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Summary in Russian and English

GEFÖRDERT DURCH EINE ZUWENDUNG DER FRITZ THYSSEN STIFTUNG

THE PATHS OF THE CELESTIAL BODIES ACCORDING TO ANAXIMENES*

Part I. Discussion of former interpretations and proposal for a new one

Introduction: the cap simile

One of the strangest theories, combined with one of the most enigmatic images in Presocratic cosmology, which have puzzled many scholars, is ascribed to Anaximenes. According to him, it is said, the sun and the other celestial bodies do not go underneath the earth, but move laterally around it like a kind of felt hat (or a turban, or a ribbon)[1] around our head. Anaximenes' theory, as well as the image meant to illustrate it, are mentioned in a report by Hippolytus, *Ref. haer.* 1. 7. 6 = Gr Axs12(6) = TP2 As56 [7.6] = DK 13 A 7 (6):[2]

> (Anaximenes) denies that the heavenly bodies move under the earth, as others suppose, but he says they turn around the earth like a felt cap (πιλίον) around our head (περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν κεφαλήν). The sun is hidden not by going under the earth, but by being covered by the higher parts of the earth and by being a greater distance away from us.

Aëtius' text, as handed down by Pseudo-Plutarch, mentions the theory, but does not mention the image (Aët. 2. 16. 6. = Gr Axs19 = TP2 As38 = DK 13 A 14):

> Anaximenes [says] the stars revolve not under but around the earth.

And the same holds for Diogenes Laërtius 2. 3 = Gr Axs1 = TP2 As72 = DK 13 A 1:

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* This study was supported by Czech Grant Agency Project, GACR GA15-08890S.

1 Several possible translations are discussed in Bicknell 1966, 17–18.

2 All translations of Greek texts are from Graham 2010, occasionally with slight alterations, and unless otherwise indicated. The references are to his book (= Gr), as well as to Wöhrle 2012 (= TP2) and 2009 (= TP1), and Diels, Kranz 1951/52 (= DK).

> (Anaximenes) says that the heavenly bodies do not travel under the earth, but around it.

Finally, two texts that do not mention Anaximenes. The first, by Epicurus, is only recently added to the doxography on Anaximenes (Epicurus, *De nat.* $\overline{\text{IA}}$ [33] Arrighetti, from *PHerc* 1042. 8. vi = Gr Axs 20, not in DK and TP2, but see 243, n. 2):

> [A polemic against earlier theories:] They construct walls in a circle [around the earth] so that they may screen us against the vortex, as it whirls around outside the earth, and for all those who drive the heavenly bodies around in a circle overhead ([ὑ]π[ὲρ κε]φα[λ]ῆς).

The other is by Aristotle (*Meteor.* 354 a 28–32 = Gr Axs18 = TP2 As4 = DK 13 A 14) and is usually considered as describing the theory of Anaximenes (and others):

> Many of the ancient cosmologists are convinced that the sun does not travel under the earth, but rather around the earth and that (northern) region,[3] and it disappears and causes night because the earth is high toward the north.

In the first part of this article I will discuss two interpretations, namely by McKirahan and Bicknell, which I think are wrong, and offer a suggestion that has the intention to bring the interpretation somewhat further. The history of Anaximenes' theory of the paths of the celestial bodies, from its beginnings in the doxography until the most recent interpretations, is a minefield of misunderstandings, confusions, slips of the pen, mistakes, and even sheer blunders, which must be dismantled to clear the ground for my interpretation.

An example of the difficulties we will encounter can be found already in the last clause of the very first quotation of Hippolytus. That the sun is hidden "by being covered by the higher parts of the earth" has nothing to do with the sun's "being a greater distance away from us". Moreover, for those who believe, like Anaximenes, that the earth is flat, the sun is not far away, but rather nearby, as will be explained in the course of this article. Apparently, Hippolytus wants to display his knowledge of astronomy by stating that the sun is far away. He forgets, however, that this discovery follows from the conception of the earth as spherical and does not hold for a flat earth.

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[3] Graham translates "this region", but meant is the northernly region mentioned just before.

In the second part of this article I will draw some consequences from the results of the first part, and insert a methodological section on the interpretation of texts on ancient cosmology.

McKirahan's interpretation of Anaximenes

Let us start with McKirahan's interpretation, because it shows some of the difficulties that are connected with the interpretation of the paths of the celestial bodies according to Anaximenes. He offers an illustration to clarify his interpretation, shown, slightly adapted, in figure 1.[4] The main modification consists in adding two letters, A and B, which will be explained presently.

McKirahan rightly remarks: "the cap is a handy model, because as it turns, the various points on its surface maintain constant relative positions".[5] However, the model is, says McKirahan, only partially useful, because it "cannot account for all the visible stars (…). Worse, it cannot account for the sun's and the moon's motions".[6] Rather than blaming Anaximenes that his model can account only for some stars one may wonder whether McKirahan's rendition of the cap simile is right. Therefore, let us look more closely at the picture in figure 1 to see the consequences of his interpretation.

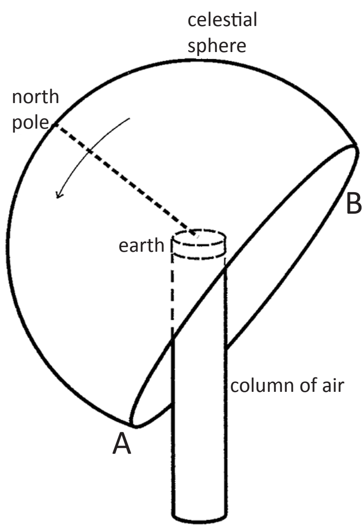

Figure 1. Anaximenes' cosmos according to McKirahan

Under the earth McKirahan draws a column of air, which supports it. This rather strange feature is apparently McKirahan's interpretation of the reports that say that according to Anaximenes the earth because of its

[4] See McKirahan ^{2}2010, 57.

[5] McKirahan ^{2}2010, 56. It is strange that McKirahan in his model of Anaximander's universe (*ibid.*, 40) does not let the stars move according to the same principle (all in parallel circles) but in impossible curves. Moreover, in the same drawing he lets sun and moon move in impossible orbits as well: around the earth's horizon. Making correct drawings is obviously not McKirahan's cup of tea. In Couprie 1995, 174, I pointed out these flaws as they already occurred in the first edition of McKirahan's book.

[6] McKirahan ^{2}2010, 56 n. 15.

flatness rides on the air or covers the air below like a lid.[7] This pillar of air is nowhere mentioned in the doxography, but the following quotation is obviously meant as an explanation: “If Anaximenes envisaged the earth as supported on a sea of air, he might have thought that the heavenly bodies, especially the sun, could not pass under the earth without disturbing its serene poise”.[8] The problem of how the earth can be thought to rest on air does not concern us in this article, so we will leave it with the remark that the doxograpy says no more than that not only the earth, but also the sun, the moon, and the stars float on air because of their flatness.[9]

A celestial body, being somewhere on the celestial sphere at point A would naturally be called to be *under* the earth, although not exactly perpendicularly under it (where the alleged column of air supporting the earth is supposed to be). They are ‘under the earth’ in the sense that they cannot be seen from the earth’s surface. So McKirahan’s picture does not show what it should show, namely that the celestial bodies do not go under the earth. Moreover, looking from the flat earth towards the south in the direction of B, in a big part of the sky there are no stars at all. In order to save his model, McKirahan needs to assume that Anaximenes was not keen enough to realize this.

Another problem of McKirahan’s drawing is that the earth is rendered much too small, or, which comes to the same, the distances to the celestial bodies are much too big. For people who think that the earth is flat, the celestial bodies are rather nearby and accordingly rather small. This can be explained with the help of the drawings in figures 2a and 2b.

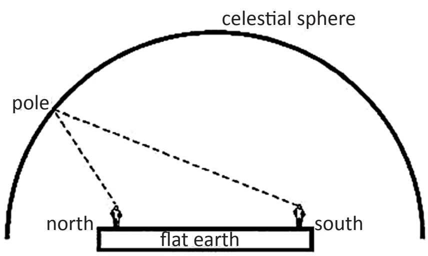

Figure 2a. The distance of the stars on a flat earth

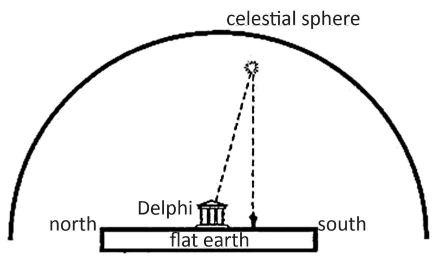

Figure 2b. The distance of the sun on a flat earth

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7 See Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 3 = Gr Axs11 = TP2 As83 = DK 13 A 6, Arist. *DC* 294 b 13 = Gr Axs13 = TP2 As3 = DK13A20, and Aët. 5. 15. 8 = Gr Axs15 = TP2 As46 = DK 13 A 20.

8 McKirahan ^{2}2010, 56.

9 Cf. Hippol., *Ref. haer.* 1. 7. 1–9 = Gr Axs12 = TP2 As56 = DK 13 A 7.

The farther one goes to the north, the higher the polar stars stand,[10] and the more one goes southward, the lower they stand above the horizon. On a flat earth, the only way to explain this phenomenon is to take for granted that the stars are not far away, as is shown in figure 2a. Similarly, the farther one goes to the south, the higher the sun stands at noon, until one reaches a place where the sun in the sommer solstice stands in the zenith. Again, the only way to explain this phenomenon, when standing on a flat earth, is that the sun (being lower than the stars) must be nearby and accordingly smaller than the earth, as is shown in figure 2b. The Milesians, who traveled from the Black Sea to Egypt, certainly were acquainted with both phenomena. How McKirahan's drawing of the cap simile looks like when the stars are nearby is shown in figure 3.

The gap without stars would be much bigger than in figure 1. Again, in order to save his interpretation of the cap simile, McKirahan needs to assume that Anaximenes did not realize that the heavenly bodies were far away.[11]

So another explanation of the cap simile is called for. Already in 1969, Bicknell has suggested an ingenious interpretation of the path of the celestial bodies according to Anaximenes, which we shall discuss below.[12] In view of the fact that the confusion about the idea of the tilt of the celestial axis will play an important role in the discussion, we will treat this issue first.

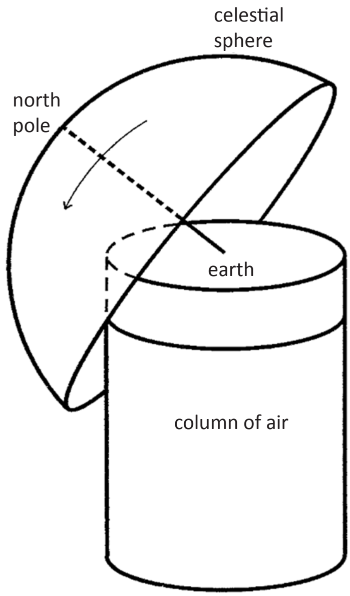

Figure 3. Revised version of Anaximenes' cosmos according to McKirahan

[10] In Anaximenes' time there was not one star (almost) at the celestial pole, as is now the Polar star. People hat to orientate themselves by means of the circumpolar stars, such as the Two Bears.

[11] It might be brought up that, somewhat earlier, Anaximander apparently was not bright enough to understand these phenomena, for in all available interpretations of his numbers the celestial bodies are too far away to account for them. For a more extensive discussion of this issue see Couprie 2011, 134–136. Anaximenes' cap, however, is a three-dimensional image, in which the difficulties show themselves immediately.

[12] Bicknell 1969, 53–85.

The tilted celestial vault of the Presocratics

Most Presocratics believed that the earth is flat. The general idea was that of a disk of a certain height, like Anaximander's column-drum. The edge of the earth was conceived of as a circle, an extrapolation of the circle of the horizon. Strictly speaking, the surface of this cylindrical earth was not conceived of as flat, but as slightly concave.[13] Traditionally, the center of the disk-shaped earth was Delphi, the earth's navel, and the basin of the Mediterranean Sea was the lowest part of the concave surface. Over this flat earth arched the celestial vault, on which the heavenly bodies turn around the celestial axis that ends in the celestial pole. The Greek word πόλος means both the celestial axis and the pole of this axis.[14] On a flat earth, the celestial axis runs through the center of its disk (Delphi), and not through the both poles of the earth as we are used to on a spherical earth.

Greek cosmologists had to face the problem that the celestial axis is not perpendicular to their flat earth. They commonly explained this by the assumption that somehow during the cosmogony the heavens tilted.[15] In the doxography on Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Archelaos, and Diogenes we read reports on an inclination or tilt of the cosmos (κόσμος), the heavens (οὐρανός), the stars (ἄστρα), or the pole (πόλος, ἄρκτοι[16]), which all amounts to the same. This inclination of the heavens makes that the celestial pole is no longer in the zenith, as it allegedly was originally. The relevant texts are:

> (On Anaxagoras) The heavenly bodies (ἄστρα) at first traveled as around a dome (θολοειδῶς), so that the always visible pole[17] (πόλος) appeared at the zenith (κατὰ κορυφήν) above the earth, but later it inclined (Diog. Laërt. 2. 9 = Gr Axg37[9] = DK 59 A 1 [9]).

> Diogenes and Anaxagoras said after the world (κόσμος) was formed and brought forth living things from the earth, the world (κόσμος)

[13] As regards Anaximander's column drum-like earth, Hahn 2001, 169 ff. and 195–196 has convincingly shown how such drums were made slightly concave by a technique called ἀναθύρωσις. See also Archelaos, DK 60 A 4 (not in Gr), Anaxagoras DK 59 A 42 (5) = Gr Axg38, and Democritus, DK 68 A 94 = Gr Dmc72.

[14] Cf. LSJ s. v. πόλος.

[15] Cf. Furley 1989, 12 n. 32.

[16] See note 19.

[17] Graham translates: "so that the pole always appeared at the zenith", which seems less correct. Cf. Dumont 1988, 616: "le pôle toujours visible". Gershenson, Greenberg 1964, 177, translate: "with the circumpolar constellations forming a cap over the earth". However, the text mentions neither constellations, nor the cap (πιλίον).

> somehow spontaneously inclined towards its southern portion[18] (Aët 2. 6. 1 = Gr Axr42 = DK 59 A 67).
>
> Empedocles (says) that (…) the Bears (ἄρκτοι)[19] tilted (…) and accordingly, the whole world (κόσμος) tilted, and the northern parts were raised, the southern lowered,[20] and accordingly the whole world (κόσμος) tilted (Aët. 2. 8. 2 = Gr Emp70 = DK 31 A 58).
>
> (Archelaos) says that the heavens (οὐρανός) are inclined and this is how the sun came to shine on the earth, made the air transparent, and the earth dry. For in the beginning the earth was a marsh, elevated at its periphery and hollow in the middle (Hippol. *Ref. haer.* 1. 9. 4 = DK 60 A 4 [4], not in Gr.).

The successive situations can be visualized as in figure 4a and 4b. Mark that in these pictures the orbits of the heavenly bodies under the earth are not drawn, because only what can be seen from the surface of a flat earth is rendered.

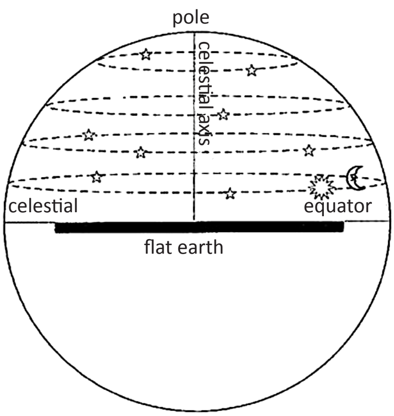

Figure 4a. The original situation of the heavens

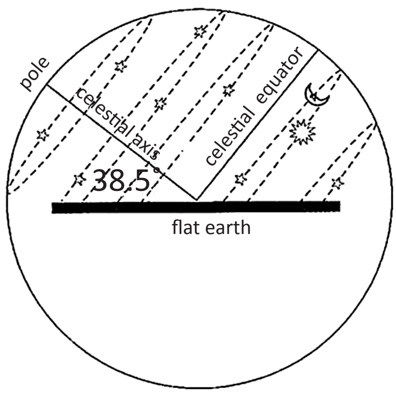

Figure 4b. The present situation after the inclination of the heavens

[18] Below more on this indication of the direction of the tilt.

[19] Graham (and others) translate "poles". Guthrie 1965, 192 n. 1, refers to Arist. *Meteor.* 362 a 32 in defense of this translation. However, ἄρκτοι usually indicates the Great Bear and the little Bear (e. g. Gr Prm56 = DK 28 A 53), and thus refers to the pole that is visible from a flat earth. DK note "ἄρκτους] Nordpol der Erde", which has to be "celestial pole".

[20] See n. 18.

First a few remarks on figures 4a and 4b. On a flat earth, north and south are differently defined than on a spherical earth. South is where the sun stands at noon, and north is the opposite direction. On a spherical earth this is only the case on the northern hemisphere (for the situation on a spherical earth always compare figure 7). On a flat earth the celestial axis runs through its center. According to the quoted texts, the celestial pole, which is the upper end of the celestial axis, stood originally in the zenith (see figure 4a), and later it tilted (see figure 4b). Consequently, originally the plane of the flat earth coincided with the plane of the celestial equator (see figure 4a), but after the tilt of the heavens this is no longer the case (see figure 4b). When we take Delphi as the center of the flat earth, the celestial axis is tilted as much as 51.5° in relation to its original position (see figure 4b).

