile ad un sobbalzo (σφρυγμός) risultante dalla fuoriuscita dello πνεῦμα, e quello orizzontale simile ad un brivido (τρόμος), derivato dall'infiltrazione dello πνεῦμα nel sottosuolo, mentre Teofrasto proponeva una classificazione molto più complessa. Secondo Strohm, la sismologia del *Περὶ κόσμου*, per via della sua articolata classificazione dei terremoti, dimostrerebbe l'influsso della *Meteorologia* teofrastea,³⁷ ma si tratta probabilmente di un'argomentazione fallace. In generale, la tendenza a complicare i sistemi di ordinamento

³⁴ Secondo Kidd 1992, 304, la *Meteorologia* di Teofrasto avrebbe avuto un certo impatto sulle teorie meteorologiche della prima Stoà e degli epicurei, ma a partire dal I secolo a.C. la tendenza sembra invertirsi, portando ad un *revival* aristotelico, probabilmente anche per influsso della meteorologia di Posidonio. Infatti Kidd 1992, 295 ritiene [*contra* Sandbach 1985 con rimando a Kidd 1988b, 84 ss.] che esistano molteplici evidenze che Posidonio avrebbe letto e assimilato la *Meteorologia* di Aristotele, le cui dottrine ovviamente non venivano da Posidonio ricalcate, ma sviluppate in quella che Kidd definisce “a striking harmony in meteorological theory”.

³⁵ Cf. Arist. *Met.* II, 7–8; Theophr. *Met.* 15, transl. by Daiber 1992, 270–271.

³⁶ Le possibili cause di terremoto per Teofrasto sono (1) il collasso di una cavità terrestre per cause dovute alla sua stessa conformazione, oppure (2) la presenza di acqua in movimento, o (3) di aria in movimento, o (4) di fuoco all'interno di tali cavità. Si noti che Teofrasto non elenca, con mentalità da dossografo, le quattro cause come possibili spiegazioni alternative del medesimo fenomeno, ma le considera tutte vere, ritenendo che a ciascuna di esse corrisponda un diverso genere di terremoto. In questo, la sua trattazione diverge completamente da quella di Aristotele, che elencava diverse possibili cause, riconducendo ciascuna di esse ad una delle teorie dei suoi predecessori, ma considerava vera sola la propria spiegazione, mono-causale, basata sul movimento dello πνεῦμα: cf. Kidd 1992, 299.

³⁷ Strohm 1987, 76.

si riscontra in tutte le trattazioni dei terremoti prodotte dopo Aristotele, sebbene l'opposizione aristotelica tra le due tipologie di sisma (verticale e orizzontale) sia rimasta in piedi in tutta la tradizione successiva. L'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* preferisce chiaramente un modello esplicativo monocausale, fondato sul principio del movimento dello πνεῦμα, più simile alla teoria di Aristotele (poi ripresa da Posidonio) che a quella di Teofrasto.

De mu. 395 b 30–36: Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συγγενὲς πνεῦμα εὐκρατον ἐν γῇ παρεξωσθὲν εἰς μυχίους σήραγγας αὐτῆς, ἔξεδρον γενόμενον ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων τόπων, πολλὰ μέρη συνεκράδανεν. Πολλάκις δὲ πολὺ γενόμενον ἔξωθεν ἐγκατελήθη τοῖς ταύτης κοιλώμασι καὶ ἀποκλεισθὲν [ἐξόδου] μετὰ βίας αὐτὴν συνετίναξε, ζητοῦν ἐξοδὸν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἀπειργάσατο πάθος τοῦτο ὃ καλεῖν εἰώθαμεν σεισμόν.

Spesso un soffio della giusta mescolanza formatosi nella terra, quando viene compresso nelle caverne che stanno nelle viscere della terra, trovandosi fuori dai luoghi che gli sono propri, scuote insieme molte parti della terra. Spesso, poi, un soffio di grandi proporzioni che viene dall'esterno, venendo rinserrato nelle cavità della terra, provoca violente scosse alla terra cercando una via d'uscita, e, in tal modo, provoca quel fenomeno che siamo soliti chiamare terremoto.

Non costituisce eccezione il fatto che Posidonio e il *Περὶ κόσμου* parlassero anche di terremoti derivanti dal crollo di cavità sotterranee, come già aveva fatto Teofrasto. La spiegazione teofrastea si distacca nettamente da quella degli altri due, per l'idea che i crolli dipendano dalla differente conformazione del sottosuolo, e che la causa della maggiore o minore sismicità di un territorio sia dunque da ricercare nella terra stessa. Al contrario, Posidonio e il *Περὶ κόσμου* non contravvengono allo schema esplicativo di Aristotele, poiché sostengono che i crolli sotterranei alla base dei terremoti sono a loro volta determinati dai movimenti dello πνεῦμα.³⁸

La medesima convergenza tra le teorie posidoniane e le dottrine del *Περὶ κόσμου* si osserva nella trattazione degli aloni. Anche in questo caso, la somiglianza si spiega con la comune dipendenza dal modello aristotelico e sottolinea la divergenza rispetto alla meteorologia teofrastea.

Nella definizione aristotelica, un alone ha origine “quando la vista viene riflessa dalla caligine che si condensa intorno al sole o alla luna” (*Met.* III, 3, 372 b 33: ἀνακλᾶται δ' ἀπὸ τῆς συνισταμένης ἀχλύος περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τὴν σελήνην ὄψις). Per Aristotele dunque gli aloni solari e lunari rientrano nel novero dei fenomeni atmosferici prodotti dalla riflessione del raggio visivo (ἀνάκλασις τῆς ὀψεως): un concetto centrale

³⁸ Cf. Kidd 1988, 817 ss.; Kidd 1992, 300.

della *Meteorologia*, impiegato anche nella spiegazione dell'arcobaleno, del parelio (un particolare effetto che dà l'impressione di una sorta di 'secondo sole' in cielo) e delle strisce solari (simili ad arcobaleni rettilinei).³⁹ Tali fenomeni sarebbero appunto generati dall'interazione tra una particolare condizione atmosferica (una fitta caligine intorno all'astro nel caso dell'alone, o una nube riflettente in opposizione al sole nel caso dell'arcobaleno) e il raggio visivo dell'osservatore. Incontrando la superficie riflettente, il raggio visivo viene da essa respinto, con effetti diversi a seconda della direzione del raggio e del tipo di superficie.⁴⁰ Effetto di tale riflessione è l'insorgere di un'impressione luminosa (ἔμφασις), che può avere le caratteristiche di un alone, di un arcobaleno, di un parelio o di una striscia solare.

Met. III, 4, 373 b 28–31: ὥστ' ἐπεὶ ταῦτ ἐνδέχεται συμβαίνειν, ὅταν τοῦτον ἔχη τὸν τρόπον ὃ τε ἥλιος καὶ τὸ νέφος καὶ ἡμεῖς ὦμεν μεταξὺ αὐτῶν, ἔσται διὰ τὴν ἀνάκλασιν ἔμφασίς τις.

Dunque, poiché è possibile che tutto ciò si verifichi, quando il sole e la nube si trovano in tali condizioni, e noi ci troviamo in mezzo, per la riflessione si produrrà un'apparizione.⁴¹

³⁹ *Met.* III, 1, 372 b 15–18: γίγνεται μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀνάκλασις τῆς ὕψεως συνισταμένου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς ἀτμίδος εἰς νέφος, ἐὰν ὁμαλῆς καὶ μικρομερῆς συνισταμένη τύχη; trad. Pepe 2003, 137: “La riflessione della vista si produce quando l'aria e il vapore si condensano in nube, se però la condensazione è uniforme e in piccole particelle”. Aristotele chiama in causa la riflessione anche trattando di altre luminescenze celesti, definite ‘torce’, che si producono per una speciale condensazione dell'aria negli strati superiori (*Met.* I, 5). La luce, attraversando tali zone di aria condensata, cambia colore, poiché “la luce che passa attraverso un corpo più denso è meno luminosa” (διὰ τε γὰρ πυκνοτέρου διαφανόμενον ἔλαττον φῶς). L'aria circostante subisce a sua volta una mutazione di colore, diventando rosso-violetto, avendo in qualche modo risentito degli effetti della riflessione (καὶ ἀνάκλασιν δεχόμενος ὁ ἀήρ παντοδαπὰ χρώματα ποιήσει, μάλιστα δὲ φοινικοῦν ἢ πορφυροῦν). Sembra che nel caso delle ‘torce’, diversamente dall'alone, dall'arcobaleno e dalle strisce solari (generati dalla riflessione del raggio visivo), a riflettersi sia invece il raggio di luce colorata. Il problema di fondo, forse, risiede nello slittamento da un modello ottico intromissivo (che sembra implicito in I, 5) a uno estromissivo (esplicito in *Met.* III). La riflessione, inoltre, entra in gioco anche nella discussione aristotelica sull'origine delle comete e della via lattea (*Met.* I, 6–7).

⁴⁰ In *Met.* III, 2–6 Aristotele riconduce tutti questi fenomeni a una medesima causa, appunto la riflessione del raggio visivo. La varietà degli stessi dipende dal modo con cui si verifica la riflessione, ma anche dal fatto che essa possa essere rivolta verso il sole (come nel caso dell'arcobaleno) o verso un altro astro (come nel caso dell'alone lunare, trattato in *Met.* III, 2–3). Per una trattazione della teoria aristotelica dell'alone, cf. Johnson 2009.

⁴¹ Trad. Pepe 2003, 143.

La generazione dei fenomeni prodotti per ἀνάκλασις è strettamente legata al processo della visione: questa teoria ha implicazioni complesse, che qui si potranno esaminare solo in parte. Già il fatto che nella *Meteorologia* Aristotele ricorra a una teoria estromissiva della visione risulta problematico, alla luce delle nette critiche che nel *De sensu* sono rivolte a tale modello, nonché della trattazione del *De anima*, che chiaramente la esclude.⁴² Inoltre, il ruolo centrale assegnato all'ἀνάκλασις del raggio visivo produce difficoltà teoriche riguardo alla questione dell'esistenza oggettiva dei fenomeni derivanti da riflessione.⁴³ Anche se è difficile capire in che misura Aristotele fosse consapevole di tali implicazioni, come vedremo, esse emergono chiaramente dalla ricezione che la sua teoria ebbe presso alcuni lettori antichi, i quali risemantizzarono il concetto aristotelico di ἔμφασις ('impressione' o 'immagine che appare nell'occhio') in quello di 'pura apparenza', 'fenomeno privo di fondamento proprio'. Per il momento, quello che conta notare è che nella *Meteorologia* di Teofrasto non si trova alcuna eco di tali problematiche, poiché la spiegazione addotta per l'insorgere dell'alone risulta del tutto indipendente dai meccanismi della visione.⁴⁴

Per Teofrasto, infatti, sarebbero i raggi lunari al plenilunio a creare l'alone, imprimendo all'aria pulviscolare che circonda la luna un movimento simile a quello di un sasso gettato nell'acqua. Sembra dunque che Teofrasto concepisse i raggi lunari come forze capaci di trasmettere movimento ai corpi: spingendo l'aria umida a una certa distanza dalla luna, i raggi generano due anelli concentrici di diverso colore: quello più interno viene occupato dall'aria fine, mentre quello più esterno, riempito da aria fitta e umida, costituisce l'alone vero

⁴² Cf. Arist. *De an.* 418 a 26 ss.; *De sens.* 437 a 22 ss. (negazione dell'ipotesi per cui il fenomeno dei fosfeni deriverebbe da scintille sprizzate dagli occhi); 437 b 10 ss. (contro la teoria esposta da Empedocle e da Platone nel *Timeo*, secondo cui la vista avrebbe natura ignea); 438 a 25 ss. (contro la dottrina per cui la visione avverrebbe per emissione di qualcosa (ἐξίόντι τι) dall'occhio, ovvero la teoria del raggio visuale, che Alessandro di Afrodisia, nel commentare questo passo [*In De sens.* 28, 2], riteneva di poter attribuire ai μαθηματικοί).

⁴³ Cf. Bonadeo 2004, 131: "L'antropocentrismo del modello adottato risulta ancor più evidente laddove si entra nel vivo della dimostrazione relativa alla forma dell'arcobaleno, che presuppone la riflessione non della luce o del raggio luminoso, bensì della vista o, meglio, della visuale. [...] Senza la presenza di un osservatore che diriga il suo sguardo sullo specchio, non si dà proprio immagine riflessa: nello specchio non si produce nulla che riguardi la visione e, in ultima istanza, l'ottica".

⁴⁴ Cf. Daiber 1992, 280, 289 e Kidd 1992, 296.

e proprio.⁴⁵ È facile cogliere le differenze con la spiegazione aristotelica, ma è anche interessante confrontare la teoria teofrastea con le trattazioni offerte da Posidonio e dall'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου*. La posizione di Posidonio si può cogliere grazie a una testimonianza di Alessandro di Afrodisia, che ci ragguaglia in proposito dopo aver condotto una sintetica esposizione della teoria aristotelica della riflessione:

Posid. fr. 133 E–K = Alex. Aphr. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica*, III, 3 (372 a 29), pp. 147, 7 – 143, 11 Hayduck: καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους δόξα περὶ τῆς ἅλως ὡς ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων τιαύτη. ἐπηκολούθησε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν ἄλλων οὐ κατὰ ἀνάκλασιν, ἀλλὰ <κατὰ> κατακλάσεις ὥσεων αἰτιωμένων, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν δι' ὕδατος ὁρωμένων γίνεται· ὑποτίθενται γὰρ σφαιροειδὲς καὶ κοῖλον τὸ νέφος, ἔπειτα τὸ ὑπερκείμενον ἄστρον αὐτοῦ κατὰ κύκλον φασὶ διεσπασμένον ἐν αὐτῷ ὀρᾶσθαι.

Questo è un riassunto delle opinioni sostenute da Aristotele riguardo all'alone. Posidonio lo seguì, mentre quasi tutti gli altri individuarono la causa non nella riflessione (ἀνάκλασις), ma nella rifrazione della vista (κατάκλασις), come avviene per gli oggetti osservati attraverso l'acqua. Costoro sostengono che la nube sia di forma circolare e concava, e che pertanto le stelle che si trovano al di sopra di essa appaiano espanse al suo interno come in un cerchio.

Questo passo di Alessandro documenta due dati importanti. Il primo: tra gli antichi meteorologi era convinzione diffusa che l'origine dell'alone andasse ricondotta ai meccanismi della visione. Sul piano generale, dunque, l'interpretazione aristotelica aveva fatto scuola, prevalendo su spiegazioni alternative di carattere puramente fisico, come quella proposta da Teofrasto. Alessandro, infatti, non sembra ricordare alcuna teoria sulla formazione degli aloni, al di fuori di quelle basate sui fenomeni visivi. Anche se il fatto può apparire sospetto (possibile che Alessandro ignorasse così deliberatamente la spiegazione di Teofrasto?), la proposta di Kidd⁴⁶ di far rientrare Teofrasto tra i sostenitori della teoria ottica rifrattiva sembra incompatibile con il testo tradito della sua *Meteorologia*, e in particolare con la similitudine che chiude la sua

⁴⁵ Cito dalla traduzione di Daiber 1992, 269: “The halo round the moon occurs when the air becomes thick and is filled with vapor, so that a wavelike movement arises in it on account of the moonlight. [...] Comparable with that is the following: When a man blows through a tube on a place with dust, he cleans the place on which he blows; (at the same time) the dust which is swept away from it is collected on the place surrounding the clean place and forms a ring”.

⁴⁶ Kidd 1992, 296.

trattazione sugli aloni.⁴⁷ Il secondo dato rilevante di questo passo è che Aristotele, pur avendo contribuito alla fortuna del modello esplicativo ottico, non aveva avuto altrettanta fortuna nel determinarne i dettagli. La stragrande maggioranza degli scienziati antichi infatti si trovava in disaccordo con lui, ritenendo che la formazione degli aloni dipendesse non dalla riflessione, ma dalla rifrazione del raggio visivo. Con una sola, rilevante eccezione: Posidonio, che diversamente dagli altri applicava anche all'alone il modello catottrico (cioè basato sul principio della nube-specchio) elaborato da Aristotele. Il caso dell'alone sembra dunque confermare l'impressione che Kidd derivava dall'insieme delle evidenze a noi note della meteorologia posidoniana: esiste una particolare armonia tra le due dottrine, basata sulla comunanza di alcuni principi di fondo, ma anche sull'accordo riguardo a questioni particolari, rispetto alle quali Posidonio non temeva di seguire Aristotele pur restando in minoranza.

Ma, anche al di là di Posidonio, sarebbe difficile esagerare l'importanza del modello aristotelico. L'esempio considerato dimostra come la *Meteorologia* di Aristotele avesse impresso un'impronta durevole ai modelli esplicativi dei fenomeni ottico-meteorologici, impiantandoli saldamente nel campo delle impressioni visive.⁴⁸ In tale contesto, la *Meteorologia* di Teofrasto propone una serie di innovazioni al modello del maestro, che avrà importanti ricadute soprattutto sulla successiva tradizione epicurea, da Epicuro a Lucrezio.⁴⁹

Dal canto suo, il *Περὶ κόσμον* non lascia dubbi sull'adesione del suo autore a un modello esplicativo di tipo ottico e, più in particolare, catottrico.

De mu. 395 a 29 – 395 a 32: Συλλήβδην δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀέρι φαντασμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ κατ' ἔμφασιν, τὰ δὲ καθ' ὑπόστασιν – κατ' ἔμφασιν μὲν ἱριδες καὶ ῥάβδοι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καθ' ὑπόστασιν δὲ σέλα τε καὶ διάττοντα καὶ κομήται καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια.

⁴⁷ Cf. Theophr., *Met.* 14, 9–10 (trad. Daiber): “When a man blows through a tube on a place with dust, he cleans the place on which he blows; (at the same time) the dust which is swept away from it is collected on the place surrounding the clean place and forms the ring”. Secondo la teoria di Teofrasto, l'alone risulta una fascia di aria umida che a tutti gli effetti circonda la luna, mentre per i sostenitori della teoria rifrattiva (almeno per come essa viene riportata da Alessandro) la nube concava e circolare si colloca nello spazio intermedio tra l'osservatore e l'astro e, di conseguenza, solo a causa di una distorsione visiva dà l'impressione di circondare l'astro, che in realtà si trova più in alto.

⁴⁸ Per una storia della ricezione della *Meteorologia* di Aristotele, cf. Bonadeo 2004.

⁴⁹ Bakker 2016.

In generale, delle apparizioni che hanno luogo nell'aria, alcune hanno esistenza apparente (τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ κατ' ἔμφασιν), altre, invece, hanno esistenza effettiva (τὰ δὲ καθ' ὑπόστασιν): hanno esistenza apparente gli arcobaleni, le verghe e gli altri fenomeni di questo genere; hanno invece esistenza effettiva le stelle filanti e le comete e gli altri fenomeni simili a questi.⁵⁰

Tale dipendenza è dimostrata, in primo luogo, dalla distinzione dei fenomeni luminosi in due gruppi, quello dei fenomeni 'apparenti' (κατ' ἔμφασιν) e quello dei fenomeni 'sostanziali' (καθ' ὑπόστασιν). L'arcobaleno, l'alone e la striscia solare appartengono naturalmente al primo filone, e la stessa nozione di 'κατ' ἔμφασιν' sotto la quale essi sono raggruppati deriva da un rimaneggiamento del lessico aristotelico della visione.⁵¹ L'adesione al modello catottrico risulta ancora più evidente, se si considera la centralità del concetto di ἀνάκλασις all'interno della definizione dell'arcobaleno e, di conseguenza, anche di quella dell'alone, che si sviluppa proprio per differenziazione rispetto alla precedente.

De mu. 395 a 32 – 395 b 2: Ἴρις μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἔμφασις ἡλίου τμήματος ἢ σελήνης, ἐν νέφει νοτερῷ καὶ κοίλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ, θεωρουμένη κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν. Ῥάβδος δὲ ἐστὶν ἱριδος ἔμφασις εὐθεῖα. Ἄλως δὲ ἐστὶν ἔμφασις λαμπρότητος ἄστρου περιανυγος· διαφέρει δὲ ἱριδος ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἱρις ἐξ ἐναντίας φαίνεται ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἡ δὲ ἄλως κύκλῳ παντὸς ἄστρου.

L'arcobaleno è dunque l'immagine di una sezione di sole o di luna in una nuvola umida, cava e in apparenza continua; che si manifesta (*scil.* l'immagine) come in uno specchio e ha la forma di un arco di circonferenza. La striscia solare è un'immagine di arcobaleno che compare in linea retta. L'alone è un'impressione di luminosità, che splende intorno all'astro: differisce dall'arcobaleno per il fatto che l'arcobaleno appare dalla parte opposta del sole e della luna, mentre l'alone appare circolarmente tutto intorno all'astro.⁵²

⁵⁰ La traduzione differisce leggermente da quella di Bos-Reale 1995, 200–201 quanto alla resa del termine 'φαντασμάτων', termine per il quale la resa 'apparizioni' ci sembra più adatta della versione 'fenomeni' adottata dai traduttori.

⁵¹ Aristotele, infatti, indicava tali manifestazioni celesti proprio ricorrendo al termine ἔμφασις (impressione, apparenza): cf. *Met.* III, 4, 373 b 28–31; e v. nella seconda parte di questo articolo, che sarà pubblicata nel prossimo volume della rivista.

⁵² Traduzione mia.

La trattazione riservata all'alone nel *Περὶ κόσμου* risulta molto sintetica – poco più che una definizione – e non consente pertanto di comprendere nel dettaglio quale genesi del fenomeno avesse in mente l'autore. Ad esempio, possiamo solo inferire dal contesto che l'alone, come l'arcobaleno, si genera per riflessione, dal momento che questo non viene detto esplicitamente, lasciando aperta, almeno in linea teorica, la possibilità di una spiegazione di tipo rifrattivo. L'estrema sintesi e, in alcuni casi, la genericità dell'esposizione sono peraltro caratteristiche tipiche di tutta la sezione meteorologica del *Περὶ κόσμου*, e balzano all'occhio di un lettore abituato alla precisione e alla complessità di Aristotele o Teofrasto. L'assenza nel *Περὶ κόσμου* di qualsiasi riferimento alla rifrazione visiva, inoltre, lascia facilmente supporre che il modello esplicativo di base non mutasse dall'arcobaleno all'alone. Ed in ogni caso, quello che più conta osservare è la chiara adesione dell'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* ad una spiegazione di tipo ottico per tutti questi fenomeni, e poco importa domandarsi se essa fosse basata sulla riflessione o sulla rifrazione. È proprio il carattere ottico del paradigma esplicativo, infatti, a collocare l'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* sulla linea che va da Aristotele a Posidonio, e ben lontano da Teofrasto, che prediligeva invece una spiegazione in chiave esclusivamente fisica.

In conclusione, il tentativo di sminuire, se non addirittura di cancellare, l'importanza dell'influsso posidoniano sul *Περὶ κόσμου*, sostituendolo con il modello della *Meteorologia* teofrastea, risulta a mio avviso fuorviante. Del resto, la debolezza dell'argomentazione di Strohm si poteva già intuire dal fatto che egli omette di discutere un passo di cruciale importanza per la questione della dipendenza da Posidonio: la coincidenza verbale quasi perfetta della definizione dell'arcobaleno del *Περὶ κόσμου* con quella attribuita a Posidonio da Diogene Laerzio (fr. 15 Kidd).⁵³ Reale e Bos hanno pensato che tale corrispondenza si potesse spiegare come il segnale di una dipendenza di Posidonio dal *Περὶ κόσμου*, facendo

⁵³ Maguire passa direttamente dal trattare i passi relativi alla dottrina dei venti (395 a 11 ss.) a quelli relativi ai movimenti sismici per terra e per mare (395 b 18 s.), limitandosi ad osservare, per quanto riguarda i fenomeni ottico-meteorologici come l'arcobaleno e le comete, che nell'esposizione del *Περὶ κόσμου* essi occupano l'ultima posizione tra i fenomeni dell'aria, mentre nella *Meteorologia* di Aristotele aprivano la sezione. Sulla consonanza della definizione dell'arcobaleno data nel *Περὶ κόσμου* con il frammento posidoniano neppure una parola: forse non si trattava di un argomento altrettanto facile da ribaltare come gli altri portati dal Theiler? Cf. Strohm 1987, 75: "Nachdem in Gewitterkapitel Feuer und Luft das zentrale Thema gewesen waren, hat der Anonymus die weiteren ἀέρια so geordnet, daß die Lichterscheinungen wie Regenbogen, Kometen (die Aristoteles am Beginn seiner speziellen Meteorologie bespricht) den Schluß bilden".

forza sull'esistenza di una definizione pressoché identica dell'arcobaleno, attribuita ad Aristotele nella dossografia di Ario Didimo.⁵⁴ L'attribuzione di tale δόξα ad Aristotele solleva effettivamente un problema che merita di essere preso in considerazione. Vedremo però che esistono ottimi motivi per ritenere che essa dipenda da una distorsione della teoria aristotelica in chiave stoicheggiante operata da Ario, o dalla sua fonte.⁵⁵ Scopo delle prossime pagine sarà dimostrare come il materiale meteorologico contenuto nel *Περὶ κόσμου* derivasse con ogni probabilità da una o più fonti dossografiche (non costituendo pertanto, se non in minima parte, uno sviluppo originale dell'autore) [paragrafi 4 e 5]; e come all'interno di tali fonti fosse certamente confluito materiale proveniente dalle opere meteorologiche di Posidonio [paragrafo 6].

4. Strutture a confronto. La meteorologia del *Περὶ κόσμου* e la *Meteorologia* di Aristotele

La dipendenza del *Περὶ κόσμου* da fonti dossografiche è suggerita in primo luogo dall'organizzazione della materia e dalla struttura argomentativa della sezione meteorologica (394 a 7 – 395 b 32). Già il contesto in cui la trattazione è inserita, infatti, lascia intuire una funzione sussidiaria della meteorologia (così come della geografia) rispetto alla cosmologia e alla teologia, che costituiscono i temi principali del trattato.⁵⁶ Come si è anticipato, è dunque verosimile che l'autore nella stesura si sia servito di materiali già sintetizzati e riadattati da altri, i cui contenuti risultavano particolarmente adeguati alle esigenze del suo scritto. La tradizione dossografica, raccogliendo e accostando opinioni di autori diversi, costituiva, oltre che una ricca sorgente di informazioni pronte all'uso, una sorta di filtro attraverso il quale egli poteva accostarsi alle dispute scientifiche dei predecessori con una certa pacatezza, accogliendo dalle differenti tradizioni i frutti che più confacenti alla propria ispirazione, senza dover entrare nel vivo del dibattito scientifico.⁵⁷ Del resto, il carattere sintetico e funzionale del capitolo meteorologico viene dichiarato sin dalla sua eloquente premessa:

⁵⁴ Ar. Did. F 14 (*DG* 455, 14–16).

⁵⁵ Cf. Kidd 1992, 297; v. nella seconda parte del lavoro.

⁵⁶ Sul carattere ausiliario delle trattazioni scientifiche, v. anche *supra* p. 205–206 la penetrante interpretazione di P. Moraux). Sui manuali di introduzione alla filosofia, cf. Mansfeld 2010a, 57–71. Sulla tradizione dossografica, v. la seconda parte dell'articolo.

⁵⁷ Solo in alcuni, rari casi l'autore prende posizione in maniera piuttosto recisa in favore di una scuola contro un'altra, quasi sempre senza portare argomenti a sostegno della propria opzione.

De mu. 394 a 7–8: Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν παθῶν νῦν λέγωμεν, αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα κεφαλαιούμενοι.

Parliamo ora dei fenomeni più notevoli che avvengono nella terra e attorno alla terra, riferendo per sommi capi quanto è necessario.

La trattazione che seguirà toccherà per sommi capi (κεφαλαιούμενοι) solo gli argomenti strettamente necessari (τὰ ἀναγκαῖα) nell'ambito dei fenomeni più degni di menzione (τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων). E infatti il concetto fondamentale viene presentato immediatamente (394 a 6–19): si tratta di una versione notevolmente abbreviata della dottrina delle due esalazioni, chiaramente reminescente della tradizione aristotelica.⁵⁸ Dall'esalazione umida derivano la nebbia, la rugiada, le nubi, la pioggia e la neve (fenomeni descritti per primi: 394 a 19 – 394 b 6), mentre dall'esalazione secca traggono origine i venti, di cui viene fornita un'accurata classificazione, le bufere, i cicloni, gli uragani, i tuoni, i lampi, e i fulmini (394 b 7 – 395 a 26). Mentre l'autore aveva inserito a conclusione del passaggio relativo all'esalazione umida un elemento di raccordo (*De mu.* 394 a 7–8: Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν παθῶν νῦν λέγωμεν, αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα κεφαλαιούμενοι. “Questi sono, dunque, i fenomeni che derivano dall'esalazione umida”), nulla di simile si osserva a questo punto del testo. Invece di mantenersi coerente con il precedente ordinamento, che avrebbe richiesto una precisazione del tipo: “Questi sono i fenomeni originati dall'esalazione secca”, l'autore introduce una nuova linea classificatoria: la già citata

⁵⁸ La teoria delle due esalazioni, umida (simile al vapore: ἀτμός), e secca (simile al soffio: πνεῦμα; e al fumo: καπνός) costituiva il nucleo concettuale della *Meteorologia* aristotelica (I, 4) ed era destinata ad una fortuna enorme. Per Aristotele, l'atmosfera (o aria) sarebbe costituita da due strati, tra i quali esisterebbe un continuo interscambio: uno strato più basso formato dall'esalazione calda e umida (responsabile della formazione delle nubi, delle precipitazioni, delle sorgenti, dei fiumi e dei mari), e uno strato più alto formato dall'esalazione calda e secca (responsabile dell'origine delle comete, delle stelle cadenti e della via lattea, ma anche principio dei venti, dei terremoti, dei fulmini, della salinità del mare e dei turbini). All'epoca della sua invenzione, la teoria delle esalazioni dovette sembrare ai contemporanei molto innovativa: la stessa nozione di ἀναθυμίασις appare utilizzata molto raramente prima di Aristotele (sembra che Eraclito se ne fosse servito in contesto psicologico, cf. Betegh 2007, ma per il resto le evidenze sono quasi nulle). Se infatti il vapore era già stato introdotto come fattore di spiegazione dei fenomeni fisici da alcuni predecessori di Aristotele, per esempio per dare conto dell'origine delle nuvole, non sembra che prima di lui qualcuno avesse mai applicato alla meteorologia la nozione di esalazione secca, tanto che Aristotele ha qualche difficoltà nel trovare un nome adeguata per il concetto che intende esprimere (*Met.* 340 b 5, 341 b 31): cf. Pepe 2003, V–XXVI.

opposizione tra fenomeni celesti apparenti e reali (*De mu.* 395 a 28–30: Συλλήβδην δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄερί φαντασμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ κατ' ἔμφασιν, τὰ δὲ καθ' ὑπόστασιν. “In generale, delle apparizioni che hanno luogo nell’aria, alcune hanno esistenza apparente, altre, invece, hanno esistenza effettiva”).⁵⁹ Essa svolge una duplice funzione: in primo luogo, serve a presentare i fenomeni atmosferici che verranno trattati subito dopo, ovvero i fenomeni che appaiono in cielo (questo alla lettera il significato di φαντάσματα) e che hanno esistenza solo apparente (κατ' ἔμφασιν), distinguendoli dai fenomeni celesti dotati di sostanza (τὰ δὲ καθ' ὑπόστασιν), che sono state precedentemente descritte (lampi, fulmini, meteore, etc). In secondo luogo, essa gioca un ruolo retroattivo, portando alla luce una classificazione, quella dei ‘fenomeni che avvengono nell’aria’ (τῶν ἐν ἄερί φαντάσματα), che fino a quel momento era stata applicata solo implicitamente (appartenevano infatti proprio a questo gruppo i lampi, i fulmini, le meteore e gli altri fenomeni affini). Avviene così una transizione, che il lettore quasi non percepisce, tra due diversi sistemi di ordinamento del materiale. Dal primo, basato sulla tipologia di esalazione, si passa al secondo, basato sulla localizzazione dei fenomeni nella sfera dell’aria o della terra, inserendo come raccordo una classificazione in scala minore (i fenomeni κατ' ἔμφασιν sono infatti presentati come un sottoinsieme dei fenomeni ἐν ἄερί). La classificazione su base spaziale era stata preannunciata all’inizio del capitolo meteorologico, dove infatti si anticipava che la trattazione avrebbe riguardato i fenomeni che avvengono ‘sulla terra’ (ἐν αὐτῇ) e quelli ‘intorno alla terra’ (περὶ αὐτήν). Non si deve dunque credere che il passaggio da un sistema all’altro sia casuale o frutto di una svista. Al contrario, la distinzione basata sulle esalazioni è stata inserita dall’autore come una *variatio*, avendo però cura di occuparsi nella prima parte solamente dei fenomeni che avvengono nell’aria (ἐν ἄερί), ovvero ‘sopra la terra’ (περὶ αὐτήν).

De mu. 395 b 15–17: Πάντα δὲ ἀβέβαια· οὐδέποτε γάρ τι τούτων αἰ φανερόν ἰστόρηται κατεστηγμένον. Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ἄερια τοιαῦτα.

Tutti questi fenomeni sono infatti instabili: non è infatti mai stato registrato che qualcuno di essi fosse visibile in luoghi fissi. Questi sono dunque i fenomeni dell’aria.