These remarks may look trivial, but they are essential to understand the misunderstandings with which the rendition and interpretation of the theory of the inclination of the heavens are burdened, both already in the doxography, and in recent commentaries. Most of these misunderstandings are due to a confusion between a flat and a spherical earth as well as between the inclination of the celestial axis and the obliquity of the ecliptic.

One example is the text by Aëtius on Diogenes and Anaxagoras quoted above. It says that the cosmos is "inclined towards its southern portion". Seen from a flat earth, the southern portion of the heavens is where the south lies. But Figure 4b shows that the cosmos is inclined towards the north. The misunderstanding originates from the concept of a spherical earth. Standing on the northern half of a *spherical* earth one might say that the cosmos (and the earth itself together with it) is inclined towards its southern portion (see figure 7), but this makes no sense when standing on a *flat* earth. Another example is Aëtius' text on Empedocles. It is said that the northern parts of the cosmos were raised, and the southern lowered. As is clearly shown in figure 4b, it must be the other way round: the northern part of the heavens is lowered and the southern part raised. Yet another one of these misunderstandings that, I will argue, has led to a wrong interpretation of Anaximenes, is discussed in the next section on Leucippus and Democritus.

The original situation of the heavens (figure 4a), with the pole in the zenith (κατὰ κορυφήν), the heavenly bodies circling in paths parallel to the celestial equator and the sun and the moon low above the horizon, is the same as what we would see standing on the north pole of our spherical earth.[21] Some ancients even seem to have understood the consequences

[21] Cf. Wöhrle 1993, 73; Bicknell 1969, 77; Heidel 1933, 122.

of the original situation, for in the quoted text on Archelaos we read that, before the tilting of the heavens, the sun, circling around the horizon, did not shine at all upon the earth because it was invisible behind the raised edges of the concave earth. If the earth originally would have been completely flat (as drawn in figure 4a), night and day would have lasted half a year, just like on the poles of a spherical earth.

The allegedly tilted earth of Leucippus and Democritus

Sometimes, in the doxography on Leucippus and Democritus, it is not the heavens that have been tilted, but the earth. The relevant texts are:

> (Leucippus held the view of) <…> the earth's being tilted toward the south (Diog. Laërt. 9. 33 = Gr Lcp47[33] = DK 67 A 1[33]).
>
> Leucippus (says) the earth tilts towards the south (Aëtius, *Placita* 3. 12. = Gr Lcp76 = DK 67 A 27).
>
> Democritus (says) (…) as the earth grew it tilted toward the south (Aët. 3. 12. 2 = Gr Dmc77 = DK 68 A 96).

The successive situations can be visualized again:

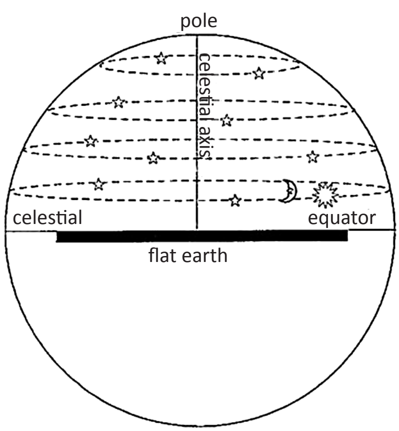

Figure 5a. The original situation of the heavens

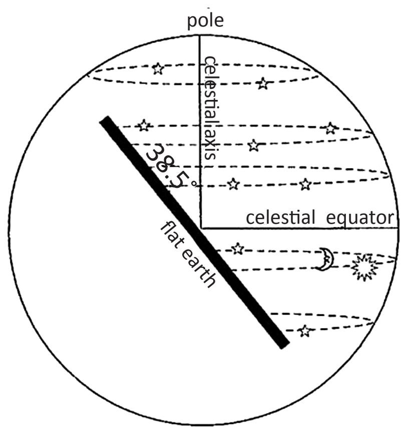

Figure 5b. The present situation after the alleged dip of the earth

In the first quoted damaged text Graham inserts, following Diels' suggestion, "the oblique path of the ecliptic results from". There is no good reason for this emendation. The obliquity of the ecliptic has as such nothing to do with the inclination of the celestial axis on a flat earth, nor with the alleged dip of the earth. The obliquity of the ecliptic in relation to the celestial equator in the supposed original state (figure 5a) is exactly the same as in the present situation (figure 5b): about 23.5°. This means that the oblique path of the ecliptic is not the result of the earth's tilting towards the south. Actually the confusion between the tilt of the heavens and the inclination of the ecliptic on a flat earth is one of the main sources of misunderstanding both in the doxography and in the literature on ancient Greek cosmology. I will, however, not burden this article with its discussion.[22]

As we have seen, the inclination of the celestial axis on a flat earth is 38.5° in relation to the earth's surface. This results in an alleged dip of the earth of 51.5° (see figure 5b). I will postpone a further critical discussion of the relevant texts until after an exposition of how Bicknell used them in his interpretation of the paths of the celestial bodies according to Anaximenes.

Bicknell's interpretation

To begin with, Bicknell says that "Leucippus and Democritus (…) *indisputably* held that *the earth* was tilted *towards the north*".[23] The last words must be a slip of the pen, as the texts explicitly say that the earth was tilted towards the south (which means that the northern part was lifted). What the word "indisputably" is worth we will see in the next section.

Although the sources do not mention it, Bicknell suggests that Anaximenes, just like Leucippus and Democritus, held the idea of a tilted earth, and he maintains that this explains the way Anaximenes described the paths of the celestial bodies. Bicknell expresses this in rather cryptic wordings. After a description of Anaxagoras' theory of the inclination of the heavens, he writes: "The alternative (to Anaxagoras' theory, D. C.) was to assert that in fact the heavenly bodies *did* orbit daily in paths parallel to the equatorial plane which intersected one of the diameters of an earth tilted upwards in the north (this time the expression is right, D. C). The earth's obliquity to the celestial equator would correspond exactly to the observed obliquity of the paths of the luminaries to the plane of the horizon. This, I suggest, was exactly the view of Anaximenes".[24] Kirk makes a similar suggestion: "This tilting (of the earth, D. C.) would

[22] See chapter 5, *The Riddle of the Celestial Axis* in Couprie 2011, 69–78.
[23] Bicknell 1969, 78 (my italics).
[24] Bicknell 1969, 78.

explain how the stars could set, supposing that they are somehow fixed in the heaven: they rotate on the hemisphere (whose pole is in the Wain) and pass below the upper, northern edge of the earth but not below its mean horizontal axis".[25]

Without an explanatory picture, these lines remain rather cryptic. Fortunately, Wöhrle has explained and drawn what Bicknell (and Kirk) meant, and this is shown in figure 6: the paths of the celestial bodies go *behind* (on the picture: to the left of) the earth and not *under* the earth.[26] We will return to Bicknell's interpretation, but this much can already be remarked here: on the picture the heavenly bodies perhaps can be said to pass behind the earth, but for the people living on the slanted earth the setting celestial bodies still pass under the earth (see figure 6).

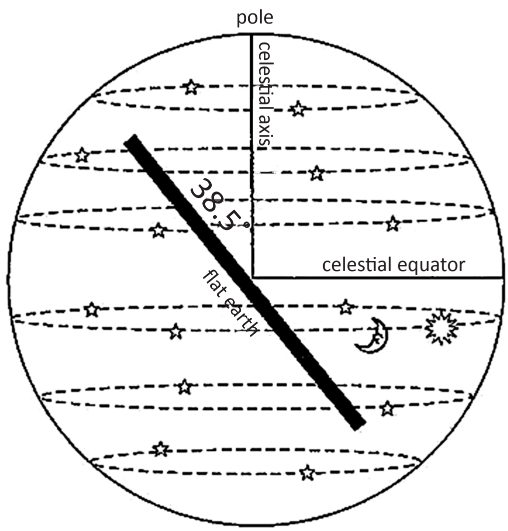

Figure 6. Leucippus' and Democritus' cosmos according to Bicknell. Here the full orbits of the heavenly bodies are rendered in order to show what Bicknell meant.

[25] Kirk, Raven, Schofield ²2007, 157. On the same page, a characteristic confusion appears, when the tilting of the flat earth is ascribed to Anaxagoras, Leucippus, and Diogenes. Anaxagoras and Diogenes taught the inclination of the heavens, not of the earth.

[26] Cf. Wöhrle 1993, 74–75.

Critical notes on the alleged dip of the earth

Zeller already uttered doubts about the alleged dip of the earth: why doesn't all the water of the earth accumulate in the southern regions?[27] Other authors, and more recently Wöhrle, have raised similar questions: why don't people have the slightest awareness of living on an earth tilted that much?[28] They also point to the following texts:

> Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Democritus say flatness is the cause of [the earth's] staying in place. It does not cut, but covers the air like a lid. (Arist. *DC* 294 b 13–21 = Gr Axs13 = TP2 As3 = DK 13 A 20).
>
> (…) the earth was formed first, being completely flat. Therefore it makes sense that it should float on air. (Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 3 = Gr Axs11 = TP2 As83 = DK 13 A 6).
>
> Anaximenes [says] owing to its flatness the earth floats on air. (Aët. 5. 15. 8 = Gr Axs15 = TP As46 = DK 13 A 20).
>
> The earth is flat riding on air. (Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* 1. 7. 1–9 = Gr Axs12 = TP2 As56 = DK 13 A 7)

It is hard to see how these texts can be brought into agreement with a tilt of earth of 51.5°. Moreover, when Aristotle speaks of Anaximenes and Democritus, he mentions them in one breath with Anaxagoras, who definitely did not teach a dip of the earth, but an inclination of the heavens. Aristotle wrote a book on Democritus, which is now lost.[29] Had he known of such a strange theory of an inclined flat earth, he would certainly have mentioned it in this connection.

In the usual interpretation, the idea of a dip of the earth is treated as just another way of expressing the inclination of the heavens: the visual effect of an inclination of the heavens towards the north amounts to the same as a dip of the earth towards the south; it is a question of relativity whether you express it this way or that way.[30] Leucippus and Democritus, one might say, turned the tables and held that not the celestial axis, but

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[27] Zeller, Nestle [6]1920, 1108 n. 6.

[28] Wöhrle 1993, 75. See also Kirk, Raven, Schofield [2]2007, 157.

[29] Cf. Simpl. *In Arist. DC* 294. 33 = Gr Dmc12 [F5] = DK 68 A 37. See also Dicks 1970, 82.

[30] So, e. g., McKirahan [2]2010, 56: "The north part of the earth is tilted toward the celestial pole, or rather the celestial pole is tilted toward the north part of the earth". When he adds: "This tilt could be the source of calling the northern parts of the earth 'higher'", this might hold for the alleged dip of the earth, but not for the dip of the heavens.

the earth was tilted, like in an analogous way Copernicus said that the sun does not orbit around the earth, but that the earth orbits around the sun. I think looking at it this way is untenable. The original problem was that the axis of the heavens is observably not perpendicular to the flat earth. An acceptable solution to this problem was already given by the theory of the inclination of the celestial axis. Why should Leucippus and Democritus have defended another theory that yielded such extra problems? Copernicus had his reasons for opposing the Ptolemaic system, but I cannot imagine which reasons could have prompted Leucippus and Democritus to reject the theory of the tilted heavens and replace it by the theory of a tilted earth.

If the atomists really had defended it, we would expect that a view like the dip of the flat earth would have been concluded by something like: "and this is why the celestial pole is not in the zenith". Instead, when we read the texts more carefully, Leucippus and Democritus do not seem to be bothered with this problem, but with climatologic questions. Diogenes Laërtius' and Aëtius' quoted texts on Leucippus go on as follows:

> (<…> the earth's being tilted toward the south.) The region toward the north is always snowy, cold, and frozen (Diog. Laërt. 9. 33 = Gr Lcp47[33] = DK 67 A 1[33]).
>
> (the earth tilts towards the south) because of the rarity [of the air] of the southern regions, whereas the northern regions are compacted because they are frozen by frosts, while the contrary regions are fiery (Aët. 3. 12. 1 = Gr Lcp76 = DK 67 A 27).

And before and after the earlier quoted text on Democritus we read:

> Democritus [says] because the southern part is weaker than its surroundings, (as the earth grew it tilted toward the south). For the northern regions are intemperate, the southern temperate; hence this region is heavy, where there is a greater abundance of flora, as a result of the growth (Aët. 3. 12. 2 = Gr Dmc77 = DK 68 A 96).

It is unthinkable that according to Democritus the 51.5° dip of the earth is caused by a greater abundance of flora on the southern part. Leucippus and Democritus probably said something about the various climates on their flat earth, and connected this with the inclination of the celestial axis, which results in the sun making the southern parts hotter and the northern parts colder.

I think the confusion originated with the doxographers, who were acquainted with the sphericity of the earth and with the inclination of the ecliptic, which can also be described as an inclination of the *spherical* earth in relation to the plane of the ecliptic (see figure 7).[31] They confused this with the inclination of the celestial pole on a *flat* earth in relation to the earth's surface and thought that this could be described as a dip of the earth as well.

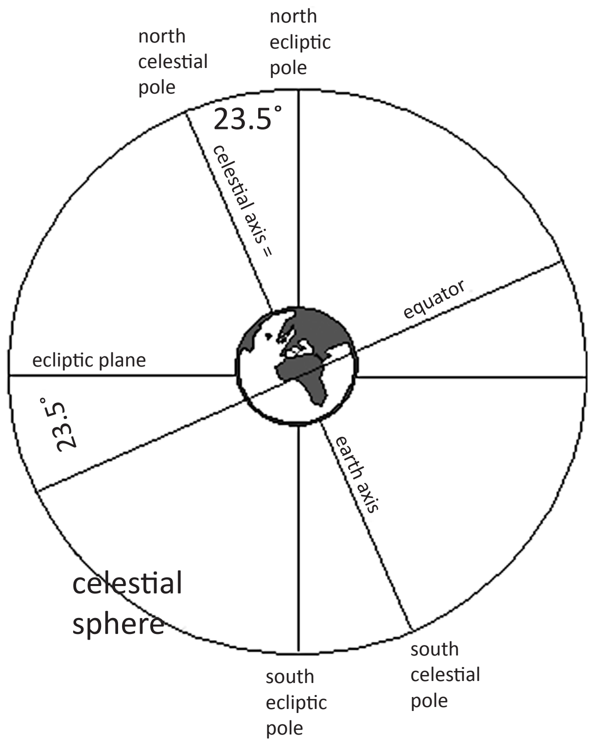

Figure 7. The spherical earth and the celestial sphere are inclined 23.5° in relation to the plane of the ecliptic

For these reasons I think that the reports on the so-called dip of the earth are mistaken and that the atomists, just like other Presocratics, taught an inclination of the *heavens*. The reader may understand this section as an elaboration of Kirk's casual remark that in this matter possibly Leucippus was misinterpreted later.[32]

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[31] This is the way we are used to put globes: tilted by 23.5°.

[32] Kirk, Raven, Schofield ²2007, 157 (not Anaxagoras as well, to whom Kirk here wrongly ascribes the theory of the dip of the earth. Perhaps this is a slip of the pen and we have to read 'Democritus' instead of 'Anaxagoras').

Critical notes on Bicknell's interpretation

Bicknell's exposition is also not free from the confusions mentioned above. He starts his discussion of the paths of the heavenly bodies according to Anaximenes with the remark: "If the early Ionian thinkers made *the obvious assumption* that the surface of the flat earth at the centre of the universe coincided with the plane of the *celestial equator*, the facts of observation would be in blatant contradiction with preconceptions based on theory".[33] There is, however, no reason at all why this should be an obvious assumption. It only holds for a *spherical* earth that the plane of the earth's equator is also the plane of the celestial equator. The situation of the early Ionians is represented in figure 4b, in which the celestial equator does not coincide with the plane of the earth.

Moreover, it is a little noticed fact that the Ionians did not speak of the celestial equator (ὁ ἰσημερινὸς κύκλος). Perhaps they did not even know the concept. The expression is used only once in the doxography on the Presocratics, in a text on Thales that is certainly unreliable, as it is a typical example of the habitude ascribing to Thales all kinds of discoveries and knowledge.[34] The reason for this silence is probably that the concept of the celestial equator, which is a projection of the terrestrial equator out into space, is linked to the discovery of the sphericity of the earth. On a flat earth there is no terrestrial equator in the same sense of the word. That which can be called the "Ionian equator" is not a circle, but the diameter of the flat earth which divides it in a northern and a southern half. This line can be thought to run from the Pillars of Hercules, through Delphi and probably through Miletus.[35] The ancient Ionians did not speak of a celestial equator, but they spoke of the celestial pole or the celestial axis, around which the heavenly bodies orbit. When in figures 4, 5, and 6 and in their explanation I used the expression "celestial equator" and drew it, this was mainly to make things clear to the present-day reader. Even Plato does not use the expression "celestial equator" when he describes in the *Timaeus* the circle that represents the movement of the Same, although he was acquainted with the sphericity of the earth. Aristotle still uses it once (*Meteor.* 345 a 3), but only to indicate the location of a comet.

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33 Bicknell 1969, 77–78, my italics.