Con questa ‘transizione morbida’, l’autore accompagna il lettore verso la trattazione dei fenomeni che riguardano la sfera inferiore, terrestre

⁵⁹ V. *supra* p. 214–216.

e acqua (395 b 18 – 396 a 30). Questi, per quanto riguarda l'origine, dipendono prevalentemente dall'esalazione secca (la continuità è dunque ristabilita, perché l'esalazione secca era l'ultima trattata prima della parentesi sui fenomeni apparenti). Ma a prevalere ormai è la classificazione su base spaziale: la trattazione e classificazione dei terremoti, e poi dei maremoti, chiude infatti la rappresentazione dei fenomeni che avvengono 'nella terra' (ἐν αὐτῇ) e con essa tutta la sezione meteorologica.

L'autore del *Περὶ κόσμου* si destreggia dunque abilmente nella presentazione della propria materia, offrendo al lettore un prodotto piano e piacevole da leggere, in cui non esita a incrociare due o più sistemi di classificazione pur di ottenere una sistemazione confacente ai propri scopi, che non sono di natura prettamente scientifica, ma dimostrano chiare intenzioni letterarie. La cura prestata alla disposizione della materia nel capitolo meteorologico corrisponde infatti a una tendenza tipica di tutto il trattato: per incuriosire e stupire il lettore, sono introdotte di volta in volta metafore immaginifiche (si pensi al volo dell'anima descritto nel capitolo proemiale), allusioni alla tradizione poetica greca (come nella potente descrizione del fiume Oceano che, fornendo la struttura portante a tutto il capitolo geografico, richiama il mitico fiume dell'epica omerica), e analogie multiple (nella complessa descrizione della divinità dei capitoli finali). La scelta di un registro letterario, in cui l'impiego di termini tecnico-scientifici appare limitato al minimo, mentre si assiste a un vasto dispiegamento di termini poetici e si trova spazio per una conclusione lirica (con la finale citazione dell'Inno orfico a Zeus) appare chiaramente funzionale alla finalità protrettica e divulgativa del trattato, che tra l'altro risulta indirettamente confermata anche dalla sua ricezione in lingua siriana e araba.⁶⁰

A questo proposito può essere utile confrontare l'ordinamento della materia del *Περὶ κόσμου* con il sistema adottato da Aristotele nella *Meteorologia*.⁶¹ Il confronto è interessante non soltanto per l'influenza di Aristotele sulla tradizione successiva, ma soprattutto perché la sua *Meteorologia* è di una delle poche opere di questo genere a esserci pervenuta per intero. Pertanto, essa consente di farsi un'idea abbastanza

⁶⁰ Sulla peculiare importanza di Oceano nella descrizione geografica del *Περὶ κόσμου*, cf. Bartoš-Pajón *forthcoming*; sull'uso di analogie multiple nella descrizione della divinità, cf. Betegh-Gregorić 2014; su strategie linguistiche e funzione protrettica si può vedere Chandler 2014, benché alcune delle sue osservazioni dimostrino eccessivo scetticismo rispetto alla possibilità di ricostruire le fonti del trattato (cf. e.g. p. 73, punto 2).

⁶¹ Sulla struttura della *Meteorologia* aristotelica, si v. ora l'importante studio di Wilson 2013.

chiara sulla struttura di un'opera meteorologica con intenti scientifici. Da questo punto di vista, la scarsità di notizie sui libri meteorologici di Posidonio rappresenta una perdita molto grave: se ne sapessimo di più, potremmo comprendere anche meglio le differenze che esistevano tra quella trattazione e il *Περὶ κόσμου*. Nondimeno, possiamo essere certi che le opere di Posidonio fossero, per articolazione del pensiero e spessore argomentativo, ben superiori al *Περὶ κόσμου*, un testo che appare completamente privo di qualsiasi ambizione dimostrativa.

Anche la *Meteorologia* di Aristotele presenta una situazione ben diversa dal *Περὶ κόσμου*, sia per l'andamento del pensiero che per l'organizzazione della materia. Anche in Aristotele convivono di fatto due linee classificatorie, una fondata sulla localizzazione dei fenomeni, l'altra incentrata sulle due esalazioni, ma non esiste una vera corrispondenza con le ripartizioni presenti nel *Περὶ κόσμου*. La divisione aristotelica distingue infatti i fenomeni 'della prima parte del mondo terrestre che è situata sotto la traslazione circolare' (*Met.* 344 a 8–10: τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ περὶ τὴν γῆν, ὅσον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐγκύκλιόν ἐστι φοράν), ovvero la sfera superiore, dominata dalla presenza di aria mista a fuoco, trattata in *Met.* I, 3–8, dai fenomeni 'del luogo che è secondo dopo questo per posizione, ma è il primo attorno alla terra' (*Met.* 346 b 16–17: τοῦ τῇ θέσει μὲν δευτέρου τόπου μετὰ τοῦτον, πρώτου δὲ περὶ τὴν γῆν), ovvero la sfera inferiore, dominata dalla presenza di aria mista ad acqua, trattata in *Met.* I, 9 – III, 6. Se Aristotele aveva tracciato una linea concettuale ben precisa tra i fenomeni alti (nella cui formazione l'acqua non giocava alcun ruolo) e quelli bassi (il cui ambiente appariva caratterizzato dalla presenza dell'acqua), la classificazione del *Περὶ κόσμου* mantiene la polarità tra alto e basso, ma all'interno di una cornice esplicativa talmente semplificata da risultare quasi banale. I fenomeni alti (intorno alla terra) sono nel *Περὶ κόσμου* tutti quelli che avvengono 'nell'aria' (quindi tanto le comete, quanto le piogge e i venti, che invece per Aristotele appartenevano a due sfere completamente diverse, rispettivamente a quella del fuoco e dell'esalazione secca, e a quella dell'aria mista ad acqua); mentre i fenomeni bassi ('nella terra') si riducono nel *Περὶ κόσμου* ai soli terremoti e maremoti, quando invece per Aristotele la sfera bassa era quella che abbracciava la stragrande maggioranza dei fenomeni (dalle piogge ai venti, ai terremoti e maremoti). Se la separazione tra 'fenomeni dell'aria' e 'fenomeni della terra' presente nel *Περὶ κόσμου* può derivare in qualche modo dal sistema aristotelico della divisione dell'universo in sfere, dunque, si deve riconoscere che nel passaggio da un capo all'altro della tradizione si è realizzato un processo di notevole semplificazione nelle categorie di ordinamento dei fenomeni.

Se infatti Aristotele adottava, nell'ambito della trattazione della sfera inferiore, una partizione di massima tra fenomeni causati prevalentemente dall'esalazione umida, trattati per primi, e fenomeni causati prevalentemente dall'esalazione secca, trattati successivamente, allo stesso tempo riconosceva come principio generale l'esistenza di una stretta interrelazione tra le due esalazioni, le quali, pur tendendo naturalmente a respingersi, non si presentano mai del tutto separate l'una dall'altra.⁶² Per tale ragione, è normale per Aristotele spiegare la genesi di un fenomeno inserendo nella propria descrizione informazioni riguardanti l'azione di entrambe le esalazioni, e non solo di quella che risulta prevalente dal punto di vista quantitativo. Ad esempio, nel trattare la formazione delle nuvole, costituite per la maggior parte da esalazione umida, chiama in causa anche le concomitanti condizioni create dal movimento dell'esalazione secca. Di conseguenza, la sua scelta di disporre la materia 'per esalazione' non implica la ripartizione dei fenomeni in gruppi separati e tra loro non comunicanti. Infatti tale ordinamento conosce, se non vere infrazioni, per lo meno qualche diversione rispetto all'ordine atteso: la trattazione dei venti (fenomeni con prevalente esalazione secca), ad esempio, annunciata al capitolo I, 13, viene in realtà posticipata ai capitoli II, 4-6, dopo la lunga sezione dedicata ai fiumi e ai mari (fenomeni con prevalente esalazione umida).⁶³

Nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, invece, l'adozione del modello delle due esalazioni non implica un'analoga consapevolezza dell'interrelazione dei due principi causali. Al contrario, l'intera sezione meteorologica verte su una serie di sintetiche definizioni da cui si diramano altrettanto secche classificazioni, all'interno delle quali è chiamata in causa un'unica esalazione. Si prenda ad esempio l'inizio della sezione sui venti:

De mu. 394 b 7-13: Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ξηρᾶς ὑπὸ ψύχους μὲν ὠσθείσης ὥστε ρεῖν ἄνεμος ἐγένετο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν οὗτος πλὴν ἁῆρ πολλὸς ῥέων καὶ ἀθρόος· ὅστις ἅμα καὶ πνεῦμα λέγεται. (...) Τὰ δὲ ἐν ἄερτι

⁶² Cf. quanto viene chiaramente spiegato in *Met.* II, 4: ciò che si definisce secco o umido è tale per la prevalenza di una delle qualità nella mescolanza; l'esalazione secca emana dal riscaldamento della terra, che è di per sé piena di fuoco e calore, mentre l'acqua è per natura fredda, se non sottoposta a riscaldamento. Le due esalazioni tendono a respingersi e si cambiano posto tra di loro. Questa interazione dà origine, tra gli altri, al fenomeno del vento, che sorge nei luoghi in cui sono cadute le piogge, mentre cessa là dove le piogge cominciano a cadere.

⁶³ Rende la cosa più significativa il fatto che non siamo di fronte, in questo caso, alla svista di un compilatore o editore dell'opera aristotelica, ma ad una digressione giustificata dalle presunte analogie tra venti e fiumi, che alcuni predecessori di Aristotele avevano teorizzato e lui intendeva qui criticare.

πνέοντα πνεύματα καλοῦμεν ἀνέμους, αὔρας δὲ τὰς ἐξ ὑγροῦ φερομένας ἐκπνοάς.

Dall'esalazione secca sospinta ad opera del freddo in modo da formare una corrente si genera il vento: il vento non è altro che una grande massa di aria corrente, esso prende anche il nome di soffio. [...] I soffi che spirano nell'aria noi li chiamiamo venti; chiamiamo invece brezze i soffi che spirano dall'umido.

o quella della nebbia:

De mu. 394 a 20–23: Ἔστι δὲ ὁμίχλη μὲν ἀτμώδης ἀναθυμίασις ἄγονος ὕδατος, ἄερος μὲν παχυτέρα, νέφους δὲ ἀραιότερα· γίνεται δὲ ἥτοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς νέφους ἢ ἐξ ὑπολείμματος. Ἀντίπαλος δὲ αὐτῇ λέγεται τε καὶ ἔστιν αἰθρία, οὐδὲν ἄλλο οὐσα πλὴν ἀῆρ ἀνέφελος καὶ ἀνόμιχλος.

La nebbia è una esalazione vaporosa che non produce acqua, più densa dell'aria, ma più rada della nuvola: essa si genera o dallo stadio iniziale di una nuvola o dal residuo di una nuvola. L'opposto della nebbia è quello che vien detto ed è in effetti il sereno, che non è altro che aria senza nuvole e senza nebbie.

È chiaro che quando la descrizione viene ridotta a un tale livello di semplificazione, la classificazione per esalazioni non funziona più secondo il criterio dell'«esalazione prevalente», come avveniva nella *Meteorologia* aristotelica, ma costituisce un sistema a compartimenti stagni, in cui fenomeni prodotti dall'esalazione secca (come i venti) sono ben distinti e separati da quelli prodotti dall'esalazione umida (come la nebbia). Nel *Περὶ κόσμου*, il graduale passaggio da un sistema di classificazione fondato sul principio causale, a uno di tipo spaziale, che riprende l'organizzazione annunciata all'inizio del capitolo, corrisponde alle necessità argomentative dell'autore, che appaiono improntate a un interesse letterario, narrativo e persuasivo, molto più che a una finalità scientifica. Tutta la struttura della sezione meteorologica tende infatti alla dimostrazione della tesi esposta nella sua parte conclusiva, che a sua volta funge da viatico verso la successiva, e ultima, grande partizione del trattato: la teologia cosmica.

De mu. 396 a 27–32: Ὡς δὲ τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν, τῶν στοιχείων ἐγκεκραμένων ἀλλήλοις ἐν ἀέρι τε καὶ γῇ καὶ θαλάσῃ κατὰ τὸ εἶκος αἱ τῶν παθῶν ὁμοιότητες συνίστανται, τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ μέρους φθοράς καὶ γενέσεις φέρουσαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἀνώλεθρόν τε καὶ ἀγένητον φυλάττουσαι.

In generale, poiché gli elementi si mescolano tra loro e nell'aria e nella terra e nel mare, è logico che si verifichino delle somiglianze tra i vari fenomeni, le quali provocano generazione e corruzione negli esseri particolari, mentre mantengono la totalità del cosmo incorruttibile e ingenerata.

L'intento primario è trasmettere al lettore, insieme a qualche conoscenza scientifica, la nozione di un cosmo organico e armonioso, in cui i fenomeni sono caratterizzati da somiglianze e analogie (ὁμοιότητες) che si riverberano dall'una all'altra sfera, in virtù di una concezione organicista dell'universo, in cui tutto si trasforma, ma l'incorruttibilità della totalità resta intatta (396 a 30). In questo passo conclusivo, d'altronde, non è difficile cogliere il riflesso del grande affresco che a sua volta chiude il primo libro della *Meteorologia* di Aristotele. Qui, con un improvviso cambio di tono e di stile (la prosa diventa infatti più piana e descrittiva, ed appare organizzata in una *Ringkomposition*) Aristotele affronta il tema della condizione degli enti sub-lunari, sottoposti a continui processi di generazione e corruzione, rispetto all'universo tutto, che nel suo insieme è eterno ed incorruttibile.⁶⁴ Se nella *Meteorologia* l'occasione del discorso era offerta dalla descrizione dei lenti ma continui mutamenti che subiscono i confini tra mare e terraferma, nel *Περὶ κόσμου* l'autore prende spunto dalla trattazione di fenomeni violenti come terremoti e maremoti, che rappresentano in maniera ancora più icastica la condizione di precarietà dell'ambiente naturale.

Tuttavia, l'eco aristotelica che si avverte in questo passaggio (difficile dire se diretta o filtrata attraverso fonti intermedie) non cambia la sostanza del rapporto tra i due testi. In generale, il ragionamento dell'autore procede diversamente da quello di Aristotele nella *Meteorologia*. Nella *Meteorologia* le argomentazioni si concatenano tra loro e si moltiplicano in gruppi e sottogruppi di dimostrazioni, con continui richiami a nozioni

⁶⁴ Il capitolo I, 14 appare come un *unicum* nel trattato, differenziandosi dal resto dell'opera sia dal punto di vista stilistico che contenutistico. Il concetto dell'eternità del cosmo, in opposizione ai processi di generazione e corruzione che interessano il mondo sub-lunare, viene ribadito con insistenza e dovizia di esempi, e accentuato dalla *Ringkomposition*. L'enfasi persuasiva appare dunque predominante rispetto alla finalità dimostrativa, in netto contrasto con il resto della *Meteorologia*. Tuttavia, l'inserimento di esempi concreti del passato prossimo (con popolamento dell'Egitto e di alcune regioni dell'Ellade) e remoto (Deucalione e Pirra), con attenzione non solo ai fenomeni umani, ma anche alle trasformazioni idrografiche e morfologiche (inacidimento di fiumi o formazione di paludi dall'Egitto, dalla Palude Meotide, al Bosforo) conferisce uno spessore argomentativo singolare anche a questa sezione.

precedentemente dimostrate, che vengono riprese e articolate all'interno della nuova sezione. La definizione, quando c'è, gioca un ruolo argomentativo limitato, costituendo il punto d'arrivo di un ragionamento, ma non è una tappa obbligata.⁶⁵ Benché il suo pensiero tenda alla sistematizzazione, Aristotele rimane dettagliato e antidogmatico. La sezione meteorologica del *Περὶ κόσμου*, al contrario, è fondata su un impiego fortemente normativo delle definizioni, senza che al contempo sia presente al suo interno alcuno sforzo dimostrativo.

Continua.

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⁶⁵ Talvolta Aristotele fornisce la definizione di un fenomeno atmosferico, ma solo al termine di un paragrafo in cui l'argomento è stato discusso ed esaminato in tutte le sue articolazioni: cf. e.g. *Met.* 346 b 5. I rimandi da una parte all'altra dell'opera sono troppo numerosi per essere elencati: basti richiamare, a titolo d'esempio, *Met.* 359 b 27–29. A fondare o rafforzare l'argomentazione, non mancano neppure riferimenti ad altri trattati aristotelici: cf. *Met.* I, 3, dove Aristotele costruisce un raccordo tra la teoria degli elementi del *De coelo* e i principi della *Meteorologia*.

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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 direct 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 *τμήμα* 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 *Partem*) has been influenced by the poem 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 *Μετεωρολογικῆ* Аристотеля, но к доксографической традиции. В § 16 анализируется определение радуги в *Περὶ κόσμου*; присутствие в этом определении терминов κοῖλος и τμήμα, 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 *Παπυρουσα Ἀρτεμίδора*, испытал влияние *Περὶ κόσμου*, и это позволяет более точно датировать трактат временем на рубеже I в. до н. э. – I в. н. э.

PLAY ON THE MEANING OF NAME IN
CICERO'S *VERRINES*: SOME REMARKS
ON *DIV. CAEC.* 48–50*

Cicero was famous for his wit, jokes, and sometimes even biting jests which, according to Plutarch, caused many people to dislike him.¹ In his speeches as well as his letters we find a wide spectrum of jokes, from very subtle play on words to invective irony and sarcasm. It is not a coincidence that the most profound consideration on ancient theory of laughter we have is Cicero's *De Oratore* 2. 217–290. Thus we can rightfully acknowledge both Cicero's theoretical and practical input into our knowledge of ancient laughter. This aspect of Ciceronian rhetoric has been treated more than once.² Among various forms of laughter, the abuse of a person's name was examined by Anthony Corbeill and Hans Holst.³ In this paper I am going to discuss one particular passage (*Div. Caec.* 48–50), which, in my opinion, deserves more detailed discussion.

In my previous paper⁴ I argued that the episode in *Divinatio in Caecilium* § 27–46 can be treated as kind of one of Cicero's earliest textbooks of rhetoric, which comes between the *De Inventione* treatise, written in his early youth (between 91 and 89 BC), and his famous *De Oratore* (55 BC). In this episode Cicero, assuming the role of a teacher, expounds issues of rhetoric to his opponent Quintus Caecilius Niger –

* The material of this paper was first presented as part of a presentation at the Colloquium Balticum XVI Lundense *De risu. Representations and evaluations of laughter in Greek and Roman literature* (Lund, 7–9 November 2018), and I profited from valuable comments and suggestions from the audience. Errors are my own.

¹ Plut. *Cic.* 27: Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἐχθροὺς ἢ πρὸς ἀντιδίκους σκώμματα χρῆσθαι πικροτέροις δοκεῖ ῥητορικὸν εἶναι· τὸ δ' οἷς ἔτυχε προσκρούειν ἔνεκα τοῦ γελοίου πολὺ συνῆγε μῖσος αὐτῷ. “Now, this use of very biting jests against enemies or legal opponents seems to be part of the orator's business; but his indiscriminate attacks for the sake of raising a laugh made many people hate Cicero” (transl. by Bernadotte Perrin).

² Canter 1936, 457–464; Corbeill 1996; Corbeill 2002, 198–217; Haury 1960; Holst 1925; Michel 1960, 271–288; Orlandini 2002, 209–224 etc.

³ Corbeill 1996, 57–98; Holst 1925, 47–50.

⁴ Kučinskienė 2010, 63–77.

explaining which qualities and skills in rhetoric a good orator must have. At the same time he convincingly shows that Caecilius does not have necessary skills and is unsuitable for the role of prosecutor of C. Verres, corrupt governor of Sicily in the case *de pecuniis repetundis*.

At the end of his instructions Cicero imagines the probable situation of the future court, and enumerates rhetorical tricks which will be used by Q. Hortensius Hortalus who defended Verres, against his weak and untrained opponent Caecilius (*Div. Caec.* 45–46):

Te vero, Caecili, **quem ad modum sit elusurus, quam omni ratione iactaturus**, videre iam videor (= *lusus*); **quotiens ille tibi potestatem optionemque facturum sit ut eligas utrum velis – factum esse necne, verum esse an falsum – utrum dixeris, id contra te futurum** (= *dilemma*). Quid? cum **accusationis tuae membra dividere coeperit** et in digitis suis singulas partis causae constituere? quid? cum unum quidque transigere, expedire, absolvere? Ipse profecto metuiere incipies ne innocenti periculum facessieris (= *refutatio*). Quid? cum **commiserari, conqueri**, et ex illius invidia deonerare aliquid et in te traicere coeperit <...> (= *commiseratio*). Mihi enim videtur periculum fore ne **ille non modo verbis te obruat, sed gestu ipso ac motu corporis** praestringat aciem ingeni tui <...> (= *actio*).

But as for you, Caecilius, I can see already in my mind's eye, how he will outwit you, and make sport of you in a hundred ways; how often he will give you the fullest freedom to choose between two alternatives – that a thing has or has not happened, that a statement is true or false; and how, whichever you choose, your choice will tell against you. Think of it, when he begins to subdivide your speech for the prosecution, and tick off with his fingers the separate sections of your case! Think of it, when he proceed to smash them up, and clear them away, and polish them off one after the other! Upon my word, you will begin to feel alarmed yourself at the thought that you may have set out to bring ruin upon an innocent man. Think of it when he begins to bewail his client's unhappy condition: to lighten the load of prejudice against Verres, and shift a portion of it on to your own back <...>. I cannot help feeling the risk that he will not only beat you down with his arguments, but dazzle and confuse your senses with his mere gestures and bodily movements <...>.⁵

Cicero briefly touches on some very important parts of rhetorical theory: *refutatio*, *actio*, *commiseratio*, and two rather specific rhetorical devices – dilemma and laughter, which, we can suspect, were perfectly mastered by

⁵ Quotations from *Divinatio in Caecilium* and the *Verrine* speeches are from Greenwood 1989.

Hortensius. Cicero is familiar with Hortensius' eloquence very well, and probably he foresees that these two devices will be dangerous weapons in the hands of Hortensius.

It is worth noting that Cicero himself makes use of dilemma rather often in the *Divinatio*.⁶ Furthermore, the whole speech is presented as a dilemma for Caecilius: Cicero challenges him to show his command of the art of eloquence with a retaliatory speech worthy of Cicero's rhetoric powers. If he manages to answer Cicero himself properly, there might be hope for him against Hortensius. If not, how can he suppose to overcome a most powerful adversary (*Div. Caec.* 47)? The device of dilemma also underlies the speech of the first pleading against Verres. Cicero gives the senatorial jury a choice: they can convict the accused, who is one of their own rank and thus save the crumbling reputation of the senatorial court, or acquit him and, by doing so, bury any trust that the Roman people still has in them. Cicero's frequent use of dilemma is not coincidental in this context. Obviously, explaining the issues of eloquence to Caecilius, Cicero tries not only to belittle his opponent, but also to display his own knowledge and skills in rhetorical technique, thereby proving himself a worthy opponent to Q. Hortensius. Thus the instruction of Caecilius is not merely a lesson in rhetoric, but also its practical application.

With this in mind, we proceed to the second rhetorical device, which, according to Cicero, will play an important role in Hortensius' defence. We do not know in what form Hortensius was supposed to ridicule his opponent (*quem ad modum sit elusurus, quam omni ratione iactaturus*, *Div. Caec.* 45), but we can rightfully assert that Cicero himself demonstrates his mastery in this field exploiting various forms of laughter both in the preliminary hearing before a court empowered to appoint the prosecutor of Gaius Verres (*Divinatio in Caecilium*), and later in his speeches against Verres. The abuse of a person's name as one form of paronomasia is not the least among them.

In the rhetoric of the late Roman republic jokes and puns on the meaning of names are rather frequent. Quintilian even suggests to his students not to overuse this kind of witticisms: only the names with positive meaning, such as Sapiens, Magnus, Pius, are suitable to support a character in the argument (*quod quidem accidere ei necesse est, sed in argumentum raro cadit*, Quint. 5. 10. 30).⁷ On the contrary, in his treatise *De Inventione* Cicero advises the young orators to exploit the meaning

⁶ Craig 1985, 442–446; Craig 1993, 47–66.

⁷ Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1400 b, where name puns are used primarily for praise.

of opponent's names as one possible source for *argumenta ex persona*.⁸ 25 years later in *De Oratore* he still considers this rhetorical device as an effective form of humour. One of the interlocutors in this dialogue is C. Iulius Strabo, who presents the issues of laughter in the second book, discusses the rhetorical use of person's name and presents an example where he did so himself.⁹

Both in the *Divination against Caecilius* and later in the *Second Action against Verres* Cicero masterfully and inventively uses this type of paronomasia¹⁰ in two ways. Firstly, he exploits the meaning of the name itself (*verres* – 'boar, hog').

Sed repente e vestigio **ex homine tamquam aliquo Circae poculo factus est Verres**; rediit ad se atque ad mores suos <...> (*Div. Caec.* 57).

But suddenly, as though he had drunk of Circe's goblet, he turned in one flash from a man into a Verres, became the hog that his name suggests <...>.

Hinc illi homines erant qui etiam ridiculi inveniabantur ex dolore; quorum alii, id quod saepe audistis, negabant mirandum esse **ius tam nequam esse verrinum**; alii etiam frigidiores erant, sed quia stomachabantur ridiculi videbantur esse, cum **Sacerdotem exsecrabantur qui verrem tam nequam reliquisset** (*Verr.* 2. 1. 121).

Hence those people whose indignation went so far as to make humorist; some of these made remark you have often heard repeated, that *ius verrinum* was of course poor stuff; others were still sillier, only that their irritation passed them off as good jesters, when they cursed Sacerdos for leaving such a miserable hog behind him.

⁸ *Ex persona autem coniectura capietur, si eae res, quae personis adtributae sunt, diligenter considerabuntur <...>. nam et de nomine nonnumquam aliquid suspicionis nascitur – nomen autem cum dicimus, cognomen quoque intellegatur oportet; de hominis enim certo et proprio vocabulo agitur <...>* (*Inv.* 2. 28). "Inferences may be drawn from the person of the accused if the attributes of persons are carefully taken into account... For example, some suspicion arises at times from a name – when I say name, it should be understood that the cognomen is also included; we are talking about the fixed and proper appellation of an individual <...>" (transl. by Hubbell 2006).

⁹ *Etiam interpretatio nominis habet acumen, cum ad ridiculum convertas, quam ob rem ita quis vocaretur; ut ego nuper Nummii divisorem, ut Neoptolemum ad Troiam, sic illum in Campo Martio nomen invenisse* (*De Or.* 2. 257). "There is point also in the explanation of a name, when you make fun of the reason for a man being called as he is, as I said the other day of Nummii, the voters' paymaster, that he had found a name in the Election Field, as Neoptolemus had done at Troy" (transl. by Sutton 1967).

¹⁰ Cf. Quint. 2. 6. 55: *Multa ex hoc <genere> Cicero in Verrem <...>.*

Videtis Verrucium? videtis primas litteras integras? videtis extremam partem nominis, **codam illam Verrinam tamquam in luto demersam esse in litura?** (*Verr.* 2. 2. 191).

Do you see the word VERRUCIUS? Do you see how the first letters are all right? Do you see the last part of the name, how the tail-bit there is sunk in the erasure like a pig's tail in mud?

Nam nos quidem quid facimus **in Verre, quem in luto volutatum totius corporis vestigiis invenimus?** (*Verr.* 2. 4. 53).

What does my own chase with Verres amount to – this hog, the print of whose whole body shows me where he has been wallowing in the mud?

Numquam tam male est Siculis quin aliquid facete et commode dicant, velut in hac re aiebant **in labores Herculis non minus hunc immanissimum verrem quam illum aprum Erymanthium referri oportere** (*Verr.* 2. 4. 95).

Sicilians are always ready with some appropriate jets, even under the most trying circumstances; thus on the present occasion they observed that this monstrous hog ought to be counted among the labours of Hercules quite as much as the celebrated Erymanthian boar.

Ridiculum est me nunc de Verre dicere, cum de Pisone Frugi dixerim; verum tamen quantum intersit videte. Iste cum aliquot abacorum faceret vasa aurea, non laboravit quid non modo in Sicilia verum etiam Romae in iudicio audiret: ille in auri semuncia totam Hispaniam scire voluit unde praetori anulus fieret. Nimirum ut **hic nomen suum comprobavit, sic ille cognomen** (*Verr.* 2. 4. 57).

Now it is absurd for me to speak of Verres in the same breath as of Piso Frugi; and yet, consider how they differ. Verres manufactured enough golden cups to furnish half a dozen side-boards, without caring what may be said of him in the Roman law-court, let alone in Sicily: Piso will have all Spain know whence come the half-ounce of gold to make the governor's ring, acting up, plainly, to his third name, just as Verres acts up to his second.

Plutarch (*Cic.* 7. 5) adds one more:

ὥς οὖν ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔνοχος τῷ ἰουδαΐζειν ὄνομα Κεκίλιος ἐβούλετο παρωσάμενος τοὺς Σικελιώτας κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Βέρρου, “τί Ἰουδαίῳ πρὸς χοῖρον;” <...>

when, accordingly, a freedman named Caecilius, who was suspected of Jewish practices, wanted to thrust aside the Sicilian accusers and denounce Verres himself, Cicero said: “What has a Jew to do with a Verres?” (transl. by Bernadotte Perrin).

Secondly, Cicero creates *lusus verborum* based on the similarity of the name *Verres* and the word *everriculum* ‘broom’.

Quod umquam, iudices, **huiusce modi everriculum** ulla in provincia fuit? (*Verr.* 2. 4. 53).

Gentlemen, was ever a province swept by so veritable a broom as Verres?

<...> videte satisne paratus ex illo omine urbano **ad everrendam provinciam** venit <...> (*Verr.* 2. 2. 19).

<...> mark how Rome’s prophetic interpretation of his name was borne out by his full preparation to sweep the province clean on arrival <...>.

Etenim quam tu domum, quam urbem adisti, quod fanum denique, quod non **eversum atque extersum** reliqueris? Quare appellantur sane ista Verria, quae non ex nomine sed ex manibus naturaue tua constituta esse videantur (*Verr.* 2. 2. 52).

What house or town or sanctuary did you ever visit without verily straining and draining it dry [*sweeping and wiping it out.* – *A. K.*]? Oh, by all means let your festival be called the Verria: we can see that it was established to celebrate not your name but your greedy hands and grasping character.

I would now like to return back to the episode mentioned above, and discuss another instance of wordplay, which has not yet received sufficient attention in the research scholarship. Having proved Caecilius’ incompetence as prosecutor, Cicero takes a further step by criticizing his potential *subscriptores*,¹¹ i.e. those who join the principal prosecutor (*nominis delator*), and sign their name (*subscribit*) at the end of the charge.¹² They would have to collaborate with the main accuser in preparing and analysing the material and would often present certain segments of the case in the court.¹³ One of them, Lucius Appuleius, has nothing to commend himself to Cicero at all because he lacks experience in forensic rhetoric (*usu forensi et exercitatione tironem*). The other, however, named Titus Alienus, is deemed worthy of discussion in two whole paragraphs:

¹¹ *Esto, ipse nihil est, nihil potest; at venit paratus cum subscriptoribus exercitatis et disertis* (*Div. Caec.* 47). “Very well, Caecilius himself is nothing and counts for nothing; but it is suggested that he comes provided with experienced and eloquent supporters”.

¹² Cf. *Gabinium de ambitu reum fecit P. Sulla, subscribente privigno Memmio* (*Cic. Q. fr.* 3. 3).

¹³ There could be three to five *subscriptores*, Alexander 2002, 79–80.

(48) Deinde, ut opinor, habet **Alienum**, hunc tamen a subsellis; qui quid in dicendo posset numquam satis attendi, in clamando quidem video eum esse bene robustum atque exercitatum. In hoc spes tuae sunt omnes; hic, si tu eris actor constitutus, totum iudicium sustinebit. Ac ne is quidem tantum contendet in dicendo quantum potest, sed consulet laudi et existimationi tuae, et ex eo quod ipse potest in dicendo aliquantum remittet, ut tu tamen aliquid esse videre. Ut in actoribus Graecis fieri videmus, saepe illum qui est secundarum aut tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere quam ipse primarum, multum submittere, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat, sic faciet Alienus; tibi serviet, tibi lenocinabitur, minus aliquanto contendet quam potest.

(49) Iam hoc considerate, cuius modi accusatores in tanto iudicio simus habituri, cum et ipse Alienus ex ea facultate, si quam habet, aliquantum detractus sit, et Caecilius tum denique se aliquid futurum putet, si Alienus minus vehemens fuerit et sibi primas in dicendo partis concesserit. Quantum quem sit habiturus non video, nisi quem forte ex illo grege moratorum, qui subscriptionem sibi postularunt cuicumque vos delationem dedissetis: (50) **ex quibus alienissimis** hominibus ita paratus venis ut tibi hospes aliquis sit recipiendus. Quibus ego non sum tantum honorem habiturus ut ad ea quae dixerint certo loco aut singillatim uni cuique respondeam: <...> vobis autem tanta inopia reorum est ut mihi causam praeripere conemini potius quam aliquos ad columnam Maeniam vestri ordinis reos reperiatis?

(48) The next, I take it, is Titus Alienus; well, he gets even him from the spectators' seats; nor have I ever observed at all carefully what his power as a speaker may be, though I am certainly aware that he is a powerful and well-trained shouter. He is the mainstay of your hopes; if you are appointed to conduct the case, it is he who will have to bear the full weight of it. And even so, he will not be able to exert his full powers as a speaker. He will have to think of *your* credit and *your* reputation. He will be forgoing some of the success he might achieve by his own speech, in order that you may not, in spite of everything, be a complete failure. We know how Greek actors behave on the stage; very commonly the man who has the second or third part could speak a good deal more loudly and clearly than the man who has the first part, but lowers his voice considerably, in order that the superiority of the chief actor may be as pronounced as possible. That is what Alienus will be doing. He will subordinate himself to you, and play up to you, and exert himself considerably less than he might.