34 Aëtius, *Placita* 2. 12. 1 = DK 11 A 13 c, not in Gr, and the part relevant here not in TP1 156 as well. O'Grady 2002 doesn't even mention this text.

35 See Heidel 1937, 20 and 53–54. Cf. chapter 6, "The First Map of the Earth", in Couprie 2011, 79–86.

What Bicknell mentions as an obvious assumption is what the Presocratics, confronted with the riddle of the tilted celestial axis, offered as an explanation: *originally* the celestial axis was perpendicular to the earth (and thus the surface of the flat earth coincided with the plane of the celestial equator, see figure 4a), but later the celestial axis tilted. Bicknell's strange definition of the problem also leads to an even more strange formulation of Anaxagoras' solution: "The heavenly bodies, he held, had *once circled on paths parallel to the celestial equator* (…). Later (…) Nous had given the celestial movements their presently observed obliquity".[36] This sounds as if in the present situation the heavenly bodies no longer circle parallel to the celestial equator, which is nonsense. The consequence of what Anaxagoras (and others) meant was, of course, that when the heavens tilted, the celestial equator, which originally was situated in the plane of the surface of the flat earth, went with it.

The same strange idea recurs in Bicknell's rendition of Leucippus' and Democritus' alleged idea of a tilted earth: "(…) the heavenly bodies *did* orbit daily in paths parallel to the equatorial plane *which intersected one of the diameters* of an earth tilted upwards in the north (…)".[37] That the equatorial plane intersects one of the diameters of the flat earth is, however, not a distinctive feature of the alleged theory of a dip of the earth (see figure 5b), for this is also the case when the heavens are tilted, as Anaxagoras and others held (see figure 4b). In both cases this diameter is what Heidel called the "Ionian equator".[38]

For his interpretation, Bicknell refers to Aristotle's quoted text from *Meteor.* 354 a 28–32. When we read this text in its context, there is no trace of a reference to a dip of the earth. All Aristotle says is "that the earth is high toward the north". Kirk already remarked: "Yet attractive as this interpretation (a dip of the earth ascribed to Anaximenes, D. C.) is, it is made very doubtful by [the text in *Meteorologica*]; here Aristotle refers to the theory of higher parts", and Kirk continues: "but his context, which is concerned with showing that the greatest rivers flow from the greatest mountains, in the north, makes it quite clear that he understands 'the earth being high to the north' to refer to its northern mountain ranges", the mythical Rhipaean mountains.[39] Bicknell's "logical supposition (…) that (…) Aristotle alludes to the slanted earth theory and that the thinkers he has in mind are Anaximenes and the two atomists who therefore held

[36] Bicknell 1969, 78, my italics.
[37] Bicknell 1969, 78, second italics mine.
[38] See note 35.
[39] Kirk, Raven, Schofield ^{2}2007, 157.

that the world's greatest rivers flow down from the north of their tilted earth"[40] is not so logical after all. The Presocratics were acquainted with the existence of the great river Nile, flowing from south to north. The alleged dip of the earth would have meant that the Nile streams uphill against a slope of 51.5°. At the end of this part of the article I will come back once more on Aristotle's text.

From the arguments in the preceding and present sections I conclude that there did not exist a Presocratic theory of a dip of the earth and that, consequently, we will have to discard Bicknell's interpretation of the path of the heavenly bodies according to Anaximenes as well.

A new interpretation

Having discarded the idea of a dip of the flat earth as a possible interpretation, the unattractive alternative seems to remain that Anaximenes fell back to the ancient mythological stories that "told how the sun, when he set in the west, was carried round the encircling stream of Ocean in a golden boat to rise in the east again".[41] This image, which entails a double bend in the paths of the heavenly bodies, at their rising and setting, is of a certain naivety, as Wöhrle dryly remarks.[42] Anaximenes was a fellow townsman of Anaximander, who taught that the heavenly bodies turned like wheels, and passed under the earth. It is hard to believe that Anaximenes would have fallen back into the archaic world picture. There is one other possibility, however. We may acknowledge that the idea of an inclination of *the heavens* to explain the tilted position of the celestial axis, as promoted by the Presocratics, is probably old and can be linked to Anaximenes as well. The reports on his theory of the paths of the heavenly bodies and the image of the felt cap, I think, do not concern the *actual* situation of the heavens, as Bicknell and others supposed, but the *original* state before the inclination of the heavens (see figure 4a).

Figure 4a, which depicts not the present but the original situation, makes perfect sense as an illustration of Anaximenes' image of the heavenly bodies turning around the earth like a felt cap around our head. Wöhrle already seems to acknowledge this. After comparing the *original* situation on a flat earth with the situation on the north pole of a spherical earth, he concludes "(damit) dreht sich natürlich das ganze Himmelsgewölbe – wie

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40 Bicknell 1969, 78–79.
41 Guthrie 1962, 138.
42 Wöhrle 1993, 74.

eine Kappe um den Kopf".[43] The same idea of the celestial bodies turning around our head as in figure 4a is also invoked in the image of a millstone turning around horizontally:

> [on the cosmos] some held that it turns around (περιδινεῖσθαι) like a millstone (μυλοειδῶς), others like a wheel (τροχός) (Theodoret. *Graec. aff. cur.* 4. 15–16 = TP2 As112 = Ar135 = DK 13 A 12, not in Gr).

Diels, followed by other scholars, maintains that Anaximenes (millstone) and Anaximander (wheel), respectively, are meant, and that the clause is about the cosmos, and I think they are right. According to Wöhrle, however, the text is about the earth. In this he cannot be right, because the word περιδινεῖσθαι clearly has to do with the cosmos, and τροχός is Anaximander's word for the heavenly bodies. Anaximander's celestial wheels are said to be slanted,[44] which accounts for the present stuation (see figure 4b). A millstone turns horizontally, like the celestial bodies in the original situation before the inclination of the heavens (see figure 4a).

Another indication might be found in Epicurus' quoted text, where there is talk of "walls in a circle [around the earth]". This reminds us of another earlier quoted text where Hippolytus says that according to Archelaos, before the tilting of the heavens the sun circled around the horizon and did not shine upon the earth because it was invisible behind the raised edges of the concave earth. In the same sense we may read the last part of Hippolytus' text on Anaximenes, in which the image of the felt cap appears: "The sun is hidden (…) by being covered by the higher parts of the earth". There is no intrinsic reason to think that Hippolytus is hinting only at the northern mountains instead of at the higher periphery of the concave earth as a whole. In that case both Hippolytus and Archelaos describe the original situation before the heavens tilted.

An obvious objection against my interpretation is that the quoted texts on Anaximenes speak about the present and not about the original situation. Nevertheless, I would suggest that the doxographers, being acquainted with the sphericity of the earth, no longer understood what Anaximenes, speaking of the origin of the tilt of the heavens, really meant. As said before, the misunderstandings about the inclination of the celestial axis were (and are) widespread. I think we can even identify one source of the confusion. The texts of the doxographers on the paths of

[43] Wöhrle 1993, 73.

[44] Aët. 2. 25. 1 = Gr Axr25 = TP2 Ar151 = DK 12 A 22. Anaximander's slanted celestial bodies can best be understood as another expression for the tilt of the heavens.

the heavenly bodies according to Anaximenes look as if they go back to Aristotle (*Meteor.* 354 a 28–32), also quoted above. For clarity's sake I will quote it once more:

> Many of the ancient cosmologists are convinced that the sun does not travel under the earth, but rather around the earth and that (northern) region, and it disappears and causes night because the earth is high toward the north.

Remarkably, Aristotle speaks of "*many* of the ancient cosmologists". If there has not existed such a thing as a theory of the dip of the earth, as argued above, Aristotle cannot have meant Leucippus and Democritus, as Bicknell thought. This would make Anaximenes the only remaining candidate for the "many ancient cosmologists", which is a little bit few. When we try to read Aristotle's text with an eye, unbiased by how Diels wants us to read it, I think that Aristotle is not referring to Anaximenes, but to the "pre-philosophical world-picture, where the sun floats (at night, D. C.) round river Okeanos to the north".[45] An indication is perhaps that he doesn't speak of ἀστρολόγοι, but of μετεωρολόγοι. Of course in this archaic conception there must be mountains to hide the sun on its journey around the north. If this interpretation is right, Diels was not the first to make the mistake to list it as a report on Anaximenes, and Bicknell was not the first to read Aristotle's words on the high northern parts of the earth as if they were about a strange theory of a dip of the earth. The doxographers made the same mistakes, and thus a description of the archaic idea of the sun being carried round the north behind the northern mountains became a theory of a dip of the earth, which does not make sense on a flat earth like that of Anaximenes, Leucippus, and Democritus.

Part II. Consequences and methodological remarks

After the tilt of the heavens

In the first part of this article I argued that Anaximenes' cap simile was meant to illustrate the original situation of the heavens, before the tilt of the celestial axis. The next legitimate question is: how does the present situation of the heavens, after the tilt of the celestial axis, look like according to Anaximenes? Perhaps one would expect a picture, where the 'cap' is first right and then slanted:

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[45] Kirk, Raven, Schofield ^{2}2007, 156, see also 12–13.

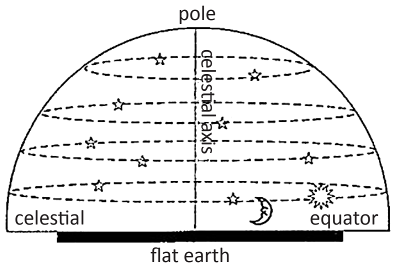

Figure 8a. The original situation of the heavens (the cap simile)

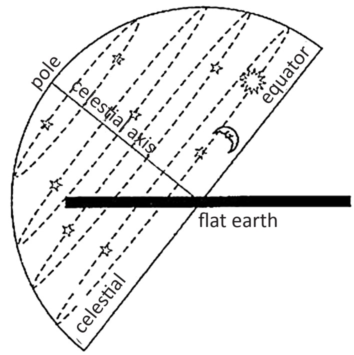

Figure 8b. The present situation after the inclination of the heavens (slanted cap)??

Figure 8b looks very much like McKirahan's rendition of the cap simile, which I criticized because it leaves a big gap without stars at the southern part of the heavens. This means that figure 8b cannot be considered as an accurate rendition of the situation after the tilt of the heavens.

In my opinion, Anaximenes, elaborating on Anaximander's slanted celestial wheels, tried to imagine the original situation before the tilt of the heavens. As argued in part one of this article, I disagree with Bicknell's interpretation of the cap simile on two important points. In the first place, Bicknell speaks of a dip of the earth instead of a tilt of the heavens. In the second place, according to Bicknell the cap simile pictures the situation *after* the alleged dip of the earth, whereas according to me the cap simile illustrates the situation *before* the tilt of the heavens.

To be more precise, I think that Anaximenes' cap simile was meant to illustrate what a person *would have seen* if he had been present on the surface of the flat earth before the tilt of the heavens. As he would have seen only that part of the heavens which is above the surface of the flat earth, what is below that surface is not rendered. This is what pictures 8a and 9a (as well as 4a and 5a in the first part of this article) show. It is the same as what a person who is at the north pole of a spherical earth sees, as was already stipulated in the first part of this article. In other words, the cap simile is not meant to illustrate the universe as such, but only the situation *before* the tilt of the heavens, *as seen* by someone who stands on the earth's flat surface. What an observer on a flat earth sees in the situation *after* the tilt of the heavens, is the slanted orbits of the celestial bodies as rendered in figure 9b, and of course not as rendered in figure 8b, with the gap without stars above the southern horizon. In the first part of this article I already remarked: “Mark that in these pictures the orbits of the heavenly bodies under the earth are not drawn, because only what can be seen from the surface of a flat earth is rendered”.

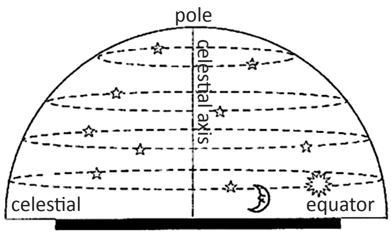

Figure 9a. What an observer would have seen before the tilt of the heavens (the cap simile)

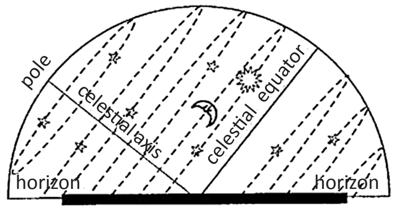

Figure 9b. What an observer sees after the tilt of the heavens (the present situation)

The celestial sphere

However, when a person, standing during the winter on the north pole of the spherical earth, tells us that the stars do not set but turn around his head, this does not mean that he believes that there are no stars under the horizon, but only that he cannot see those stars. Similarly during the summer, when he tells us that the sun does not set but turns around his head, he does not mean that when it is winter there is no sun under the horizon, but only that then the sun is invisible. The implication of figures 8a and 9a is not that in the situation before the tilt of the heavens there are no celestial bodies under the flat earth, but only that they cannot be seen. When we draw, in the original situation before the tilt of the heavens, the paths of the stars under the earth, which are invisible to someone living on the surface of the flat earth, the picture looks like figure 10a. And when we let the celestial axis tilt, we get figure 10b. These pictures (10a and 10b) exemplify, according to me, Anaximenes' conception of the cosmos.

I think that figures 8a and 9a give a fair rendition of Anaximenes' cap simile, and that figures 10a and 10b are a fair rendition of Anaximenes' conception of the heavens. Yet these pictures seem to be at odds with the testimonies in the doxography, which say that according to Anaximenes the celestial bodies do not go under the earth. So I have to explain why I think that according to Anaximenes the celestial bodies go under the earth as well, although the doxography seems to attest the opposite.

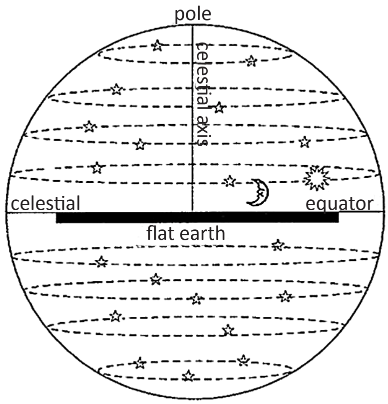

Figure 10a. The original situation of the heavens

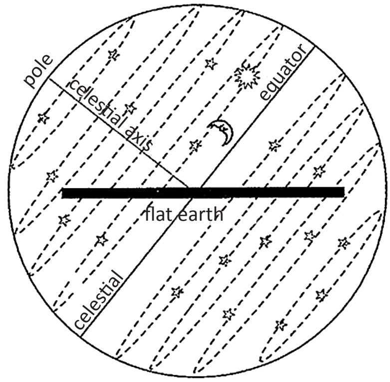

Figure 10b. The present situation after the inclination of the heavens

Methodological remarks

In order to make my position clear a methodological digression is needed. Somewhere in his newest book, Daniel Graham accuses me of trying "to impeach the sources", which he calls "dubious methodology at best, since the sources provide the only ground we have to stand on".[46] Graham's criticism concerns my interpretation of Anaxagoras' measurement of the sun and the moon, but I guess that he would say the same thing as regards my interpretation of Anaximenes as defended in this article. So let me explain my methodology somewhat more, so that the reader may decide for himself whether it is dubious or not.

When studying the texts on ancient Greek cosmology we must realize that the sources are *not* the only ground to stand on. The cosmological conceptions of the early Greek philosophers were not just abstract ideas, they were ideas about the earth and the heavenly bodies. Together these ideas made up their world picture. The most striking feature of this world picture was that the Presocratic cosmologists (or at least most of them) believed that the earth is flat, floating in the center of the cosmos. In order to really understand what it must have been like to live on a flat earth, we need what I once called a 'mental gymnastics'. Or, to formulate it otherwise, what we need is a methodological tool that allows us to imagine what it must have been to live with the conviction that the earth is flat. We need an interpretative tool that allows us to understand the paradigm

[46] Graham 2013, 147.

of a flat earth. I hinted at this tool when it came to the understanding of Anaximander's cosmological achievement: "(…) we have to place ourselves both into the archaic way of thinking and into the thought of those who developed the new world-picture, and especially into that of Anaximander. Accordingly, we have to suspend our own world-picture, as we have to learn to look 'with Anaximander's eyes'".[47] When we want to understand the flat earth cosmology of the ancient Greeks, we must accomplish a kind of retrograde paradigm switch.

This methodological tool is akin to what I, in *Earth and Heaven in Ancient Greek Cosmology*, called 'creative imagination', which generates a new world picture. It is worth the while to quote what I wrote there: "Anaximander's cosmology was not descriptive astronomy, but *speculative* astronomy. Speculative astronomy or cosmology is the product of (…) 'creative imagination'. Creative imagination is quite something other than fantasy. (…). Fantasy creates things or images that do not help in understanding the celestial phenomena, but rather adapts them to a preconceived idea. Creative imagination, on the other hand, puts known empirical data into a new interpretative arrangement that helps us to understand the phenomena".[48] To create a new cosmological paradigm, as Anaximander did, is an effort of creative imagination, and the same holds for the conception of the sphericity of the earth, initiated by Aristotle and others. In order to understand ancient Greek cosmology, before the discovery of the sphericity of the earth, we must use retrograde creative imagination to re-create the speculative astronomy of the flat earth. We can achieve this by suspending all we know of the spherical earth and the concepts that belong to it.

We tend to think there cannot be a problem in understanding the world-picture of ancient people who believed, or did not know better than, that they lived on a flat earth. It is not so easy, however, to really appreciate the true impact of that ancient world picture and to look at the earth and the heavens with Presocratic eyes. The conviction that the earth is flat yields surprising consequences for cosmology, climatology and time-measuring. For instance, when the earth is flat the celestial bodies are not at enormous distances from us, but on the contrary very close to the earth. A flat earth is divided in a northern, colder, and a southern, warmer half. On a flat earth it is always everywhere the same time of the day. That a retrograde paradigm switch is not so easy to achieve is shown by the fact that there is hardly any area of the study of ancient

[47] Couprie 2011, xxiv.
[48] Couprie 2011, xxxi, see also Couprie, Pott 2002, 58.

Greek philosophy that is so full of anachronistic misunderstandings and misinterpretations. An anachronism is nothing but a manifestation of our inability to put ourselves in the position of those early thinkers. Many an author on early Greek cosmology, both in ancient and in recent times, has fallen into this pitfall. This means that the doxographic reports on ancient Greek cosmology must be studied with the awareness that they can contain anachronistic features. Generally speaking, supposing that something has gone wrong in the tradition is a bad ad hoc recourse in the interpretation of ancient texts. When it can be shown, however, that similar mistakes occur frequently and systematically, that they are akin to mistakes made by modern authors, and that they are due to a confusion of how things are on a flat and on a spherical earth, it is allowed to suppose that the tradition of ancient cosmology is not always free from anachronism. In this way, the interpretative tool of creative imagination allows us to re-create the ancient world picture and thus to understand the available cosmological texts, to recognize anachronisms in the doxography and to avoid the pitfalls of anachronism in interpreting these texts.[49]

Conclusions about Anaximenes' cosmology

And now back to Anaximenes. Anaximenes was a younger co-citizen of Anaximander, who was the first, as far as we know, who taught that the celestial bodies make full circles and thus go under the earth as well. This as such already makes us look with some suspect at reports saying that Anaximenes held that the celestial bodies do not go under the earth. Moreover, Anaximenes suggested an alternative solution for the main problem why the earth does not fall, which Anaximander could not loose or for which he only offered a purely logical argument (if we may believe the sources on this point). Instead, Anaximenes put forward a physical argument:

> Anaximenes (…) say[s] that flatness is the cause of [the earth's] staying in place. It does not cut, but covers the air like a lid (Aristot. *DC* 294 b 13 ff. = Gr Axs13 = TP2 As3 = DK 13 A 20).

and

> Anaximenes [says] owing to its flatness it floats on air (Aët. 3. 15. 8 = Gr Axs15 = TP2 As46 = DK 13 A 20).

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[49] In my forthcoming book *When The Earth Was Flat* I have planned to systematically investigate the numerous distinctive features of the concept of a flat earth, as well as to discuss several examples of anachronistic misunderstandings and misinterpretations, both in ancient and in modern authors.

This looks rather as an attempt to strengthen the new world-picture than as a relapse into archaic notions. Moreover, another report says:

> Anaximenes [says] the stars are fixed like nails to a crystalline surface so as to form constellations (Aët. 2. 14. 3 = Gr Axs17 = TP2 As38 = DK 13 A 14).

This can only mean that Anaximenes understood this crystalline surface as a sphere with the earth in the center. In any other interpretation the movements of the stars become completely incomprehensible. If this is right, he also cannot have meant that the sun does not go under the earth, for the orbit of the sun in its daily movement is parallel and similar to the daily movement of the stars.

When it is maintained that "the sources provide the only ground we have to stand on", one is at a loss, because those who hold that Anaximenes taught a hemispherical firmament in which the heavenly bodies do not go under the earth must necessarily consider the report that the stars are like nails in the crystalline vault as erroneous. Here the interpretative tool of understanding what it must have been to look at the heavens with the eyes of those who thought that the earth is flat provides a means to understand both texts in relation to one another: in my interpretation both the report that the stars do not go under the earth and the report that the stars are like nails can be retained: the first as being about what the heavens look like when seen at the state of the universe before the tilt of the heavens, and the other as being about the sphere of the stars as such, both before and after the tilt of the heavens.

In my opinion Hippolytus, who has handed over Anaximenes' cap simile, and the doxographers, who wrote about the celestial bodies not going under the earth, were acquainted with the concept of a spherical earth, but they were not able to achieve the necessary retrograde paradigm switch. They wrongly thought that with these words Anaximenes meant to describe the present situation of the heavens. At the end of the first part of this article I already suggested what the source of this misunderstanding could have been. Most modern commentators followed the anachronistic rendition of the doxography, either by declaring the report on the stars as nails in the firmament corrupted or by simply not noticing the discrepancy between this report and those which say that according to Anaximenes the celestial bodies do not go under the earth.

Curiously enough, here I am completely in agreement with Bicknell, who maintains "that Anaximenes regarded his star-studded heaven as a sphere" and rejects the view "that it was a hemispherical dome". It is worth the while to quote him at length, because I agree with every word of it:

> My reason for rejecting this view is that at Miletus, which lies roughly 37 degrees north, the celestial equator and the planes of diurnal rotation of all the heavenly bodies are inclined to the plane of the horizon by an angle of 53 degrees. To an observer at Miletus or anywhere near it, it would immediately be evident that the apparent movements of the fixed stars could not be explained on the supposition that they were attached to a hemispherical dome. Such an account would fit the facts of observation only at the terrestrial poles where the celestial pole corresponds to the zenith and the planes of the horizon and the celestial equator coincide. (…) the diurnal paths of the fixed stars are parallel to those of the rest of the luminaries, and therefore whatever Anaximenes said of the latter must have applied to the former too. (…) At Miletus, the sun, moon, and planets and the majority of the fixed stars appear to pass beneath the earth.[50]

It is a pity that Bicknel spoiled these right observations and considerations by his strange interpretation of the cap simile which was discussed in the first part of this article.[51]

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[50] Bicknell 1969, 77.

[51] The text of this article was finished when I became acquainted with Dmitri Panchenko's intriguing interpretation of Anaximenes' cosmology. I decided to leave my text as it was, so that the reader can judge for him- or herself. In my forthcoming book *When the Earth Was Flat* I hope to confront both interpretations.

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Abbreviations

Gr – Graham 2010
TP1 – Wöhrle 2009
TP2 – Wöhrle 2012
DK – Diels, Kranz 1951/52

Anaximenes is said to have maintained that the celestial bodies do not go underneath the earth, but move laterally around it like a kind of felt cap around our head. In the first part of this article the interpretations of McKirahan and Bicknell are discussed and a new interpretation is proposed. McKirahan's interpretation is shown to suffer from several shortcomings, such as not to account for the stars in the southern part of the heavens. Bicknell's interpretation presupposes that Anaximenes taught a dip of the earth as is reported of Leucippus and Democritus. It is argued that this interpretation is wrong, mainly because there did not exist such a thing as a Presocratic theory of a dip of the earth: Leucippus and Democritus taught a tilt of the heavens, just like other Presocratics. Following a suggestion of Wöhrle's, it is argued that what Anaximenes meant to describe was not the actual state of celestial affairs but that before the tilt of the heavens. In the second half of the article some methodological premises about the interpretation of ancient cosmological texts are exposed and the conclusion is drawn that Anaximenes taught not a hemispherical but a spherical universe.

Анаксимену приписывается утверждение о том, что небесные тела не проходят под землей, но двигаются вокруг нее, как войлочная шапка вокруг головы. В первой части статьи обсуждаются толкования МакКирэна и Бикнелла и выдвигается новая интерпретация. Толкование МакКирэна имеет ряд недостатков: например, оно не учитывает наличие звезд в южной части небесной сферы. Толкование Бикнелла подразумевает, что Анаксимен разделял учение о наклоне земли, приписываемое также Левкиппу и Демокриту. Это неправильно главным образом потому, что у досократиков не существовало учения о наклоне земли: Левкипп и Демокрит, как и другие досократики, говорят о наклоне небесной сферы. Разделяя предположение Вёрле, автор полагает, что обсуждаемое утверждение Анаксимена относится не к реальному движению звезд, а к тому, которое имело место до наклона небесной сферы. Во второй части статьи излагаются методологические предпосылки к толкованию свидетельств о космологии древних философов и делается вывод о том, что вселенная Анксимена была не полусферической, а сферической.

A GHOST PROVERB IN HERODOTUS (6. 129. 4)?

At the end of the sixth book of *Histories*, Herodotus inserts into his appraisal of the role played by the Alcmeonid family in Athenian politics the story of Hippocleides' unsuccessful wooing of Cleisthenes' daughter Agariste who was later to marry Megacles, one of the Alcmeonids. Suitors from all over Greece competed for her hand in the course of a year, and Hippocleides from the Athenian family of Philaidae was decidedly the favorite until the very last evening, when the winner was to be announced. In high spirits over his impending victory, Hippocleides began to dance (καί κως ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο) at first in the Laconic style, then in the Attic style and at last a dance that Herodotus is at a loss to categorize – resting his head on the table, Hippocleides made figures with his legs in the air. This dancing was of course highly revolting to Cleisthenes (Hdt. 6. 129–130):

> Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἱπποκλείδην διὰ τήν τε ὄρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείην κατεῖχε ἑωυτόν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτόν· ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε· "Ὦ παῖ Τεισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον". Ὁ δὲ Ἱπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· "Οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ". Ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται...

After these words Herodotus proceeds with the story of Cleisthenes who in the end chose Megacles of the Alcmaeonid family as his son-in-law, and the luckless Hippocleides is no longer mentioned. Herodotus marks this transition in his narrative by the phrase ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται (Hdt. 6. 130. 1) bringing to a close that part of the episode that concerns the dancing suitor.

Translators and commentators are unanimous in their interpretation of ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται as referring to Hippocleides' retort, "Οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ", and the usual translation is "hence the proverb".[1] This interpretation would seem to be confirmed by later sources, both literary and scholarly. Thus Plutarch (*De Her. malign*. 867 b) uses the saying in his criticism of Herodotus, substituting his name for that of Hippocleides' (chronologically, this is the earliest occurrence of the phrase since the *Histories*):

> ὁ δὲ [...] δοκεῖ μοι, καθάπερ Ἱπποκλείδης ὁ τοῖς σκέλεσι χειρονομῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, εἰπεῖν ἂν ἐξορχούμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν· "οὐ φροντὶς Ἡροδότῳ".

After Plutarch οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ appears either *verbatim* or in a modified but recognizable form in several literary contexts from late Antiquity.[2] The philological tradition of the same period explicitly describes it as a proverb – the earliest author to do so among the scholars whose texts have come down to us is Pausanias Atticista (2nd century AD):

> οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ· παροιμία, ἧς μέμνηται Ἕρμιππος ἐν Δημόταις. Ἱπποκλείδης ὁ Τ<ε>ισάνδρου μέλλων γαμεῖν Ἀγαρίστην τὴν Κλεισθένους τοῦ Σικυωνίου θυγατέρα τοῦ τυράννου ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν γάμων ἡμέρᾳ ἐπωρχήσατο περιττῶς. μεταβουλευσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κλεισθένους καὶ Μεγακλεῖ τῷ Ἀλκμαίωνος τὴν θυγατέρα δόντος,

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[1] Thus, J. E. Powell 1937, s. v. ὀνομάζω; see also A. Bailly 1963, s. v. ὀνομάζω: « C'est à cause de cela que l'on dit; c'est de la que vient cette expression ». Similar interpretations are to be found in translations and commentaries: "Hinc igitur originem cepit illud proverbium" (Bähr 1834, 410, quoted with approval by Abicht 1883, 214, and Macan 1895, 385); "ὀνομάζεται, is proverbial" (How, Wells 1912, *ad loc*.), "which is a byword from that day" (Godley 1922, 285) « C'est de là que vient cette expression » (Legrand 1948, 120); "da questo episodio deriva il proverbio" (Nenci 1998, 139). Heinrich Stein who glosses "ὀνομάζεται, als Sprichwort" (in Stein 1882, 222) seems to have had his doubts about this use of ὀνομάζεται and later proposed to change it into νομίζεται in the *apparatus criticus* of his 1884 edition.

The most explicit discussion of the choice of the verb ὀνομάζεται is found in Milletti 2010, 143, for whom the verb highlights the transformation of the saying into a proverb: "Erodoto non adotta alcuna forma di metalinguaggio, si affida piuttosto a due deittici e a un verbo (ὀνομάζεται) che mette l'accento sull'atto concreto della denominazione, come a voler indicare che l'intera frase è 'diventata un nome', ha acquisto un'identità propria". This interpretation, however interesting, is based on a very bold metaphor, and seems to find little support either in use of the Greek verb ὀνομάζεσθαι or in general phraseological practices.

[2] Iulian. *Orat*. 6. 2; Liban. *Epist*. 1025. 3; *Orat*. 42. 53; *Ep. pseudepigr.* 1. 5 (= *Epist*. 1545, 5); Lucian. *Apol*. 15; *Herc*. 8; Pseudo-Lucian. *Philopatr.* 29; Theodor. *Epist*. 19.

> πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἱπποκλείδην φανερῶς εἰπόντος, ὅτι ἀπώρχηται τὸν γάμον τὸν Ἀγαρίστης, ὑποτυχὼν ἔφη· “οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ”.[3]

Pausanias not only states specifically that οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ is a proverb; he mentions an occurrence in Hermippus' *Demotai*, a comedy more or less contemporary with the *Histories* of Herodotus, whose text is now lost. In other lexicons the entry οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ has the same structure.[4]

This would seem to give conclusive confirmation to the traditional interpretation of the Herodotean passage: the sources qualify οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ as a proverb and it does appear in literary texts; it must follow then that Herodotus referred to this proverbial usage when he wrote ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται (Hdt. 6. 130. 1). Thus according to the traditional interpretation ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται must be considered an equivalent of the formulas that we find in later scholarship – e. g. ὅθεν εἰς παροιμίαν ἦλθεν ὁ λόγος (Dicaearch. fr. 103. 1 Wehrli); εἰς παροιμίαν παρῆλθε τὸ πρᾶγμα (Aristot. fr. 610 Gigon); εἰς παροιμίαν ἦλθε (Aristot. fr. 529 Gigon). It has accordingly been suggested that the whole story of the dancing suitor was included in the *Histories* in order to explain the saying οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ,[5] and even that Herodotus' Athenian sources had invented the story in order to account for the existing proverb.[6]

Nevertheless a difficulty remains. Why does Herodotus use the verb ὀνομάζεται? Nowhere else do we find this verb, or the noun ὄνομα from which it is derived, designating a proverb.[7] It is true that the verb

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[3] Erbse 1950, 202.

[4] Photius o 697; Suda o 978. The lexicographical evidence will be studied in detail below.

[5] Thus Swoboda 1913, 1773: “den ersten Anlaß zu [dieser Erzählung] gab der Wunsch, das geflügelte Wort οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ zu erklären, sie ist also ätiologischen Ursprungs” (cf. Grote 1888, 413 and Hohti 1976, 115). C. W. Müller 2006, 259 n. 121 is more cautious in admitting the possibility: “Das ist wenig plausibel, weil es die Proportionen verschiebt, aber ein aitiologisches Element im Rahmen des Ganzen könnte es schon sein”.

[6] “The phrase originated the year before the Halikarnassian heard it from an Athenian, but what it meant was really up to Herodotos' source, not to him. And this source can have fashioned the story to supply an origin for the saying when the actual circumstances of its origin were otherwise unknown, lost, obscured – or meant to be obscured” (Lavelle 2014, 325).

[7] On the most frequent term, παροιμία, see Bieler 1936, 240–247. A comprehensive summary of theoretical views on proverbs in antiquity, as well as the definition of different kinds of proverbial sayings may be found in Kindstrand 1978, Russo 1997 and most recently Tosi 2010.

ὀνομάζω is sometimes used in a weakened sense as a *verbum dicendi*;[8] however it has been shown that even in the Homeric formula ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε (*Il.* – 17x; *Od.* – 26x), which is a stock example of this less specific usage, the verb ἐξονομάζω does not lose its link with the noun ὄνομα.[9] But even if for the sake of argument we assume that ὀνομάζω could have been used as a *verbum dicendi* equivalent to λέγω, the transition from a general meaning to the specific designation of proverb would still be extremely hard to explain, especially as it does not correspond to the verb's inner form. It should be noted that a certain uneasiness concerning Herodotus' use of ὀνομάζω is manifest in Godley's and Legrand's translations (see n. 1) as well as in the LSJ entry ὀνομάζω (section IV, *passive*) where the Herodotean passage is translated as "hence this saying is used". Each of these translations is a compromise that eschews the problematic word "proverb", but *de facto* accepts the traditional interpretation of the passage.

In view of this difficulty it seems worthwhile to reconsider the later parallels, with special attention to their independence from Herodotus' story of the dancing suitor. Among these late occurrences the two examples of οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in Lucian occupy a special place. First of these is found at the end of his *Apology for "The Dependent Scholar"* (*Apol.* 15):

> Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ ἑταῖρε, καίτοι ἐν μυρίαις ταῖς ἀσχολίαις ὢν ὅμως ἀπελογησάμην, οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ θέμενος τὴν λευκὴν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ πλήρη μοι ἐνεχθῆναι· ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοὺς ἄλλους, κἂν συνάμα πάντες κατηγορῶσιν, ἱκανὸν ἂν εἴη μοι τό οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ.