(49) Now let me ask this court to consider the sort of prosecutors we are likely to have in this important trial, if Alienus himself is going to withhold from a good part of such capacity as he does possess, and Caecilius can hope to have any sort of success himself only if Alienus moderates his own energy and hands over the chief part as orator to *him*.

Whom he is likely to find as forth speaker I cannot imagine, unless it is to be the one of that gang of obstructionists who applied for the right of supporting the chosen prosecutor whoever he might be: (50) worse aliens than Alienus, but Caecilius comes here in such a condition that he will have to extend his hospitality to one of them. I shall not pay them the compliment of reserving a definite part of my speech in which to deal with observations, nor shall I reply to each of them separately. <...> And are *they* so badly off for persons to accuse that they must try to snatch my own case out of my hands, instead of finding themselves of their own social standing in the neighbourhood of the Maenian Column?¹⁴

It is peculiar that Cicero's ironic phrase *hunc tamen a subselliis* escapes any in-depth commentary both in translations and commentary books,¹⁵ even though any further interpretation of the text rests on the understanding of this phrase. *Subsellium*, in a general sense, means a low seat, bench (*OLD s.v.*). Such benches could have been occupied by (i) senators in session (*omnes consulares <...> simul atque adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum <...> nudam reliquerunt*, Cic. *Cat. I.* 16), (ii) theatre audiences (*bonoque ut animo sedeate in subselliis*, Plaut. *Poen.* 5), or (iii) by *tribuni plebis* who settled insignificant court cases (*ad subsellia tribunorum res agebatur*, Liv. 42. 33. 1), and other participants of the court. The second and third definitions of the term provide us with two options for interpreting the text: one has to do with theatre, while the other concerns the courtroom environment.

Paola Dalsasso has convincingly shown that Cicero alludes to the theatre a number of times in the *Divination against Caecilius*, and especially in the segment we are currently discussing: "Cicero goes even

¹⁴ Transl. by Greenwood 1989.

¹⁵ Greenwood 1989 translates "he gets even him from the spectators' seats" and adds the comment: "*Subsellium* may be any seat in a court. Alienus began his career as a *claqueur*"; Yonge 1903: "he indeed does belong to the bar"; Zielinski 1901 [М. Туллий Цицерон, *Полное собрание речей* I, перевод В. А. Алексеева и Ф. Ф. Зелинского]: "этот, по крайней мере, ходит сидеть на скамейках в суде"; Krüger 1993: "der sich wenigstens vor Gericht auskennt"; Fuhrman 1903: "he indeed does belong to the bar"; de La Ville de Mirmont 1984: "selui-là, du moins, je l'ai vu sur les bancs des avocats"; Fuhrmann 1971: "der wenigstens in Gerichtssachen bewandert ist"; Halm 1900: "d. i. der doch wenigstens einheimisch auf den Gerichtsbänken ist, im Gegensatz von *usu forensi tironem*. Gemeint sind die subsellia, auf denen die Sachwalter der Parteien sassen (vgl. das französ. *barreau*)"; Bellardi 1978 provides the soundest comment we came upon: "'finalmente un avvocato di lugna pratica forense'. Di costui non sis a altro, se non che e uno che proviene 'dai banchi' dove sedevano avvocati e testimony, quindi dotavo di esperienza forense; e forse C. vuol dire che non ha altra preparazione per con dirre una causa se non quell ache gli viene dal sedere in tribunal".

further in denying them [both Caecilius and his *subscriptores*. – A. K.] the qualification of orators by saying that, instead of an oratorical performance, such a team of mock-prosecutors will produce a theatrical one. They will be acting like a troupe of players”.¹⁶ Like Greek actors who have the second or third part in a play deliberately lower their voices, in order that the superiority of the chief actor may be as pronounced as possible, in the same way Alienus will have to drop his voice, and exert himself less than he might (*Div. Caec.* 48). Dalasso points out the frequency of vocabulary derived from the stage: apart from such conspicuous theatrical terms as *in actoribus Graecis, primarum, secundarum, tertium partium*, “we might suppose that the term *actor* in § 47 is preferred to the synonym *accusator* possibly in order to introduce the simile with the *actores Graeci*. Likewise for the verb *sustinere* (*sustinebit*), which recalls the phrase *partes sustinere* in the language of the stage. In addition, it is worth noting that the two verbs *serviet* and *lenocinabitur* in § 47 could remind of the well-known comic characters of *servus* and *leno*”.¹⁷ Finally, when Cicero says that Caecilius will have to choose his fourth *subscriptor* from “that gang of obstructionists” (*ex illo grege* in § 49), the choice of the word *grex* in this context also alludes to the troupe of comic actors in Roman theatre.¹⁸

The sentence which comes immediately after the one containing the mysterious *hunc tamen a subselliis* allows us to argue for ambiguity in its meaning: Cicero continues his ironic description of Alienus, saying that he has never witnessed his speaking skills (*in dicendo*), but is certainly aware that Alienus is well-trained in shouting (*in clamando*). The antithesis based on homoeoteleuton of the gerundives *in dicendo* – *in clamando* may be hinting that Alienus was a hired theatre applauder, and this is how Greenwood explains it in his short comment.¹⁹ In that case, *a subselliis* could mean the theatre benches. However, in my opinion, even Alienus' shouting skills should be associated not with theatrical, but the courtroom environment.²⁰ Such an argument can be supported by examining the meaning of similar words in other contexts.

In his treatises on rhetoric, Cicero makes a distinction, first, between a well-trained and practising orator (*orator*) and a rhetor or student of rhetoric who composes and delivers speeches as an oratorical exercise or

¹⁶ Dalsasso 2010, 57.

¹⁷ Dalasso, *ibid.*

¹⁸ See OLD s.v.: 3b. Cf. *Et non recessit a translatione scaenicarum, qui sunt tragici et comici, dicendo quatum actorem et gregem* (Ps.-Ascon. *Div. in Caec.* p. 200 Stangl).

¹⁹ Greenwood 1989, 42, cited above n. 15.

²⁰ Cf. Halm 1900, 38 n. 16; Bellardi 1978, 418 n. 3, cited above n. 15.

entertainment (*declamator*)²¹ and, second, between an orator (*orator*) and a brawler in the forum (*clamator*). In the *Brutus*, after enumerating many unesteemed orators, Cicero explains why he found it worth mentioning these persons, who can hardly be regarded as orators at all – because he wanted to show that in this state “all men have desired to be speakers, no great number have ventured to try, few have been successful”. Nonetheless he characterised everyone in such a way, that participants of the dialogue (or rather Cicero’s readers) may understand who he considers to have been only a shouter, and who a true orator: *ego tamen ita de uno quoque dicam, ut intellegi possit quem existimem clamatorem, quem oratorem fuisse* (*Brut.* 182). We have an antithesis based on paronomasia (*clamatorem–oratorum*), which is analogous in its meaning to the sentence in the *Divinatio in Caecilium* which we have been discussing (*in dicendo – in clamando*). A similar antithesis, though the word *orator* is missing, is recognisable in the first book of the *De Oratore* (1. 202):

Non enim causidicum nescio quem neque **clamatorem** aut rabulam hoc sermone nostro conquirimus, sed eum virum, qui primum sit eius artis antistes.

For in this talk of ours we are not seeking some pettifogger, declaimer or ranter, but that man who, to begin with, is high-priest of that art.²²

Finally, in the *Orator* Cicero distinguishes between the ideal orator, whom he tries to delineate in his treatise, on the one hand, and both a declaimer from the rhetorical school and a forensic shouter, on the other (*Or.* 47):

faciet igitur hic noster [sc. **orator**] – non enim **declamatorem** aliquem de ludo aut **rabulam** de foro, sed doctissimum et perfectissimum quaerimus <...>.

Therefore our orator – it is not mere declaimer in a school that we seek, or ranter in the forum, but a scholarly and finished speaker <...>.²³

Rabula in this context is synonymous for *clamator* as in the earlier cited *De Or.* 1. 202 (*neque clamatorem aut rabulam*).

²¹ A person’s description as a *declamator* can scornfully point both to his inclination to declaim from textbooks and an inability to creatively use his rhetorical knowledge, as in the case of Caecilius (see below *Dic. Caec.* 47), as well as to a theoretical education rather than everyday forensic activities, as in *Plan.* 83: *Non vobis videtur cum aliquo declamatore, non cum laboris et fori discipulo disputare*. “Does he not <...> seem to you to be arguing against some teacher of declamation, and not with one who is a pupil, as I may say, of the real toils of the forum?” (transl. by Yonge).

²² Transl. by Sutton 1967.

²³ Transl. by Hubbell (Hendrickson–Hubbell 1988).

The same disparaging definitions (although not explicit, avoiding the words *declamator* and *clamator*) are easily recognisable in *Divitatio in Caecilium*: Caecilius is depicted as a school boy, who declaims extracts from other people's orations, which he found in a book presented by his schoolmaster and is unable to add a single expression by himself (*si ab isto libro, quem tibi magister ludi nescio qui ex alienis orationibus compositum dedit, verbo uno discesseris*, *Div. Caec.* 47); and one of his supporters, Alienus, turns out to be a good deal of ranter in a forum. Though he is not a newcomer in forensic affairs, as he comes "from the benches" (*a subselliis*), he is one of those mediocrities, who loiter around in the courts, lives in the bar (*qui habitaret in subselliis*),²⁴ but is not in the ranks of the proper orators.

The latter interpretation can be reinforced with a sophisticated play on words based on the meaning of Alienus' name. The ancient scholiast gives two possible interpretations of this name. According to him, somebody relates it with a river *Al(l)ia*, which in the minds of Cicero's listeners was associated with disaster because in 389 BC the Romans were badly defeated by the Gauls there.²⁵ Following this interpretation, to have Alienus as supporter in the court would be an ill-fated omen *a priori*.

The second option is to read the name Alienus literally as 'alien', which is, to my mind, more probable, because it is exactly this meaning, which creates a paronomasia in the text. According to Pseudo-Asconius, Alienus is "alien" to the constant courtroom business presided over by praetors (*non ex auditorio praetoris maiorumque causarum*), but has experience with the tribunal, triumphal, quaestorial, and other lower-rank courts, where the judge sits not in the *sella curulis* or *tribunalis*, but rather on a bench (*Sunt enim subsellia tribunorum triumvirorum quaestorum et huiuscemodi minora iudicia exercentium, qui non in sellis curulibus nec in tribunalibus, sed in subselliis considebant*. – Ps.-Asc. *In Div.* 50, p. 201 Stangl). Alienus is one of such kind of judges of low rank. That is why Cicero sends Alienus to look for clients "in the neighbourhood of the Maenian Column" (*ad columnam Maeniam*). This last remark is far from a friendly advice, but rather a biting jest.

²⁴ Cf. *Verum ego non solum arbitrabar, his praesertim audientibus, a me informari oportere, qualis esse posset is, qui habitaret in subselliis, neque quidquam amplius afferret, quam quod causarum necessitas postulare* (*De Or.* 1. 264). "Now I did not think it my duty, especially before my present audience, to delineate only the possible quality of such a speaker as would live in Court, and bring thither nothing more than the needs of his cases demanded".

²⁵ Cf. *quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen* (*Verg. Aen.* 7. 717).

Several buildings in the Roman Forum were connected with Maenius' name. Gaius Maenius, consul in 338 BC, in commemoration of his victory over the Latins in the Battle of Antium, decorated the platform from which speakers spoke to the people in the Comitium with bronze prows (*rostra*) captured from enemy ships, and in 318 BC this Maenius as censor built two-storey porticoes (*Maeniana*) over the shops along the Forum, suited for audiences to watch gladiatorial fights.²⁶ An honorific column to the same Maenius (*columna Maeniana*) and an equestrian statue had been erected nearby Curia Hostilia and Carcer Mamertinus (Plin. *NH* 7. 212), approximately in that place, where the Arch of Septimius Severus was later constructed.²⁷ Near this column *tresviri capitales* – an office of the lowest grade on Republican career path – used to judge in litigations of minor importance. Litigants of these courts were usually people from the lowermost stratum, slaves and freedmen.²⁸ Therefore Cicero's advice to seek after the defendants of their own rank (*vestri ordinis*) at the Maenian Column sounds like a bitter offence.

At the end of the episode under discussion, Cicero reminds Caecilius with mock that he will be made to choose a *hospes* from these men who are absolutely alien to him (*ex quibus alienissimis hominibus... tibi hospes aliquis sit recipiendus*, *Div. Caec.* 50). The adjective *alienissimus* which stands in direct juxtaposition with the noun *hospes*, in my opinion, reminds us of the person under discussion – Alienus. *Hospes* in this context means first of all an intimate friend and supporter,²⁹ but also a person who is joined to another one by the ties of hospitality. A man would choose his *subscriptores* from among his friends, but, according to Cicero, Caecilius must get whom he can, and is prepared to accept any of these men, who are perfect strangers to him, just as if he had to receive some strange guest in his house.³⁰

Giovanni Bellardi disagrees with such an interpretation and thinks that there is no need to see a word play on Alienus' name here, and is inclined to read the text literally: Cicero means simply that Caecilius

²⁶ Thereafter *maenianum* became an appellative word for balcony of a separate bank of seats in an amphitheatre: Stambaugh 1988, 110; Höcker, 2006, 117.

²⁷ Livy mentions only a statue, and remarks, that this was a rare honour in those days (*statuae equestres eis, rara illa aetate res, in foro ponerentur*, 8. 13. 9), so it is possible that there was a single monument – a column with an equestrian statue of Maenius on the top.

²⁸ De Libero – Klose 2009, 891.

²⁹ The examples of such use in *Verrine* speeches are numerous: *amicus et hospes*: *Div. Caec.* 67; *Verr.* 2. 2. 83; 91; 117; 2. 4. 32; 2. 5. 20; *Verr.* 2. 1. 16: *hospes et necessarius*; *Verr.* 2. 1. 28: *amici, hospites, patroni Dionis*; *Verr.* 2. 3. 18: *hospes et familiaris*; *Verr.* 2. 4. 49: *hospiti ac perfamiliari* etc.

³⁰ Long 1851, 27.

must accept the *subscriptores* who are absolutely foreign to him.³¹ But, to my mind, it is exactly this antithesis *alienissimus–hospes* which, by referring to the person's name, brings us back to the beginning of the paragraph and adds an ironic poignancy to the characteristic of Alienus.

We may conclude that the bitterly sarcastic characterisation of his opponent in *Div. Caec.* 48–50 demonstrates not only incompetence of Alienus but that of Caecilius as well: despite his name, Alienus “from the benches” is familiar to the bar,³² in contrast to Caecilius himself, who is absolutely alien to the reality of criminal courts, as has been shown by Cicero previously. Thus the phrase *hunc tamen a subselliis* sounds as an ironic compliment, which highlights the lack of competence of Cicero's main opponent even further, a topic already discussed by the orator in the previous chapters of the speech (*Div. Caec.* 27–46).

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³¹ Bellardi 1978, 418 note 5: “S'è voluto vedere un intenzionale gioco di parole in *Alienus-alienissimus*, ma non c'è bisogno di forzare il testo. Cicerone vuole dire semplicemente che Cecilio deve accogliere tra i *subscriptores* delle persone che gli sono assolutamente estranee”. On the contrary, Long 1851, 27: “Cicero after his fashion is playing on the name of Allienus (which Zumpt [1831] writes Alienus), and he is speaking sarcastically when he says ‘paratus’”.

³² Cf. Dalsasso 2010, 56–57.

- Ch. P. Craig, *Form as Argument in Cicero's Speeches: A Study of Dilemma* (Atlanta 1993) 47–66.
- P. Dalsasso, “‘That Orator is an Actor’: a Rhetorical Strategy for Depreciating the Opponent in Cicero's Early Speeches”, in: L. Calboli Montefusco, M. S. Celentano (eds.), *Papers on Rhetoric XII* (Perugia 2014) 49–62.
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Cicero's use of wordplay with the names of his opponents is well-attested in his speeches, in the *Verrines* among other works, and has been discussed more than once. Both in the *Divinatio in Caecilius* and later in the *Second Action against Verres* Cicero masterfully and inventively uses this type of paronomasia in two ways: he not only exploits the meaning of the name itself (*verres* 'boar, hog'), but also creates *lusus verborum* based on the similarity of words, such as between *Verres* and *everriculum* 'broom'. The passage in *Divinatio in Caecilius* 48–50, which, as we argue, contains one more pun on the name of the Alienus, lacks more detailed commentary.

Having proven Caecilius' incompetence as prosecutor (*Div. Caec.* 27–46), Cicero takes a further step by criticizing other potential supporters of this prosecution (*subscriptores*). One of them, Titus Alienus, receives treatment in two whole paragraphs (*Div. Caec.* 48–50), which are analyzed in this paper. The main focus of the discussion is the interpretation of the ironic phrase *hunc tamen a subselliis*, as well as paronomasia based on the meaning of Alienus' name (*ex alienissimis*).

I argue that the bitterly sarcastic characterisation of Alienus in *Div. Caec.* 48–50 demonstrates not only the incompetence of Alienus but that of Caecilius as well: despite his name, Alienus "from the benches" is familiar to the reality of criminal courts in contrast to Caecilius himself. Thus the phrase *hunc tamen a subselliis* sounds as an ironic compliment, which highlights the lack of competence of Cicero's main opponent even further, a topic already discussed by the orator in the previous chapters of the speech (*Div. Caec.* 27–46).

Речи Цицерона, в том числе против Верреса, наглядно демонстрируют, что оратор обыгрывает имена своих противников, и этот прием неоднократно исследовался. В *Divinatio in Caecilius* и впоследствии во *Второй речи против Верреса* Цицерон виртуозно и изобретательно применяет этот вид паронимии двумя способами: он не только обыгрывает значение слова *verres* 'вебрь, кабан', но и основывает игру слов на сходстве *Verres*, например, с *everriculum* 'метла'. Аналогичная шутка, связанная с именем *Alienus* в *Div. Caec.* 48–50, заслуживает более пристального внимания комментаторов.

Доказав несостоятельность Цецилия как обвинителя (*Div. Caec.* 27–46), Цицерон идет дальше и подвергает критике других возможных сторонников обвинения (*subscriptores*). Одному из них, Титу Алиену, посвящены два параграфа (*Div. Caec.* 48–50), которые разбираются в этой статье. Основное внимание уделяется ироническому выражению *hunc tamen a subselliis* и паронимии, основанной на имени Алиена (*ex alienissimis*).

Саркастическая характеристика Алиена призвана не только дискредитировать его самого, но и отразить некомпетентность Цецилия: в отличие от последнего, Алиен "со скамеек" все-таки знаком с криминальными судами. Таким образом, фраза *hunc tamen a subselliis* звучит как иронический комплимент, призванный сделать еще очевиднее тезис, раскрытый оратором выше (*Div. Caec.* 27–46), – несоответствие Цецилия взятой на себя роли.

SIC EST (NON) IUSTA CAUSA BELLI?
ISSUES OF LAW AND JUSTICE IN THE DEBATE
CONCERNING A ROMAN ANNEXATION
OF EGYPT IN 65 BC*

1. Introduction

The “Egyptian question” occupied an important place in the political life of the Roman Republic in its last decades. In this paper I shall examine just one episode in Romano-Egyptian relations during this period, namely the attempt, initiated in 65¹ by censor M. Licinius Crassus, to turn Egypt into a Roman province. This subject has often attracted the attention of scholars.² However, almost all have been chiefly interested in discovering the role these events played either within the context of Roman foreign policy, or Rome’s internal power struggle during the 60s. I can hardly contribute anything new to this discussion, so I shall touch upon the political background of this episode to a minimal extent (see section 3). Instead I concentrate primarily on the specific content of the polemic between the proponents and opponents of the annexation. As far as I am aware, these issues have only been examined, to some extent, in the books

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¹ All dates are BC unless otherwise noted.

² E.g., Bloedow 1963, 36–38; Sumner 1966; Ward 1972; Marshall 1976, 65–67; Colombini 1991; Piegdon 2014, 108–113. It is also examined in the general works on the history of Ptolemaic Egypt and Romano-Egyptian relations; see, e.g., Bouché-Leclercq 1904, 128–130; Olshausen 1963, 32–35; Hölbl 2001, 223–224; Huß 2001, 680.

of Ciaceri³ and Crawford.⁴ In a recent paper, Jakobson referred to the debates on the Egyptian issue in 65 in order to underpin his view that the Roman concept of *bellum iustum*, i. e. “just” or “legitimate” war, had a pronounced ethical meaning which was far from a pure formality for the Romans themselves.⁵ However, he did not analyse the contents of the polemic in detail. Thus it would seem appropriate to re-examine the lines of reasoning used by both sides in this debate and, in the same spirit, to trace their possible connections with the general ideas which influenced Roman foreign policy in the first century.

2. Modern Opinions on the Roman Concept of *bellum iustum*: A Brief Overview

To put the argument in proper context, it will be useful to summarize the modern theories relating to the Roman understanding of *bellum iustum*, a concept that was central to the Roman laws of war. Of course, it is impossible in this paper to discuss trends in research of Roman imperialism in detail, so I shall only refer to the major works.⁶

There are two different views on *bellum iustum* in modern scholarship. According to the first, the Roman concept had an entirely formal character and was closely connected with religion.⁷ On this view, the correct fulfilment of rituals preceding a declaration of war was the only element of real significance to the Romans themselves. As long as all ceremonies had been duly performed, every war was considered to be just and lawful. The attempts made by some members of the Roman political elite in the second and first centuries to give their wars an ethical rationale were influenced by Greek philosophical doctrines, particularly by Stoicism, and directed towards Greek public opinion only; the best-known example being that of Cicero (*Off.* 1. 34–41; *Rep.* 3. 34–35).⁸

³ Ciaceri 1939, 150–153.

⁴ Crawford 1994, 44–46 and 51–56.

⁵ Jakobson 2009, 61–63.

⁶ Further bibliography can be found, e.g., in: Baltrusch 2008, 127–129; Cursi 2014.

⁷ See, e.g., Brunt 1978, 175–178; Rüpke 1990, esp. 121–122; Kashcheyev 1993 [В. И. Кашчеев, *Эллинистический мир и Рим: война, мир и дипломатия в 220–146 годах до н. э.*], 139–141; Harris 1992; Loreto 2001.

⁸ See further, e.g., Keller 2009; 2012. For a slightly different view, see Loreto 2001, 13–33 and 97, who thinks that the judgment of Cicero was “una mera sistemazione della materia romana tradizionale del *bellum iustum* e degli *iura belli*”. For severe criticism of Loreto’s work, see, e.g., Girardet 2005.

But, we are told, these speculations were too theoretical and too idealized to be of any practical significance.⁹ That is, for the Romans (at least up to St. Augustine), *bellum iustum* never meant a “just war” but always a “properly declared war”.¹⁰ In another variant, some scholars believe that in more ancient times the concept had included the ethical component contained in the archaic *ius fetiale*, but that this had gradually disappeared because of the general decline of fetial law.¹¹

By contrast, according to the second view – with which I am more sympathetic – the Romans were always deeply convinced that any war led by Rome should have a moral, and not just a legal, justification.¹² For example, Albert supposes that the theory of a just war was first formulated by Cicero, but its components can be traced back much earlier, to the time of the Italian Wars. Cicero’s concept of *bellum iustum* does not differ much from that of other late Republican and early Imperial authors or from Roman public opinion.¹³ For Riggsby, the Roman theory of just war was “circumstantial rather than motivational” which implies that, to initiate *bellum iustum*, only the proper (“just”) circumstances, that is, the valid occasion, were required, and the motives of the actors were absolutely unimportant. Although this form of ethics is quite foreign to the modern Western world, in which *motives* are generally regarded as relevant to the moral quality of an *action*, this does not mean that the theory had no ethical grounds. It was close connection with the ethics of individual life that gave this theory real moral force.¹⁴

It should be mentioned that the majority of scholars discussing the meaning of *bellum iustum* in the first century focus on Cicero’s philosophical treatises (primarily on *De re publica* and *De officiis*) and pay less attention to other sources, especially to the orations.¹⁵ But the political speeches often provide the best evidence for an evaluation of public

⁹ See Harris 1992, 35–36 and 169–175.

¹⁰ Cf. Boterman 2007, 143: “richtiger, regelrechter Krieg”. She also comes to conclusion that Cicero did not offer an “ausformulierte Theorie des *bellum iustum*” at all (Botermann 2007, 150).

¹¹ E.g., Frank 1912; cf. Watson 1983, 57.

¹² See, e.g., Albert 1980; Kostial 1995; Riggsby 2006, esp. 157–189 (with further bibliography).

¹³ Albert 1980, 12–36, esp. 17–18 and 25.

¹⁴ See Riggsby 2006, esp. 160–161, 166–167 and 244 n. 16.

¹⁵ Cicero’s rhetoric on *bellum iustum* in the speech *In Pisonem* was discussed by Steel 2001, 48. Riggsby 2006 thoroughly examines Caesar’s justification of his Gallic wars which is contained in his *Commentarii*. So did also Botermann 2007, who compares the idea of *bellum iustum* in Caesar’s *Bellum Gallicum* with that in Cicero’s works, first of all, in the speech *De provinciis consularibus*.

opinion on the matter because, to be persuasive, an orator had to say what his audience (the Senate or the people at *contio*) liked and expected to hear. Thus, in order to see the whole picture, it will be reasonable to consider specific arguments which Roman orators made to their compatriots when discussing important problems of imperial affairs or foreign relations. The analysis of the one discrete episode, namely the dispute about the annexation of Egypt in 65, provides a good opportunity for this.

3. Political Context of the Debate on the Annexation of Egypt in 65

Before starting the discussion of the contents of the polemic, it is necessary to briefly outline the background to the events in question. The mysterious incident concerning Ptolemy Alexander's testament, wherein he supposedly left his kingdom to the Roman people (Cic. *Leg. agr.* 1. 1; 2. 41, 42; cf. *Schol. Bob.* 92 St.), was an important milestone in Romano-Egyptian relations in the first century. There were two Egyptian kings known under this name, and whether Cicero's *Alexa* is to be identified with Ptolemy X Alexander I Philometor or his son, Ptolemy XI Alexander II, remains ambiguous. It has been customary to associate the testament mentioned by Cicero with Ptolemy XI, who was killed by the Alexandrians in 80 (App. *BC* 1. 102; Porphyr. *FGrH* 260. fr. 2. 8).¹⁶ However, after the publication of Badian's article, in which he presented strong arguments in support of Ptolemy X's candidacy,¹⁷ many scholars subsequently agreed with him,¹⁸ and I also share this opinion. Nonetheless, the alternative view still has many supporters,¹⁹ so it is too early to consider the problem completely resolved.

In my view, however, Cicero's sparse references do not confirm with absolute certainty that Ptolemy's testament was ever in existence at all. Even if such a document did exist, it is impossible to ascertain whether it was authentic or counterfeit.²⁰ Of far greater importance is that its

¹⁶ See, e.g., Strack 1979, 64; Mahaffy 1899, 224; Bouché-Leclercq 1904, 121; Volterra 1938–1939; Ciaceri 1939, 151; Volkmann 1959a; Bloedow 1963, 26–29.

¹⁷ Badian 1967.

¹⁸ Shatzman 1971, 363; Harris 1992, 155; Crawford 1994, 43–44; Hölbl 2001, 222; Mittag 2003, 186; Herklotz 2009, 139.

¹⁹ Braund 1983, 24–27; Klodt 1992, 23; Siani-Davies 1997, 307; Lampela 1998, 229–230.

²⁰ For example, Jonkers 1963, 9 and Olshausen 1963, 29–32 speak in favour of the will's authenticity. Maehler 1983, 2, 12–13 n. 23 and Huß 2001, 660–661, in turn, completely deny its existence.

authenticity was recognized by many in Rome, a reception which could have been used to legally justify the annexation of Egypt. However, the internal political situation in the Republic in the 80s was not conducive to the annexation of this kingdom, and the issue of accepting the Egyptian inheritance remained suspended.²¹

As a result, the struggle for power continued in Egypt among the members of the Ptolemaic dynasty, resulting in the enthroning of the young Ptolemy XII²² in September of 80.²³ However, his right to the kingdom was not officially recognized by the Romans until 59. The agenda for Egypt's annexation could be raised any time, as eventually occurred in 65. The initiative came from the newly elected censor M. Licinius Crassus, who proposed "to make Egypt tributary to Rome" (Αἴγυπτον ποιεῖν ὑποτελῆ Ῥωμαίοις), i.e. to turn it into a Roman province (Plut. *Crass.* 13. 1–2; cf. Cic. *Leg. agr.* 1. 1, where Crassus' name is not mentioned).²⁴ Crassus' plans met with violent resistance from his colleague Q. Lutatius Catulus. Plutarch does not name any other opponents of this project. But it is difficult to imagine that Catulus acted alone and did not receive support from a significant number of influential senators – the very *principes ciuitatis*²⁵ who had previously opposed the Gabinian and Manilian bills (that had given Pompey extraordinary commands against the pirates and Mithridates, respectively). Cicero, who had supported the Manilian law in 66 and opposed Catulus and his allies

²¹ For more details, see Badian 1967, 187–189.

²² His hieratic title was Θεὸς Φιλοπάτωρ Φιλάδελφος Νέος Διόνυσος; see Bloedow 1963, 82–88; Hölbl 2001, 223; Huß 2001, 674–676. This ruler is better known by the nickname "Auletes" (Αὐλητής), given to the king for his partiality to playing an αὐλός (Strab. 17. 1. 11; Athen. 5. 206 d; Dio Chrys. 32. 70).

²³ For the date, see Samuel 1962, 154.

²⁴ According to Adcock 1966, 37, Crassus did not actually endeavor to annex Egypt, but only desired to receive an "honorable and possible lucrative commission to regularize Auletes' position vis-à-vis the Roman state". Barely any scholars have acceded to this hypothesis, although Marshall 1976, 66 characterizes it as "attractive". In my view, fr. 9 of the speech *De rege Alexandrino* (all references to the fragments of Cicero's orations follow the numbering in Crawford 1994) demonstrates clearly that Crassus' project entailed precisely the military operation. Besides, Crassus' desire to turn Egypt into a province seems to be implied in the term ὑποτελής used by Plutarch. In his *Parallel Lives* this word occurs four more times: Plut. *Cim.* 11. 3 (when speaking of the Athenian allies); *Pyrrh.* 23. 1 (on Greeks who were tributaries of the Mamertines); *Cam.* 2. 2 (on the taxed orphans); *Art.* 21. 5 (on Greek cities subjected to the Persian king). However, other Greek authors (see App. *BC* 2. 100; *Mith.* 118; Cass. Dio 51. 17. 1) sometimes use ὑποτελής to denote the establishment of Roman provinces: Plutarch might also be using the term in this way.

²⁵ This is the expression of Asconius (Ascon. 60 C).

at the trial of the Pompeian partisan C. Cornelius,²⁶ now took a stand against the annexation plans. In the course of these debates, he also delivered in the Senate²⁷ an oration “On the king of Alexandria” (*De rege Alexandrino*), which was later published. The disagreements between Crassus and Catulus on this and a number of other issues²⁸ led to both censors voluntarily stepping down from office, not even having revised the Senate lists or having held a census.

Unfortunately, Plutarch does not provide any details on what actions were undertaken by Crassus in order to fulfill his plans. Since censors did not have the right to bring bills before the popular assembly, he would have had to find someone to do it for him. And we do have another testimony that seems to be related to the very same events. In his biography of Caesar, Suetonius reports the following about Crassus’ activities during his aedileship in 65 (*Iul.* 11. 1):

Conciliato populi fauore temptauit per partem tribunorum, ut sibi Aegyptus prouincia plebiscito daretur, nactus extraordinarii imperii occasionem, quod Alexandrini regem suum socium atque amicum a senatu appellatum expulerant resque uulgo improbatur. Nec obtinuit aduersante optumatum factione.

Having won the favour of the people, he made an attempt, through the agency of the tribunes, to have Egypt awarded him as a province by plebiscite, seizing the opportunity to ask for this extraordinary post when the Alexandrians had expelled their king, who had been termed ally and friend by the senate, and the expulsion was widely condemned. But he was not successful, due to the opposition of the aristocratic faction (trans. C. Edwards).

The interpretation of this testimony presents many difficulties. Suetonius assigns Caesar’s attempt to obtain Egyptian command to 65, although Ptolemy XII only received the status of *amicus et socius populi Romani* in 59.²⁹ His banishment by the Alexandrians also occurred much later,

²⁶ For more details on this trial, see Ciaceri 1939, 158–163; Ward 1970, 554–556; Griffin 1973, 211–213.

²⁷ For evidence that Cicero spoke in the Senate, see scholiast’s commentary (*Schol. Bob.* 93 St.) on *Cic. Reg. Alex.* frs. 4 and 8.

²⁸ Chiefly, on extending citizenship rights to the inhabitants of *Gallia Transpadana* (see Cass. Dio 37. 9. 3). On political context of their conflict, see Liubimova 2017 [O. B. Любимова, “Марк Лициний Красс и транспаданцы: *nimum parcus in largienda civitate*”] (with further bibliography).

²⁹ See Broughton 1952, 188 (with references to primary sources).

at the end of the summer of 58.³⁰ Additionally, Suetonius' indication of Caesar's solicitation of an extraordinary command for himself in Egypt is highly questionable. It seems very unlikely that Caesar, merely a quaestorius and a curule aedile, could have sincerely expected to obtain such an important position.³¹ Admittedly, when decisions on the annexation of Cyrenaica and Cyprus were made, the men the senators delegated were not of the highest status: quaestor P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus in 75 and quaestorius M. Porcius Cato (with *imperium pro praetore*) in 58, respectively.³² However, Egypt's case stood apart from the rest; armed resistance to the Roman invasion was likely to be so strong that assignment demanded the command of a large army. Gelzer thought that the precedent of 29-year-old Pompey who obtained the proconsulship of Spain in 77 before holding any magistracy can support the view that Suetonius rightly understood Caesar's plans,³³ but I cannot agree with him. During the preceding decade the political situation in the Republic had altered noticeably. In 67 and 66, Pompey himself had already faced many challenges when attempting to obtain extraordinary military commands, and Caesar, despite his erstwhile popularity with the people,³⁴ lacked both Pompey's prestige and military experience.

However, two of the above-mentioned difficulties cease to exist if we are to accept a hypothesis offered by Bennett: that when narrating the reason for Caesar's actions in 65 as the flight of Egyptian king from Alexandria, Suetonius does not imply that the one event immediately preceded the other. In fact, he most likely does not write about Ptolemy XII, but rather about Ptolemy X Alexander I, banished from the country in 88. Although there is no evidence confirming that the latter was an avowed friend and ally of the Roman people,³⁵ such an understanding of Suetonius' testimony is preferable to other interpretations (which assume that the whole story is a product of anti-Caesarian propaganda of the 50s,³⁶

³⁰ Cass. Dio 39. 12; Plut. *Pomp.* 49. 7; Porphy. *FGrH* 260. fr. 2. 14; cf. Cic. *Rab. Post.* 4; Trog. *Prol.* 40. See further, e. g., Siani-Davies 1997, 317–322.

³¹ Strasburger 1938, 114; Balsdon 1966, 217; Ward 1972, 247–248; Marshall 1976, 66; Hölbl 2001, 224. For the opposite opinion, see, e. g., Gelzer 1968, 40–41; Havas 1977, 39–40; Colombini 1991 and recently Tariverdieva 2017 (with extensive bibliography).

³² For references to ancient sources, see Broughton 1952, 97 and 198.

³³ Gelzer 1968, 41.

³⁴ Which he acquired by demonstrating great generosity while holding the aedileship (Sall. *Cat.* 49. 3; Plut. *Caes.* 6. 1–3; Suet. *Iul.* 10; Cass. Dio 37. 8).

³⁵ Bennett 2019, n. 16. 2.

³⁶ E. g., Gruen 1974, 75 n. 117; cf. Strasburger 1938, 113–114; Hölbl 2001, 223–224.

or that Suetonius writes about the events of 56, when the issue of the exiled Ptolemy XII's restoration to the throne was discussed).³⁷ Caesar was in 56 a proconsul in Gaul, and did not have the opportunity to participate personally in the Egyptian project. Taking this into consideration, Suetonius' account of the plebeian tribunes (who in 65 apparently brought a bill relating to the extraordinary command in Egypt before the people) seems plausible, and it should be connected with corresponding activities of Crassus. If it indeed took place, the plebeian tribunes' proposal should have been discussed in the Senate as well as at *contiones* and it would have been defeated due to resistance from the Senate leaders. It is quite likely that, just as in the case of P. Servilius Rullus' agrarian bill in 63, it never reached the voting stage. I am inclined to assume that Caesar was indeed behind the tribunes who introduce the proposal, but was not an influential enough political figure to seek the command in Egypt for himself. That is, despite Suetonius' statement, Caesar stayed in the background. In bringing the annexation bill *through the tribunes*, he helped Crassus who expected to obtain an Egyptian command. However, the name of Crassus might not have been included in the text of the proposal, and this would explain why Suetonius writes nothing about his role in those events. Such an appointment would grant Crassus additional political weight, an army, an opportunity to increase his already considerable wealth (at the expense of the Ptolemaic treasury) and moreover, an opportunity for easy military glory and a triumph to match Pompey's recent and ongoing achievements in the East.³⁸ In turn, Caesar might hope for Crassus' support in his subsequent political career.

It is also possible to establish a more precise date for the Egyptian bill. Censorial elections were held shortly after the consuls took up office (see e.g. Liv. 24. 10; 39. 38–41), i.e. after 1 January. Both Plutarch (*Crass.* 13. 1, 2) and Cassius Dio (37. 9. 3) note that, due to mutual disagreements, Crassus and Catulus did not revise the Senate lists and did not hold either a census or a review of the equestrian order (*recognitio equestris*); plans for the annexation of Egypt and the grant of citizenship to the *Transpadani* were at the core of their conflict. In view of this fact, it seems highly probable that Crassus put forward his annexation project

³⁷ Sullivan 1990, 419 n. 22; Crawford 1994, 47.

³⁸ It may be objected that Crassus' censorship could have prevented him from obtaining the Egyptian command, since his term of office was expected to end in the autumn of 64. Proper attention has not been paid to this fact in historiography. On the other hand, Crassus soon resigned from the censorship on grounds of disagreements with his colleague Q. Catulus. He might have done the same, had his Egyptian plans succeeded.

at the outset of his term of office. As against this, Suetonius (*Iul.* 10, 11) writes that Caesar had proposed his bill through the plebeian tribunes after he had already won the people's favour with magnificent spectacles. Cassius Dio (37. 8) recounts that during his aedileship Caesar organized the extravagant Megalesian games (held 4–10 April) and Roman games (beginning on 5 September),³⁹ as well as the gladiator shows in honour of his father (which could be held at any time). On the basis of these arguments, I estimate that the legislation relating to the annexation of Egypt could have been proposed in late spring or in the summer of 65 at the very latest.

Such a reconstruction would be in line with the majority of modern scholarship.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, some authors deny the possibility of cooperation between Crassus and Caesar, and there is disagreement as to who was the driving force behind the plan for Egypt's annexation.⁴¹

4. *Sic est iusta causa belli:*

The Arguments of the Proponents of Annexation

Now I shall analyse the fragmentary evidence concerning the contents of the polemic between the proponents and opponents of incorporating Egypt into the Roman state. The chief source on this matter is Cicero's aforementioned oration *De rege Alexandrino*. Unfortunately, only eleven

³⁹ See Scullard 1981, 97–100 and 183–186.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Hardy 1917, 167; Gelzer 1926, 310; Gelzer 1968, 40–41; Ciaceri 1939, 151; Marshall 1976, 66; Piegdoń 2014, 108–109 and 111–113. As Ward 1972, 248–250 supposes, Crassus and Caesar sought control over Egypt mostly in order to strengthen their position in negotiations with Pompey, with whom they hoped to enter into an agreement. According to Piganiol 1956, 137–138, Crassus' actions supported by Caesar were a response to a secret pact that was concluded shortly beforehand between Pompey and Ptolemy Auletes.

⁴¹ According to Strasburger 1938, 112–117; Olshausen 1963, 33–35 and Crawford 1994, 44, Crassus acted completely independently. Sumner 1966, 573–574, at the other extreme, presumes that Crassus had nothing to do with the bill: for him the scheme was invented in order to give Pompey the Egyptian command. Thus, Sumner considers the proposal to annex Egypt on a par with Gabinian and Manilian laws. Caesar, when supporting it, just wanted to strengthen the ties of *amicitia* with Pompey. Huß 2001, 680 regards Caesar as the true perpetrator of this machination. Drummond 1999, 153–156 thinks that the plebeian tribunes initiated the annexation project on their own without having had a specific candidate for the Egyptian command in mind, and only later the bill was supported by Crassus and Caesar who acted independently of each other. The view of Jonkers 1963, 7–8 and 87, can be ignored here, since it is fraught with serious factual errors; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1904, 128–129.

of its fragments have come down to us, nine of them preserved in the anonymous⁴² late antique commentaries usually known as *Scholia Bobiensia*.⁴³ The part of the text containing the fragments of *De rege Alexandrino* is in reasonably good condition and there are barely any omissions or corruptions. However, the commentary itself lacks a few pages: the beginning and the end are missing, as well as twelve pages from the middle. That is why, despite the fact that the scholiast cites the fragments in the right order, it is practically impossible to determine or even estimate the length and structure of the speech. Cicero also touches upon the events of 65 in his oration against Rullus' agrarian bill in 63 (*Leg. agr.* 2. 41–44). It should be emphasized, of course, that the extant sources do not allow us to reconstruct lines of argument used by each side of the debate in detail, so many of my statements will be of a general nature. This is particularly true for the proponents of the annexation, whose arguments have not come down to us in their original wording but were preserved only in the interpretation of their critic and opponent, Cicero.

It is beyond doubt that the supporters of the annexation project had raised the issue of Ptolemy X's testament. The Bobbio scholia on fr. 1 of *De rege Alexandrino* bear clear testimony to this.⁴⁴ The Senate had already discussed the issue (most likely in late 87 – early 86⁴⁵) and decided to accept the legacy, but, for some unknown reason, this decision was never implemented; in all likelihood, it was vetoed by a certain plebeian tribune. Thus, in his speech in opposition to Rullus' agrarian bill, Cicero speaks of *senatus auctoritas* rather than *senatus consultum* (*Leg. agr.* 2. 41, 42). However, the Senate did send its envoys to collect

⁴² Some scholars assume that these scholia could be composed by the grammarian Volcacius who is twice mentioned by Hieronymus as the author of a commentary on Cicero's speeches (Hieron. *Apol. contra Rufin.* 1. 16; *Epist.* 70. 2); see Herzog 1989, 140–141. On his personality and literary works, see Strzelecki 1961, 758.

⁴³ Hildebrandt 1894, 33–63; 1907, xxiii–xxiv considers the scholia to be the late third- or early fourth-century revision of the second-century original. For discussion, see also Madvig 1828, 142–152; Stangl 1884, 431; Zetzel 2018, 143–144. A number of scholars have mistakenly attributed the surviving fragments to one of two of Cicero's speeches on king Ptolemy Auletes delivered in 56 (e. g., Bouché-Leclercq 1902, 2; Stangl 1912, 91; Havas 1977, 40–42). However, these speeches were not published by the orator, most probably for political reasons; see Crawford 1984, 150–151.

⁴⁴ *Schol. Bob.* in Cic. *Reg. Alex.* fr. 1. 91–92 St.: '*Vt rapiat, ut latrocinetur*'. *Vehementibus et inuidiosis uerbis utitur; non enim dixit: ut exposcat hereditatem, ut sibi uindicet* <...>. Cf. Cic. *Reg. Alex.* fr. 3, 92 St. (n. 46).

⁴⁵ See Badian 1967, 187–188.

the money left by the deceased king in Tyre, and it was safely delivered to Rome.⁴⁶ Presumably, the bare fact of a Senate's decision to accept the inheritance was brought forward by Crassus and Caesar as the legal foundation for their actions.

However, they did not limit themselves to this. It is evident that the proponents of annexation also attempted to find an ethical justification for their actions.⁴⁷ The plan to annex Egypt would certainly require the use of military power and a declaration of war on the ruling king, Ptolemy XII Auletes. In his account of the opponents' arguments, Cicero says: "So it is a just reason for war, as it was, as Crassus reminded us, in the case with Jugurtha".⁴⁸ But what made Crassus claim the war against Ptolemy XII was a "just" one? While there are no direct indications, the choice of historical example is indicative. It is well known that king Jugurtha unlawfully seized power over all of Numidia, killing his cousins and co-inheritors Adherbal and Hiempsal. By drawing a parallel between him and Ptolemy Auletes, Crassus was apparently pointing to the crimes committed by the Egyptian king and his illegitimate rise to the throne. The reason behind this particular choice of analogy is clarified in frs. 9–10 and the Bobbio scholiast's commentary on them; in alluding to the criminal mindset of Ptolemy Auletes, Crassus was accusing him of the murder of his predecessor, king Ptolemy XI Alexander II.⁴⁹ Shortly after his enthronement, the latter ordered the disposal of his sister and wife, Cleopatra Berenice III, who enjoyed great popularity with the Egyptians. Having discovered this, the Alexandrians revolted and the king was killed in a gymnasium in 80, on the nineteenth

⁴⁶ *Schol. Bob.* in Cic. *Reg. Alex.* fr. 3, 92 St.: *Temptauerat Crassus adseuerare non semel de hac Aegypti hereditate, sed frequentissime praeiudicatum, ac primo quidem illo tempore, quo pecunia repetita esse ab Tyriis et aduecta Romam uidebatur seposita iam nuper ab Alexa rege.* This money might have been once lent to Ptolemy X by the Roman *publicani*.

⁴⁷ See Yakobson 2009, 63.

⁴⁸ Cic. *Reg. Alex.* fr. 6: *Sic est iusta causa belli, sicuti Crassus commemorauit cum Iugurtha fuisse.*

⁴⁹ See, however, Bennett 1997; 2019, n. 6 who presumes that fr. 9 refers to Ptolemy XI and Ptolemy X respectively. That is impossible for several reasons. Firstly, Cicero says that the preceding Egyptian king *est interfectus*. As a rule (although not always, as Bennett 2019, n. 5 emphasizes; cf. e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 55; 13. 7; 14. 12), the orator uses this expression to refer to premeditated murder or execution. But Ptolemy X had died in battle; see Huß 2001, 672 n. 3. Secondly, the scholiast's commentary demonstrates clearly that in this case the king is blamed specifically for organizing a conspiracy to murder his predecessor. Such accusations could not have been brought forward against Ptolemy XI.

day of his rule (App. *BC* 1. 102; Porphyr. *FGrH* 260, fr. 2.8).⁵⁰ It is likely that Crassus accused Auletes of plotting a conspiracy and inciting the crowds to revolt.⁵¹

The mention of the Jugurthine War might also have had a different connotation. It will have triggered memories of C. Marius and the monuments erected to honour his victories over Jugurtha, the Cimbri and the Teutones, that were destroyed by Sulla and later⁵² restored by Caesar (Vell. 2. 43. 4; Suet. *Iul.* 11; Plut. *Caes.* 6). The proponents of annexation hardly mentioned Marius directly in the Senate, where the leading positions were held by *Sullani*, but at the *contiones* his name must have evoked a very different reaction. Besides, the proposers of the bill could remind the people of the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of the Jugurthine War, which bore close parallels to the current situation: yet again the Senate was attempting, under different pretexts, to avoid entering into a direct conflict with a foreign king, unwilling to punish him for the crimes committed, and with the plebeian tribunes making a stand against such actions, i. e. to instead implement the will of the Roman people and protect its interests.⁵³

It can be assumed that doubts were expressed about the Egyptian ruler's royal descent, and thus the legitimacy of his claim to the throne, although there is no testimony to this in our sources. Some evidence indirectly indicates the possibility that Ptolemy XII was the illegitimate son of Ptolemy IX Soter II. Pompeius Trogus calls him *Nothus*, which evidently is the Latinized version of the Greek νόθος 'illegitimate child, bastard'.

⁵⁰ See Mittag 2003, 184–186.

⁵¹ *Schol. Bob.* 93 St.: [fr. 9] 'Cum ille rex sit interfectus, hunc puerum in Syria fuisse'. [στοχασμός ἀπὸ προσωπικῶν κεφαλαίων] *haec sumuntur de locis coniecturalibus, qui sunt primi uidelicet in huius status diuisione, a uoluntate et facultate* [ἀπὸ βουλῆσεως καὶ δυνάμεως]. *Nam quod pueritiae facit mentionem, uoluntatis est non potuisse Ptolomaeum capitalibus odiis dissidere, quem puerilis infirmitas ab huiusmodi obstinatione reuocaret; facultatis est autem, quod ait in Syria fuisse, ut absens copiam non habuerit illius interficiendi, quem dicebatur interemisse.* [fr. 10] 'Atque illud etiam constare uideo: regem illum, cum reginam sororem suam, caram acceptamque populo, manibus suis trucidasset, interfectum esse impetu multitudinis'. *Congestis ualde praeparationibus fidem fecit* [λύσει κατ' ἀνατροπήν], *ut hanc caedem a populo magis Alexandrino factam probaret, non Ptolemaeo iubente commissam.* The Greek text missing in the surviving manuscript was added by Ziegler 1872, 435 and Hildebrandt 1907, 32.

⁵² This was done shortly after the failure of the Egyptian initiative (probably in 64).

⁵³ This is the depiction drawn in the *Bellum Iugurthinum* by Caesar's supporter Sallust, although it may not largely correspond to the historical reality; see Parker 2004.

Pausanias also points out that Cleopatra Berenice III, the daughter of Ptolemy IX, was his only legitimate progeny.⁵⁴ Even Cicero, an opponent of Egypt's annexation, was forced to carefully acknowledge in his speech against Rullus' agrarian bill that it "is agreed upon by all men, that he, who is at this present moment in possession of the kingdom, is neither of the royal family nor of any royal disposition"⁵⁵ (trans. C. D. Yonge). But in his speech *Pro Sestio* of 56, Cicero did not voice even minimal doubts about the legitimate descent of either Ptolemy XII himself, or his brother, the king of Cyprus. At that time, the goals pursued by Cicero were completely different, and there was no need to draw attention to the doubtful ancestry of a king deemed by the Senate to be a friend and ally of the Roman people.⁵⁶

We can also surmise that the potential for financial gain was used as an argument for the annexation. Vague allusions to this may be found in three fragments of *De rege Alexandrino*.⁵⁷ Besides, similar arguments (the riches of the country and land fertility) were voiced by the proponents of Egypt's annexation in 63 (Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2. 42).

5. *Non oportere populum Romanum omnium regnorum appetentem uideri:* The Argumentation of Cicero

Let us now consider Cicero's argumentation. In all probability, Cicero did not directly deny the existence of Ptolemy X's will since he touches upon this issue in a very careful and ambiguous manner (*Leg. agr.* 2. 41):

Quis enim uestrum hoc ignorat, dici illud regnum testamento regis Alexae populi Romani esse factum? Hic ego consul populi Romani non modo nihil iudico sed ne quid sentiam quidem profero. Magna enim mihi res non modo ad statuendum sed etiam ad dicendum uidetur esse. Video qui testamentum factum esse confirmet.

⁵⁴ Paus. 1. 9. 3: ἡ μόνη γνησία οἱ τῶν παίδων.

⁵⁵ Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2. 42: *eum qui regnum illud teneat hoc tempore neque genere neque animo regio esse inter omnis fere uideo conuenire.*

⁵⁶ The majority of scholars at present consider Ptolemy XII to have been an illegitimate child. See most recently Chauveau 1998, 1265 n. 11; Ogden 1999, 94–96 and 113 n. 160; Huß 2001, 672 n. 3; Ager 2005, 7; see *ibid.* for speculations on who his mother might have been. However, some scholars do recognize his legitimate descent: according to Otto–Bengtson 1938, 117 n. 1, Auletes was the son of Cleopatra Selena, cf. Volkmann 1959b, 1748–1749 and Siani-Davies 1997, 308–309; according to Bennett 1997, 46–54, 2019, n. 2 and 5, he was the son of Cleopatra IV.

⁵⁷ See Cic. *Reg. Alex.* frs. 2, 4, 8 and scholiast's commentary on them.

For who is there among you who is ignorant that it is said that kingdom has become the property of the Roman people by the will of king Alexander? Here now I, the consul of the Roman people, not only give no decision, but I do not even express my opinion. For it appears to me a most important matter not merely to decide on, but even to speak of. I see a man who assures me that the will was certainly made (trans. C. D. Yonge with minor corrections).

He does, however, acknowledge the existence of *senatus auctoritas* that concerned the acceptance of Ptolemy's inheritance (*Leg. agr.* 2. 41, 42): if he had denied this fact, his deception could have been discovered too easily. Altogether, we are not aware of what exactly Cicero said in *De rege Alexandrino* regarding the legal aspects of the situation in place. It is quite possible that he delicately avoided this issue and directed his audience's attention primarily to the moral side of the problem. At least, this is the impression that is formed when the surviving fragments are analysed. First of all, Cicero devoted much time to scrutinizing the unseemly motives of his opponents (those advocating for the annexation). This contradicts Riggsby's theory that honourable intentions had nothing to do with the Roman understanding of just causes for war (see section 2). From Cicero's point of view, his opponents were driven primarily by greed and ambition (frs. 1–3 and 8).⁵⁸ The orator's caution should be noted. Although Cicero did hint at M. Crassus, as becomes clear from the scholiast's comment on fr. 2,⁵⁹ he did not mention any names, pretending to speak in a generalized sense.⁶⁰ This is why I am inclined to think that Cicero was using his speech to criticize the very idea of Egypt's annexation and was attempting to avoid engaging with the initiators of this project personally.⁶¹ A parallel can be drawn with *Pro Cornelio de maiestate I* and *II*, two orations delivered by Cicero in the same year (65), in which the orator defended his client, yet, when possible, attempted to spare the feelings of his opponents, some of whom were very influential

⁵⁸ The same accusations he voiced in 63 (*Leg. agr.* 2. 41 ff.).

⁵⁹ *Schol. Bob.* 92 St.: *Dicere quidem generaliter uidetur <...>; sed procul dubio nihil aliud agit, quam ut M. Crassi mores denotet.*

⁶⁰ It should also be mentioned that this was one of only a very few cases when Cicero, albeit indirectly, said something about the avarice of Crassus while the future triumvir was still alive. See further Liubimova 2014 [О. В. Любимова, “Красс-корыстолюбец: к вопросу об образе Красса в трактате Цицерона ‘Парадоксы стоиков’”], 35 and 49.

⁶¹ Notwithstanding Cicero's well-known habit in his speeches and letters of omitting to name enemies, political opponents, and more generally those he disliked. See Adams 1978, 163–164.

in the Roman state. Such restraint may be easily attributed to the fact that at this time Cicero was already thinking about his own future electoral campaign for consulship. Personal attacks on a figure as powerful as Crassus could have transformed their already strained relationship into an open enmity, and the orator apparently did not want that.⁶² A similar tactic was used by Cicero in his speeches against Rullus' agrarian bill of 63, wherein he carefully avoided using his opponents' names (of course, with the exception of Rullus himself). In this case, his task was facilitated by the fact that the annexation bill was introduced by third parties. There are no allusions to Caesar whatsoever in the surviving fragments of the speech. This fact does not allow any far-reaching conclusions, but in my opinion it can serve as a further, albeit very weak, argument against the view that Caesar played a central role in this machination.

Secondly, when repudiating Crassus' claims Cicero argued that aspirations to annex Egypt did not respond to the demands of honour and justice (fr. 4), and therefore the war against Auletes would not be a *bellum iustum*. In *De rege Alexandrino*, Cicero appeared to be elaborating on the criteria for a just war (cf. *Off.* 1. 35–41), and proved that none of them were present in the case of Egypt.⁶³ In particular, Cicero refuted the accusations against the Egyptian king relating to the murder of his predecessor. He demonstrated that Auletes had nothing to do with it, and thus comparing him to Jugurtha was inappropriate. According to the orator, at the time of Ptolemy XI's murder, Auletes was still a boy (*puer*) and lived in Syria, not Egypt.⁶⁴ Ptolemy XII's date of birth is unknown but in all probability Cicero understated his age for rhetorical reasons; in 80 he was most likely not a *puer* but an *adulescens*.⁶⁵ Besides, as Cicero

⁶² In connection with this, see Cic. *Phil.* 2. 7.

⁶³ Cic. *Reg. Alex.* fr. 7: *difficilis ratio belli gerendi, at plena fidei, plena pietatis*.

⁶⁴ Cic. *Reg. Alex.* fr. 9: *cum ille rex sit interfectus, hunc puerum in Syria fuisse*.

⁶⁵ See Bevan 1927, 345 n. 4. In the fourth *Philippic* Cicero called 19-year-old Octavianus *adulescens uel puer* (Cic. *Phil.* 4. 3); this is the upper age limit for his use of the word *puer*. Bloedow 1963, 5–9, followed by Klodt 1992, 23 n. 5, takes Cicero's words seriously and concludes that Auletes was born between 98 and 95 (cf. Strack 1979: "um 95"; Bevan 1927, 357 suggests 96–95), which is unlikely, as it does not correspond with other sources; for a detailed discussion, see Bennett 2019, n. 6. Bennett 1997, 39 and 47, in turn, attributes his birth to approximately 117, but a 37-year-old man could hardly have been called *puer* by Cicero (Bennett thinks that this *puer* refers to Ptolemy XI, which is unlikely, see n. 49). According to Volkmann 1959b, 1749, Ptolemy XII was born between 116 and 108. The issue remains open but it seems that in 80, Auletes was at least over twenty years of age. See also Chrustaljow 2017 [В. К. Хрусталёв, "Образ египетского царя Птолемея XII Авлета в речах Цицерона"], 96–97.

reported, Ptolemy XI was a notorious villain who himself provoked the Alexandrians' rebellion by ordering the slaughter of the queen, Cleopatra Berenice III.⁶⁶ For Cicero there were no sufficient reasons for starting a war with Egypt, therefore moderation had to be exercised.⁶⁷ As Cicero wisely said in 63, "the Roman people ought not to seem to covet every kingdom under the sun"⁶⁸ (trans. C. D. Yonge); it appears plausible that he articulated the same position two years earlier.

By thus objecting to Crassus and Caesar's expansionist plans, Cicero protected, among other things, the interests of Pompey who was in the East during this period. The demonstration of the bill's anti-Pompeian sentiment could also have become a strong argument in the speeches which the opponents of the annexation gave at *contiones*, since at that time the absent Pompey's popularity with the plebs was on the rise. His name is not mentioned in the surviving fragments of the *De rege Alexandrino*, but this oration was delivered in the Senate, where the influence of Pompey's opponents was strong, and praise of him would have been much more restrained.⁶⁹

6. Conclusion

To sum up, it seems clear from the fragments of the speech *De rege Alexandrino* that in 65 both the initiators of the bill (Crassus and probably Caesar) and its opponents (Cicero) appealed to law as well as justice in their discussion of Egypt's potential annexation. Insofar as we can judge, the legal arguments held a much more prominent place in the case for than the case against. Cicero either did not want or did not have an opportunity to contest his opponents' references to the notorious testament of Ptolemy X, and concentrated instead on issues of justice and morality. The usage of such argumentation in the late Republic when discussing important foreign policy matters is significant in itself. It demonstrates that Roman senators, as well as the common audience at *contiones*, expected from

⁶⁶ Cic. *Reg. Alex.* fr. 10: *Atque illud etiam constare uideo: regem illum, cum reginam sororem suam, caram acceptamque populo, manibus suis trucidasset, interfectum esse impetu multitudinis.* The word *trucidare*, which originally applied to the slaughter of cattle, is relatively rare in Classical Latin and has strong emotive connotations (see Walde 1954, 709; Ernout–Meillet 2001, 704).

⁶⁷ Cic. *Reg. Alex.* fr. 4: *Debent esse modestissima, quoniam quidem est hoc summi imperii nosmet ipsos de nostris rebus iudicare.*

⁶⁸ Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2. 42: *non oportere populum Romanum omnium regnorum appetentem uideri.*

⁶⁹ Compare, e. g., the first, senatorial speech against Rullus' bill with two others, delivered at *contiones*.

the orators in these cases appeals to certain ethical principles and were ready, at least in theory, to take them into account when making decisions. As Cicero's argumentation shows, it was possible to claim that moral issues, no less than legal obligations, should be considered important in foreign affairs. Despite of the gap between rhetoric and reality which always obtains, to be persuasive such arguments had to have been based on ideas widely accepted by the majority of Romans. They cannot have been just a theoretical and lifeless invention of philosophizing philhellenic intellectuals. Contrary to the view of some modern scholars, Cicero's tactics used in 65 provide solid evidence that those arguments could be directed not only at the Greeks, but also at the Romans themselves, although the political and personal motives of powerful individuals – such as greed or the pursuit of military glory – were often of pivotal importance when a final decision was made.⁷⁰

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The author examines an episode associated with censor Crassus' proposal in 65 BC to annex the Ptolemaic kingdom, concentrating mainly on the specific content of the debates between proponents and opponents of the annexation. The surviving fragments of Cicero's speech *De rege Alexandrino*, as well as the Bobbio scholiast's commentary on it, make clear that participants in the polemic appealed not only to law, but also to justice. The usage of such argumentation when discussing important foreign policy matters demonstrates once again that Romans of the Late Republic, at least in theory, wanted their wars to be ethically justified; the well-known Roman concept of *bellum iustum* was not of a purely formal character in that period, as some scholars believe.

В статье рассматривается важный эпизод римско-египетских отношений периода Поздней республики, связанный с предложением цензора Марка Лициния Красса в 65 г. до н. э. аннексировать царство Птолемеев. Автор касается политической подоплеки этих событий, однако главное внимание сосредоточено на изучении конкретного содержания дебатов между сторонниками и противниками аннексии. Анализ сохранившихся фрагментов речи Цицерона "Об александрийском царе" и комментариев к ним позднеантичного схолиаста из Боббио демонстрирует, что в ходе полемики обе стороны апеллировали как к праву, так и к справедливости. Сам факт использования подобной аргументации при обсуждении важных вопросов внешней политики ещё раз показывает, что римляне эпохи Поздней республики, по крайней мере в теории, желали, чтобы ведущиеся ими войны имели этическое обоснование, и что хорошо известная римская концепция *bellum iustum* в этот период не носила, как полагает целый ряд авторов, исключительно формального характера.

NOVISQUE REBUS INFIDELIS ALLOBROX
(HOR. *EPOD.* 16. 6)

At the beginning of his *Epode* 16, Horace contrasts civil wars with external threats that could not destroy Rome: the Marsi¹ or the Etruscans, competition with Capua, the rebellion of Spartacus,² *novis rebus infidelis Allobrox*,³ the fierce Germans⁴ or Hannibal, who had terrified⁵ the Romans' ancestors (vv. 1–8):

Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,
suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.
quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi
minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus,
aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer
novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox
nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube
parentibusque abominatus Hannibal.

It is clear that this is not a chronological listing of historical episodes. On the contrary, recent threats make way for those that are almost mythological, while two enemies close in time, Capua and Hannibal, are spaced apart on the list, at the end of which one can see a *gradatio*.⁶ Why the Allobroges⁷ appear on the list of powerful enemies of Rome is far from clear. This was

¹ The Marsi initiated (“*primi moverunt*”, as the Scholia IV termed [Keller 1902, 433]) the Social War, also called the Marsic War (*Bellum Marsicum*). Mankin 1995, 247 discusses whether this episode may be considered as an external aggression, while Watson 2003, 490 sees no complication here.

² One can conclude that they perceived Thracian Spartacus as a foreign enemy.

³ We meet *singularis* only here. *Pluralis* is *Allobroges*, *-um*.

⁴ Since the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones, Germanic tribes were considered as a dangerous enemy of Rome. However, it might also refer to recent campaigns of Caesar.

⁵ Probably from the religious formula *quod abominor* (God forbid that!).

⁶ Watson 2003, 494.

⁷ E.g. Watson 2003, 402 calls the mention of the Allobroges as a major enemy at least “odd”.

a Gallic tribe living on the banks of the Rhone, familiar to us primarily from Book 1 of the *Commentarii de bello Gallico*. Two questions arise at once: (1) which historical episode related to the Allobroges could have been worthy of such a reference?⁸ and (2) how should we define a case and function of *novis rebus*,⁹ as *dativus (commodi/incommodi)* or as *ablatus (instrumenti, temporis, causae, of attendant circumstances)*¹⁰?

Supposing that this refers to a **single historical event**, we find ourselves confronted with a choice: the Allobroges, “disloyal in time of tumult” (let us prefer this translation at this point),¹¹ appeared several times in the history of Rome:

1. In the Punic War II, the Allobroges supported Hannibal by providing him with everything he needed before he crossed the Alps, Liv. 21. 31: *...commeatu copiaque rerum omnium maxime vestis est adiutus*. (The mentioned dispute over power between two brothers might point to a kind of *res novae*: *Tum discors erat. ... <Hannibal> arbiter regni factus... imperium maiori restituit*.)

2. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus¹² conquered the Allobroges. We know that the final battle took place on August 8, 120 BC where the Isère meets the Rhone (Plin. *NH* 7. 166). Chronologically, these events coincided in time with in-country unrest (*res novae*) related to the policy of Gaius Gracchus.

3. Allobroges legates were involved in the Catiline Conspiracy in 63 BC. Many authors provide details of these events.¹³ The fact that the Gauls had taken the side of the government and their participation in the conviction of conspirators are of particular importance for our discussion. In that case, they were really unreliable to *res novae (dativus incommodi)*. Scholars variously interpret this episode as both the most likely¹⁴ and

⁸ Or, “quid Allobroges in hoc contextu sibi volunt?” (Ollfors 1964, 125).

⁹ Verbatim, *new state of things, revolution, changes* (*OLD* s. v. *novus*, 10).

¹⁰ Page 1962, 493.

¹¹ Bennet’s translation in Loeb edition: “the Gaul disloyal in time of tumult” (Bennet 1960, 403).

¹² Cos. 121 BC, see Brassloff 1909.

¹³ First of all, Cic. *Cat. Or.* 3; Or. 4; Sall. *Cat.* 40–41; Plut. *Cic.* 18. 3.

¹⁴ Ollfors 1964, 127 mentions a majority (“maior pars”) of scholars who state that the poet meant this very event (“designatum esse”). A more correct statement would be that most scholiasts *took into account* this event. Orelli 1910, 725 refers the passage to Catiline’s conspiracy, but takes *novis rebus* for *ablatus*. In his sketchy review of Roman history in Horace’s works, V. Durov names the same event as mentioned here (Durov [B. C. Дуров, *Незнакомый Гораций*] 2015, 55).

the least likely¹⁵ for our fragment. There are two difficulties with the apparent obviousness of this solution (in particular, the expression *res novae* completely fits the denomination of the conspiracy). The first is logical. The Gauls, who had turned out to be unreliable accomplices of Catiline, did not destroy, but rather saved Rome when they had agreed to become double agents for Cicero.¹⁶ An inconsistency with the context, difficult to articulate, is another problem. The comic story of inconsistent actions of Gallic legates introduces irony and somewhat lowers the style, which is not so undesirable on the list of dark pages of the Roman history as it is in the context of the entire poem, dedicated to the Civil War and full of despair, unusual for Horace.