It is not easy to estimate the degree of dependence of this passage from Herodotus, all the more so because it is placed at the absolute end of

[8] The fact that ὀνομάζω could be used in a wider sense than "*to name*; *to call* someone *by name*" was already noted in antiquity – for instance, see Hsch. ε 1739: ἔκ τ᾽ ὀνόμαζε· καὶ ἔλεγεν. ἐπείθετο; Hsch. ε 5509 ἔπος τ᾽ ἔφατ᾽ ἔκ τ᾽ ὀνόμαζε· τόν τε λόγον εἶπε καὶ τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ διεξῄει.

[9] See Jacobsohn 1934, 133–134, and Couch 1937, 129, 139–140. Another possible parallel would be the construction ὀνομάζεται εἶναι (see LSJ s.v. ὀνομάζω, II. 2): e.g. τὰς ὀνομάζουσι Δήλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην... (Hdt. 4. 33. 3; cf. 2. 44. 3); σοφιστὴν δή τοι ὀνομάζουσί γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι (Plat. *Prot.* 311 e). As in the previous case the verb ὀνομάζω retains the basic meaning "to call someone something" despite the fact that it is weakened by the pleonastic infinitive εἶναι (a similar usage is also attested for the verb καλέω (see LSJ, s.v. καλέω, II.3.b).

the essay and the preceding context is of no direct use. Neither is the observation of the wider context decisive, as Lucian's technique of references is extremely varied: the texts incorporates direct quotations from canonical authors,[10] indirect allusions,[11] semiproverbial sayings[12] and proverbs[13] which are at times difficult to distinguish. Thus, when Lucian (*Apol.* 4) says ἐν γήρᾳ δὲ ὑστάτῳ καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐδόν, we are immediately reminded of the Homeric formula ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ; but it is difficult to decide whether Lucian rephrases the saying in order to introduce a Homeric touch or as a reference to a popular proverb.[14]

Although there is no positive proof of Lucian's dependence on or independence from Herodotus, substantial indirect evidence suggests that he did intend to allude to the *Histories*. The emphatic placement of the saying at the end of the *Apology* speaks in favor of a deliberate allusion rather than a common proverb – it would seem to reproduce the position of this saying in the Herodotean novella, where οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ appears as the unlucky suitor's last words and actually concludes the part of the narrative dedicated to Hippocleides.[15] Furthermore the abundance of direct quotations and allusions in the text used to strengthen both Sabinus' presumed censure and Lucian's apology makes it more likely that the last phrase would also be a literary quotation. And finally, as the first essay of this diptych *On the Dependent Scholar* ends with a *verbatim*

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[10] The best represented category is that of direct quotations, often accompanied by the name of the author and distinguished from the main body of the text. The *Apology* contains the following quotations: Eur. *Phoen*. 398, Eur. *fr*. 905; Hom. *Il*. 6. 488; 20. 128; 18. 104; 22. 495.

[11] Two allusions may be cited. The first refers to the Bellerophontes story told by Glaucus in Hom. *Il*. 6. 160–183; the second is a close reformulation, incorporated into the text without explicit reference to Homer, of Achilles' saying: ὅς χ᾽ ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ (*Il*. 9. 313).

[12] There is one passage in which the turn of thought is evidently influenced by proverbial usage, although it is not elsewhere attested as a saying, and the *realia* mentioned are perhaps too specific for a common usage: μὴ γὰρ τοσοῦτός ποτε λιμὸς καταλάβοι τὸ Ἄργος ὡς τὴν Κυλλάραβιν σπείρειν ἐπιχειρεῖν… (Luc. *Apol*. 11).

[13] See καὶ σὲ τὸν κολοιὸν ἀλλοτρίοις πτεροῖς ἀγάλλεσθαι (Luc. *Apol*. 4).

[14] The expression γήραος οὐδός is used five times in Homer (*Il*. 22. 60; 24. 487; *Od*. 7. 89; 15. 246; 15. 348). It was also used by Hesiod (*Op*. 331) and later writers (Hdt. 3. 14; Jos. *Ant. iud*. 1. 222; Choricius 7. 1. 33; etc.). Plato famously makes Socrates quote this formula in the beginning of his *Republic*: ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη εἶ τῆς ἡλικίας ὃ δὴ "ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ" φασιν εἶναι οἱ ποιηταί (Plat. *Rep*. 328 e).

[15] Note a similar placement of οὐ φροντὶς Ἡροδότῳ at the end of a section in Plutarch (*De Her. malign*. 867 b) where the saying deliberately parodies Herodotus.

quotation from Plato,[16] the recognition of a quotation from Herodotus in οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ would reconcile the conclusions of the two essays, establishing an elegant symmetry.

Lucian's ἱκανὸν ἂν εἴη μοι τό οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ gave rise to a whole tradition of similar dismissals. Thus does Libanius terminate one of his letters (*Ep*. 1025. 3):

> θαυμαστὸν δὲ οὐδὲν εἶναί τινας καὶ τοὺς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς σου μεμφομένους. οὓς καλὸν ἀκούειν τὸν Ἱπποκλείδην.

Lucian's and Libanius' imitators also adopted this practice:

> τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ληρεῖν ἐάσωμεν ἀρκεσθέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν τὸ οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν (Pseudo-Lucian. *Philopatr*. 29).

> ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτός, εἴ τις ἀξιοίη τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν, πρὸς τὰ ἑκάστῳ περὶ ἐμοῦ δοκοῦντα ὅπως διάκειμαι, μάθοι γ᾽ ἂν οὐκ ἄλλο ἐπᾴδοντα ὅτι μὴ τό· οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ (Liban. *Epist. pseudepigr*. 1. 5 = *Epist*. 1545. 1).

These later occurrences leave the impression that the phrase οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ came to be used in the epistolary genre as an ironic break-off formula or the answer of a cultivated person to his critics (whether hypothetical or real). Its popularity was certainly due to the mixture of learned allusion and everyday tone, and we can judge the extent of Lucian's influence from the fact that the paroemiographer Apostolius, besides summarizing Herodotus' novella under the lemma οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ (13. 70), introduces a special entry for Lucian's ἱκανὸν ἂν εἴη μοι τό οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ (9. 19 b).

For the second time the saying οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ occurs in Lucian's *Heracles* (*Her*. 8):

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[16] ὅ τι δ᾽ ἂν πράττῃς, μέμνησο τοῦ σοφοῦ λέγοντος ὡς θεὸς ἀναίτιος, αἰτία δὲ ἑλομένου (Luc. *Merc. Cond*. 42□Plato has αἰτία ἑλομένου· θεὸς ἀναίτιος: *Resp*. 10. 15). This saying was of course well known and frequently referred to (see Halliwell 185), but its attribution to a sage (τοῦ σοφοῦ) shows that Lucian, without explicitly mentioning Plato, is using it as a literary quotation. It should be added that the essay *On the Dependent Scholar* and the *Apology* are linked not only thematically, but through references to the same quotations: Hom. *Il*. 22. 95 and Theogn. 175□177 are referred to or quoted in both (Luc. *Merc*. 20 □ *Apol*. 6 and *Merc*. 5 □ *Apol*. 10, accordingly).

ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἀναμνησθῶ τοῦ γέροντος ἐκείνου Ἡρακλέους, πάντα ποιεῖν προάγομαι καὶ οὐκ αἰδοῦμαι τοιαῦτα τολμῶν ἡλικιώτης ὢν τῆς εἰκόνος. ὥστε ἰσχὺς μὲν καὶ τάχος καὶ κάλλος καὶ ὅσα σώματος ἀγαθὰ χαιρέτω, καὶ ὁ Ἔρως ὁ σός, ὦ Τήϊε ποιητά, ἐσιδών με ὑποπόλιον τὸ γένειον χρυσοφαέννων εἰ βούλεται πτερύγων ταρσοῖς παραπετέσθω, καὶ ὁ Ἱπποκλείδης οὐ φροντιεῖ

This passage is no doubt dependent on Herodotus. The feelings experienced by the narrator as he gazes on the statue of Heracles are similar to the rapture that animated Herodotus' Hippocleides as he danced caring for neither the prestigious marriage nor common decency. Besides this thematic similarity, the allusion to the *Histories* is rendered all the more probable by the proximity of an explicit reference to Anacreon (ὦ Τήϊε ποιητά) followed by what is evidently a direct allusion to one of his poems (it is even reconstructed in its metrical form and placed among Anacreontean fragments by the editors):

(a) ὑποπόλιον γένειον χρυσοφαέννων,
εἰ βούλεται
(β) πτερύγων †ἢ ἀετοῖς† παραπετέσθω (fr. 379 Page = 25 b Edmonds).[17]

Whether this reconstruction is accurate or not, the placement of what can only be a very accurate reformulation of a poetic text immediately before καὶ ὁ Ἱπποκλείδης οὐ φροντιεῖ shows that this saying must also be a literary allusion.

For a full picture of the use of οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in late Antiquity, three other authors need to be examined. In his *Ecloga* Phrynichus Atticista (2nd century AD) uses the saying twice when with characteristic outspokenness[18] he dismisses variants that existed outside the correct Attic usage: Κολλάβους τοὺς ἐν τῇ λύρᾳ εἰ μὲν ἄλλη διάλεκτος λέγει, "οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ" φασίν· σὺ δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος λέγε κόλλοπας (*Ecl.* 169); Ἐνεχυριμαῖα οὐδεὶς τῶν δοκίμων εἶπεν – εἰ δὲ τῶν

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[17] Bergk proposed a different reconstruction of the fragment: ὅς μ᾽ ἐσιδὼν γένειον // ὑποπόλιον χρυσοφαέννων πτερύγων ἀήταις // παραπέταται (Bergk 1834, 124). Especially indicative of Anacreon's style is the color contrast between the gold associated with Eros (χρυσοφαέννων) and the poet's grey hair (cf. Anacr. fr. 13. 2, 6–7; this parallel was noted by Woodbury 1979, 286 n. 46).

[18] See W. G. Rutherford's characterization of Phrynichus' methods (Rutherford 1881, IX–X).

ἠμελημένων τις, “οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ” –, ἐνέχυρα δέ[19] (*Ecl.* 342). While in the latter example the author, as is usually the case, is identifying himself with the carefree Hippocleides,[20] the former occurrence is remarkable for the fact that Phrynichus does not side with Hippocleides: on the contrary, he seems to characterize those unfamiliar with the correct usage as “Hippocleides”, which suggests that the grammarian had in mind the whole episode entailing the confrontation between righteous Cleisthenes and the devious suitor.

A similar ambiguity as regards its dependence on the Herodotean context characterizes the late occurrence of the saying οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in a letter of Theodore of Kyzikos (*Epist.* 19, 10th century AD):

> Ἐγὼ γὰρ μὴ βουλόμενος στασιάζειν τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκείνην ἐτίμησα καὶ εἴτε ἀχνυμένη δόξῃ ταῦτα σκυτάλη, εἴτε ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσις, εἴτε Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα ὡς τὸ κολακεύειν οὐκ ἔχοντα, οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ κατὰ τὸ παροιμιαζόμενον.

On the one hand Theodore explicitly notes the proverbial nature of the saying (κατὰ τὸ παροιμιαζόμενον) and as far as we can judge Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα is really a proverb;[21] on the other hand the remaining three expressions, οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ, ἀχνυμένη σκυτάλη and ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσις, have literary origins, and the latter is also Herodotean.[22]

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[19] In the second entry, the use of οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ gave rise to a curious misunderstanding. Thomas Magister, a Byzantine monk and scholar of late 13th century, reusing Phrynichus' work in his own *Ecloga nominum et verborum atticorum*, failed to recognize the saying and mistook Hippocleides for one of the ἀδόκιμοι who did not follow the correct Attic usage: Ἐνέχυρα Ἀττικοὶ, ἐνέχυρον Ἕλληνες. τὸ δὲ ἐνεχυριμαῖον λέγειν ὡς Ἱπποκλείδης, ἀδόκιμον (ε 107). This mistake was noted by Rutherford 1881, 468 in his note on Phryn. Attic. 342.

[20] This is the case in the examples analyzed above; it is therefore not surprising that R. Thomas 1989, 269, when discussing the story in Herodotus, ascribes a similar attitude to the historian: “If we think of the tale from the point of view of the proverb, there is a hint that Hippokleides' retort is approved…”

[21] It is found in many paroemiographers (Apostol. 1. 1, Diogen. 1. 1, Macarius Chrysoceph. 1. 1, Greg. 1. 26, Zenob. 1. 1), as well as in other scholarly works (Suda *α* 100, Athenaeus 14. 641 a, Eustathius *Comm. in Dionys. Perieget*. 513).

[22] ἀχνυμένη σκυτάλη comes from Archilochus (fr. 185 West); it is mentioned without reference to the poet's name by the paroemiographer Apostolius (4. 68) and with reference to Archilochus by *scholia vetera* to Pindar (*Ol.* 6. 154 a, 154 c), Plutarch (*Mor.* 152 e), Demetrius (*De elocut.* 5) and the paroemiographer Diogenianus (3. 25).

The expression ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσις (Hdt. 4. 127) is well attested in paroemiographers (Apostol. 8. 39; Diogen. 5. 11, Macarius Chrysoceph. 8. 21, Suda η 11), and this proverbial use has even led some editors to emend Herodotus' text, arguing that

Finally the only literary context where οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ appears to be wholly independent of Herodotus is Emperor Julian's *In cynicos ineruditos* (*Orat*. 6. 2):

> εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ λιχνείας ἢ μαλακίας ἤ, τὸ κεφάλαιον ἵν᾽ εἴπω ξυνελὼν ἐν βραχεῖ, τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς δεδουλωμένοι τῶν λόγων ὀλιγωρήσειαν προκαταγελάσαντες, ὥσπερ ἐνίοτε τῶν παιδευτηρίων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων οἱ κύνες τοῖς προπυλαίοις προσουροῦσιν, "οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ"· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν κυνιδίων ἡμῖν μέλει τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελούντων.

Here οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ appears as a synonym for the more neutral expression οὐ ἡμῖν μέλει,[23] as evidenced in the added explanatory phrase. Indeed this occurrence shows that for Julian this saying had become a *geflügeltes Wort* that could be understood without recollection either of its original context or of Hippocleides' personality. Julian's use of οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ resembles those explanations found in the following scholia to Lucian (to *Her.* 8 and *Apol.* 15, accordingly):

> Ἱπποκλείδης*] παροιμία "οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ" ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ πάνυ σπουδαίων ἡμῖν λεγομένη ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ εὐκαταφρόνητον μεταχειριζομένων. VBφMNOΩΔ
>
> οὐ φροντὶς* Ἱπποκλείδῃ] παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγαν καταφρονούντων τινὸς καὶ ἀπεριμερίμνως διακειμένων. ΔEVφ

Excluding Julian, the use of οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in most contexts refers either directly to Herodotus or to Lucian using the Herodotean saying. It is also well to keep in mind that this was not the only famous phrase of the scene (Hdt. 6. 129). The oxymoron σκέλεσι χειρονομεῖν seems to have become a stock example of deviation from proper usage, κυρία λέξις (Pollux *Onom.* 2. 153; Eustath. *Comm. in Il.* 1. 246). Even more so,

the proverb had accidently been incorporated into the text (thus Valkenauer, Stein, Hude, Rosén). We would agree however with Legrand who included the phrase in Idanthyrsos' speech: τοῦτό ἐστι ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις corresponds to an earlier break-off formula ἀμφὶ μὲν μάχῃ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω emphasizing the rigorous structure of the speech. Moreover the explanation given by lexicographers shows that they were referring to the Herodotean passage (and in particular to the preceding words, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας εἶναι ἐμός, κλαίειν λέγω): e.g. τέτακται ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποτόμως οἰμώζειν τινὰ λεγόντων· παρ᾽ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι Δαρείῳ τῷ Πέρσῃ, μηνύσαντι περὶ τοῦ εἶξαι, ἀπεκρίναντο κλαίειν αὐτὸν εἰπόντες (Suda η 11).

[23] *Pace* Cook 1907, 170.

Cleisthenes' words, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον, were admired and imitated.[24] It is remarkable for instance that Athenaeus when recounting this scene omits Hippocleides' retort mentioning only Cleisthenes' censure of his dance (14. 628 c–d):

> ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Κλεοσθένους τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου χαρίεν καὶ σημεῖον διανοίας πεπαιδευμένης. ἰδὼν γάρ, ὥς φασι, φορτικῶς ὀρχησάμενον ἕνα τῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς μνηστήρων (Ἱπποκλείδης δ' ἦν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος) ἀπωρχῆσθαι τὸν γάμον αὐτὸν ἔφησεν, νομίζων ὡς ἔοικεν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τἀνδρὸς εἶναι τοιαύτην.