4. In 61 BC, in the towns of the Allobroges, Valentia and Solinum, people rebelled against the colonists, and Caesar mentions the suppression of this uprising.¹⁷ Other authors also refer to these events (Dio 37. 47–48; Cic. *De prov. cons.* 32; Liv. *Per.* 103).

5. At the time of Caesar's conquest of Gaul, the Allobroges were already allies of the Romans, and one can assume that they could be regarded as quite reliable ones, as they did not support Vercingetorix's rebellion (Caes. *BG* 7. 64–65).¹⁸ Some of them joined Caesar's troops. It seems that one case would suit the characteristics of *novis rebus infidelis*: during the Civil War, some Allobroges, the brothers Roucillus and Egus and their comrades, switched sides from Caesar to Pompey, reporting details of the fortifications of Dyrrachium to the latter (Caes. *BC* 3. 59–61).¹⁹

6. There are no data available on other uprisings of the Allobroges, although cases of unrest in Gaul as a whole sometimes make scholars suppose that this is about events that occurred simultaneously with or shortly before the writing of *Epode* 16. Thus, Watson apparently assumes reference is made to the uprising of 38 BC, saying that the Allobroges “had recently been in the news”.²⁰ If it were so, this detail could be

¹⁵ Mankin 1995, 248 says that this episode is *least likely*, interpreting it rather as a reference to the events of 121–120 BC.

¹⁶ Thus in that crisis they were in fact *faithful* to the Senate (Mankin 1995, 248).

¹⁷ *Nuper pacati erant*, *BG* 1. 6. 3 (note that the attribute of *nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur* is given from the perspective of the Helvetians).

¹⁸ Some possible explanations for their devotion to Caesar are proposed by Cook 1914, 91–93.

¹⁹ Caesar points out a psychological aspect in the conflict with the Gauls and the transition that followed, *sed freti amicitia Caesaris et stulta ac barbara arrogantia elati* ... (*BC* 3. 59. 3).

²⁰ Watson 2004, 492.

relevant for dating the *Epode*. Nevertheless, sources on the history of uprisings in Gaul clearly report that the Allobroges had not revolted in this period: in 38 BC, there were uprisings in Aquitania and on the banks of the Rhine (in particular, Dio [48. 49. 2] mentions sea battles which detail does not correspond at all to the region of the Massif Central. Besides, even though Appianus mentions this uprising [Appianus, *BC* 5. 10. 92], Dio does not think that it was on a large scale). From 31 to 28 BC, the rebels included the Treveri, the Morini (Dio 51. 20. 5) and, perhaps, the Suebi, i. e. the tribes living in quite another region of Gaul. Valerius Messala Corvinus, Horace's friend, suppressed the uprising of 28 BC, but that had taken place in Aquitania too.²¹

Thus, it is clear that this particular Gallic tribe used to cause trouble for the Romans with unfailing regularity. Perhaps, based on the list of the aforementioned events, commentaries show such an understanding of the verse, which can be considered as the **cumulative understanding**. Already Christoforo Landino (first ed. 1482) seemingly assumes precisely this, saying, “Allobrox: populi sunt Galliae; quorum legati Ciceroni catilinariam coniurationem patefecerunt. Sed et ipsi saepe deficiendo non parvum negotium populo romano exhibuerunt”.²² Thus, numerous conflicts in 3rd to 1st century BC look here like a kind of repeated violations of the treaty with the Romans. With this understanding in mind, there is a possible interpretation of *novis rebus as ablatus*: *abl. temporis*, if there is an emphasis on frequent uprisings of the Allobroges in times of internal disagreements, or *abl. instrumenti* / of attendant circumstances, with uprisings as a name of the form that their disloyalty has.

However, in this case, we come to exactly the same contradiction that was the actual start of our discussion of the whole issue, i. e. that no single complication in relations with the Allobroges was fatal or even really dangerous for Rome. At the same time, only two episodes coincide with internal conflicts, i. e. Gaius Gracchus' activity and the conspiracy of Catiline (in which, as we already know, the Allobroges had taken the side of the Republic).

In the same period as the cumulative view, for the first time the understanding was recorded that the **Allobroges denote the Gauls in general**.²³

²¹ For more details of uprisings, see Dyson 1975, 152–155.

²² Landino 1505. For a similar view, see Müller 1895, 146.

²³ As an example of this interpretation, see Drexler 1962.

There is a common opinion that Denis Lambin²⁴ “invented” this understanding. Yet it turns out that the famous commentator enlists it only among the others and considers none of them final:

Caesar Commentar. de bello Gall. lib. 3&4 scribit omneis Gallos rebus novis studere... Potest igitur fieri, ut Horatius hoc loco nomine Allobrogum, qui Ciceronis & Caesaris aetate fuerunt pacati, ceteros Gallos significet. Quamquam mihi sit verisimilius, Allobrogum nomine, Allobroges ipsos, non alios Gallos, intelligi²⁵

The reason for the appearance of this understanding lies in the very list of enemies that the Romans had. It names all of the peoples who used to threaten Rome in Italy except for one that was probably the closest to winning and completely destroying Rome, namely the Gallic invasion in 387, the siege of the Capitol and the defeat actually recognised by the Romans. These events led to a long-term fear of the Gauls in Italy, the so-called *terror Gallicus*, and this very fact makes it clear why, in the first verses of *Epode* 16, scholars used to see a reference to Gallic tribes in general.

The idea learnt in school days that the Gauls were an ethnic group unreliable because of a commitment to *res novae*,²⁶ primarily due to their depiction by Caesar (*BG* 2. 1. 3; 3. 10. 3; 4. 5. 1; 7. 59. 2) and also by other authors (Cic. *Pro Font.* 46; *De prov.* 32; Liv. 21. 52. 7), seems to endorse this interpretation.

Why, then, could Horace choose the Allobroges as representatives of Gallic peoples? Along with metrical requirements,²⁷ two circumstances can be pointed out. First, the Allobroges had long been on the political map of ancient Europe, representing a large community from Hannibal's times to those of Stephen of Byzantium.²⁸ Besides, according to Cicero's speech *Pro Fonteio* (69 BC), they were one of the most powerful tribes in Gaul as of the 60s BC.

Anders Ollfors, who has analysed in detail all possible interpretations of the expression under discussion, finally combined two understandings (cumulative and generalization), concluding that Horace meant exactly *a series of episodes* in which the Allobroges appear, and “Allobroges

²⁴ E.g., Mankin 1995, 248.

²⁵ Lambinus 1580, 327.

²⁶ In this case, *novis rebus* is *abl. causae*.

²⁷ Interestingly, Horace only uses *Galli* to denote the Galatians (*Epod.* 9. 18) and priests of Cybele (*Serm.* 1. 2. 121). Additionally, we have found adj. *Gallicus* (*Carm.* 1. 8. 6; 3. 16. 35) and circumlocution *Rhodani potor* (*Carm.* 2. 20. 20).

²⁸ Ollfors 1964, 128.

igitur *serie rerum actarum* Romanis notissimi erant eoque aptissimi ad *personam omnium Gallorum* in enumeratione hostium capitalium populi Romani sustinendam”.²⁹

Still such *pars pro toto* denomination requires parallel examples. Ollfors actually refers to a number of cases in which Horace denotes a whole ethnos or locality with a name of a smaller nationality: *Carm.* 1. 18. 9; 2. 9. 23; 2. 19. 20; 3. 6. 14; 3. 26. 10.

However, none of the cases looks similar enough to the case we are discussing. For instance, the poet mentions peoples of Thrace (Sithones, *Carm.* 1. 18. 9; 3. 26. 10, and Bistones, *Carm.* 2. 19. 20) in connection with the cult of Dionysus or the severe climate of Thrace. But it is all the same to us whom of the Thracians the author names in these context,³⁰ while the beginning of *Epode* 16 enlists historical events, and there such a *pars pro toto* designation does not seem reasonable enough. The two other cases cited by Ollfors are even less similar: these are the legendary Geloni as a designation for the Parthians (*Carm.* 2. 9. 23) and the Ethiopians as a designation for the Egyptians (*Carm.* 3. 6. 14),³¹ as here the respective first nation is not a part of the second.

Continuing with my own observations on the text of Horace's *Epodes*, I would point out that it seems reasonable to look for possible parallels in the text of these 17 iambic poems specifically. No such cases have been found; on the contrary, in *Epode* 7, similar in both subject and mood, Horace names the Britons and Parthians in the most common way (verses 7 and 9).

Let us consider the meaning of the adjective *infidelis*. Unlike the cognate *perfidus*, ‘that deliberately breaks faith’ (*OLD*), *infidelis*, along with *infidus*, has a translation of *not keeping faith, disloyal, not to be relied on* (*OLD*), i. e. it can imply uncertainty. In other words, if you rely on such allies, be prepared for possible complications.

The only parallel usage of the same adjective by Horace (*o rebus meis non infideles arbitrae, Nox et Diana* in *Epod.* 5. 49–51), although negative, nevertheless shows that the combination with *dat. commodi / incommodi* is quite possible.³²

Considering this, it may still seem tempting to see in this a reference to an involvement of the Allobroges in the Catiline Conspiracy. It is

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁰ For one passage (*Carm.* 1. 18. 9), such an interpretation is disputable, as the context may refer to Sithones in particular, see Nisbet – Hubbard 1970, 233.

³¹ On this passage, see below.

³² With *infidus* also *Luc.* 4. 698 f.

possible to perceive some ambiguity (that inevitably arises when the poet mentions failed conspirators) as an iambic hyperbole instead of irony, which does not fit the poem. Long before his final conclusion in footnote 15, Ollfors proposes a similar understanding as follows:

Horatius ergo in iambo suo 16, 6 *per amplificationem rhetoricam* Allobrogibus infidelitatem quasi absurdam attribuit, quippe qui non modo naturaliter infidi sunt, sed *infideles eis qui ipsi infidi rei publicae* sunt.

Such an exaggeration seems quite suitable for the book of *Epodes*,³³ if the author, instead of mentioning the Gauls, reported the highest disloyalty of the Allobroges in the case *when they had betrayed traitors* and shown themselves unreliable *even* for the conspiracy.

There is some exaggeration concerning the scale of the danger of the episodic part of Allobroges legates. Still, there is another example of such imprecision in Horace's works: the context of *Carmen* 3. 6 is quite similar, though the general tone is almost the opposite: one more time speaking of the Civil War, the poet states (vv. 13–14):

Paene occupatam seditionibus
Delevit Urbem Dacus et Aethiops...

Here, in a much later poem and in a poetically revised form, we see mention of proverbial northern and southern peoples, whose involvement in historical events, as the reader understands quite well, is far more marginal.³⁴

Thus, the proposed translation may be: *...nor the Allobroges unreliable for the new ventures*, with the Allobroges legates' involvement in Catiline's conspiracy meant.

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³³ An iambic exaggeration as a satirical technique is not frequent, but can still be found in *Epodes*, e. g. 12. 1; 4. 8.

³⁴ The following verse contains the mention of Antony's fleet as an explanation of the Ethiopian threat. Dacian inroads were a stock topic of conversation in the 30s BC (*Serm.* 2. 6. 53), but still could not reach Italy. Nisbet – Rudd 2004, 104 call this exaggeration an "evident" one.

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This paper is a discussion of the first verses of Horace's *Epode* 16, which lists the key enemies of the Romans, including the Allobroges tribe, described as *novis rebus infidelis*. The proposal is to interpret the latter as a reference to the involvement of Allobroges legates in the conspiracy of Catiline, whose supporters had just been unmasked with the help of the Gauls who had come down on the side of the Republic. The inconsistency (in style and logic) that appears in the *Epode* can be explained by Horace's commitment to exaggeration, because the Gauls had proved to be unreliable *even for the conspiracy* (we propose to interpret *novis rebus* as *dat. incommodi*). The paper also includes two remarks on the statements found in some commentaries. First, Denis Lambin neither proposes the idea of the denomination of *the Gauls overall* in this fragment, nor does he support it. Second, there are no data on the uprising of the Allobroges in the 40s to 30s BC, which excludes the passage in question from those relevant for dating of the *Epodes*.

В статье приводятся соображения по поводу начала 16-го эпода Горация, где в перечень принципиальных врагов Римского народа включено племя аллоброгов, причем с характеристикой *novis rebus infidelis*. Последнее предлагается понимать как отсылку к участию послов аллоброгов в заговоре Катилины, сторонники которого были обличены как раз при помощи галлов, перешедших на сторону республики. Возникающую при это непоследовательность стилистического и логического плана можно объяснить стремлением Горация к преувеличению – в этом случае галлы показали себя ненадежными *даже для заговора* (слова *novis rebus* предлагается понимать как *dat. incommodi*). В статье также делаются два частных уточнения утверждений, замеченных в научной литературе: идея обозначения в данном пассаже *галлов вообще* лишь упоминается Дени Ламбенем среди прочих интерпретаций и не разделяется им; также не существует данных о восстании именно аллоброгов в 40–30 гг. до н. э., что исключает важность рассматриваемого пассажа для датировки сборника эподов.

THE TRAIN OF THOUGHT IN HORACE, *EPIST.* 2. 2. 213–216

The framework of Horace's epistle to Florus consists of profuse apologies: in response to having been reproached for not replying to letters, and in particular, for not sending new lyrics. For the latter the poet makes the following excuses (seemingly with varying proportions of seriousness and humour, though always with a flavour of self-irony):¹

- (1) he only dared to write verses out of poverty and despair (v. 26–54);²
- (2) old age takes away creative powers along with other pleasures of life (v. 55–57);³
- (3) different friends prefer different genres (iambi or satires or odes), so that one cannot please everybody (v. 58–64);
- (4) noise and fuss in Rome preclude him from creative work (v. 65–86);
- (5) poets are obliged to trade in insincere mutual admiration, which he abhors (v. 87–105);
- (6) incompetent poets enjoy comfortable illusions which he does not have (v. 106–128).⁴ In fact, writing genuine poetry is backbreaking (in v. 109–125 a concise poetic programme, a quasi *ars poetica in nuce* is given). If it were possible, Horace admits, he would gladly be deluded in considering himself a great poet instead of behaving reasonably (*sapere*)

¹ Helpful for understanding the structure of the epistle are the headlines of sections in Brink's commentary (Brink 1982, 266–412) and in Rudd's text edition (Rudd 1989, 51–58).

² In v. 51 and 54 poetry is humorously (ἀπροσδοκῆτως, Heinze 1961, 251) described as a kind of audacious feat; the serious thought that lies behind it is that genuine poetry must indeed be regarded as extremely hard labour (cf. below on argument [6], v. 106–108). Klingner 1935, 466 (= 1964, 323) rightly points out that v. 42–46 (civil war regrettably made the poet leave Athens and drop philosophical studies) anticipates the declaration of turning to philosophy that comes much later in v. 141–144.

³ The connection between v. 55–57 and v. 141–144 and, especially, 214–216 is also rightly pointed out by Klingner 1935, 465 (= 1964, 322).

⁴ Incompetent poetry that Horace is obliged to praise provides, along with poets' vanity, a connection between (5) and (6).

and being angry with despair (*ringi*),⁵ but, alas, this misapprehension is not available to him (v. 126–128). There follows the anecdote about a monomaniac who lamented over the loss of pleasant illusions after recovery (128–140).

The verb *sapere* in v. 128 throws a bridge to the concluding part, which amounts to about a third of the whole epistle:⁶

(7) the author declares that he has abandoned poetry and devoted himself to the study of moral philosophy (v. 141–144):

nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis
et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum⁷
ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.

These lines are very similar to the famous passage from *Epist.* 1. 1 (v. 10–11):

nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono:
quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum.

Further, a kind of self-suggestion or autogenic training is introduced (v. 145):

quocirca mecum loquor haec tacitusque recordeor...

⁵ Kilpatrick 1990, 23 with n. 54 on p. 101–102 and 69 (transl.) surprisingly understands *ringi* as a critical reaction to incompetent writings ('[to] exercise like Diogenes a fierce, uncompromising discernment'; he puts a rhetorical question instead of a full-stop after *ringi*). Yet, it seems natural to refer *ringi* not to the poet's reputation as a critic, but to his psychological condition (as the opposite to *delectent* in v. 12; cf. Kiessling 1889, 211 and Brink 1982, 350).

⁶ The connection between *sapere* in v. 128 and 141 was pinpointed by Knoche 1935, 478–479 (= 1986, 258–259; supported by McGunn 1954, 356 with n. 35 and Brink 1982, 357).

⁷ *tempestivum* is almost universally taken here as an epithet to *ludum* (*utile est ludum pueris tempestivum* <pueris> *concedere*); *pueris* depends then on *tempestivum* and *concedere* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. I find this brachylogy harsh (Kiessling 1889, 212 refers to *Epist.* 1. 19. 17 *decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile*, but there *decipit* can stand alone and *vitiis* can be taken only with *imitabile*, thus Wilkins 1907, 231) and prefer to follow L. Mueller 1893, 241 in taking *tempestivum* as a predicate that is coordinate with *utile est* (*tempestivum* [scil. *est*] *concedere*). The coordinate clauses *utile est* and *tempestivum* (*est*) would give more weight to the argument ('it is appropriate ... and it is timely ...') and provide a closer parallel to *tempus abire tibi* in v. 215 (on which see below). Still, I admit the possibility that the usual interpretation is correct.

It is important to stress that the remaining third of the epistle, up to the last line, might be printed in quotes: this is what Horace repeats to himself.⁸ The second person addressed to in this part is therefore not Florus, but Horace himself.

Almost all this self-addressed part of the epistle is devoted to Horace's favourite subject, the foolishness of money-grabbing (v. 146–204; this 'diatribe' has a complex structure and abounds in digressions). After being through with it, the poet goes on to instruct himself in the following way (v. 205–212):

non es avarus: abi. ⁹ quid? ¹⁰ cetera iam simul isto	205
cum vitio fugere? caret tibi pectus inani	
ambitione? caret mortis formidine et ira? ¹¹	
somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,	
nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?	
natalis grate numeras? ignoscis amicis?	210
lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?	
quid te exempta iuvat [v.l. levat] ¹² spinis de pluribus una?	

Thus, after rebuking avarice and greed, the poet warns himself against euphoria and urges on himself the necessity of further improvement in moral philosophy: 'Well-done, but this was only the first step; much work is yet to be done'.

This paper focuses on the concluding four lines that contain two problems of interpretation, one of which has been discussed often and in detail, while the other one seems to remain in the background, being overlooked by most of the scholars (v. 213–216):

⁸ Pace L. Mueller 1893, 241–242 (ad v. 145 ff., 'ohne Rücksicht auf seine Person'); 250 (ad v. 213) and Nisbet 2007, 18 (cf. n. 44 below); otherwise *mecum* and *tacitus* in v. 145 would be pointless.

⁹ *abi* is a rare colloquial formula attested in Plautus and Terence (see *TLL* 1. 67. 76 ff. and Brink 1982, 402–403 *ad loc.*) that more often expresses disapproval or disbelief, but sometimes, as here, approval. The latter sense is likely to originate in some formula of dismissal – in court, in army, at school, at the doctor's or elsewhere.

¹⁰ Some editors punctuate *quid cetera, iam ... fugere?*

¹¹ L. Mueller 1893, 249 *ad loc.* (citing Virg. *Aen.* 2. 413 *ereptae virginis ira* and Lucr. 3. 1045 *dubitabis et indignabere obire*) takes *mortis* as dependent on *ira* as well as *formidine* ('fear and resentment of death'; likewise Kiessling 1889, 220; Wilkins 1907, 327–328, Pasoli 1964, 115; Rudd 1989, 148). However, Fedeli 1997, 1452, with reference to Traina 1993, 43 rightly states that it is unnecessary, since *ira* was normally regarded as an ailment in philosophical writings and could be mentioned in one row with vain ambitions and fear of death. The old-age peevishness mentioned in v. 210–211 is not exactly the same as *ira* in general and, therefore, not an obstacle.

¹² The choice between the two readings is not relevant for the present discussion.

vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
 lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti:
 tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aequo 215
 rideat et pulset lasciva decentius¹³ aetas.

If you know not how to live aright [i. e., obviously, according to (moral) philosophy], make way for the experts (*decede peritis*).¹⁴ You have played enough, have eaten and drunk enough. 'Tis time for you to quit the feast, lest, when you have drunk too freely, you get mocked and jostled by the age that plays the wanton with better grace [i. e. by the youth] (transl. Fairclough; modified to make it slightly more literal).

The first problem concerns the interpretation of the last three lines (v. 214–216). Scholars are divided into two camps here.¹⁵ Some (from Porphyryon to N. Rudd,¹⁶ P. Fedely¹⁷ and N. Holzberg¹⁸) insist that leaving the feast metaphorically implies dying. They are guided by multiple examples of this metaphorical usage in antiquity and first of all by *Lucr.* 3. 938 ff.¹⁹ and 959 ff.²⁰ that were imitated by Horace himself in *Sat.* 1. 1. 117–119²¹ and also bear resemblance to the passage in question.²²

Other scholars, starting with Wieland,²³ emphasize the close resemblance between v. 213–216 and v. 141–144 quoted above and interpret leaving the feast as renunciation of all kinds of youthful diversions,

¹³ *decentius* is to be taken with *lasciva*, not with *rideat et pulset*.

¹⁴ See *ThLL* 5. 1. 120. 60 ff. s. v. *cedo* (sometimes *via* or *de via* is added). Note the absolute usage of *decedere* in passive voice (*Cic. Cato M.* 63 *salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi*). This is the only possible meaning for *decedere* here and *peritis* must be dative (there are no parallels for *decede* with the ablative in the sense of ‘to go out of the rank of’).

¹⁵ Catalogued in Brink 1982, 408–409.

¹⁶ Rudd 1989, 149–150.

¹⁷ Fedeli 1997, 1454–1456.

¹⁸ Holzberg 2009, 213.

¹⁹ *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis / aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem? / sin ea quae fructus cumque es periere profusa / vitaeque in offensost, cur amplius addere quaeris, / rursum quod pereat male et ingratum occidat omne, / non potius vitae finem facis atque laboris?*

²⁰ (personified Nature speaking): “... *et nec opinanti mors ad caput adstitit ante / quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum. / nunc aliena tua tamen aetate omnia mitte / aequo animoque, age dum, magnis concede necesse est*”.

²¹ *inde fit, ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum / dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita / cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.*

²² See, however, n. 30 below.

²³ Wieland 1816 (= ⁴1837), 183.

including poetry, in favour of philosophical studies (thus R. Heinze, Fr. Klingner, Ch. Brink a.o.).²⁴

The advantage of the first interpretation is that all the other examples of this feast-metaphor in Greek and Roman literature,²⁵ including the lines of Lucretius and their imitation by Horace, indeed refer to dying. If we take the second interpretation, then only in this passage of Horace is this hackneyed metaphor applied to something different.

On the other hand, the striking similarity between v. 141–144 and 213–216, as well as the composition of the epistle on the whole, are compelling arguments in favour of the Wieland line of interpretation that was at length defended by Brink.²⁶

Nothing suggests that Horace is saying farewell to life here. Not only would it spoil the flippant mood of the quasi-rigorous self-instruction, but, which is more important, the appeal to surrender to well-timed death would be out of place in this context. It could only be explained as one more – disjointed – philosophical self-admonition: ‘*Besides*, remember that you should die decently as an old man and not cling to life at any price’.²⁷

Still, the renunciation of youthful play in v. 141–144 is expressed in very similar words (*sapere*, v. 141, and *verae vitae*, v. 144 – *vivere recte*, v. 213; *tempestivum ... concedere*, v. 142 – *tempus abire*,²⁸ v. 215, *ludum*, v. 142 – *lusisti*, v. 214) and clearly implies there not dying, but quitting poetry. Moreover, this is the main subject of the epistle: why does Horace not send new lyrics? – because he exchanged lyrics for philosophy. He is not preparing to die, but devotes himself to philosophy from now on. In the concluding lines 214–216 Horace therefore returns to v. 141–144 and sums up the last and most important excuse for not writing lyrics any more: he has had enough of juvenile amusements, it is time for him to drop them (in favour of philosophy, of course, and not in the face of death²⁹).

²⁴ See n. 15 above. Pace Brink, Kiessling 1889, 221 refers v. 214–216 (though not v. 213) to dying.

²⁵ See appendix 20 in Brink 1982, 444–446 (“Life a Feast”) with a dozen passages.

²⁶ Brink 1982, 399–402, 408–412.

²⁷ In this case I would rather take the asyndeton in v. 214–216 not as causal, but as temporal or conditional (‘once you are well-fed, leave the feast’), in order to avoid the implication of Horace’s dying in the near future.

²⁸ I omit *decède* in v. 213, since my interpretation of *decède peritis*, which is to follow, suggests that it means other than *concedere* in v. 142.

²⁹ Pleading old age is present in v. 214–216, but it must not necessarily be taken as saying farewell to life; it only suggests that Horace does not have energy to write lyrics any more, as in v. 55–57 (see p. 274 with n. 3 above; cf. also *Epist.* 1. 1. 8–11). H.-Chr. Günther 2013, 481–482 tries to combine these two interpretations (“Horace

We can only conclude that this change of *lifestyle* is expressed by the metaphor that normally refers to leaving life altogether.³⁰

The second problem in question lies in the words *decède peritis* (v. 213: ‘If you know not how to live aright, make way for the experts’). If this is a self-addressed appeal to make room for those who are experienced in moral philosophy, it would imply giving up philosophy, while the context clearly requires just the opposite.³¹ In v. 205–212 quoted above the poet exhorts himself not to relax after overpowering avarice and ardently enumerates other vices that are yet to be extirpated. ‘A single one of many thorns has been removed’ (v. 212). Therefore, the required sense of *decède peritis* must be ‘work further, do not stop at what has been accomplished’ and not ‘make room for the experts’.

Secondly, it is not clear how Horace’s efforts in mastering moral philosophy can possibly prevent anyone (professional or amateur) from doing the same. Why exactly should he step aside, as if he were occupying somebody else’s position or space? It might make sense if philosophical sermons, i.e. writing philosophical poetry, were meant (‘let the better-skilled propagate philosophy instead of you’); but Horace presents himself as a self-instructing student of philosophy, not as a teacher.³²

Scholars tend to ignore these problems, while those who do offer solutions leave me unconvinced. Praedicow’s emendation *decède peritus* may be called amusing (‘if you cannot live aright, at least die having learned to do so’).³³ Lehrs obelized v. 213.³⁴

speaks of both the banquet of life and banquet of youth: the banquet of life *is* the banquet of youth”, p. 481), but if dying is taken metaphorically (“He retires from life into his own self ... and he abandons everything that goes with life”, *ibid.*), leaving the feast will in fact refer to juvenile amusements alone. Cf. n. 42 below.

³⁰ The influence of the Lucretian passage is undeniable, but pushing the parallel between *decède peritis* and *†magnis† concede* too far (Fedeli 1997, 1454–1455; Holzberg 2009, 213) is illegitimate. *†magnis†* in Lucr. 962 has been emended to *gnatis* (Bernays), *dignis* (Lachmann), *iam annis* (Traina) etc., but I favour the brilliant emendation of Martin ⁵1969, 121 *magnis concede necessis* (the dative form of a rare substantive *necessum*). Holzberg (*ibid.*) wrongly transfers *periti* into his translation of Lucr. 3. 962 (either by mistake or adopting some emendation of *magnis*): “‘...und mit Gleichmut – auf denn! – weiche den Klugen: Es muß sein!’ Horaz ist bereit, zu weichen”.

³¹ Rightly noted by Lehrs 1869, CCV–CCVI, who obelized the vers, though preserved it in the printed text.

³² V. 144 *ediscere*; cf. *Epist.* 1. 1. 10 ff.

³³ Praedicow 1806, 620.

³⁴ See n. 31 above.

Heinze states that Horace here literally speaks of dying in favour of more conscientious philosophers.³⁵ His reservation that it is not a direct appeal to committing suicide, but only an exhortation to discipline in living aright ('only thus you deserve to live at all') does not make it clearer. Again, in what way Horace's death would make room for true philosophers – and, for that matter, why only for them?

A remarkable interpretation was offered by Fr. Klingner,³⁶ who takes *vivere recte* in v. 213 in two senses at once. According to him, it refers on the one hand to philosophical principles and corresponds to *verae ... vitae* in v. 144,³⁷ but on the other hand (at the same time) to philistine values ('to live aright, i.e. to drink and have a good time', like *laute vivere*).³⁸ The words *decède peritis* are consequently explained by him in the same vein as leaving the feast in v. 215 (*tempus abire tibi*): the experts in 'living properly', *periti (recte vivendi)*, are therefore not philosophers, but young revellers, to whom Horace has to give way.

In other words, Klingner suggests that Horace is playing the fool in v. 213, suddenly putting on the mask of a philistine and saying 'if you are unable to *live properly* [here comes the code-switching: not *improve properly*, but *have a good time properly*], make way for those younger who can, and leave their feast; you have enjoyed yourself enough'. In this case Horace would playfully explain his zeal in exchanging poetry for philosophy not by rigorous moralizing, but by pleading old age and lack of worldly skill.³⁹

³⁵ Heinze 1961, 280: 'Kannst du nicht gut, also glücklich Leben, so hast du kein Recht mehr aufs Leben; du nimmst nur anderen den Platz weg, die darauf verstehen' (Kiessling 1889, 221 more cautiously: 'mache Platz vor denen, die das *vivere recte* verstehen'). Likewise Krüger 1972, 323; Schütz 1883, 236, 356; Fischer 1892, 22; Rudd 1989, 149–150 ('there is no moral point in continuing to live'); Wilkins 1907, 329: 'make way for those who have learnt the lesson'. The latter might be understood if it could refer not to death, but to oral testing at school ('sit down and may the better pupils say their lessons instead of you'), but this sense can hardly be squeezed out of *decède*. Schneidewin 1901, 655–656 ('Horaz als Darwinist') suggests metaphorical death ('...daß andere mit ihm kurzes Prozeß machen, ihn überrennen werden').

³⁶ Klingner 1935, 467–468 (= 1964, 324), supported by McGunn 1954, 358 with n. 38 and Kilpatrick 1990 103, n. 73; rejected by Brink 1982, 410.

³⁷ Cf. also *Epist.* 1. 2. 41 *sapere aude, incipe. vivendi qui recte prorogat horam...*; *Epist.* 1. 6. 29 *vis recte vivere*; *Carm.* 2. 10. 1 *rectius vives...*

³⁸ Cf., e.g., *CIL* 8. 17938 (Timgad): *venari lavari ludere ridere occ est vivere*.

³⁹ Klingner 1935, 467 (= 1964, 324): '...alle (*scil.* Fehler) müssen abgetan werden. Dann erst ist es ein *recte vivere* (vgl. Vers 144). 'Sonst, wenn du nicht *recte vivere* kannst – andere verstehen sich darauf, sie dürfen ausgelassen sein, die Jungen. Troll dich davon, ehe sie dich hinauswerfen'. In den Worten *recte vivere* vollzieht

The flippant air of self-caricaturing as an unskillful bon vivant appears tempting.⁴⁰ The more important advantage of Klingner's interpretation against the others is that *decedere* in v. 213 and *abire* in v. 215 refer to the same (otherwise these similar words that stand in close proximity must be treated as referring to different images).

However, the identification of *decede peritis* with leaving the feast in v. 215 also has a reverse side: in this case v. 213 conforms well with the following v. 214–216, but is incompatible with the preceding v. 205–212. The line of reasoning in v. 205–212 (not to mention the parallels between 213–216 and 141–144), requires that *vivere recte* in v. 213 must be taken in a philosophical sense (as *sapere* in v. 141 and *verae vitae* in v. 144, as Klingner himself admits).⁴¹

Pace Klingner, it is impossible to interpret *vivere recte* in both senses at once: in a philosophical sense 'when it was being pronounced' and in a hedonistic sense 'suddenly' and 'at the same moment'. At that very moment when we have taken *vivere recte* as 'to have a good time', the preceding enumeration of vices, the aphorism about unextirpated thorns and the protasis in v. 213 will hang in the air.

Klingner's ingenious interpretation is therefore to be rejected as overcomplicated. The explanation of *decede peritis* is only possible on the premise that *vivere recte* means 'to live in accordance with moral philosophy' and nothing else.⁴² *Periti (recte vivendi)* must consequently refer to experts in philosophy as opposed to beginners.

sich wieder eine der spielenden Wendungen des Horaz. Ihr Sinn schlägt plötzlich aus dem Philosophischen in das Unphilosophische um. Es hieß 'nach der sittlichen Norm leben', als es ausgesprochen wurde, aber im gleichen Augenblick heißt der Satz auch schon: 'Wenn du mit dem Leben nichts rechtes anzufangen weißt...' Von diesem Standpunkt aus heißt es dann: 'Du hast nun in dem, was du so Leben nennst, nichts mehr zu suchen. Also fort mit dir!'"

⁴⁰ One might object, though, that the feast-simile in this context rather suggests that juvenile pleasures are improper to Horace's old age and beyond his powers (as in v. 55–57, cf. n. 3 and 29 above); the idea that he fails to succeed in pursuing pleasures would be slightly different.

⁴¹ Cf. n. 39.

⁴² Günther 2013, 401 takes leaving the feast as a transition from 'real life' with its pleasures and writing lyric poetry, to the state of quasi non-existence and writing 'philosophical semi-poetry' (see n. 29 above): "He leaves life to the 'experts (of life)', to those who know how to live, or think they do. He knows that he, the old man, is at a loss as to how to live properly, and he accepts it. He accepts that there is nothing left for him but to try to cope with his imperfect existence", – but he does not explain how *recte vivere* and *peritis* can be withdrawn from the philosophical context of v. 205–212.