Of course Cleisthenes' perspicacity will only be appreciated by a reader who kept Hippocleides' answer in mind – his retort was in fact to confirm what, according to Athenaeus, "Cleosthenes" had already guessed, namely that Hippocleides' soul was as perverse as his dancing. Nevertheless the omission of οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ shows that the expression ἀπορχεῖσθαι τὸν γάμον was in itself sufficiently well known to evoke the Herodotean context in full. The use of the two other expressions shows that the story of the dancing suitor was known not only because of Hippocleides' retort; and it is hardly accidental that Plutarch, when turning it against Herodotus himself, uses all three remarkable expressions for his parody.[25] This testimony to the vitality of the novella indirectly corroborates the evidence that can be gathered from references to οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in literature and lexicography as to the continuing association of this saying with Herodotus' *Histories*.

Thus on closer examination the literary sources leave the impression that Hippocleides' saying was used in late antiquity as an ἀπόφθεγμα,[26] applicable to different situations, but one that rarely lost its connection to its original context. As for the lexicographical tradition, it characterizes

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[24] ἐξορχούμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν – Plut. *De mal. Her*. 867 b. The same variant reading ἐξορχεῖσθαι instead of Herodotus' ἀπορχεῖσθαι is used by Zenobius (5. 31) and Diogenianus (7. 21); as no such variant is found in Herodotean manuscripts, this reading (which is perhaps less striking than ἀπορχεῖσθαι) probably appeared in later renderings of the story. It may be added that Diogenianus' formulation τοῦ δὲ Κλεισθένους εἰπόντος, Ἐξορχῇ τὸν γάμον· Οὐ φροντὶς, ἀπεκρίνατο. Εἶπε δὲ τὸ Ἐξορχῇ, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκυβίστα suggests that the expression used by Cleisthenes was sufficiently known to solicit a gloss, although not current enough to warrant a separate entry as a proverb.

[25] ὁ τοῖς σκέλεσι χειρονομῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, εἰπεῖν ἂν ἐξορχούμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν· "οὐ φροντὶς Ἡροδότῳ" (*De Her. malign*. 867 b).

[26] For a definition and discussion, see Russo 1997, 50 and 57–60; Tosi 2010, 16–18.

the saying unequivocally as a proverb and is uniform in its treatment, for even the structure of the entries in Pausanias, Photius and Suidas is identical,[27] each of them beginning by stating that οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ is a proverb (παροιμία) then mentioning its occurrence in the *Demotai* and concluding with a summary of Herodotus' story in order to explain the origins of the saying.

In the lexicographical tradition, one piece of information deserves special attention – namely that Hermippus had used οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in his comedy.[28] This would have served as a strong argument in favor of the saying's proverbial use already in Herodotus' times, were it not for the terms in which it is couched. In the four passages (Paus. Att. ο 192, Photius ο 697; Suda ο 978; Hsch. ο 1921), the wording is identical, ἧς μέμνηται (καὶ) Ἕρμιππος (ἐν) Δημόταις; the passage itself is not quoted and the verb μέμνηται is too vague to allow us to determine what kind of reference it was.

The majority of the occurrences of μέμνηται in the ancient scholarly tradition (especially though not exclusively in the scholia and lexica) are of the following types. On one hand μέμνηται may refer to the passage of a canonical author in which a certain expression is used or where certain geographical and personal names are mentioned;[29] such references often take the form of οὗ (ἧς) μέμνηται ὁ δεῖνα and are applicable both to the exact word[30] and to a more general kind of mention. On the other hand μέμνηται may appear in exegetical scholia discussing the exact meaning of a passage; thus scholia vetera to Apollonius of Rhode, δύο Ἀντιόπαι

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27 This is noted by Miletti 2010, 143. Other lexicographers choose to relate only one part of the tradition – either the occurrence in Hermippus (Hesych. ο 1921) or the Herodotus story (Apostol. 13. 70; Diogen. 7. 21; Zenob. 5. 31).

28 The exact date of *Demotai* is unknown. However most of Hermippus' texts date from 440 to 421 BC – see Nesselrath 1998, 438–439. Miletti 2010, 143 suggests the following view of the relationship between Hermippus' play and Herodotus' *Histories*: "È possibile, ma non certo, che il testo comico preceda le *Storie* e che ne sia la fonte attica: le fonti lessicografiche dedicano una voce a questa espressione, attribuendola ad Ermippo senza nominare Erodoto, e sottolineando il carattere proverbial". But extensive lexical borrowings for the Herodotean novella show that the *Histories*, and not the play *Demotai* were the source used by the paroemiographers in their *lemmata*, which weakens Miletti's hypothesis.

29 Thus Athenaeus (*Deipn*. 1. 28 f) quotes Eubulus and Anaxandrides to illustrate the expression οἶνος ψίθιος; scholion to *Od*. 3. 171 cites Demosthenes' mention of the island of Psyria; Diogenes Laertius (1. 31) quotes Alcaeus' mention of Aristodemus.

30 For example Athen. *Deipn*. 2. 49 e, 2. 64 f, etc.; Aristoph. Gramm. fr. 5 and fr. 28; *schol*. LRM *ad Sophoclis O. C.* 1248 (de Marco). The passages listed are those, where the original source is preserved and the reference can be verified.

ἐγένοντο, ἡ μὲν Νυκτέως, ἡ δὲ Ἀσωποῦ, ἧς καὶ μέμνηται (*schol. vetera in Apol. Rhod.* 735–737 a) establishes which of the two Antiopae the poet had in mind; similarly the Pindaric scholium BCDEQ *ad Ol.* 2. 39 b (Drachmann) explains the mention of Cadmus' daughters in *Ol.* 2. 21–22 (Snell–Maehler): οἰκειότατα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα λαμβάνει, ὅτι τοὺς προδυστυχήσαντας καὶ εὐδαιμονία διαδέχεται, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς Κάδμου θυγατέρας. ὁ αὐτὸς γὰρ λόγος διαδέχεται αὐτὰς καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἁρμόζει. […] τούτων δὲ μέμνηται, ἐπεὶ ὁ Θήρων εἰς Λάιον ἀνάγει τὸ γένος. Thus the verb μέμνηται is applicable to a large variety of references, ranging from a precise indication of passage to a vague allusion.

The following entry from Hesychius (λ 694) illustrates the ambivalence of μέμνηται and the difficulties of its interpretation:

> Λέσβιος ᾠδός· οἱ μὲν τὸν Εὐαινετίδαν ἀκούουσι τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀντίσσης· οἱ δὲ Φρῦνιν, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον· ὑπὸ πολλῶν γὰρ κεκωμῴδηται οὗτος, ὡς διαφθείρων τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ βωμολοχεύειν τρέπων. καὶ παροιμία δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐλέχθη· μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὸν Τέρπανδρον. μέμνηται καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Νεφέλαις.

Judging from the structure of this *lemma*, we would expect to find Aristophanes using the expression Λέσβιος ᾠδός (or μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν) but this is not the case. However the search yields a mention of Phrynis in v. 971 of the *Clouds*, associated with the verb βωμολοχεύειν in v. 970, which suggests that this must have been the passage Hesychius had in mind (Aristoph. *Nub.* 970–972):[31]

> εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν βωμολοχεύσαιτ᾽ ἢ κάμψειέν τινα καμπὴν
> οἵας οἱ νῦν, τὰς κατὰ Φρῦνιν ταύτας τὰς δυσκολοκάμπτους,
> ἐπετρίβετο τυπτόμενος πολλὰς ὡς τὰς Μούσας ἀφανίζων.

It is difficult to say whether the lexicographer, when formulating his entry, considered τὰς κατὰ Φρῦνιν in Aristophanes as an equivalent of μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν or whether he had referred to Aristophanes only because the latter had mentioned Phrynis' name when criticizing new tendencies in music. The main burden of this ambiguity of course lies with the verb μέμνηται.

This and similar passages show that in the testimony ἧς μέμνηται (καὶ) Ἕρμιππος (ἐν) Δημόταις cited by Pausanias, Suda, Photius and

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[31] Kurt Latte, however, is very prudent in his edition: "μέμνηται καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Νεφέλαις (970?)" (Latte 1966, 586).

Hesychius, the reference to οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in *Demotai* might have been a vague allusion or a precise quotation;[32] but even in the latter case, there is no way of knowing whether Hermippus had used the saying as a proverb current among his Athenian audience or to refer to the historical figure or even as a direct allusion to Herodotus' *Histories*.[33] Furthermore the uniformity of the lexicographical tradition suggests that the lexicographers – except for the first scholar who suggested this parallel – did not check the text of the comedy and that the reference to *Demotai* was transmitted from lexicon to lexicon. It is also highly probable that this reference was actually incorporated into the lexicographical tradition in order to support the claim that οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ was a proverb – a claim which would have otherwise been founded solely on the Herodotean passage.[34]

We hope to have shown that later sources are of little relevance to the question of whether this phrase had circulated as a proverb in Herodotus' time or not; the examined texts only show that in late Antiquity the saying was mainly used in reference to the *Histories*. This conclusion calls for a reappraisal of the passage in Herodotus, independent of later sources; and in order to determine the status of οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in the novella we must examine the elements that contribute the impression of its being a proverb. They seem to be the following: (a) the formulation itself and in particular Hippocleides' referring to himself by name, (b) the verb ὀνομάζεται untypical for capping sentences, and (c) the demonstrative τοῦτο.

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[32] The alleged occurrence of οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in *Demotai* has suggested that the saying's anapaestic structure could help to determine the type of verse in which it appeared – see Kassel, Austin 1986, 569. Prosody cannot however be considered as proof, unless we are assured that Hermippus had used these exact words οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ.

[33] That is, if the *Histories* are taken to have been published before the play (see n. 28). That comic poets could incorporate such allusions in their texts may be seen from Aristophanes (in particular *Acharn*. 85–87, 92 ~ Hdt. 1. 1–4; *Av.* 552 ff. ~ Hdt. 1. 179). For these and other references see Hornblower 2006, 307.

[34] We find the same exact procedure employed by lexicographers with regard to the expression πίτυος τρόπον. It occurs in the *Histories*, in the story of Croesus' threat to the inhabitants of the city of Pithecousae (Hdt. 6. 37). The wording shows that in explaining this proverb the lexicographers were drawing on the Herodotean passage (cf. the variations on the expressions ἐκκοπεῖσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα μετιεῖ ἀλλὰ πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται in Zenob. 5. 76; Suda π 1412; Diog. 7. 49; Eustath. *ad Il.* 1. 51). Of all these it is only Eustathius who explicitly mentions Herodotus, whereas Zenobius, after providing an explanation of the proverb derived from Herodotus' narrative, quotes a wholly different source: μέμνηται δὲ αὐτῆς Στάφυλος ὁ Ναυκρατίτης (unfortunately very little is known of him – see Scherling 1929).

(a) The formulation of the answer οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ is no less auxiliary to creating the impression of a proverbial saying than the capping phrase ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται – its conciseness, the ellipsis of copula, the fact that Hippocleides refers to himself in the first person – all these traits contribute to it. But one sould be mistrustful of this first impression. Though rare, the expression οὐ φροντίς is by no means unattested: for example Medea uses it when speaking of her concern for her children, τοὐμοῦ γὰρ οὔ μοι φροντίς, εἰ φευξούμεθα, // κείνους δὲ κλαίω συμφορᾶι κεχρημένους (Eur. *Med*. 346–347); cf. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἡμῖν ὅπως // ῥῆσιν εὖ λέξειν ἐμέλλομεν τότ᾽ οὐδὲ // συκοφαντήσειν τινὰ // φροντίς, ἀλλ᾽ ὅστις ἐρέτης ἔσοιτ᾽ ἄριστος (Aristoph. *Vesp*. 1094–1097). The practice of the speaker referring to himself in the third person is seen as early as the Homeric poems (cf. *Il*. 1. 240; 4. 354; 8. 22; 11. 761) where it is used for emphatic sayings, especially those expressing pride.[35]

(b) Powell in his *Lexicon to Herodotus* attributes to the verb ὀνομάζω the following meanings: (a) "give a name, call," (b) "mention by name," (c) "pronounce (a word)." None of these exactly suit the phrase ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται, and it is set apart and translated as "hence the proverb". However passive forms of denominative verbs in -ζω often display a close association with the noun from which they are derived. The standard example of this phenomenon, ever since it was noted by J. Wackernagel,[36] is taken from the inscription *IG* 379 where the construction παιὼν γίνεται in line 12 is taken up by οὐ παιωνίζεται (line 18).[37] In Herodotus this usage can be illustrated by the following two examples of the verb νομίζεσθαι:

> Χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θαλέω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου [sc. γνώμη] ἐγένετο, […] ὃς ἐκέλευε ἓν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλις οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἧσσον νομίζεσθαι κατά περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν (Hdt. 1. 170. 3).

> Ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέεσθαι (Hdt. 6. 138. 4).

[35] See Kirk 1985, 366.

[36] Wackernagel 1916, 122–124; Wackernagel 1924, 147; also see Schwyzer, Debrunner 1950, 239–240.

[37] Οὐδ᾽ ἔστι βωμὸς οὐδὲ παιωνίζεται (Aesch. fr. 161. 3), where the impersonal verb παιωνίζεται is also juxtaposed with a nominal construction.

In both cases νομίζεσθαι / νενόμισται appears as a synthetic analogue of a nominal construction such as νόμος ἐστί.[38] The same type of usage fits well in the context of Hdt. 6. 130; it is even slightly surprising that the choice of the verb ὀνομάζεσθαι has never, to our knowledge, been explicitly connected with the fact that Hippocleides mentions his own name in his retort. Although in Herodotus this is the only example of this use of ὀνομάζεσθαι,[39] parallels can be found in other authors: φύσις δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνομάζεται ἀνθρώποισιν (Emped. fr. 8. 7); παρανομίαν τε ἐπὶ τοῖς μὴ ἀνάγκῃ κακοῖς ὀνομασθῆναι (Thuc. 4. 87). If we are right in the reconstruction of the verb's meaning in Hdt. 6. 130, then the literal meaning of the capping phrase would be: "From this, this came to be associated with [Hippocleides'] name".

(c) The reference of τοῦτο must also be re-examined. As we have seen, according to the traditional interpretation, by τοῦτο Herodotus meant Hippocleides' utterance. It should be noted however that in his novella the phrase ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται· Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγὴν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε... functions as a boundary that concludes the narrative of Hippocleides (which had been a digression from the main line of the story) and marks the return to the subject of Alcmaeonidae and of Cleisthenes' choice of son-in-law. The relatively unusual trait is that the delimiting formula occurs in the middle of a scene. But Hippocleides will not be mentioned again in the *Histories*, and in this case the phrase ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται separates the narrative of individual conflict that concerned only two persons, Cleisthenes and Hippocleides, to which the other suitors were passive witnesses, from the announcement of Cleisthenes' decision, which concerned the remaining suitors.

The particularity of the use of boundary formulas lies in the fact that they may summarize the whole episode or only the closest context.[40] In this case it seems preferable to interpret τοῦτο as denoting

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[38] Concerning this use of νομίζεται, see Heinimann 1972, 74–75, with parallels.

[39] Note however the similarity of ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου … νενόμισται... καλέεσθαι in the second example to ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται; the correction of ὀνομάζεται to νομίζεται in Hdt. 6, 130 proposed by Heinrich Stein (see n. 1) may have been influenced by this parallel.

[40] For instance in Hdt. 4. 88 the boundary phrase ταῦτα μέν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο refers not only to the inscription that has just been quoted but to the picture that had been described before. In Hdt. 1. 27 the phrase ἐόντων δέ οἱ πάντων ἑτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην… cannot refer to the speech it introduces. It is clear that εἰπόντα τάδε

Hippocleides' conduct in general rather than just his saucy retort, οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ. In the vast majority of phrases following direct speech in the *Histories* the demonstrative pronouns denoting the quoted words appear in the plural; thus, had the demonstrative following οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ referred to Hippocleides' words, we would have expected it to take the plural form as well (ταῦτα).

We hope to have shown that the traditional interpretation of the passage (that the phrase οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ circulated as a proverb in Herodotus' time) needs to be revised. Not only does it find little confirmation in later sources, but it runs counter to Herodotus' text. The most economic explanation of Herodotus' choice of the verb ὀνομάζεται in this passage seems to be that the capping sentence ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται refers to Hippocleides' conduct on the last evening in general, and not only to his retort. Herodotus' wording shows that οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ was not for him a παροιμία; it was probably a repartee that the historian himself had invented for this episode. On the other hand, ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται seems to indicate that Hippocleides' name came to be associated with a distinctive type of behavior among Athenians of the fifth century BC.[41] This is not surprising, seeing that Hippocleides himself was undoubtedly well known;[42] what

englobes both of Bias' (Pittacus') speeches and, it may be argued, refers to the second one to an even greater degree.