Another solution, offered by Wieland, was accepted by Schmid and defended by Brink.⁴³ Wieland takes *decede peritis* only as a show of respect to the experts (like eng. *to take off one's hat to smbd.*) and not as an appeal for them to act instead of Horace. This metaphorical usage would remove the second of the two difficulties mentioned above on p. 279. Yet, how does this deference to expertise fit in a context that requires the sense 'improve further, go on studying'? Wieland simply assumes that this reverent gesture implicitly refers to studying: 'respect the masters', i. e. 'learn from them'.⁴⁴

Though this interpretation offers excellent sense which fits the context perfectly, it is insufficient semantically, as was rightly pointed out by Rudd.⁴⁵ Indeed, a wording like, e. g., 'if you cannot write in good Latin, respect those who can' does not suffice to imply '...learn from them' – that would be expressed in some different way.

Nevertheless, Wieland and Brink seem to be right in understanding *decede* only as a reverent gesture (any idea that Horace has to drop philosophy, or even die, to let some experts act in his place obviously results in nonsense). Now, if one could explain how this gesture can provide the sense 'study further' in a semantically satisfactory way, the problem would be solved.

It is important for the discussion that *decedere* with the dative case, like *assurgere* (which refers to a similar reverent gesture⁴⁶), can be applied to inanimate objects as a personifying poetical metaphor in the sense of 'to be inferior to, to be of lower rank or quality', and this usage is attested in Horace (*Carm.* 2. 6. 14–16):

...ubi non *Hymetto*
mella decedunt viridique certat
baca Venafro.

⁴³ Wieland 1816 (= ⁴1837), 182–184; Schmid 1830, 255; Brink 1982, 410.

⁴⁴ Wieland 1816 (= ⁴1837), 183: "*Implicite* sagt dies auch noch: *und lerne von ihnen!*"; cf. Brink 1982, 410: "'make room for, give place or precedence to, those who know how to (live aright)' <...> in a metaphorical case, like the present, 'defer to' is at least not excluded". Nisbet 2007, 18: "here Horace is not talking to himself (as is sometimes assumed) [cf. n. 8 above. – DK] but is advising Florus to defer to his own greater experience of life ... *concede* might be clearer". Yet, even thus *decede* in the sense of 'defer to' is problematic.

⁴⁵ Rudd 1989, 149 (supported by Günther 2013, 481 with n. 54): "If it could mean 'attend to those who *can* live properly', i. e. the philosophers, the difficulty would be greatly eased. But it is very doubtful if the phrase can bear that sense". He concludes that v. 214–216 must refer to death; but it will not make the explanation of *decede peritis* as 'you do not deserve to live' any better (see p. 280 with n. 35 above).

⁴⁶ Cf. Cic. *Cato M.* 63 in n. 14 above.

Nisbet and Hubbard⁴⁷ rightly note that in this case *decedere* is a livelier metaphor than simple *cedere*: the latter would simply mean that the honey does not yield to its eminent rival; the former draws a picture of a human being, who does not move out of the way before a person of high status.⁴⁸ I find it very probable that Nisbet and Hubbard are correct in suggesting here the influence of Virgil (*Georg.* 2. 95–98):

...et, quo te carmine dicam,
Rhaetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.
sunt et Aminneae vites, firmissima vina,
Tmolius adsurgit quibus et rex ipse Phanaeus...

It is noteworthy that in both contexts *decedere* and *assurgere* are contrasted with *certare* and *contendere* respectively; in other words, *decedere* is here virtually the same as ‘*certare (contendere) non posse*’. If it can be applied to inanimate objects through personification, no doubt that it can be applied to human beings as well.

Thus, *decede peritis* can be explained as ‘*noli certare cum peritis*’, ‘acknowledge the precedence of the experts’, that is to say, ‘do not imagine yourself to be a master’. This meaning accords perfectly with the general sense of the preceding passage (v. 205–212): ‘Avarice defeated? Fine! What about other numerous vices? Is it enough to uproot a single one? If you cannot live aright, bow your head to the masters, i. e. do not imagine that you are equal to them’.

The idea that the author is in danger of valueing himself as an expert has already been expressed (*non es avarus? abi...*, v. 205) and the warning against it has been given (v. 205–212); v. 213 summarizes this warning. The reverent gesture of making room for the masters is meant to confirm the poet’s own amateur status and thus easily provides the sense required by the context: ‘do not think that you are already an expert’ is essentially the same as ‘study further’.

The interpretation suggested here follows in the footsteps of Wieland’s and may be called a modification of it. I can foresee two objections:

(1) The imperative ‘concede to smbd.’ is, strictly speaking, not the same as ‘acknowledge that you concede’. – However, *decedere*, unlike eng. *to concede*, refers not to inferiority itself, but (at least formally) to a ceremonial gesture that habitually expresses one’s inferiority. Therefore

⁴⁷ Nisbet–Hubbard 1978, 102.

⁴⁸ This gesture was significant for the higher circles of Rome: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3. 31 and Suet. *Nero* 4.

the imperative *decede* in this sense means not just ‘be inferior to’, but ‘act as inferior to’, which is almost the same as ‘acknowledge your inferiority’.

A parallel in support of this can be found in *Paneg. Lat.* 2 (12). 4. 4 (Pacati Theodosio):

sint, ut scribitur, Gargara proventu laeta triticeo, Mevania memoretur armento, Campania censeatur monte Gaurano, Lydia praedicetur amne Pactolo, – dum Hispaniae uni quidquid laudatur *assurgat*.

(2) In this case *decede peritis* has nothing in common with *tempus abire tibi* in v. 215 and the simile of leaving the feast; but it would seem natural to understand two similar expressions that stand almost next to one another as referring to the same, especially in the view of similarities between v. 141–144 and 214–216 (*concedere*, v. 142 – *decede*, v. 213, *abire*, v. 215). – This difficulty is more serious, but perhaps it can be put up with. As has been shown above in the discussion of Klingner’s interpretation, it is hardly possible to link *decede peritis* with the simile of leaving the feast and *periti* with young revellers. It would deprive *recte vivere* in v. 213 of its normal philosophical sense and break the logical sequence between v. 213 and the preceding v. 205–212.

On the contrary, once we assume that *decede* in v. 213 has nothing in common with *abire* in v. 215 (as if it were, e.g., *assurge peritis*) and that v. 213 can be separated from v. 214–216 and linked to the preceding v. 205–212, both logic and structure will be satisfactory. V. 213 sums up the warning against the beginner’s premature pride and exhorts him to learn further (this corresponds to v. 141a and 144). V. 214–216 pick up the theme of bygone youth and dropping poetry (which corresponds to v. 141b–143 and 55–57).

After all, *tempestivum ... concedere* in v. 142 already has its parallel in *tempus abire* in v. 214 and does not stand in need of a second parallel in *decede* in v. 213. In a text that abounds in metaphors, some of them being re-purposed for different things, we must allow that metaphors will find expression through similar verbs. That these verbs happen to stand close to one another, as in this case, may be regarded as a mere coincidence.⁴⁹

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⁴⁹ Thus, *abi* in v. 206 has nothing in common with *abire* in 215.

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Hor. *Epist.* 2. 2. 214–216 ('you have eaten, drunk and amused yourself enough; it is time for you to leave the feast of youth') have been taken to imply: (1) leaving life (by analogy with other instances of this feast-simile in antiquity); or (2) quitting poetry and other youthful diversions in favour of studying philosophy. The latter is preferable in view of the main subject of the epistle (Horace's excuses for dropping poetry) and structural parallels between v. 213–216 and 141–144.

V. 213 ('If you know not how to live aright, make room for the experts') poses two problems: (1) it seems to imply giving up philosophy, whereas the preceding v. 205–212 ('many vices are yet to be extirpated') require the opposite sense ('improve further'); (2) it is not clear in what way Horace's withdrawal would make room for experts. Fr. Klingner took *vivere recte* in v. 213 in a hedonistic sense and interpreted *decede* by analogy with leaving the feast in v. 214–216. Yet, the train of thought in v. 205–212 and parallels between v. 141–144 and 213–216 suggest that *vivere recte* must be understood in a philosophical sense. C. M. Wieland and Ch. Brink interpret *decede peritis* not as a withdrawal, but only as a reverent gesture ('respect the masters') and deduce that it implies the necessity to learn from the experts. However, N. Rudd rightly objects that this extension from 'respect' to 'respect and learn' is illegitimate.

Everything falls into place, if *decedere* with the dative is understood as a reverent gesture that indicates inferiority (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 6. 15; Verg. *Georg.* 2. 98 *assurgit*): 'If you cannot live aright, bow your head to the masters', that is, 'Do not imagine that you are already equal to them (and study further)'.

В пассаже Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 214–216 ('Ты достаточно ел, пил и развлекался; тебе пора оставить пир молодых') ученые видели указание (1) на уход из жизни (по аналогии с другими примерами этой метафоры в античности); и (2) на отказ от поэзии и других юношеских забав в пользу занятий философией. Как основная тема послания (Гораций извиняется за то, что прекратил сочинять лирику), так и структурные параллели между стт. 213–216 и 141–144 заставляют предпочесть второе толкование.

Ст. 213 ('Если ты не умеешь правильно жить, уступай дорогу мастерам') содержит две проблемы: (1) на первый взгляд, здесь говорится о прекращении занятий философией, хотя предыдущие стт. 205–212 ('осталось искоренить в себе еще много пороков') требуют противоположного смысла ('продолжай совершенствоваться'); (2) неясно, каким образом уход Горация из философии облегчит задачу мастерам. Фр. Клингнер, понимая *vivere recte* в ст. 213 в гедонистическом смысле, объяснял *decede* по аналогии с оставлением пира в стт. 214–216; однако ход мысли в стт. 205–212 и параллели между стт. 141–144 и 213–216 предполагают, что *vivere recte* должно пониматься в философском смысле. Кр. М. Виланд и Ч. Бринк видели в *decede peritis* не уход от философии, а только почтительный жест ('почитай мастеров') и выводили из него необходимость учиться у мастеров; однако Н. Рудд справедливо возразил, что выражение "почитай" не может означать "почитай и учись".

Все встанет на свои места, если понимать *decedere* с дативом как почтительный жест, указывающий на более низкий ранг (ср. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 6. 15; Verg. *Georg.* 2. 98 *assurgit*): 'Если ты не умеешь жить правильно, снимай шляпу перед мастерами', т.е. 'Не считай, что ты уже стал мастером (и продолжай совершенствоваться)'.

EPIGRAPHICA

A CHALCEDONIC DIE OF ASTYNOMOS ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΣ FROM TAURIC CHERSONESUS

In 2018, a die made of semiprecious stone was discovered in the Quarter XX of Tauric Chersonesus during the excavations conducted by the Chersonesus Archaeological Expedition of the State Hermitage under the direction of Nadezhda Yu. Novoselova.¹ The object originates from filling of a cellar of the Hellenistic house located at the crossroads of the 2nd Longitudinal and 11th Transverse Streets. Originally, this territory had been situated beyond the defensive walls of Chersonesus and was incorporated into the urban layout when restructuring the city under ‘Hippodamian plan’ in the 4th century BC.²

The building complex at the intersection of the 2nd Longitudinal and 11th Transverse Streets is conventionally called ‘The House of Archelaos’ (Fig. 1).³ Erected in the second half of the 4th century BC, it has existed until the middle or the end of the 2nd century BC that coincides with general chronology of residential housebuilding in the Northern District of Chersonesus.⁴ Dimensions and area of the house (11.4×12.6 m and 143.6 sq. m correspondingly) are close to those of most ‘small area’ houses excavated on the northern seashore of the city.⁵

¹ The die is kept in the State Historical and Archaeological Museum-Preserve of Tauric Chersonesus (Inv. no. 37708/31). A preliminary report on the find was delivered at the International Conference “The Bosporean Phenomenon” (St Petersburg, November 2018): Novoselova–Namojlik 2018 [Н. Ю. Новоселова, А. С. Намойлик, “Халцедоновый (?) штамп астинома из Херсонеса Таврического: новейшая находка экспедиции Государственного Эрмитажа”, *Боспорский феномен: общее и особенное в историко-культурном пространстве античного мира*], 98–105.

² Ryzhov 2007 [С. Г. Рыжов, “Оборонительная стена V в. до н. э. в Северном районе Херсонеса”], 29.

³ The name was given due to the finding of an amphora fragment with the owner’s graffito Ἀρχελάου in Cellar 2 of the house (Novoselova 2017 [Н. Ю. Новоселова, *Отчет об археологических раскопках в XX квартале Херсонеса Таврического в 2017 г.*], 11, 86–87).

⁴ Bujskikh 1999 [А. В. Буйских, “Жилые дома на Северном берегу Херсонеса”], 27.

⁵ Bujskikh 2008 [А. В. Буйских, *Пространственное развитие Херсонеса Таврического в античную эпоху*], 128.

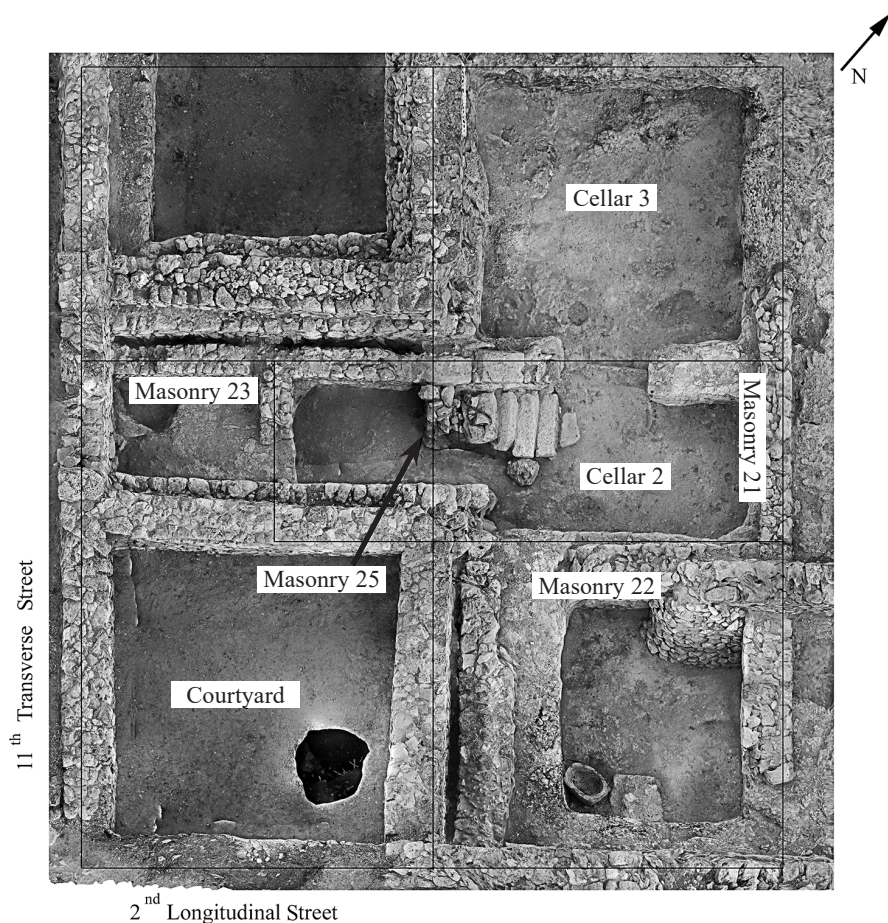


Fig. 1. Orthophoto plan of 'The House of Archelaos'.

'The House of Archelaos' is supposed to have had a courtyard adjacent to the corner of the streets, and five small rooms of areas varying from 10.5 to 18.0 sq. m. Some rooms had cellars contouring their layout. The earliest structures of the house survived from the late 4th century BC are four stone masonries (nos. 21, 22, 24, 26) put up on the bedrock surface, and two cellars (nos. 2, 3) cut in the bedrock and connected with a passage. Dimensions of the cellars were correspondingly 6.62×2.10 m and 4.52×4.50 m. When redesigning the house 20–30 years after the construction, the Cellar 2 was partially filled so that it became shorter. In order to isolate the filled (southern) section from functioning (northern) part of the cellar, a Masonry 25 was erected on the bedrock. The preserved ten courses of the masonry are 1.10 m high. Under a stone fallen from its fifth course, there was the die.

For dating the find, it is essential to analyze ceramic materials from the filling of Cellar 2 separated by Masonry 25. The amphora material, according to S. Yu. Monakhov, belongs to the late 4th – early 3rd century BC. These are rim fragments of Sinopean amphorae of Type II Pythoid⁶ (Fig. 2. 1–3), feet of Chersonesan amphorae of Variant I⁷ (Fig. 2. 4–6) as well as a foot of a Knidian amphora of Type II-B Pythoid⁸ (Fig. 2. 7). A considerable amount of black-glazed tableware has happened to be in the filling, too. There are bowls with outturned rim (Fig. 3) deriving in their shape from vessels dated back to approximately 300 BC,⁹ fish dishes (Fig. 4) similar to those from the Athenian Agora that were produced between 310 and 290 BC,¹⁰ and a group of *kantharoi* including fragments of more than 30 vessels (Fig. 5). The most representative samples of the *kantharoi* are dated to approximately 285–275 BC.¹¹ The given data indicate that partial filling of the Cellar 2 and construction of the Masonry 25 had taken place not later than the first quarter of the 3rd century BC.

The die is a rectangular plate with a base for mounting handle on its backside (Figs. 6, 7).¹² The angles of the plate are slightly rounded. Its dimensions are 3.4×2.4 cm, and its thickness varies from 0.25 to 0.4 cm. The base for a handle, 2.4×1.4 cm in size, together with the plate make up the maximum thickness of the die that equals 0.7 cm. At the junction of the plate and the base, there is a groove of 0.1–0.15 cm in depth. The die is made of a translucent mineral, light grey in colour, belonging to the chalcedony group. The stone surface is finely smoothed. On the face side of the die, there is a retrograde three-line inscription and two emblems rendered in hollow relief:

← ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ

← ΝΤΟΣΗΡΑΚ

a bunch of grapes

← ΛΕΙΟΥ

a *caduceus* (rightwards)

The text is clearly read as ἀστυνομόντος Ἡρακλείου – “Herakleios being *astynomos*”.

⁶ Monakhov 2003 [С. Ю. Монахов, *Греческие амфоры в Причерноморье. Типология амфор ведущих центров-экспортеров товаров в керамической таре. Каталог-определитель*], 148–149, 158.

⁷ Monakhov 1989 [С. Ю. Монахов, *Амфоры Херсонеса Таврического IV–II вв. до н. э.*], Table 17.

⁸ Monakhov 2003, 106–107, 110.

⁹ Rotroff 1997, nos. 866–871 Fig. 59.

¹⁰ Rotroff 1997, nos. 711–715 Fig. 50.

¹¹ Rotroff 1997, nos. 22–31 Fig. 5.

¹² We express our appreciation to N. A. Pavlichenko, research fellow of the St Petersburg Institute for History, Russian Academy of Sciences, for her valuable comments and corrections on epigraphic matters.

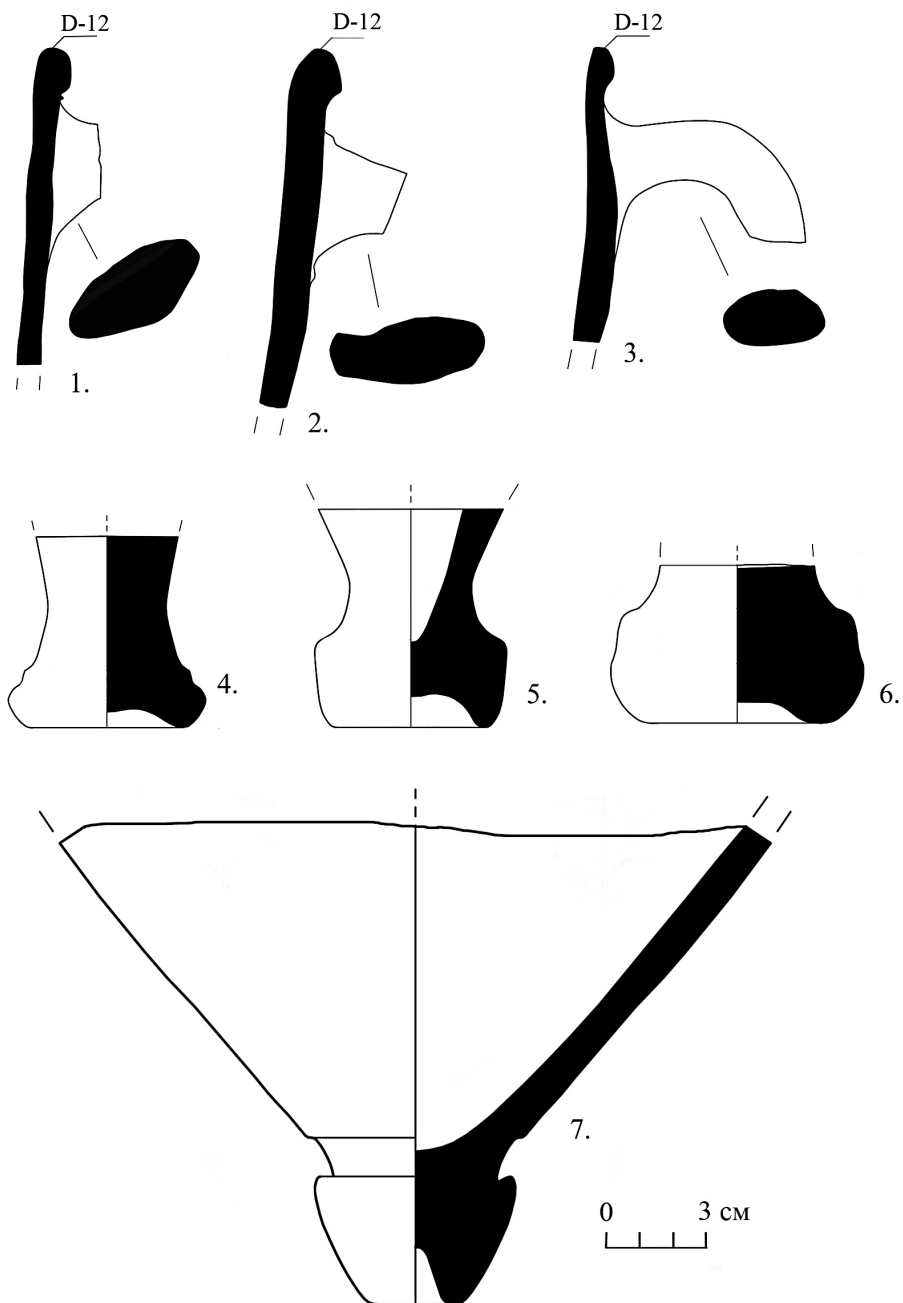


Fig. 2. 'The House of Archelaos', Cellar 2. Amphorae.
 1-3 – fragments of Sinopean amphorae; 4-6 – fragments of
 Chersonesan amphorae; 7 – fragment of Knidian amphora.

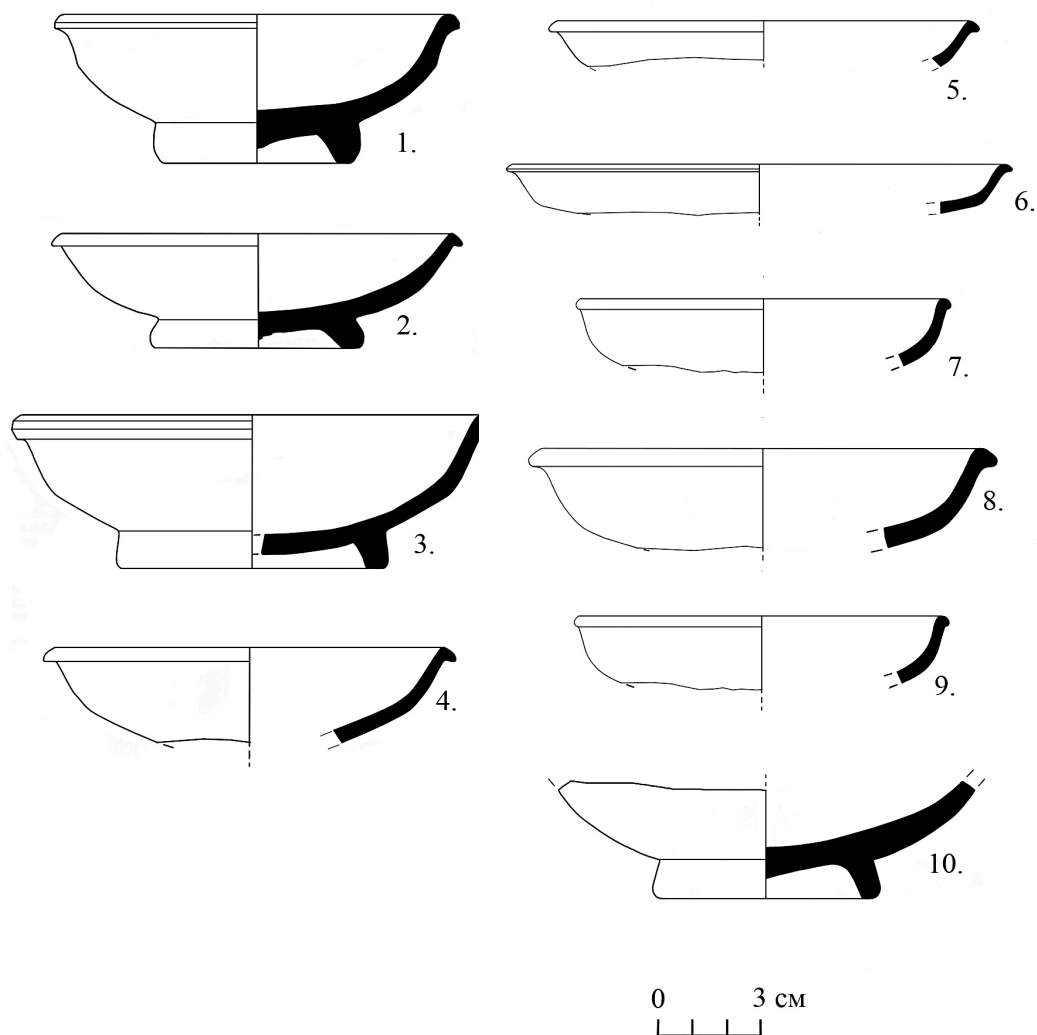


Fig. 3. 'The House of Archelaos', Cellar 2. Black-glazed tableware.
1–10 – bowls with outturned rim.

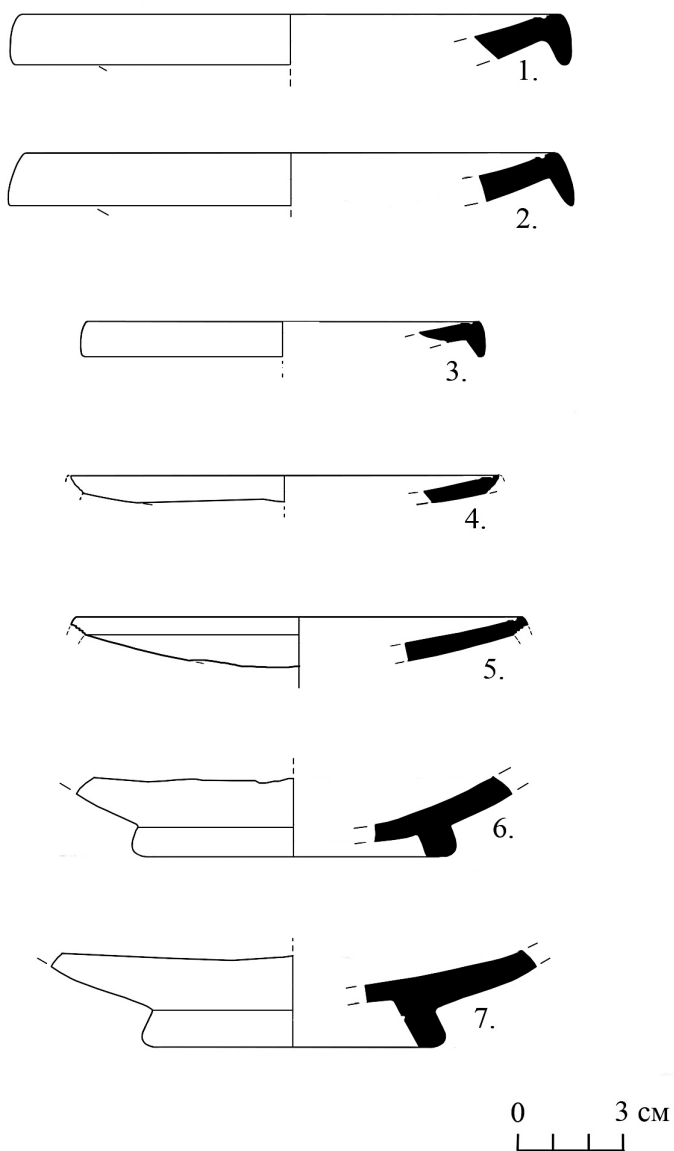


Fig. 4. 'The House of Archelaos', Cellar 2. Black-glazed tableware.
1-7 – fish dishes.

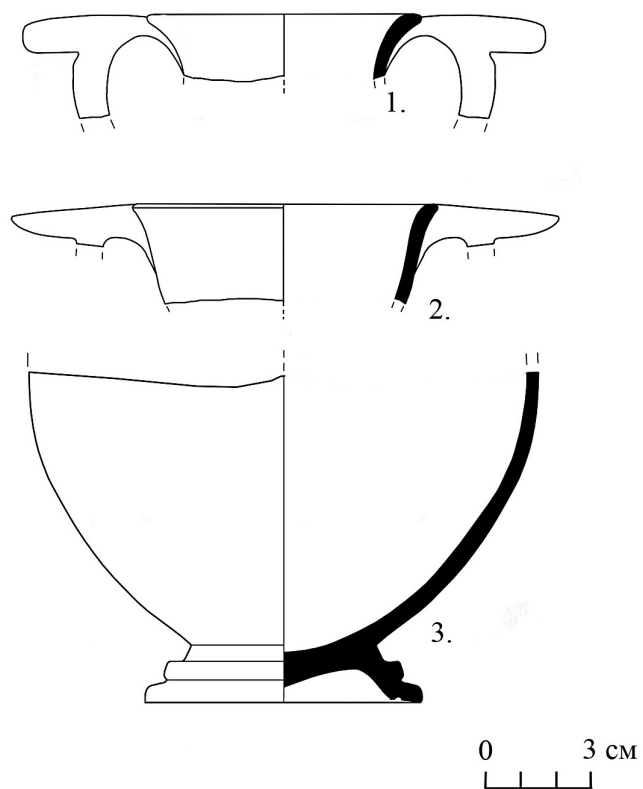


Fig. 5. 'The House of Archelaos', Cellar 2. Black-glazed tableware.
1–3 – kantharoi.

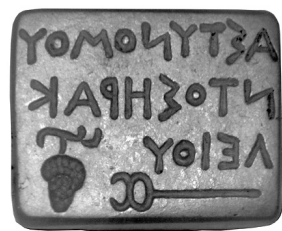


Fig. 6. Die of astynomos
Hērakleios. Photographs.
Front, back, and lateral views.

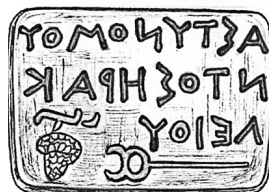
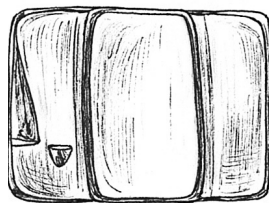


Fig. 7. Die of astynomos
Hērakleios. Drawing.

The carver has performed his work at a high professional level combining machine and hand engraving.¹³ The bunch of grapes is shown particularly detailed having perfectly visible grape berries machined with a round graver tool. On the back side, there are two cavities probably made to test the material while machining template for the die.

Height of the letters ranges from 0.25 cm (*omicron*) to 0.5 cm (*sigma*), and distance between lines is equal to 0.15–0.2 cm. Characteristics of the

¹³ For the information on stone cutting in Antiquity, we thank Ye. I. Arsent'jeva, research fellow of the Department of the Ancient World and curator of the Collection of Carved Stones, State Hermitage, and I. A. Cvetkova, restoration artist of the Laboratory for Scientific Restoration of Sculpture and Semiprecious Stones, State Hermitage.

type are as follows: broad *alpha* with a straight crossbar, *epsilon* with slightly opened upper and lower horizontals and a short medium one, *mu* and *sigma* with hastae set widely apart, *kappa* with shortened slants, broad *nu* with a highly raised right angle, and *omicron* twice smaller than the height of the line. Some letters are decorated with thickenings at the ends of their hastae and subtly traced curves. The shapes of *kappa*, *mu*, *nu*, and *sigma* are typical of the Classic time while small *omicron* and ornamentation are common for the Hellenistic period. Such a combination of palaeographic peculiarities is recorded in ceramic stamps of Chersonesus of the late 4th to early 3rd century BC¹⁴ and in legends of coins minted in the city ca. 325–275 BC.¹⁵ Similar characteristics are found in Early Hellenistic ceramic stamps of Sinope,¹⁶ a major manufacturing and trade center of the South Pontus region, which substantially affected amphora production of Chersonesus.¹⁷ Thus the palaeography of the inscription points to the late 4th or early 3rd century BC; this agrees with dating of the assemblage.