[41] Should one wish to reconstruct which type of phraseological unit Herodotus was referring to, there are two possibilities. First, there is a well attested type of expressions associating a proper name with a noun or a qualitative adjective, so that the person exemplifies the quality in question (Φρυνίχου πάλαισμα in Diog. 8. 29; Apost. 19. 39; Ἀγαθώνιος αὔλησις in Zen. 1. 2; cf. Ἠλιθιώτερος τῆς Πραξίλλης: αὕτη γὰρ ἐρωτωμένη τί κάλλιστον, Ἥλιος, ἔφη, καὶ σῦκα. Ὁμοία τῇ, Ἀνοητότερος Ἰβύκου, καὶ Κοροίβου, καὶ Μελιτίδου in Diog. 5. 12) or expressions of similar structure evoking a well-known mythological or historical episode (Ζωπύρου τάλαντα in Zen. 4. 9; Συλοσῶντος χλαμύς in Diog. 5. 14; Γύγου δακτύλιος in Diog. 4. 99, to cite some examples related to Herodotus' *Histories*). By ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται Herodotus may have been referring to an expression of this kind that was known to his Athenian audience, but later fell into desuetude (its form we can only conjecture at, but Ἱπποκλείδου γάμος and Ἱπποκλείδου ὄρχησις could be suggested as plausible guesses). The second possibility is that Hippocleides' name had in the fifth century become a fairly common designation for a conceited person or one capable of giving up his own advantage for a moment's whim. Whichever the case, the meaning of ὀνομάζεται must be much less precise than the translators and commentators usually assume.

[42] Hippocleides' name is mentioned by Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 2) in connection with the institution of Panathenaic games (for a discussion see Lavelle 2014, 314–321). Pherecydes also tells us that Hippocleides was the father of Miltiades (the founder of

is perhaps even more important, he belonged to a prominent family that had once competed with the Alcmaeonidae. It is fairly easy to imagine that the story of Hippocleides' outrageous behavior would have made the rounds among the Athenians of the fifth century BC; but the anecdote could not have survived for long, had it not been perpetuated in a literary text. And accordingly, in later times, Herodotus' delightful novella became so famous that its "punchline" οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ began to circulate as a *geflügeltes Wort* in its own right – although there are serious reasons to doubt that it was entirely independent of its original context in the *Histories*.

As regards Herodotus' text, the established translation of ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται, commonly found in editions and dictionaries, needs to be modified. It is not easy to render Herodotus' idea into modern languages without using the word "proverb" or its analogues; but if the translation "[Hippocleides' conduct] became proverbial" quite adequately transmits the sense of the phrase, the translation "hence the proverb" should best be avoided. This reinterpretation of the passage and of the saying's status in Herodotus' text places οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ among other examples of Herodotean borrowings in later literature and paroemiography (such as τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης or ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις[43]) which testify to the continuing popularity of the *Histories* in ancient times.[44]

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the Athenian colony of Chersonese). R. Thomas has noted that the genealogy given by Pherecydes is limited to the illustrious members of the Philaid family and the fact that Hippocleides is included in the list shows that the family was not ashamed of him (Thomas 1989, 168–169).

[43] τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης (Hdt. 6. 1) is quoted by paroemiographers Apostolius (16. 81) and Diogenianus (8. 49), and used by Libanius: καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα ἄλλος μὲν ἔρραψεν, ἄλλος δὲ ὑπεδήσατο (Liban. *Epist*. 52. 2). On ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις see n. 22.

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This article analyzes the status of Hippocleides' famous retort "οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ" (Hdt. 6. 129. 4); in Herodotus' text it is followed by the remark ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται (Hdt. 6. 130. 1) which is usually understood to mean "hence the proverb". But Herodotus' choice of words raises a problem, as the verb ὀνομάζεσθαι was not normally used to denote popular sayings. This calls for a re-examination of the evidence that could then permit us to determine whether for the historian "οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ" was a proverb or not.

The analysis of attested references to οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ in late antiquity shows that in the absolute majority of cases it is used in reference to the Herodotean context; nor does the scholarly paroemiographic tradition yield conclusive evidence. A close study of the original passage (Hdt. 6. 129–130) suggests that the exact wording of the dancing suitor's answer, οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ, was actually invented by Herodotus (to become in later times a *geflügeltes Wort*) but that the anecdote of his unseemly behavior was well known in Herodotus' times so that Hippocleides' *name* had become "proverbial" (ὀνομάζεται).

Статья посвящена знаменитой реплике Гиппоклида "οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ" (Hdt. VI, 129, 4) и степени ее фразеологичности. В тексте Геродота за этими словами следует авторское пояснение, ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται (Hdt. VI, 130, 1), относящееся, по мнению издателей, к реплике, и которое

обычно переводится: “отсюда пошла поговорка”. Однако данная интерпретация плохо согласуется с выбором слов, поскольку глагол ὀνομάζεσθαι не используется применительно к фразеологическим выражениям. В связи с этим предпринимается попытка разобрать свидетельства того, было ли выражение οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ расхожим выражением уже во времена Геродота или стало таковым позже.

Анализ упоминаний οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ в произведениях поздней античности показывает, что подавляющее большинство отсылает к геродотовскому рассказу; также и свидетельства паремиографов и лексикографов не позволяют решить вопрос о статусе οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ в “Истории”. Подробный анализ исходного пассажа (Hdt. VI, 129–130) позволяет предположить, что сама реплика οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ была изобретена историком *ad hoc* и лишь позже стала крылатым выражением, однако анекдот о недостойном поведении Гиппоклида был хорошо известен во времена Геродота, так что *имя* незадачливого жениха стало именем нарицательным (ὀνομάζεται).

ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЕ РАЗГОВОРНЫХ ИДИОМ В ТРАГЕДИЯХ СОФОКЛА

Памяти Александра Смирнова

καὶ γὰρ ὃ μηδαμὰ δὴ τὸ φίλον, φίλον,
ὁπότε γε καὶ τὸν ἐν χεροῖν κατεῖχον.

Soph. *OC* 1698–1699

Язык трагедии – возвышенный язык; иначе и быть не может, ведь герои трагедии для ее зрителей – объекты религиозного почитания. Источники этого языка – эпос, лирика и культовая практика, для Еврипида – пожалуй, еще и риторика, также высокий жанр.[1] Как болезненно аудитория могла реагировать на любые отклонения от этого высокого стандарта, видно на примере “Лягушек” Аристофана. Тем не менее, отклонения эти регулярно встречались начиная с Эсхила, который систематически маркировал разговорной идиоматикой речь персонажей низкого происхождения. В этом за ним следует и Софокл, окрасивший в разговорные тона речь Стража в “Антигоне”, Гонца и Пастуха в “Царе Эдипе”, Гонца в “Трахинянках”.[2] Однако, по подсчетам П. Стивенса, если у Эсхила на таких персонажей приходится 10 из 18 разговорных выражений (более половины), то у Софокла это всего 20 из 84 (менее четверти). Итак, три четверти разговорных выражений в трагедиях Софокла произносят не безымянные тритагонисты низкого звания, но герои, которых почитают и сам автор, и его зрители. Зачем? Неужели только для того, чтобы “приблизить” героев к аудитории, показать, что “они такие же люди” (такая мотивировка была бы уместна, скажем, для Еврипида)?

Дальнейший анализ никоим образом не претендует на полноту: достаточно полный каталог случаев употребления разговорных идиом у Софокла дан в уже упомянутой статье Стивенса (см. прим. 2), а задача определения их драматической функции во всех собранных Стивенсом случаях слишком обширна для формата статьи. В дальнейшем будет проанализировано несколько пассажей, которые автор считает

[1] См. напр.: Goldhill 1997, 127–150.
[2] Stevens 1945, 95–105, особ. 95–96.

наиболее характерными и яркими, сознавая при этом произвольность своего выбора.

Разговорность, разумеется, может вносить определенный оттенок интимности – но это не сближение героя и зрителя, а указание на доверительные и почти равные отношения между героями, подчас необходимое для того, чтобы приоткрыть остающееся вне сценического действия.

Так, на сцене Текмесса обращается к своему супругу и повелителю не иначе как “господин Аякс” (*Ai.* 485, 585, 593 et passim) – но вот как, оказывается, она может говорить с ним без свидетелей (*Ai.* 285–291):

> Κεῖνος γὰρ ἄκρας νυκτός, ἡνίχ᾽ ἕσπεροι
> λαμπτῆρες οὐκέτ᾽ ᾖθον, ἄμφηκες λαβὼν
> ἐμαίετ᾽ ἔγχος ἐξόδους ἕρπειν κενάς.
> Κἀγὼ ᾽πιπλήσσω καὶ λέγω· “Τί χρῆμα δρᾷς,
> Αἴας; τί τήνδ᾽ ἄκλητος οὔθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀγγέλων
> κληθεὶς ἀφορμᾷς πεῖραν οὔτε του κλύων
> σάλπιγγος; ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πᾶς εὕδει στρατός”.

> ...Ибо этот человек посреди ночи, когда вечерние огни уже не светили, задумал, взяв двуострый меч, выйти, неизвестно зачем.[3] Я подхожу и говорю: “Аякс, ты чего делаешь? Что это ты в путь собрался, ни вестниками не позванный, ни трубы не услышав? Да и войско все спит уже...”

Здесь Текмесса рассказывает Хору о своей последней, безнадежной попытке остановить задумавшего страшное дело мужа. Кроме нее и Аякса, в шатре никого нет; явно разговорное τί χρῆμα δρᾷς;[4] приобретает от этого доверительный, почти интимный тон. Но есть здесь и другой оттенок: обращение, стоящее в необычном для него месте, в начале строки, производит впечатление резкого одергивания за руку; несколько анджамбеманов подряд (289–290, 290–291) усиливают ощущение быстрой, взволнованной речи, не подчиненной никакому плану.[5] Текмесса обращается к своему господину с отчаянной, необычной для себя решительностью, потому что смертельно напугана: женщина прекрасно понимает, что поход ее обиженного на весь свет мужа с обнаженным мечем в спящий лагерь ничем хорошим кончиться не может.

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[3] Jebb 1898, ad loc.: “κενάς – i. e. with no apparent object”.

[4] Ср., напр. Aristoph. *Nub.* 816, *Av.* 826, *Vesp*. 933, *Lysistr.* 83, 1085, *Acharn*. 150, *Pax* 1192, *Ran.* 1278, Chariton 1, 1.

[5] Blundell 1989, 75; Bers 1997, 50.

Здесь мы подходим к новому значению разговорности у Софокла: она может маркировать высокое эмоциональное напряжение, быть одной из черт oratio agitata. Причем социальный статус персонажа в таких случаях не важен: обычно речь идет о ситуациях, когда самому персонажу уже не до статуса.

Так Электра теряет самообладание, когда говорит о ненавистном Эгисте (*El.* 301):

> ὁ πάντ᾽ ἄναλκις οὗτος, ἡ πᾶσα βλάβη…

Примерно так же Филоктет титулует Одиссея (*Phil.* 622–623):

> Οἴμοι τάλας· ἦ κεῖνος, ἡ πᾶσα βλάβη,
> ἔμ᾽ εἰς ᾿Αχαιοὺς ὤμοσεν πείσας στελεῖν;

П. Фингласс в своем комментарии отмечает, что словосочетание ἡ πᾶσα βλάβη является грубым разговорным выражением, и даже приводит как параллели некоторые пассажи из Аристофана (e. g. Aristoph. *Ach*. 909).[6]

После ложного известия о гибели брата Электра отвечает на неловкие и неуместные утешения Предводителя Хора резким и, безусловно, разговорным ἀπολεῖς, “Ты меня убьешь!” (*El.* 830).[7] Разговорное сочетание частиц, вроде φέρ᾽ εἰπὲ δή (*El.* 376, *Ant.* 534), довольно часто встречаются в стихомифии в те моменты, когда агон рискует перерасти в перебранку, и могут выражать весь спектр эмоций, от глухого раздражения до едва сдерживаемого бешенства.[8]

Так, Менелай в споре с Тевкром употребляет местоимение τις в разговорном, даже аристофановском смысле (*Ai*. 1138):

> Τοῦτ᾽ εἰς ἀνίαν τοὔπος ἔρχεταί τινι.
>
> Кое-кому плохо придется за эти слова![9]

Подобное употребление неопределенного местоимения во вполне определенном значении (τις = σύ) подходит под весьма распространенную категорию разговорных выражений, которые Стивенс классифицирует как “understatement, irony”.[10] Но недоговоренность

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[6] Finglass 2007, 188 ad v. 301.

[7] Finglass 2007, 359 ad loc; cf. Aristoph. *Ach*. 470.

[8] Finglass 2007, 205. Denniston 1954, 216.

[9] Finglass 2011, 458. Cf. Aristoph. *Ran*. 552, 606, 664; van Leeuwen 1896, 91; LSJ, s. v. τις, τι A II 3; Xen. *Anab*. I, 4, 12; Theocr. V, 122.

[10] Stevens 1976, 23–26.

(и вызываемая ею двусмысленность), а тем более ирония являются не только частой чертой разговорной речи, но и любимейшими языковыми приемами Софокла, исполняющими в его трагедиях множество драматических функций.

Так, Электра в ответ на доносящиеся из дворца отчаянные вопли своей матери бросает спокойную реплику, долженствующую привести в ужас и Хор, и зрителей (*El*. 1406):

> Βοᾷ τις ἔνδον· οὐκ ἀκούετ᾽, ὦ φίλαι;
>
> Подруги, вы слышали: в доме вроде бы кричал кто-то?

Это вновь разговорное, ироническое τις: и Электра, и Хор прекрасно знают, кто кричал.[11] Но в этой слишком определенной неопределенности – не только обычная для разговорной идиомы маркировка сильных эмоций: это и жестокий сарказм, и дух конспирации, пронизывающий всю сцену (cf. e. g. 1398–1399), и тайное нежелание героини говорить и думать о том, кто кричал (cf. e. g. 1423, 1425).

Двусмысленность и даже многозначность, заложенная в неопределенном τις, может использоваться Софоклом еще эффектнее. Так, в “Антигоне” слова Гемона, говорящего, что готов уйти из жизни вслед за возлюбленной, его отец интерпретирует как угрозу в свой адрес (*Ant*. 751–752):

> ΑΙ. Ἥδ᾽ οὖν θανεῖται καὶ θανοῦσ᾽ ὀλεῖ τινα.
> ΚΡ. Ἦ κἀπαπειλῶν ὧδ᾽ ἐπεξέρχῃ θρασύς;
>
> Гемон: Итак, она умрет – и своей смертью убьет еще кое-кого...
> Креонт: Ты еще имеешь наглость мне угрожать?

Гемон употребляет τις в значении ἐγώ, Креонт же понимает это слово в уже знакомом нам значении σύ, решив, что его сын готов пойти на отцеубийство (в разговорном языке оба значения неопределенного местоимения возможны).[12] Парадоксальным и трагическим образом, Гемон мог иметь в виду оба смысла (учитывая, что в ст. 741 он же говорит, что, спасая невесту, он заботится и об отце, готовом совершить роковую ошибку), и в обоих смыслах в конце концов оказывается прав: гибель Антигоны приводит не только к физической смерти

[11] Finglass 2007, 514. Kamerbeek 1974, 181 ad loc. Cf. Eur. *Her.* 748, *Andr.* 577. Bond 1999, 260. Stevens 2001, ad v. 577. Kells 1973, 219 ad v. 1416 “τις: since Electra knows very well who is crying out, τις can only be sarcastic: she is gloating over her mother’s murder”.

[12] Craik 2002, 89–94, особ. 91. Brown 1987, 184 ad loc. Van Leeuwen 1896, 91.

Гемона, но и к полному краху для Креонта, который в финале в своем отчаянии готов умолять о смерти (ст. 1329–1332).[13] То, что в финале, прежде чем совершить самоубийство, Гемон замахивается мечом на отца (ст. 1233–1234), лишь дополняет и углубляет трагическую двусмысленность этих слов.[14]

В данном случае Софокл играет сразу на двух двусмысленностях: возможности двойного толкования τις (“кто-то”, “кое-кто” = “ты” или “я”) и ὀλεῖ (гибель физическая или духовная). Двусмысленность, как уже было сказано, – довольно частая черта разговорного языка. Но если двусмысленное τις – это литота, understatement, то гораздо чаще встречаются разговорные идиомы, содержащие гиперболу. И в этом случае сочетание буквального и переносного значения может порождать гораздо более жестокую многозначность.

В финале трагедии “Царь Эдип” Предводитель Хора спрашивает героя, почему он предпочел покарать себя тем способом, который он для себя избрал, вместо того чтобы просто уйти из жизни, как его супруга и мать (ст. 1367–1368). На это Эдип отвечает (*OT* 1371–1374):

> Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὄμμασιν ποίοις βλέπων
> πατέρα ποτ᾽ ἂν προσεῖδον εἰς Ἅιδου μολών,
> οὐδ᾽ αὖ τάλαιναν μητέρ᾽, οἶν ἐμοὶ δυοῖν
> ἔργ᾽ ἐστὶ κρείσσον᾽ ἀγχόνης εἰργασμένα.
>
> ...Ибо я не знаю, какими глазами я смотрел бы, придя в Аид, на отца и на несчастную мать: я сделал с ними то, за что удавки мало.

Давно замечено, что в первой строке приведенного отрывка содержится жестокий каламбур, использующий буквальное значение довольно распространенного в греческом языке фразеологизма[15] (аналогичная идиома имеется и в русском языке). Но в следующих строках присутствует аналогичная злая игра слов, причем, если в первом случае речь идет об общеупотребительной или даже книжной идиоме, то вторая идиома – разговорно-просторечная.