No stamp impressed by this die has been found in Chersonesus or elsewhere. However, stamps on the Chersonesan amphorae bear evidence on *astynomoi* named Ἡράκλειος. Two of them held the office in the late 4th century BC, and two others, in the late 3rd century BC.¹⁸ According to the updated chronology of V. I. Кас, Ἡράκλειος I was active between

¹⁴ State Historical and Archaeological Museum-Preserve of Tauric Chersonesus, Inv. nos. 17509, 17573 (excavations of R. Ch. Löper in 1908): stamps of Ἡράκλειος, Inv. no. 37563/4 (excavations of S. V. Ushakov in 2010): stamp of Ἡράκλειος, Inv. no. 36952/7 (excavations of A. I. Romanchuk in 1976): stamp of Ἀλέξανδρος, Inv. no. 37563/5 (excavations of S. V. Ushakov in 2010): stamp of Ξάνθος, and others; Кас 2007 [В. И. Кац, *Греческие керамические клейма эпохи классики и эллинизма*], 326, 442 Table 20 App. X. We are grateful to M. I. Tyurin, research fellow of the Museum-Preserve of Tauric Chersonesus, who rendered assistance in ascertaining inventory numbers.

¹⁵ Turovskij–Gorbatov 2013 [Е. Я. Туровский, В. М. Горбатов, *Монеты античного и средневекового Херсонеса. Каталог-определитель*], 90–93 Table 7 no. 89, Table 8 nos. 101, 103, 107, 111.

¹⁶ Garlan 2004, nos. 139, 158, 168, 175, and others. – Another center that influenced ceramic manufacture of Chersonesus was its metropolis Heraclea Pontica (Borisova 1974 [В. В. Борисова, “Керамические клейма Херсонеса и классификация херсонесских амфор”, *Нумизматика и эпиграфика*], 101; Monakhov 1989, 93). Inscriptions stamped on Heracleian amphorae of the late 4th century BC have close palaeographic features except thickenings at the ends of hastae (Fedoseev 2016 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, *Керамические клейма. Гераклея Понтийская*], nos. 569, 738, 743, 747).

¹⁷ Borisova 1974, 101; Monakhov 1989, 75–77, 93.

¹⁸ Кас 1994 [В. И. Кац, *Керамические клейма Херсонеса Таврического. Каталог-определитель*], 51, 68, 76–77 nos. 47–50.

316 and 305 BC, and Ἡράκλειος II, between 304 and 295 BC.¹⁹ V. F. Stolba dated activities of both the *astynomoi* to 321–304 BC.²⁰ It is worth mentioning that the Ἡράκλειοι have been identified as homonyms just because of a high variety of stamps imprinted by 20 different dies while an average number of dies for an *astynomos* from corresponding chronological group is 5.²¹ Some researchers do not consider this argument to be crucial and attribute all the dies to one person.²²

According to the *LGN*, the name Ἡράκλειος was particularly popular in Tauric Chersonesus. Epigraphic and numismatic sources mention nearly a dozen different Ἡράκλειοι living in the city in the Hellenistic period.²³ As *astynomoi* bearing this name are known only in Chersonesus, we identify the keeper of the die with a magistrate who worked there in the late 4th and early 3rd century BC. Legends of the stamps of Ἡράκλειοι (or Ἡράκλειος) belonging to this span are organized in two ways: Ἡράκλειος ἄστυνόμου or Ἡράκλειου ἄστυνομοῦντος.

It is noteworthy that a fragment of a black-glazed Attic bowl with graffito HPA[] was found in the same assemblage as the die (Fig. 8). The inscription may be reconstructed as Ἡρα[κλείου] providing some grounds to believe that the owner of the bowl and *astynomos* Ἡράκλειος are the same person.

The die under discussion differs from stamps of Chersonesan *astynomoi* in both iconography and structure of legend. In the inscription on the die, the title of the official precedes his name, while legends of synchronous amphora stamps demonstrate the reverse order. Title of the official shifted ahead as late as the end of the 3rd century BC.²⁴ In its form, namely aspect ratio, the die of Ἡράκλειος is also different from stamps of Chersonesus, whether plane or channel-shaped, which are more oblong.

There are two images on the die, a bunch of grapes and a *caduceus*, whereas emblems are uncommon for stamps of Chersonesan magistrates. The catalogue by V. I. Kac registers only six dies with emblems, four

¹⁹ Кас 2007, 326, 442 Table 20 App. X.

²⁰ Stolba 2005, 168 Table 2.

²¹ Кас 1985 [В. И. Кац, “Типология и хронологическая классификация херсонесских магистратских клейм”], 102.

²² Kolesnikov 1985 [А. Б. Колесников, “Керамические клейма из раскопок усадеб у Евпаторийского маяка”], 76; Fateev 2014 [О. В. Фатеев, “Хронология амфорных клейм Херсонеса конца IV – начала III вв. до н.э. (исследование комплексов и комплексные исследования)”], 233, 236.

²³ *LGN* 4, s. v.

²⁴ Кас 1985, 98.

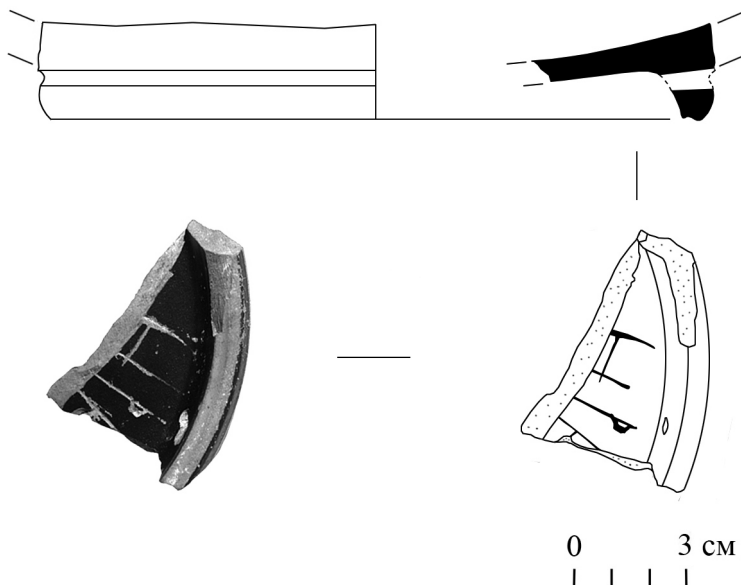


Fig. 8. Fragment of black-glazed bowl with graffito, photograph and drawing.

of them being images of grapes.²⁵ The latter dated from the later period are similar to the grapes on the die under discussion neither in shape nor in manner of carving. *Caduceus* has not been attested among emblems on stamped ceramic wares of Chersonesus. The iconography of the die may have been influenced by other manufacturing centers, for example Sinope that had a distinct impact on typology of the Chersonesan amphora stamps.²⁶ There was at least one Sinopean die (of *astynomos* Ἡρώνυμος I and producer Νουμήνιος) with images of bunch of grapes and *caduceus* dated to 350–340 BC.²⁷ The structure of legend and both disposition and shape of *caduceus* differ from those on the die from Chersonesus, the bunch resembling that on the die of Ἡράκλειος.²⁸

Ancient dies for stamping earthenware are extremely rare finds. Only one die comparable to the find from Chersonesus has been

²⁵ Kac 1994, Nos. 33, 36, 53, 66.

²⁶ Kac 1985, 98–99; Kolesnikov 1985, 76.

²⁷ Fedoseev 1999, 32 Tableau I no. 65; Garlan 2004, 120 no. 69 Pl. IX.

²⁸ The combination of grapes and *caduceus* is also present on stamps of a Rhodian ceramic workshop, which functioned in the second half of the 2nd century BC (Finkielsztejn 2001, 131, 195).

published to date. Discovered in 1961 on the island of Thasos, it had been manufactured of clay fabric and then baked.²⁹ The Thasian tool has a parallelepipedal body with a flat rectangular face and a short roughly modeled handle. The face side bears a hollow representation of an amphora and an engraved inscription: Ἀστυκρέων | Θασίων. As far as we know, stamps imprinted by the die have not been found yet. However, there are some Thasian stamps with the same infrequent name Ἀστυκρέων dated to the second half of the 4th century BC.³⁰ According to Ch. Tzochev, this object has been lost while another Thasian die found in 2003 remains unpublished.³¹ The second die is reported to resemble the first one and to name a Ἡγήσιππος.

Even before the discovery of 1961 on Thasos, V. Grace had arrived at the conclusion that the dies for pottery, predominantly made of clay, were in use only a limited time and then were destroyed.³² This suggestion would explain the puzzling lack of such finds while stamps are abundant.

There are several known examples of dies manufactured of handle fragments and a bottom part of amphorae. Inscriptions were carved on flank (broken) surface that could provide space for no more than two or three symbols. Stamps imprinted with such tools had ovoid or round shape. The dies mainly originate from the territory of Bosporan Kingdom: Panticapaeum (inscription ΠΑΡ in monogram),³³ Tyritake (ΠΑ in monogram),³⁴ settlement of Generalskoye Zapadnoye (ΘΕ in monogram followed by C),³⁵ and Nymphaeum (Ε with additional symbols; Δ with additional symbols).³⁶ One die made of the bottom part of an amphora was reported to be kept in a private collection of Lucas Benaki (inscription ΠΑΡ in monogram).³⁷ The samples with monograms ΠΑΡ, ΠΑ, and ΘΕ

²⁹ Grace–Salviat 1962, 510–516; Garlan 2000, 93–94 Fig. 47. The die originates from the excavations of a residential quarter, as the one from Chersonesus.

³⁰ Grace–Salviat 1962, 512–513; Debidour 1979, 281, 311, 312; Tzochev 2016, 70.

³¹ Tzochev 2016, 20 n. 2.

³² Grace 1935, 422–424.

³³ Yel'nickij 1947 [Л. А. Ельницкий, “Эпиграфические новинки из Керчи”], 207–208.

³⁴ Gajdukevich 1958 [В. Ф. Гайдукевич, “Раскопки Тиритаки и Мирмекия в 1946–1952 гг.”], 171–172 Fig. 25.

³⁵ Koval'chuk 2006 [А. В. Ковальчук, “Керамический штамп с пос. Генеральское Западное”], 3–7.

³⁶ Boriskovskaja 1999 [С. П. Борисковская, *Древний город Нимфей. Каталог выставки*], nos. 335–336.

³⁷ Grace–Salviat 1962, 515–516 Fig. 8.

are supposed to have been used for stamping Bosporan amphorae and tiles, and the dies from Nymphaeum may well have been intended for items of another material, for example bread products.³⁸

In Chersonesus, there was also a practice of carving dies on broken amphora handles with the only difference that oblong lateral surface was the working one.³⁹ Stamps imprinted with such tools took typical channelled shape. They are more numerous than plane stamps.⁴⁰

Generally, clay dies were widely spread. They served not only for marking ceramic containers and tiles, but also for ornamenting pottery and imprinting different images on ritual breads and votive clay medallions.⁴¹

It has long been observed that some dies for stamping tiles and amphorae were made of wood as stamps occasionally have prints of timber veins.⁴² Wooden rectangular dies for sealing clay amphora stoppers were found in Egypt.⁴³ Dated from the mid-3rd century AD, they bear Greek inscriptions marking dates of production and names of vineyards. Inscribed bronze dies were used in the Roman period for marking bread and maybe fabric and leather.⁴⁴

³⁸ Fedoseev 2011 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, “Производство клейменной черепицы в античном мире и на Боспоре Киммерийском”], 290–293.

³⁹ Monakhov 1981 [С. Ю. Монахов, “О штампах для клеймения херсонесских амфор”], 265–271.

⁴⁰ Some medieval clay dies with Christian inscriptions and symbols were found in the city as well (Kolesnikova 1978 [Л. Г. Колесникова, “Храм в портовом районе Херсонеса (раскопки 1963–1965 гг.)”], 170, 172 Fig. 13; Romanchuk–Solomonik 1987 [А. И. Романчук, Э. И. Соломоник, “Несколько надписей на средневековой керамике Херсонеса”], 95–96, 97–98, 100 nos. 1, 4 Figs. 1. 1, 2. 4).

⁴¹ E. g., Sparkes–Talcott 1970, 23: on the application of dies for decorating black-glazed vessels; Rotroff 1982, 93 nos. 411–413 Pl. 72: dies with ornaments of rosette, palmette, and ovule, 2nd century BC; Kosciushko–Val’uzhinich 1902 [К. К. Косцюшко–Валюжинич, “Извлечение из отчета о раскопках в Херсонесе Таврическом в 1900 году”, *Известия Императорской археологической комиссии*], 20: die with ornaments (small and large ovules, rippled decoration, circles) on its four facets, 3rd–2nd centuries BC; Gajdukevich 1951 [В. Ф. Гайдукевич, “Новые исследования Илурата”], 209–210 Fig. 69: die with an image of goddess and two winged animals, 3rd century AD; Kruglikova 1952 [И. Т. Кругликова, “Глиняный штамп из Киммерика”], 119–125 Fig. 40, 1: die with an image of a bird, 3rd century AD; Sekhmistrenko 1962 [В. И. Цехмистренко, “Глиняный штамп из Пантикапея”], 279–282 Fig. 1: die with an image of a deity and two sacrificial animals, 3rd century AD, and others.

⁴² Wace 1907, 17 n. 3; Gajdukevich 1935 [В. Ф. Гайдукевич, “Строительные керамические материалы Боспора”, *Известия Государственной академии истории материальной культуры*], 257–260 Fig. 72.

⁴³ Denecker–Vandorpe 2007, 119–120 Fig. 5.

⁴⁴ Cooley 2012, 101–103 Fig. 1.32; Loreti 1994, 645–653.

As for dies of stone,⁴⁵ they seem to have been less common in antiquity, probably because their functions were largely performed by engraved gems normally used for sealing.⁴⁶

Named dies of the officials were obviously to be destroyed after the term of office had been completed.⁴⁷ The chalcidonic die of *astynomos* Ἡράκλειος from Chersonesus, which for some reason escaped this fate, is nowadays a unique find with no direct analogy.

Absence of identical or similar stamps and relatively small depth of letters on the Chersonesan die suggest that it was intended not for earthenware, but for a more plastic and finer material such as wax or well levigated clay. Functions of *astynomoi* were not confined to the field of ceramic production, and application of the die could be connected with other activities of these officials.⁴⁸

The board of *astynomoi* is traditionally believed to have occupied one of the lowest levels in the administrative system of ancient Greek polis functioning as ‘Polizeibehörde’.⁴⁹ To a large extent, this opinion is based on the information from ancient authors, primarily Aristotle and

⁴⁵ Steatite dies of shape similar to that of the Chersonesan one (rectangular plate with a handle) existed in Minoan and Geometric periods (Vollenweider 1967, no. 120; Brandt 1968, nos. 13, 95).

⁴⁶ Richter 2006, XVI–XVII. – Stone dies as well as signets were products of glyptics, so they might have had to fall under a Solon’s law prohibiting engravers from retaining impressions of the seals produced: δακτυλογλύφῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι σφραγίδα φυλάττειν τοῦ προθέontos δακτυλίου (D. L. 2. 57).

⁴⁷ Garland 2000, 157 n. 15.

⁴⁸ The fact that magistrates regularly used sealing tools in their activities is reflected in literary sources. As evidenced by Aristotle, Demosthenes and some other ancient authors, *diaitetai* of Athens sealed ἔχιννοι – special vessels for keeping documents from arbitration process before a trial (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 53. 2–3; Dem. 45. 17; *Sch. Aristoph. V.* 1436). All the testimonies on ἔχιννοι are collected in Boegehold 1995, 79–81, 222–226, Nos. 288–305. According to Isocrates, Athenian *prytaneis* sealed ballot urns: σεσημασμένοι μὲν ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν πρυτάνεων (Isoc. 17. 33–34). In Chersonesus, a practice of sealing decrees by officials is well attested by inscriptions of the first centuries AD ending with lists of σφραγισάμενοι (Solomonik 1973 [Э. И. Соломоник, “Новые эпиграфические памятники Херсонеса”], 25–36; Kadееv 1981 [В. И. Кадеев, “Херсонес Таврический в первых веках нашей эры”], 65–66).

⁴⁹ Häderli 1887, 47–48; Oehler 1896, 1870; Grakov 1928 [Б. Н. Граков, *Древне-греческие керамические клейма с именами астиномов*], 43–44; Pavlichenko 1990 [Н. А. Павличенко, “Коллегия астиномов в эллинистическом полисе”, *Античный мир и археология*], 52. – Here, we must point at an inaccuracy that sneaked in some studies on astynomy. It is a reference to a thesis of P. Stanley as containing information on the matter while it contains none (Stanley 1976).

Demosthenes, concerning Athenian political institutions. According to these data, the *astynomoi* were in charge of maintenance of streets, canalization, water supply system, buildings and walls; they policed the city including supervising fees of women who played auloi, harps, or lyres; they were chosen by lot for a one-year term (Arist. *Pol.* 1321 b 18–27; *Ath. Pol.* 50. 2). An *astynomos*, together with *agoranomos* and local judge, is referred to as ‘a poor, low skilled man of little experience’ (Dem. 24. 112).⁵⁰

On the other hand, Plato who wrote about ideal institutions modeled on the Athenian ones, considered that the *astynonomoi* should have ability and spare time to take care of public affairs, therefore they were to be elected from the upper classes. The author empowered the *astynomoi* to impose fines up to a mina on their own motion (Plat. *Leg.* 763 c–e; 764 c).⁵¹

Evidences on astynomy in other Greek poleis are available only from epigraphical sources. The most informative document is a so-called ‘Astynomoi Law’ from Pergamon, a Roman copy of a *prostagma* originating from the 2nd century BC.⁵² This regulation strictly defines the duties of *astynomoi* in numerous pragmatic details. The Law lets us know that Pergamon *astynomoi* were responsible for controlling main city infrastructures (buildings, streets, water deposits) and supervised *amphodarchai* who headed urban territorial units of *amphodai*. Subordinate directly to *strategoï*, they played a key role in city administration. For our study, of great interest are two provisions concerning the duty to check water cisterns in private houses as to whether owners keep them waterproof and clean:⁵³

νν φρεάτ{ρ}ων νν οἱ καθεσταμένοι ἀστυνόμοι
τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις δεξαμεν[α]ς
ἀναγραφόμενοι ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ μηνὶ τι-
θέσθωσαν τὴν γραφὴν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς.

Cisterns: after recording the cisterns situated in houses, the *astynomoi* in office should put the record before the *strategoï* in the month *Pantheios*.

⁵⁰ For more complete information on the Athenian *astynomoi* from literary and epigraphical sources, see Cox 2007, 769–775; Saba 2012, 90–96.

⁵¹ Busolt–Swoboda 1926, 1054–1056 n. 2, 1116–1118. On *astynomoi*, see also Busolt 1920, 492–493.

⁵² *OGIS* 483; Klaffenbach 1954; Saba 2012.

⁵³ *OGIS* 483_{190–193}; Saba 2012, 25, lines 203–206 and *OGIS* 483_{214–220}; Saba 2012, 26, lines 227–232.

ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶν ἀστυνόμων μὴ
 θῶνται τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γραφὴν τῶν φρε-
 ἄτων εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἢ μὴ ποιήσωσιν καθ' ἃ
 ὁ νόμος προστάσσει, πραξάτωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ
 νομοφύλακες δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ κατα-
 ταξάτωσαν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς προσόδους.

As regards the *astynomoi* who do not put this record of cisterns to *archeion* or do not act as the law prescribes, the *nomophylakes* should collect 100 drachmas from them and add it to the same funds.

The above quoted implies that in Pergamon the *astynomoi* submitted the records they kept to the ἀρχεῖον – an administrative building of the chief city magistrates including *strategoï*.⁵⁴

On the island of Tenos, the *astynomoi* registered land plot sales and transfers of dowries in the late 4th century BC.⁵⁵ In the regulation of Cean ruddle export of the mid-4th century BC, the *astynomoi* of Koresia are mentioned as officials to be notified about violations of the law and obliged to cast a vote on the issue for presenting it to the court.⁵⁶ The inscription of the mid-3rd century BC from Delos also gives evidence of police functions performed by the local *astynomoi*.⁵⁷ In the Carian city of Iasos, these officials took part in the sale of properties confiscated from those who had conspired against Mausolus. In the list of magistrates, they occupy the third position after *archontes* and *tamiai* preceding some other boards.⁵⁸ In Hellenistic Cyzicus as well as in Rhodes, the *astynomoi* were in charge of setting up steles with inscriptions.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Saba 2012, 84. The word ἀρχεῖον in the same meaning see e.g. in *OGIS* 268₁₉.

⁵⁵ *IG* XII. 5. 872₁: [κατὰ τάδε πράξεις ἐγέ]νοντο χωρίων [καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ προικ[ῶν] δόσεις [ἐ]π' ἄρχοντος Ἀμ[ει]νό[λ]α πρὸς τ[ο]ὺς ἀστυνόμου[ς] Σω-σιμ[ι] [...]. See also Zelnick-Abramovitz 2016, 57–59.

⁵⁶ *IG* II². 1128_{17–18}: [τὴν δὲ ἔνδειξιν εἶν]-[αι] πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους, τοὺς δὲ ἀστυνόμους δοῦνα[ι] τὴν ψήφον περὶ αὐτῆς τριάκοντα ἡ[μ]ερῶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ... See also Rhodes–Osborne 2003, 204–209; Pridik 1892, 93.

⁵⁷ *IG* XII. 4. 1296 A_{2–11}: ὅστις ἐ-|γ Δήλου ἀνδράποδον ἐξάγει εἰ-|τε ἄκον εἴτε ἐκὸν ἢ ἐκ τῶν τε-|μενῶν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ | ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ δεσπότη, ἐξώ-|λη εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος | καὶ οἴκησιν τὴν ἐκείνου· καὶ ὅστις | συνεδῶς μὴ δηλώσει ἐν τοῖς ἀσ-|τυνόμοις, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔνοχος ἔσ-|τω... See also Vial 1985, 236–237.

⁵⁸ *Syll*³ 169: among οἶδε τὰ κτήματα ἐπώλησαν, there are ἀρχοντες, ταμίαι, ἀστυνόμοι, συνήγοροι, πρυτάνεις, ἱερεῖς, and οἶδε ἀπὸ φυλῆς. See also Fabiani 2010, 467–469.

⁵⁹ *Syll*³ 644/645_{92–93}: τὸν δὲ ἀστυνόμον ἐπιμεληθῆναι, | ὅπως ἂν ἀναγραφῇ εἰς τὴν στήλην τῶν π[ρ]ο[ξ]έ[ν]ων; *IG* XII. 1. 1_{6–8}: τὸ δὲ ψά<φι>σμα τότε ἀν[α]γράφαν-|ταν·[τ]ες τοῖ ἀστυνόμοι ἐστ[ά]λαν λιθί-|ναν] θέντω πρὸ τᾶν θυρ[ῶν] τοῦ...].

This brief overview of the information on *astynomoi* includes only the most important evidence relevant for our topic. All the sources available up to date were thoroughly collected and analyzed by S. Saba.⁶⁰ The author has arrived at a conclusion that while the *astynomoi* throughout the Mediterranean had a generally common set of duties, there were significant local differences. Therefore, it would be inaccurate to apply the data concerning *astynomoi* in Athens or somewhere to those in other cities, as it became a standard approach in modern scholarship.⁶¹

What evidence do we have on the *astynomoi* of Chersonesus? There is no any reference to them in lapidary inscriptions. Except for the newly found die, the only source mentioning these officials is stamps on the local ceramic production. This plentiful, but uniform material gives nothing but names. It is generally accepted that the Chersonesan *astynomoi* were low-ranked magistrates performing state control over the metrological standards in trade affairs.⁶² On the other hand, the stamping might aim at chronological identification of goods, the *astynomoi* being *eponyms* in the field of ceramic production.⁶³ The scarce inferences based on mere stamps are supplemented by some indirect, mainly onomastic data. Observations on names and patronymics showed kinship between the *astynomoi* and led to a conclusion that members of several families had systematically held this office for some generations.⁶⁴ Presence of the same names in legends of stamps and coins suggests that astynomy had been a transitive step to higher posts including that of monetary magistrate.⁶⁵ Some persons mentioned in stamps appear as Chersonesan ambassadors in proxeny decrees from Callatis, Olbia, and Delphi, which attests to high social and material status of these people.⁶⁶ The latter assertion is also supported by

⁶⁰ Saba 2012, 87–113.

⁶¹ Saba 2012, 11–12, 87, 113.

⁶² Borisova 1955 [В. В. Борисова, “К вопросу об астиномах Херсонеса”], 143–148; Mikhlin 1979 [Б. Ю. Михлин, “К изучению херсонесских керамических клейм”], 140; Involvement of the *astynomoi* in controlling craft production is evidenced by some literary and epigraphical sources from outside Chersonesus: Pavlichenko 1990, 57–62.

⁶³ Akhmerov 1949 [Р. Б. Ахмеров, “Об астиномных клеймах эллинистического Херсонеса”], 123; Fedoseev 2017 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, “О характере клеймения керамики”, *Древности Боспора*], 394. On the purpose of Greek amphora stamping, see Garlan 1993, 181–190.

⁶⁴ Кас 1985, 99.

⁶⁵ Oreshnikov 1922 [А. В. Орешников, “Этюды по нумизматике Черноморского побережья”, *Известия Российской Академии истории материальной культуры*], 114–115. On a certain case of *astynomos* Βάθυλλος, see Gilevich–Shcheglov 1996 [А. М. Гилевич, А. Н. Щеглов, “Херсонесец Батилл, сын Никагора”], 120–123.

⁶⁶ Avram 2010, 55–59.

the fact that names coinciding with those of *astynomoi* without designation of office occur in some lapidary inscriptions of Chersonesus.⁶⁷

The find of the unique die of *astynomos* makes it possible to add some new details to understanding of this magistracy in Chersonesus. It is highly likely that the die was intended for sealing documents. The ‘Astynomoi Law’ cited above explicitly points to official records they had to keep. Of the finds relative to our topic, we would refer to two clay impressions of the 1st century BC discovered on the agora of Pella.⁶⁸ Impressed by the same die, they bear an inscription Πέλλης | πολιταρχῶν (‘of *politarchai* of Pella’) and two symbols – a club and a rosette. *Politarchai* were senior offices in civic affairs in the cities of Macedonia. The sealings are supposed to have been attached to documents written on papyrus, namely to copies of decrees that had passed.⁶⁹ The material used for sealing documents could also be wax (Luc. *Alex.* 21). The records of this kind were to be kept in an administrative building like ἀρχεῖον of Pergamon. So far, no structure in Chersonesus has been confidently identified as an office of city magistrates. In Greek poleis, public buildings were usually concentrated near agora.⁷⁰ The agora of Chersonesus was evidently situated in the area under the modern Vladimir’s Cathedral. Archaeological remains in this territory were destroyed or at least hardly damaged during the construction of the Cathedral in the second half of the 19th century.⁷¹

To produce a die of ornamental stone was quite expensive and time-consuming task. It seems unlikely that such a thing was to be a subject to destruction after a one-year term. At the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, an attempt of coup d’état against democracy failed in Chersonesus.⁷²

⁶⁷ Akhmerov 1949, 104–105.

⁶⁸ Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou 1971 [Δ. Παπακωνσταντίου-Διαμαντούρου, *Πέλλα 1: Ιστορική επισκόπησης και μαρτυρία*], 91, 144 Fig. 28γ; Akamatis 1991 [Ι. Ακαμάτης, “Η αγορά της Πέλλας”, *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη*], 80, 84 n. 15 Pl. 11.

⁶⁹ Horsley 1994, 101, 105, 116–117 n. 14 No. 27.

⁷⁰ In Pella, a building on the agora where several dozens of papyrus imprints were found (some of them with an inscription Πέλλης ἐμπόριον and an image of grazing ox) is identified an archive (Akamatis 1991, 81, 84 Pl. 12).

⁷¹ Bujskikh 2008, 175–177. In the medieval Cherson, an archive (in its modern meaning) could be located in the coastal zone of the northeastern part of the city, which has crashed into the sea. This opinion is based upon a discovery of numerous lead seal impressions dated from the 6th–13th centuries at the bottom of the Quarantine Bay under the crashed shore (Alekseenko 2006 [Н. А. Алексеенко, “Херсонский архив печатей: миф или реальность?”], 7–16).

⁷² Zubar’–Bujskikh–Kravchenko–Rus’ajeva 2005 [В. М. Зубарь, А. В. Буйских, Э. А. Кравченко, М. В. Русаева, *Херсонес Таврический в третьей четверти VI – середине I в. до н. э.*], 154–161.

The die is synchronous with the crucial documents of the epoch – the civic oath⁷³ and the honorific decree for Ἀγασικλῆς,⁷⁴ the three inscriptions being close in their palaeographic peculiarities. Might not the astynomy term be prolonged in that dramatic period?⁷⁵ It would explain a great number of amphora dies of *astynomos* Ἡράκλειος, which were in use for a short time span. Cases when terms of office of state magistrates were extended are known in the history of Hellenistic Greece.⁷⁶

The die is another proof of rather high status of astynomy in the political system of Chersonesus. E. M. Pridik has long ago suggested that in cities of the Pontus region the *astynomoi* played more important role than in Athens acting as city majors.⁷⁷ According to Aristotle, the scope of officials' responsibilities depended upon the size of a state, bigger poleis tending to specialization, and smaller ones, to concentration of duties in one hand (Arist. *Pol.* 1321 b 8–10).⁷⁸ In small poleis like

⁷³ The bibliography on the oath being abundant, here we refer only to the studies that discuss the date of the document: Latyshev 1909 [В. В. Латышев, “Гражданская присяга херсонисцев”, *Изборник научных и критических статей по истории, археологии, географии и эпиграфике Скифии, Кавказа и греческих колоний на побережьях Черного моря*], 146–147: the late 4th – first half of the 3rd century BC; *IOSPE* I² 401: not later than the first decades of the 3rd century BC; Levi 1947 [Е. И. Леви, “К вопросу о датировке херсонесской присяги”], 99: 281–280 BC; Solomonik 1984 [Э. И. Соломоник, “Фрагмент надписи из Херсонеса о политических изгнанниках”], 80: the 280s BC; Vinogradov–Shcheglov 1990 [Ю. Г. Виноградов, А. Н. Щеглов, “Образование территориального Херсонесского государства”, *Эллинизм: экономика, политика, культура*], 335: the turn of the 4th to the 3rd century BC, not later than the very beginning of the 3rd century; Yajlenko 2001 [В. П. Яйленко, “Некоторые вопросы интерпретации херсонесской присяги и почетной надписи Агасикла”], 181: the 270s BC; *IOSPE*³ III 100: the second half of the 4th – early 3rd century BC.

⁷⁴ *IOSPE* I² 401: 3rd century BC; Vinogradov–Shcheglov 1990, 335: turn of the 4th to the 3rd century BC, not later than the very beginning of the 3rd century; Yajlenko 2001, 181: 270s BC; *IOSPE*³ III 151: late 4th – early 3rd century BC.

⁷⁵ A. M. Gilevich and A. N. Shcheglov have assumed, with no real evidence, that the Chersonesan board of *astynomoi* consisted of three magistrates (depending on a number of *phylai*) who held the office for three years, their functions annually rotating [Gilevich–Shcheglov 1996, 120]. The proposal that there were three Doric *phylai* in Chersonesus was earlier made by Yu. G. Vinogradov on the basis of his restoration of a severely damaged inscription mentioning two *prytaneis* (Vinogradov 1993 [Ю. Г. Виноградов, “Дорийские филы в Херсонесе Таврическом”], 61–66).

⁷⁶ R. Étienne 1990, 42–45; Dmitriev 2005, 58, 61–62; Klimov 2010 [О. Ю. Климов, “Полисный строй и демократия в городах Малой Азии эпохи эллинизма”], 45.

⁷⁷ Pridik 1928, 3–4; Pridik 1941 [Е. М. Придик, “Керамические надписи из раскопок Тиритак и Мирмекия в 1932–1934 гг.”], 173–174.

⁷⁸ Saba 2012, 100, 113. On multiple functions of *astynomoi* overtaken by special officials in larger poleis, see Arist. *Pol.* 1321 b 27–40.

Chersonesus, the set of functions of *astynomoi* was to be quite diverse. The Chersonesian *astynomoi* were probably entrusted with important responsibilities for administrative and economic matters. Scarceness of evidence on these officials, namely the lack of references in lapidary inscriptions, should not be considered as a decisive argument for low status of *astynomy* in Chersonesus.⁷⁹

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Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	– <i>Athenian Agora</i>
<i>KhS</i>	– <i>Херсонесский сборник</i>
<i>KSIMK (КСИИМК)</i>	– <i>Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры</i>
<i>MAIET (МАИЭТ)</i>	– <i>Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии</i>
<i>MIA (МИА)</i>	– <i>Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР</i>
<i>PIFK (ПИФК)</i>	– <i>Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры</i>
<i>SA (СА)</i>	– <i>Советская археология</i>
<i>VV (ВВ)</i>	– <i>Византийский временник</i>

⁷⁹ In Pergamon, the *astynomoi* appear nowhere except the ‘Astynomoi Law’.

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In 2018, a chalcedonic die was discovered in filling of a cellar of the Hellenistic house in the Quarter XX of Tauric Chersonesus. It bears an inscription ἄστυνομοῦ-|ντος Ἡράκ-|λείου (‘Herakleios being *astynomos*’) and two emblems – a bunch of grapes and a *caduceus*. Palaeographic peculiarities of the inscription as well as archaeological context of the find point to the date of the late 4th – early 3rd century BC. *Astynomoi* named Ἡράκλειος are known from stamps on Chersonesan amphorae, however no stamp imprinted by the die under discussion has been found. This tool might have been intended for sealing documents. The unique find supplements scarce evidence on the board of *astynomoi* making us revise a traditional view that it was a low-status magistracy in Chersonesus.

В 2018 г. при раскопках XX квартала городища Херсонес Таврический в насыпи подвала эллинистического дома был обнаружен халцедоновый штамп с надписью ἄστυνομοῦ-|ντος Ἡράκ-|λείου (“При астиноме Гераклии”) и двумя эмблемами – виноградной гроздью и кадуцеем. Палеографические особенности надписи и археологический контекст находки позволяют датировать изделие концом IV – началом III в. до н.э. Астиномы по имени Ἡράκλειος известны по клеймам на херсонесских амфорах, однако оттиски данного штампа не засвидетельствованы. Возможно, штамп предназначался для опечатывания документов. Уникальная находка дополняет немногочисленные свидетельства о деятельности коллегии астиномов, заставляя пересмотреть устоявшееся мнение о низком статусе этой магистратуры в Херсонесе.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

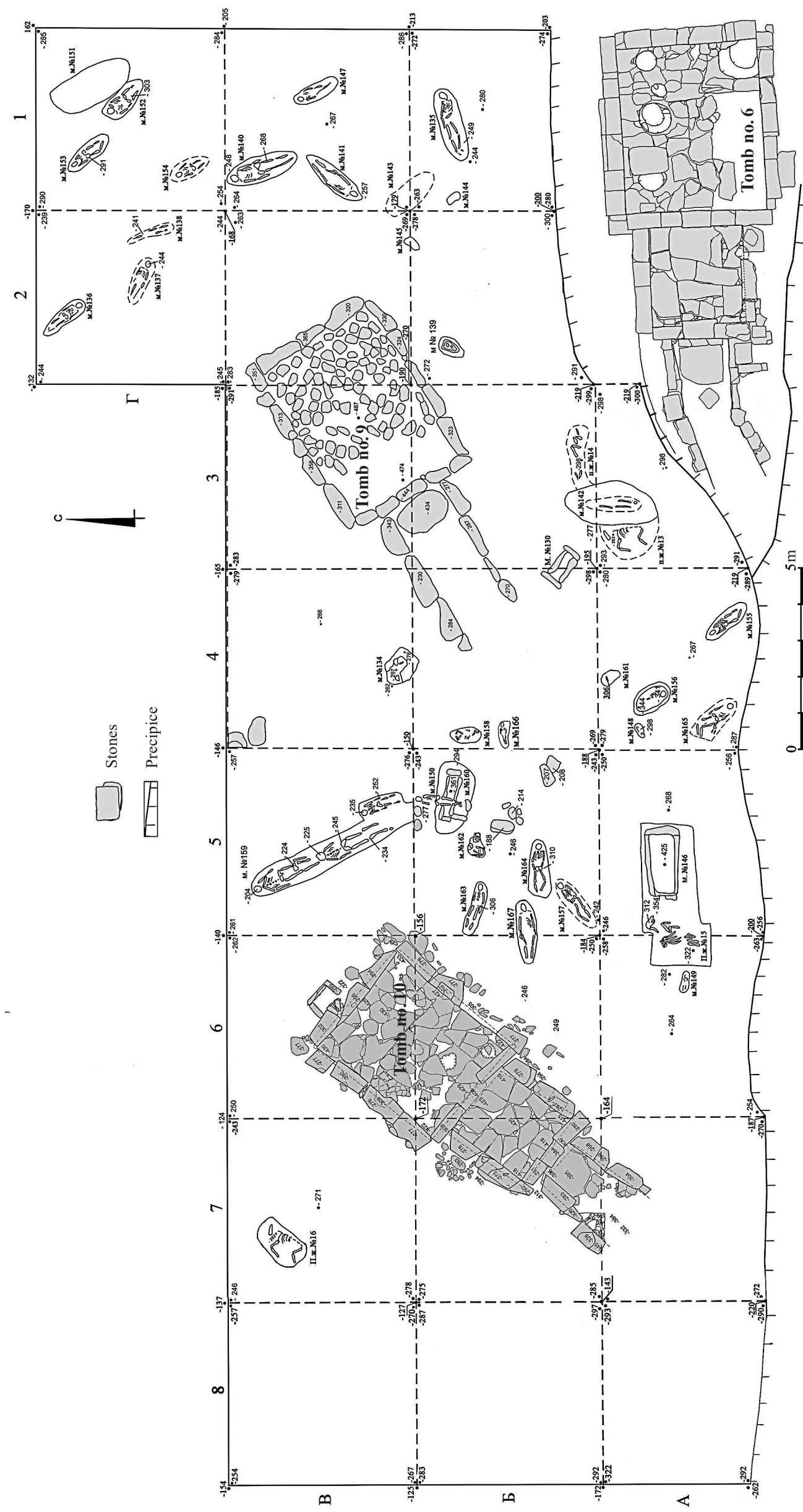


Fig. 1. Necropolis of Kyz-Aul, 2017.
General plan of the excavation (borders of the excavation squares of 2017, stones, precipice).

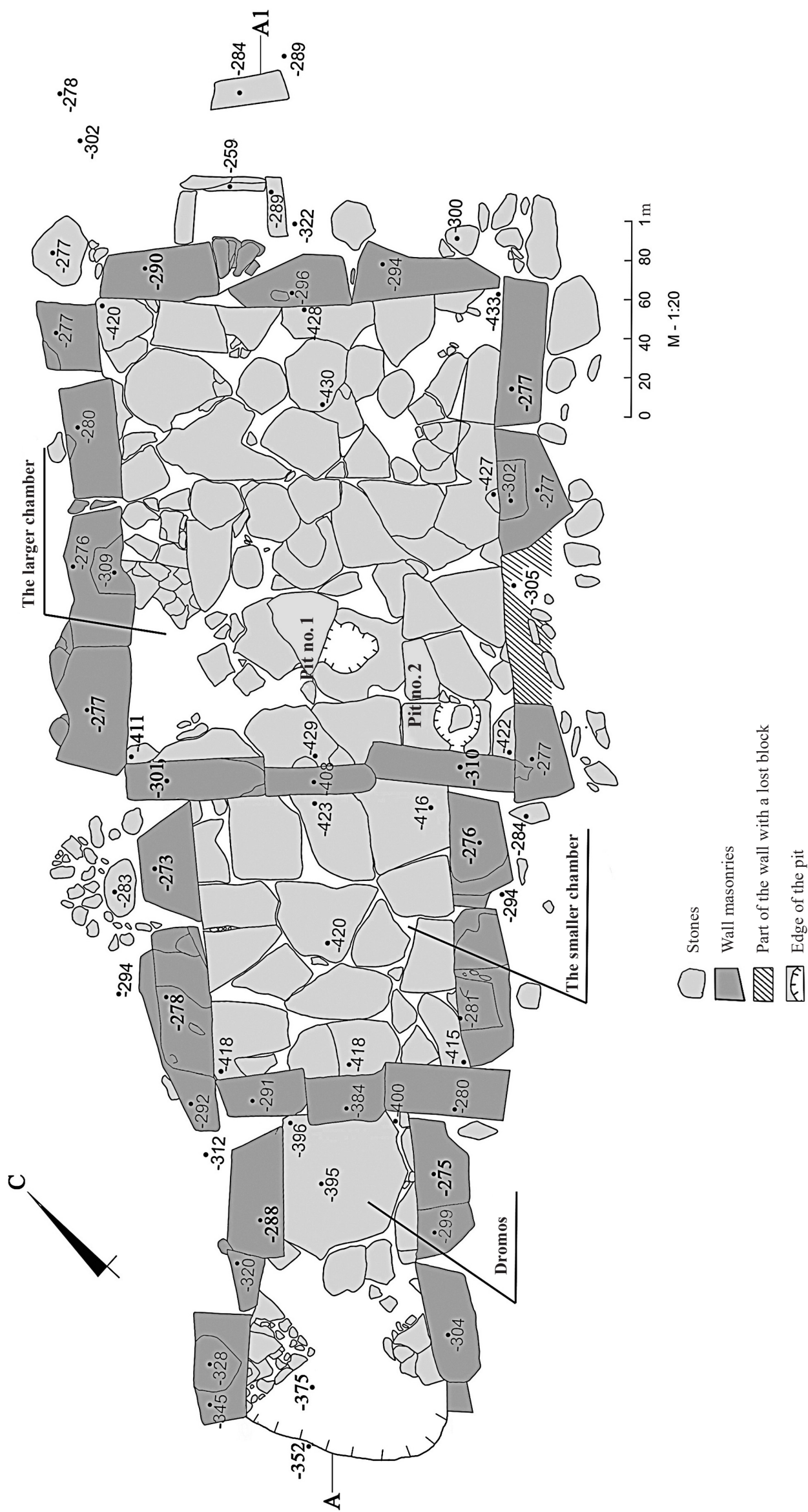


Fig. 2. Tomb No. 10.
Plan, drawing (stones, wall masonry,
edge of the wall with a lost block, edge of the pit).

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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



Fig. 5. *CIRB Album* 328.



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

Ἡρακᾶς Ποντικοῦ⁸ is already known to us through the inscription *CIRB* 1053. This is a building inscription found as early as 1910 in Taman on the site of the fortress of Phanagoria. On one side of the plate with the inscription *CIRB* 1053, the tamga of Sauromates II is cut with an inscription informing that under the charge of Herakas, son of Pontikos, the chief interpreter of the Alans, in the year 505 of the Bosphoran era (i. e. in 208 AD) a certain building was constructed – δι' ἐπιμελείας Ἡρακᾶ Ποντικοῦ ἀρχερμηνέως Ἀλανῶν. ἐ[ν τῷ] εφ' (Fig. 7A).⁹ On the other side, there was a relief depicting a parting scene (*CIRB* 1085). The character of the writing suggests that the epitaph dates to the 1st century AD (Fig. 7B).¹⁰

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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



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

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

(IG II² 1322₄₋₆). In the Astynomoi Law of Pergamum, καταπίπτω is used in connection with collapsed walls: τῶν δὲ δεομένων ἐπισκευῆς κοινῶ[ν] τοίχων | ἢ καταπεσόντων, ἐάν μὲν ὅλοις τοῖς τοίχοις ὁμοίως οἱ γείτονες χρῶνται, τὸ ἴσον | εἰσφ[ε]ρέτωσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν (Saba 2013, 23 [Col. III. 112–114], 61). The verb without a prefix could have an analogous meaning: M.-C. Hellmann believes that the formula [τὸν τοίχον] τὸμ πεσόντα in the account of the hieropoioi of Delos of 246 BC (ID 290₁₂₃) designated a completely collapsed wall (Hellmann 1992, 359).

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

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

The second example is especially important to us, being a close analogue of the inscription from Kyz-Aul. It is an inscription from 105 AD from Hermonassa (*CIRB* 1045₃₋₅). Sauromates I, having restored from their foundations the porticoes surrounding the temple that had been destroyed by time, dedicated them to Aphrodite Apatourias:

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

It does not seem probable that anybody would dedicate a destroyed building to a deity or the king of Bosphorus; hence, if it is supposed that our inscription was based on the same scheme, then in the lost upper lines of the inscription there must be a verbal form specifying the actions concerned with the ruined structure, e.g., a participle from ἐπισκευάζω,¹⁴ (ἀν)οικοδομέω¹⁵ or from some other verb with a similar meaning. [ΚΑ]ΤΑΠΕΣΟΥΣ, possibly, should be restored as an accusative depending from that verbal form.¹⁶ In Black Sea inscriptions of the 2nd–3rd century AD, the participles of the verbs καθαίρω (*CIRB* 1045), καταφέρω (*CIRB* 1122), διαφθείρω (*CIRB* 1241), καταφθείρω (*CIRB* 1243)¹⁷ and ἀμελέομαι (*CIRB* 1247), characterizing different extents of the ruination of buildings, were usually employed in the form of participial aor. / perf. pass. Nevertheless, there are also cases in which this characteristic is

¹⁴ For example, in Attic decrees, the action following the ruination is designated by the term ἐπισκευή (*IG* II²1011₄₁, 1322₄₋₆ etc). On the use of ἐπισκευή to describe the repair and refacing of walls, see Ginouvès et al. 1992, 29 and 89.

¹⁵ This verb is often used in combination with derivatives of καταπίπτω, e.g., in the account of the Delian hieropoioi: τὸ καταπεσὸν ἀνοικοδομήσαντι (269 BC, *IG* XI. 2. 203₄₁); Hellmann 1992, 296, 359.

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

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

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

Then, taking into consideration the size of the lacuna in the beginning of the second line¹⁸ and the fact that the participle in the second line is in the feminine gender, it is possible to insert before it τὰς στοᾶς or, for example, τὰς πύλας, i. e. “having restored the destroyed stoa” or “the destroyed gate”. The name of the addressee of the dedication probably must have been carved before [καθιέρ]ωσεν. To whom was this building dedicated? Again, considering the size of the lacuna in the beginning of the third line, we can add, e. g., τῷ Διὶ or Ἡρακλεῖ or τῇ πόλει.

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

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

In the middle of the sixth line, immediately above the date, we see a completely preserved word ἄρχοντος, i. e. the form concordant with the genitive of the name Herakas, son of Pontikos. With fair confidence it is possible to suppose that here we are dealing with a participle – literally “under the charge of Herakas, son of Pontikos, managing...” Examples of the use of the participle from the verb ἄρχω in the sense of a person “managing something” are numerous. For the Bosphorus one can adduce the well-known formula of the titles of the Bosporan kings Leukon I,¹⁹ Perisades I,²⁰ Spartokos III²¹ and Perisades IV Philometer,²² where the

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

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

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

²¹ ἄρχοντος καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σπαρτόκου τοῦ Εὐμήλου (*CIRB* 974).

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

substantivated participle from ἄρχω was used since the beginning of the 4th century BC until the last quarter of the 2nd century BC. Mention should also be made of the coins of Hygiainon and Asandros with the inscription ἄρχοντος Ὑγιαίνοντος, ἄρχοντος Ἀσάνδρου or ἄρχοντος Ἀσάνδρου Βοσπόρου.²³ In addition, we may think of the title of one of the supreme officials of Tanais from ca. 188–220 AD: ἄρχων Ταναεῖτων (*CIRB* 1242, 1245)²⁴ and of the officials whose post is designated as Καίσαρέων ἄρχοντες (Hermonassa, 307 AD, *CIRB* 1051₈). In all these cases, the substantivated participle indicates a Bosporan king or an official managing a certain territory and/or a certain group of people living there.

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

The use of the substantivated participle ἄρχων as well as the expression ὁ ἐπὶ τινος is known also for Asia Minor, where the word ἄρχων could be applied to the head of an association²⁶ or to an executive official of various ranks.²⁷

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

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

²⁵ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐνοῦχων (Pantikapaion, 1st century BC to early 1st century AD, *CIRB* 301), ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ παδᾶγωγίου (Pantikapaion, 2nd century AD, *CIRB* 706), ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀσπουργιανῶν (Pantikapaion, 270s AD, *CIRB* 36 A_{16–17}), ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων (Pantikapaion, 270s AD, *CIRB* 36 A_{22–23}, 36 B₂₄), ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Θεοδοσίας (Pantikapaion, 270s AD, *CIRB* 36 A₁₅; Pantikapaion, 306 AD, *CIRB* 64_{5–6}), ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱππῶνος (Kytaion, 234 AD, *CIRB* 942), ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν (Phanagoria, 151 AD, *CIRB* 976₁₁); Hermonassa, 105 AD, *CIRB* 1045), ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Γοργιπείας (Gorgippia, the second half of the 2nd to the first half of the 3rd century AD, *CIRB* 1134), Tanais, 210–220 AD, *CIRB* 1246₆), etc.

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

²⁷ ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (Miletus, 180–161 BC, *Syll.*³ 633₁₄); ἄρχων ἀρχείου (Didyma, 1st–2nd century AD, Rehm 1958, 463₅).

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

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

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

²⁸ Pergamum, 1st century AD (*Inscr. Perg.* [Fränkel 1895] 463); Smyrna (*CIG* 3185₁₉).

²⁹ [ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος] Μητροδώρου Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Μενά[νδρου] | [ιερῆος τῶν βουλαίων καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἄρχοντος] (*MAMA* IX 38₂), cf. also *MAMA* X App. I, 187, 69₂. Cf. an analogous model of designating the title of an official in Bosphorus: Latyshev believed that ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας (Hermonassa, 307 AD, *CIRB* 1051) is the equivalent of the title πρῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας ?] (Tanais, the first half of the 3rd century AD (*CIRB* 1051): Latyshev 1910 [B. В. Латышев, “Неизданные Горгиппийские надписи”], 42; *CIRB* 58, 1120).

³⁰ In the Greek inscription from Fayoum, the courtiers are designated οἱ περὶ αὐλὴν – πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ χιλιάρχοι καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐλὴν (Fayoum, 142–116 BC, *Fayoum* [Bernard 1975] I. 5₆₋₇); cf. ἡγεμόνες τῶν περὶ αὐ<λ>ὴν ἐπιτέκτων μαχίμων in the dedicatory inscription of a certain Egyptian commander attached to the palace of Ptolemy V (Alexandria, 204–194/3 BC, *OGIS* 731).

³¹ Cf. *CIRB* 49, Panticapaeum, 2nd century BC.

³² On an article in Bosporan inscriptions, see *CIRB*, 826, 827.

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

³⁴ *CIRB Album* 53, 54, 1053, 1115, 1279 and especially *CIRB Album* 1045.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Taking into consideration that both in *CIRB* 1053 and in the new inscription, Herakas, son of Pontikos, supervised construction works, as well managing the royal court (if we have correctly restored the last line of the published inscription), his functions undoubtedly exceeded the functions of an ordinary interpreter from Alanian to Greek. In many regions of the Greco-Roman world, the duties of ὁ ἐρμηνεὺς often included various intermediary functions in the trade and diplomatic spheres.³⁸ Therefore, the knowledge of the Alanian language³⁹ may have been a necessary condition for his activities as a representative of the royal administration who was obliged to communicate with Alans, who played an important role in the barbarian environment of the Bosphoran Kingdom in the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD.⁴⁰

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

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

³⁸ On translators in Egypt, e. g., see Mairs 2012, 457–462.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COMMENTARII BREVIORES

SOME LATE 4TH-CENTURY COMIC FRAGMENTS
(ANTIPH. FR. 288 = TIMOCL. FR. 41 = ADESP.
TR. FR. 123A; ANTIPH. FR. 167; ADESP. COM. FR. 149)
AND ERATOSTHENES OF CYRENE ON DEMOSTHENES

μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα

By earth, by springs, by rivers, by streams!

This iambic trimeter line appears to be attributed to Antiphanes (fr. 288) and Timocles (fr. 41) at Pseudo-Plutarch *Lives of the Ten Orators* 845 b, in the course of a brief description of Demosthenes' early career and his occasionally unsuccessful use of excessively lively language:

προελθὼν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, νεωτερικῶς τινα λέγων διεσύρετο, ὥς κωμωδηθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Τιμοκλέους· μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα· ὁμόςας δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ θόρυβον ἐκίνησεν.

And when he came forward again to address assemblies, he was hissed at for making some remarks using innovative language, as a consequence of which he was mocked by Antiphanes and Timocles: “By earth, by springs, by rivers, by streams!”; when he swore an oath of this sort in the course of addressing the people, he produced an uproar.

Plutarch *Demosthenes* 9. 4, citing Demetrius of Phaleron – who was only a generation younger than Demosthenes and must have heard him speak – has a related but slightly different story: Demosthenes actually used the words Pseudo-Plutarch attributes to Antiphanes and Timocles, which were perhaps drawn from a well-known tragedy or satyr-play,¹ and was mocked by the comic poets for his rhetorical tendencies:

¹ Thus Fraenkel 1962, 71–75, comparing Ar. *Av.* 194 μὰ γῆν, μὰ παγίδας, μὰ νεφέλας, μὰ δίκτυα, which he takes to be a parody of the line (= adesp. tr. fr. 123 a). Note also Σ^{RVET} οὕτω δὲ τὰ προστυχόντα ὥμνουν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ γῆν, μὰ ποταμούς (“They used to swear this way by random things, ‘By spring, by earth, by rivers!’”), which seems to be referring to the Demosthenes quotation, although how the author of the note knows it – from Plutarch? – is unclear. For the presentation of Demosthenes in 4th-century comedy generally, see Erbi 2011 (pp. 169–172 on this fragment).

Ἐρατοσθένης (*FGrH* 241 F 32) μέν φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλαχοῦ γεγονέναι παράβακχον, ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς (*FGrH* 228 F 16) τὸν ἔμμετρον ἐκείνον ὕρκον ὁμόσαι ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντα· μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα. τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ ῥωποπερπερήθραν (*adesp. com. fr.* 149. 3), ὁ δὲ παρασκώπτων ὡς χρώμενον τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ φησὶν οὕτως (*Antiph. fr.* 167. 1–2).

(A.) ἀπέλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν.

(B.) ᾧγάπησεν ἄν

τὸ ῥήμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

Eratosthenes (*FGrH* 241 F 32) says that [Demosthenes] was often something close to a bacchant in his speeches, while [Demetrius] of Phaleron (*FGrH* 228 F 16) claims that he once swore the following metrical oath to the people, as if he were inspired by a god: “By earth, by springs, by rivers, by streams!” One of the comic poets calls him “empty braggart talk” (*adesp. com. fr.* 149. 3), while another makes fun of him for using antithesis and says the following (*Antiph. fr.* 167. 2–3): “(A.) He got it back as he got it. (B.) Demosthenes would be happy to take over this remark”.

Pseudo-Plutarch’s claims can be reconciled with Plutarch’s on the theory that Demosthenes said “By earth, by springs, by rivers, by streams!” and his words (i. e. the words he borrowed from some unknown poet) became notorious enough to be quoted back at him on the comic stage not once but twice. It might just as well be the case, however, that either Pseudo-Plutarch or Plutarch has garbled what he found in what seems to be a common source-document, or that Pseudo-Plutarch has expressed himself poorly but means to say the same thing Plutarch does, which is that Demosthenes (a) made the oath in the Assembly and (b) was mocked by Antiphanes and Timocles, although not necessarily for saying this in particular. The intended sense in Pseudo-Plutarch would then be something like “And when he came forward again to address assemblies, he was hissed at for making some remarks using innovative language – as a consequence of which sort of behavior he was mocked by Antiphanes and Timocles – (what he said was) ‘By earth, by springs, by rivers, by streams!’, and when he swore an oath of this sort when addressing the people, he produced an uproar”, with ὁμόσας δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ θόρυβον ἐκίνησεν resuming the sense of προελθὼν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, νεωτερικῶς τινα λέγων διεσύρετο nominally in order to produce greater clarity and coherence of thought.

Plutarch's citation of a late 4th-century source for his information lends credence to his representation of the matter over that of Pseudo-Plutarch. Plutarch's reference to Eratosthenes, moreover, makes it likely that all this information, including the references to the comic poets, is drawn from him, particularly since Eratosthenes is also named as a source for the life of Demosthenes at Plu. *Dem.* 30. 1 ~ [Plu.] *Mor.* 847 b = Eratosth. *FGrH* 241 F 31. If so, however, Pseudo-Plutarch's reference to Antiphanes is likely to fr. 167. 2–3, which Plutarch quotes (presumably from Eratosthenes), rather than to Demosthenes' oath. This in turn means that adesp. com. fr. 149 (also quoted by Plutarch, once again presumably from Eratosthenes) ought to be assigned to Timocles, who on this thesis also did not quote Demosthenes' oath but merely mocked Demosthenes' rhetorical style in general.² Antiph. fr. 288 and Timocl. fr. 41 (both μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νόματα) should accordingly be treated as *dubia* at best.

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The seeming assignment of an iambic trimeter line (= adesp. tr. fr. 123 a) to Antiphanes (fr. 288) and Timocles (fr. 41) at Pseudo-Plutarch *Lives of the Ten Orators* 845 b, in the course of a brief description of Demosthenes' early career, is actually a reference to Antiph. fr. 167. 2–3, on the one hand, and to adesp. com. fr. 149 (which ought to be assigned to Timocles), on the other. Antiph. fr. 288 = Timocl. fr. 41 should thus be regarded as *dubia* at best.

Строка с ямбическим триметром (= adesp. tr. fr. 123a), цитируемая в биографии Демосфена из *Жизнеописаний десяти ораторов* Псевдо-Плутарха (845 b), со ссылкой на комических поэтов Антифана и Тимокла, обычно воспринимается как цитата из этих поэтов, которые будто бы таким образом

² For Timocles on Demosthenes, see also fr. 4. 1–2; 12.

пародировали выпренность речи Демосфена, и приводится в собраниях фрагментов как Antiph. fr. 288 и Timocl. fr. 41. В действительности автор биографии в искаженном виде передает то же, что сообщает Плутарх (*Demosth.* 9. 4), опираясь на Эратосфена: этот стих (из трагедии или сатировой драмы) использовался Демосфеном в речах в качестве клятвы, а Антифан и другой, неназванный комический поэт высмеивали его за высокопарный стиль в других стихах, которые тут же цитируются (adesp. com. fr. 149; Antiph. fr. 167. 2–3). Таким образом, Antiph. fr. 288 = Timocl. fr. 41 должны рассматриваться самое большее как *dubia*, при этом adesp. com. fr. 149 следует атрибутировать Тимоклу.

DE RUTILO METRI GRAECI NOMINE*

Inter grammaticorum ueterum fragmenta exstat *rutilum*, uocabulum solum linguae Auruncae notum. Nam apud Diomedem¹ legimus: *Aiunt hunc trochaeum Auruncos rutilum nuncupauisse, nimirum simili ratione qua Graeci a rota inuitati*. Recentes idcirco grammatici Ruteni breuiter de eodem uocabulo disserentes Latinum *rotae* nomen cum Graeco τροχός comparauerunt.²

Quamquam nonnulli grammatici conantur³ *rutilum* ad *rotulum* referre, nos quidem ipsis vix adstipulamur, quia *rotuli* uocabulum Latinum nullo modo difficile est intellectu neque grammaticorum indiget explicationibus. Quod obstat quominus uerbum Auruncorum secundum eam uim quae est ‘rota parua’ apud Diomedem pro glossa habeatur.

Comparisonis uero exempla ea sunt qualia *lana*, *rana*, quae cum *lanula*, *ranula* appellentur, Latine figura fit deminuendi: *rota* cum *rotula* comparata eiusdem figurae exemplum est, quod apud grammaticos ueteres persaepe de uerbis deminuendis tractatum est: *sacellum ... a sacro imminutum*, eo sensu qui est ‘locus paruus’ (Gell. VII, 12).

Graecum tamen pedis nomen τροχᾶις longe a diminuendi figura abest: proinde τροχός – τροχᾶις minime cum ‘rota parua’ conferri poterat vixque adducimur ut credamus tam ineptam explicationem a Diomede propositam esse.

Quod ad linguas Italiae antiquae pertinet, haec in mente sunt habenda, saec. I a. Chr. n. linguam Auruncam non Latino rusticano, sed Osco sermoni propinquam fuisse,⁴ nec *rotulam* apud rusticos exstare potuisse

* RSF 18-18-00503 *Древнейшие стихотворения мира: от шумеров к грекам* [Antiquissima mundi uersificatio: inde a Sumeris ad Graecos]. Grates ago Professoribus G. Di Mariae et C. M. Lucarini Panhormitanis, qui Latinitatem meam hic illic expoluerunt.

¹ In recensione scilicet Gaisfordiana, v. Gaisford 1837, 430.

² Kuznetsov 2006, 330.

³ Forcellini 1830, 982.

⁴ Conway 1897, 283.

quod pro *rota* haberetur, cum *rutilum* metri Graeci nomen ex lingua Oscorum sumptum esset.

Memento etiam Oscos litterarum formas ab Etruscis et a Graecis sumpsisse; in quibus exscribendis atque aptandis Oscae gentes in septentrionem spectantes, sicut Aurunci, litteras Etruscas suo modo commutauerunt, ut pro *O* littera litteram *Y* cum puncto superposito scriberent,⁵ tali modo ut tam *V* quam *O* littera per *Y*, sine puncto aut cum puncto superposito, ab Oscis scriberetur. Quae cum ita sese habeant, hodie pro *Y* littera cum puncto in Oscarum inscriptionibus describendis *ú* ponitur.

Ex his efficitur *rutilum* metri Graeci nomen **rotilom* vel potius **rútilúm* Osce scribi; nec praetereundum est Oscos syllaba uocum extrema *o > u* modo Latinorum (audias in *-um* extremitatem accusatiui casus, ubi *u* pro antiqua *o* littera Latinitate aetatis aureae enuntiabatur) numquam esse usos.

Iam natura verbi **rútilúm* diligentius explicanda. Si particulam deminutiuam *-ul-* in hoc uerbo agnoscere conaremur, nesciremus qui *i* exortum esset, nisi scribae aetatis Mediae mendum admittimus. Ad restituendum vocabulum litteris Oscis scriptum, hoc meminisse oportebit metra iisdem fere nominibus apud Latinos Graecosque nuncupari.

Ceterum desunt exempla, quibus particula *-ul-* deminutiua metri nomen faciat. Persaepe *-aeus/-ēus/-īus* inveniuntur particulae suffixae, ut uocabulis: *chorēus*, uel *chorīus*; *trochaeus* uel *trochēus*, nec minus *spondēus*. His nominibus grammatici utuntur cum de bisyllabo pede disserant, nam bisyllabi pedes in fabulis scaenicis ubique inueniuntur.

Constat Oscos fabulam Atellanam agere consueuisse, quae antiquissimum omnium generum theatri Graecorum in Italiam translati putatur.⁶ Glossarium e ludis scaenicis Oscorum sumptum apud Varronem exstat. Notum praeterea est apud Oscos Cascum personae senis nomen esse.

Cum probabile sit glossarium scaenicum Oscum non modo personarum, sed etiam metrorum nomina continuisse, quaestio oritur, num formam ac figuram Osca metrorum nomina, sicut Latina, a Graecis uocabulis sumpserint. Quomodo ergo extremitas *-aeus/-ēus/-īus* pronuntiatione Oscorum reddebatur?

Exstant inscriptiones Oscae quae extremitatem *-ius* monstrent: nomen quod est Lucius in dandi casu *lúvkiúú* in Cippo Abellano inscriptum (Ve 1, A 4), necnon in poculo Saticulano Spurius in casu interrogandi (Gell. XIII, 26) *spúriiéis* (Ve 131).⁷ Duas praeterea aduertas oportet litterae

⁵ Wallace 2008, 98–100.

⁶ Adams 2004, 352–358.

⁷ Vetter 1953.

i formas apud Oscos uiguisse, *i* scilicet et *i*, quarum *i* cum *l* perfacile confundi poterat.

Legamus igitur apud Diomedem pro *rutilo* Oscum **rútiúum* nomen a *rota* (Oscis litteris in ablatiuo casu *rútað*) deriuatum. Itaque pronuntiatio Latina nominis huius metri **rotiūs*, **rotēus* uel **rotaeus* esse uidetur.

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The paper deals with the interpretation of the gloss *rutilum* (an alternative name for a trochee), which was attributed to the language of the Aurunci by Diomedes. The Auruncan language, according to the standard view, is a North-Oscan dialect that used a version of the Etruscan alphabet. In this alphabet, *Y* with a point at the top corresponds to the letter *O*, while a simple *Y* corresponds to the letter *V*. The gloss could be thus read as **rotilom*. The next problem is the suffix *-il-*, which E. Forcellini treated as equivalent to the diminutive suffix *-ul-* (*rotulus*). This paper argues that what lies behind *-il-* is instead Oscan *-ii-*.

В статье содержится интерпретация глоссы ‘*rutilum*’ (другое название для трохея), которую Диомед относит к языку аврунков. Аврунский язык, как сообщает Р. Конвей, является одним из северооскских диалектов, для которых существовал особый вариант этрусского алфавита. В этом варианте буква *O* передавалась через *Y* с диакритическим знаком в виде точки наверху, а буква *V* – через простую *Y*. Таким образом, *rutilum* может быть прочитано как **rotilom*. Далее в статье дается интерпретация суффикса *-il-*, в котором Э. Форчеллини предлагал видеть уменьшительный суффикс *-ul-* (*rotulus*). В статье приводятся доказательства в пользу того, что за *-il-* стоит неверно прочитанное оскское буквосочетание *-ii-*.

Keywords

CHRUŠTALJOW

Cicero, Crassus, international relations, Late Roman Republic, Ptolemaic Egypt
Красс, международные отношения, Поздняя Римская республика, пто-
лемеевский Египет, Цицерон

EGOROVA

Catilinarian conspiracy, Celtic tribes, *Epodes* by Horace, Horace, *infidelis*
Гораций, заговор Катилины, кельтские племена, *Эподы* Горация, *infidelis*

KEYER

decedere, *Epistles*, Horace, ‘life a feast’
Гораций, ‘жизнь как пир’, *Послания*, *decedere*

KUČINSKIENĖ

Cicero, *Divinatio*, paronomasia, play on words, Verrine speeches
игра слов, паронимасия, речи против Верреса, Цицерон, *Divinatio*

LUCARINI, SCERMINO

Aristotle, doxography, meteorology, Posidonius, Pseudo-Aristotle, *Περὶ
κόσμου*
Аристотель, доксография, метеорология, Посидоний, Псевдо-Аристотель,
Περὶ κόσμου

MOUSBACHOVA

Aeschylus, Agamemnon’s avenger, *Libation Bearers*, Scythian archer, Scy-
thian Ares
мститель за Агамемнона, скифский Арес, скифский лучник, *Хоэфоры*,
Эсхил

NOVIKOVA

античная метрика, итальяйские глоссы, конъектуры, оскский алфавит,
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Ancient Greek Epigraphy, board of Astynomoi, die, Hellenistic period, Tauric Chersonesos

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OLSON

Antiphanes, Demosthenes, Plutarch, Timocles

Антифан, Демосфен, Плутарх, Тимокл

PAVLICHENKO, FEDOSEEV

Bosporus, building inscription, chief interpreter of the Alans, Kyz-Aul, superintendant of the royal court

Боспор, главный переводчик аланов, Куль-Ауз, строительная надпись, управляющий царским двором

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