“Удавить(ся) мало” и подобные выражения – просторечная гипербола, передающая сильные негативные эмоции и довольно часто встречающаяся, например, у Аристофана (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 125 ταῦτα δῆτ᾽ οὐκ ἀγχόνη; *Nub.* 988 μ᾽ ἀπάγχεσθ᾽, 1036 ᾽πνιγόμην, *Vesp.* 686 ὃ μάλιστά μ᾽ ἀπάγχει, Luc. *Prometh.* 17 ὃ δὲ μάλιστά με πνίγει τοῦτ᾽ ἐστίν).[16]

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[13] Kamerbeek 1978, 139–140 ad loc. Brown 1987, 91.
[14] Kamerbeek 1978, 140.
[15] Jebb 1887, ad loc. Kamerbeek 1967, ad loc. Dawe 1984, ad loc.
[16] Collard 2005, 350–386, особ. 360. Stevens 1976, 38–39 n. 3. Taillardat 1963, 212.

Интересно, что сам Софокл в сатировой драме – жанре, в большей степени, чем трагедия, располагающем к употреблению просторечных идиом, – использует подобное выражение в его обычном, разговорном, переносном значении: нимфа Киллена в “Следопытах” отвечает на дотошные расспросы сатиров (Soph. *Ichn.* fr. 314, 404 Radt):

> ἤδη με πνίγεις καὶ σὺ χα[ὶ βόες σέθεν.
>
> Я удавлюсь уже скоро с тебя да быков твоих!

Разумеется, во всех этих контекстах выражения типа “удавить(ся) можно” / “удавить(ся) мало” – гипербола, которую не следует понимать буквально (как и аналогичные выражения русского языка: в самом деле, если мы в запальчивости скажем, что кого-то “убить мало”, это вовсе не означает, что мы действительно измышляем для этого несчастного кару хуже смерти). Однако в приведенном отрывке из трагедии “Царь Эдип” эти слова должно понимать буквально, и они являются прямым ответом на только что поставленный вопрос: “Почему ты не убил себя, как Иокаста, но сделал с собой нечто худшее? – Потому, что смерть была бы слишком мягким наказанием за мои преступления”. Разумеется, имеет значение и то, что ἀγχόνη – именно тот вид смерти, который избрала для себя жена и мать Эдипа. Большинство комментаторов считают это совпадение случайным, ссылаясь на то, что мы имеем дело с идиомой,[17] но я не представляю себе, как может быть случайным упоминание веревки в доме повешенного.

До сих пор мы рассматривали случаи, когда Софокл использует многозначность разговорных идиом – или наличие у них прямого значения, стершегося в разговорных контекстах, но зловеще выступающего на первый план в трагедии. Следующий пример покажет нам, сколь многозначен может быть сам прием введения в трагедию разговорной идиоматики – прием, как мы помним, изначально, еще у Эсхила, служивший снижению персонажа и ситуации.

В исполненном жуткой торжественности финале трагедии “Эдип в Колоне” звучит голос Бога – Бога непоименованного, неведомого (*OC* 1626–1628):

> Καλεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν πολλὰ πολλαχῇ θεός·
> “Ὦ οὗτος οὗτος, Οἰδίπους, τί μέλλομεν
> χωρεῖν; πάλαι δὴ τἀπὸ σοῦ βραδύνεται”.
>
> Ибо много раз призывал его Бог: “Что ж мы медлим, Эдип? Давно уже ждем только тебя...”

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[17] E. g., Kamerbeek 1967, 250 ad loc. Dawe 1984, 190 ad loc.

Как ни дико это звучит, глас Неведомого Бога употребляет разговорную идиому. Но разговорное ὦ οὗτος (почти “эй, ты!”; ср. *Ai*. 1047, *OT* 532) вкупе с божественным “мы” никак не могут послужить снижению говорящего: напротив, в этих строках явственно слышится возвышение, обожение Эдипа, объединенного с Богом в едином “мы” и почтенного страшным божественным панибратством.[18]

Итак, Софокл следует эсхиловской традиции использования разговорных оборотов в трагедии. Но спектр драматических функций, которые приобретают у него эти идиомы, несравненно шире, чем у предшественника. Софокл широко использует в различных контекстах такие черты разговорного стиля речи, как неопределенность и тенденцию к гиперболе. В результате полустершиеся разговорные гиперболы и литоты, буквальное значение которых зачастую теряется в потоке речи, в зависимости от драматического контекста превращаются в смертный приговор, орудие казни или инструмент апофеоза.

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[18] Markantonatos 2007, 115–116. Smith 2006, 104. Knox 1964, 153–161.

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The purpose of this article is to study different dramatic functions of colloquialisms in Sophoclean tragedy. Apart from the obvious functions of marking low social status of character or *oratio agitata*, colloquial speech is often used by Sophocles for the sake of its notorious tendency towards ambiguity, understatement, irony or hyperbole. All these features of colloquial speech can serve various purposes in different dramatic contexts. The most striking examples are significant ambiguity of colloquial τις for first or second person in *Ant*. 751–752 and the colloquial metaphor in *OT* 1371–1374, the literal meaning of which fits its immediate context all too well.

Данное исследование посвящено драматическим функциям разговорных идиом в трагедиях Софокла. Помимо давно отмеченной функции маркирования низкого социального статуса персонажа или его эмоционального состояния (т. н. oratio agitata), Софокл может использовать тенденцию разговорных идиом к полисемичности и амбивалентности. Наиболее яркие примеры – *Ant*. 751–752 (разговорное значение τις вместо личного местоимения первого или второго лица единственного числа) и *OT* 1371–1374, где просторечная идиома употребляется таким образом, что значимым оказывается не только переносное, но и прямое значение скрытой в ней метафоры.

LETTER ON AN OSTRACON FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF VYSHESTEBLIEVSKAYA-3

In the summer of 2013 the Taman Archaeological Team of the Institute of the History of Material Culture (IHMC) RAS conducted protective archaeological investigations within the framework of reconstructing the railway station Vyshesteblievskaya (State Project no. 4848).

The site under study is situated in territory of the Vyshesteblievsky rural district of the Temryuk region of the Krasnodar Kray. It is located between the railway stations of Vyshesteblievskaya and Starotitarovskaya. The settlement stretches from north-west to south-east with a nearly trapezoid shape. Its dimensions are 540 × 500 m. The excavation trench ran across the entire area of the site from west to east over the southern edge of the settlement (Fig. 1) along the line of the railway, 4 to 5 m north of its embankment.

The most numerous finds from the cultural level and the investigated structural complexes are represented by fragments of clay pottery – mostly container amphorae of Greek production. Also discovered were small quantities of fragmentary handmade pottery, wheel-made tableware, rare shards of black-glossed ware and animal bones (Figs. 2, 3, 4). Found among the amphora fragments were mostly redware vessels from such manufacturing centres as Chios, Lesbos, Thasos, Herakleia and Sinope.

The earliest types include plump-necked Chian amphorae and 'proto-Thasian' amphorae dating from the first half of the 5th century BC. Examples of the later period are represented by straight-necked Chian vessels and amphorae with a conical foot, amphorae from Sinope, Herakleia and Thasos dated to the 4th century BC.

Fragments of redware and greyware table pottery were found in small quantities. Thus the fragmentary amphorae from different manufacturing centres were the main category of finds.

Among the finds there were also some 70 amphora fragments with stamps from different Greek centres (Thasos, Herakleia, Sinope, Chersonesos, Rhodos etc.).[1]

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[1] Kashaev, Pavlichenko 2015 [С. В. Кашаев, Н. А. Павличенко, "Коллекция керамических клейм с поселения Вышестеблиевская-3"], in print.

Black-glossed and painted ware of Attic production[2] is represented mostly by small fragments, though archaeologically complete vessels have also been retrieved. The finds include, in addition, objects of everyday use and armaments – whetstones, fragmentary lamps, arrowheads, a leaden sling-bullet. The finds representing the religious notions of the ancient residents of the village include terracotta statuettes of the most revered goddesses – Demeter and Aphrodite.

Generally all the finds from the cultural levels are datable to between the 5th century BC and the 1st century AD. The earliest artefacts are datable to the late 6th or the turn from the 6th to the 5th centuries BC.

During the excavations, 32 different structural complexes were discovered – a series of household pits and an object arbitrarily called a 'Ditch' (Fig. 1). These archaeological complexes are dated from the 5th to the 2nd centuries BC.

Uncovered in the western section of the excavation in Areas nos. 1 to 26 were complexes and artefacts dated predominantly to the early 5th century BC. In the eastern section in Areas 27 to 50 were found complexes and objects dated mostly to the late 5th to 2nd centuries BC. The chronological distribution of the finds could well be understood to characterize in a general way the limits of the evolution of the site during the historical periods mentioned above.

Noteworthy among the finds are two multiline graffiti on amphora walls including a private letter.

The letter was found at the first spade dig in the turf layer of excavation square A, Б-80 (Area 40) where the structure 'Ditch' was found and excavated to the level of the virgin soil.

The depth of the 'Ditch' precisely at its the centre was 2.0 to 2.2 m from the present-day surface. Its depth from the ancient ground surface was possibly some 1.7 m.

Considering the fact that only a small area of the 'Ditch' has been excavated, it is difficult to guess the latter's original purpose. Initially the 'Ditch' may have been a fortification structure defending the eastern border of the settlement from external attacks. The plan of distribution of household pits studied in this excavation area seems to confirm this supposition. The majority of the excavated pits are located over the area limited by the 'Ditch' on the east and by Area 28 on the west. Both from Area 28 and the fill of the 'Ditch' anomalously great numbers of pottery fragments have been retrieved.

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[2] Dracheva 2014 [Е. Ю. Драчева, "Краснофигурный килик из раскопок поселения Вышестеблиевская-3"], 43–47.

The fact that no stratigraphic layers, lenses, soil leakages nor early artefacts have been discovered at bottom of the 'Ditch' suggests that if filling of the latter did not take place all at one time then anyway very quickly. It might have been the case that numerous pottery fragments and ashes had already been thrown into it in the course of clearing the settlement (or part of it) after a fire. This fire could have been caused by warfare as indicated by finds of a bronze arrowhead and a leaden sling-bullet.

The overwhelming majority of the pottery fragments from the fill of the 'Ditch' are dated from the second half of the 4th century BC whereas the latest finds are datable to the first quarter of the 3rd century BC. Thus the date of the filling of the 'Ditch' seems to have been circa 275 BC.

Most of the materials from the fill are fairly homogeneous in terms of chronology and typology. For instance fragments of Chian conical-toe amphorae and feet of Sinopean ones were found both in the upper and near-bottom layers of the 'Ditch'.

East of the 'Ditch' the number of artefacts from the layer and of archaeological structures sharply decrease. Possibly, in the late 4th to early 3rd centuries BC, the 'Ditch' formed the eastern border of the settlement.

As mentioned above, the letter on an ostracon was found not in an association but at the first spade's length in the turf layer over the structure 'Ditch'. It is possible that it belongs to the fill of the 'Ditch' but that in the course of recent tillage or other economic activities the sherd would have been displaced into the upper layers.

The earliest materials yielded by these layers – i.e. from the first to fourth spade's lengths in square A, Б-80 – are represented by fragments of rims and handles of Chian plump-necked amphorae from between 490 and 470 BC (Fig. 2. 6); this is variant III-B after S. Yu. Monakhov.[3] It should be noted that these pieces are fairly rare and came to the layer in the early period of the settlement's occupation.

The latest and most widespread finds include fragments of rims, handles and feet of Chian conical-toe type amphorae dated to some time in the 4th century BC (Figs. 2. 1, 5, 22, 23; 3. 12, 14); it is variant V-B after S. Yu. Monakhov.[4]

As is common in many settlements of the 4th century BC, tableware is represented by numerous fragments in this layer – pitchers, bowls, plates,

[3] Monakhov 2003 [С. Ю. Монахов, *Греческие амфоры в Причерноморье. Типология амфор ведущих центров-экспортеров товаров в керамической таре. Каталог-определитель*], 17, 236 Table 6.

[4] Monakhov 2003, 21, 22, 242 Table 12.

fish-plates etc. For instance the excavation of the settlement Panskoye I yielded numerous similar finds from layers and complexes of the same period.[5]

The quantity and percent composition of the finds from square A, Б-80, is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Quantity and Percent Ratio of Finds from Square A, Б-80

	Tiles	Am-phorae	Table-ware	Hand-made	Glossed	Other	Total	%
Spade's dig 1	1	341	20	3	1	0	366	33.39
Spade's dig 2	2	132	5	0	0	0	139	12.68
Spade's dig 3	0	103	5	4	0	1	113	10.31
Spade's dig 4	3	407	48	19	1	0	478	43.61
Total	6	983	78	26	2	1	1096	100.00
%	0.55	89.69	7.12	2.37	0.18	0.09	100.00	

All the finds from spade's depths from 1 to 4 are dated to the time span from approximately the second half of the 5th century to the mid-3rd century BC and thus enabling us to date the ostracon with the letter only to a very indefinite period.

The text of the letter consists of three lines in Greek scratched on the external side of a fragment of an amphora wall (field no. 340/30).[6] The well-levigated reddish clay with admixtures of gold-yellow mica and white quartz (?) with a slip lighter than the texture would seem to suggest an amphora of a Mediterranean origin (Thasian circle?). Unfortunately the surface of the shard is chipped off on the left side. On the internal surface of the fragment, near the left edge of the inscription, traces of intentional scraping or cutting are discernible. These were produced by some tool with a flat edge, apparently in order to make this area of the wall as even as possible. Thus the left edge of the shard was parallel to this scraped area at that point when the graffito was written. The amphora fragment measures 8.0 to 7.5 cm. (Figs. 5, 6).

[5] Kašaev 2002, 150–179.

[6] The authors are grateful to Alexander Verlinsky for his valuable remarks and corrections on the epigraphic part.

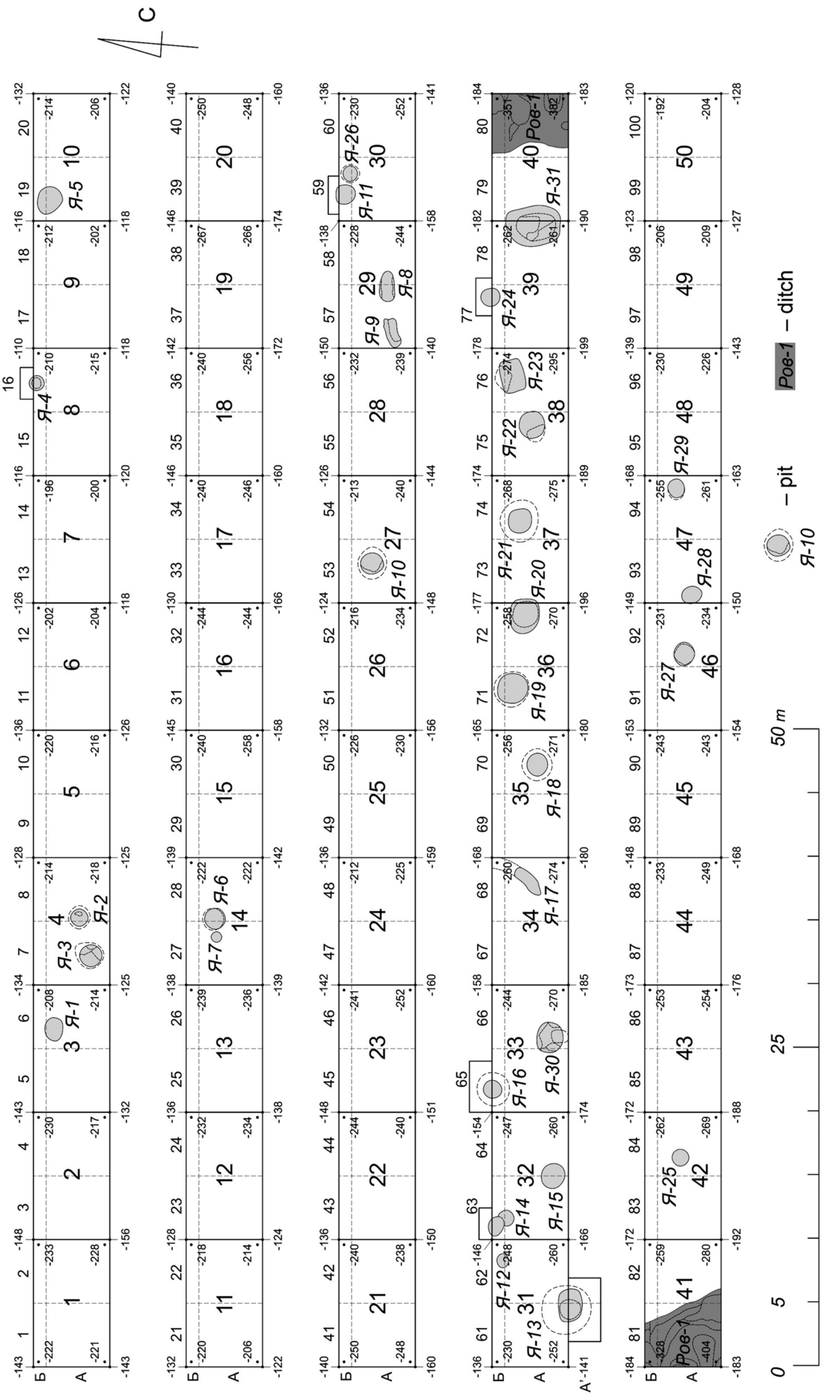

Fig. 1. Plan of excavation at the site of Vyshesteblievskaya-3.

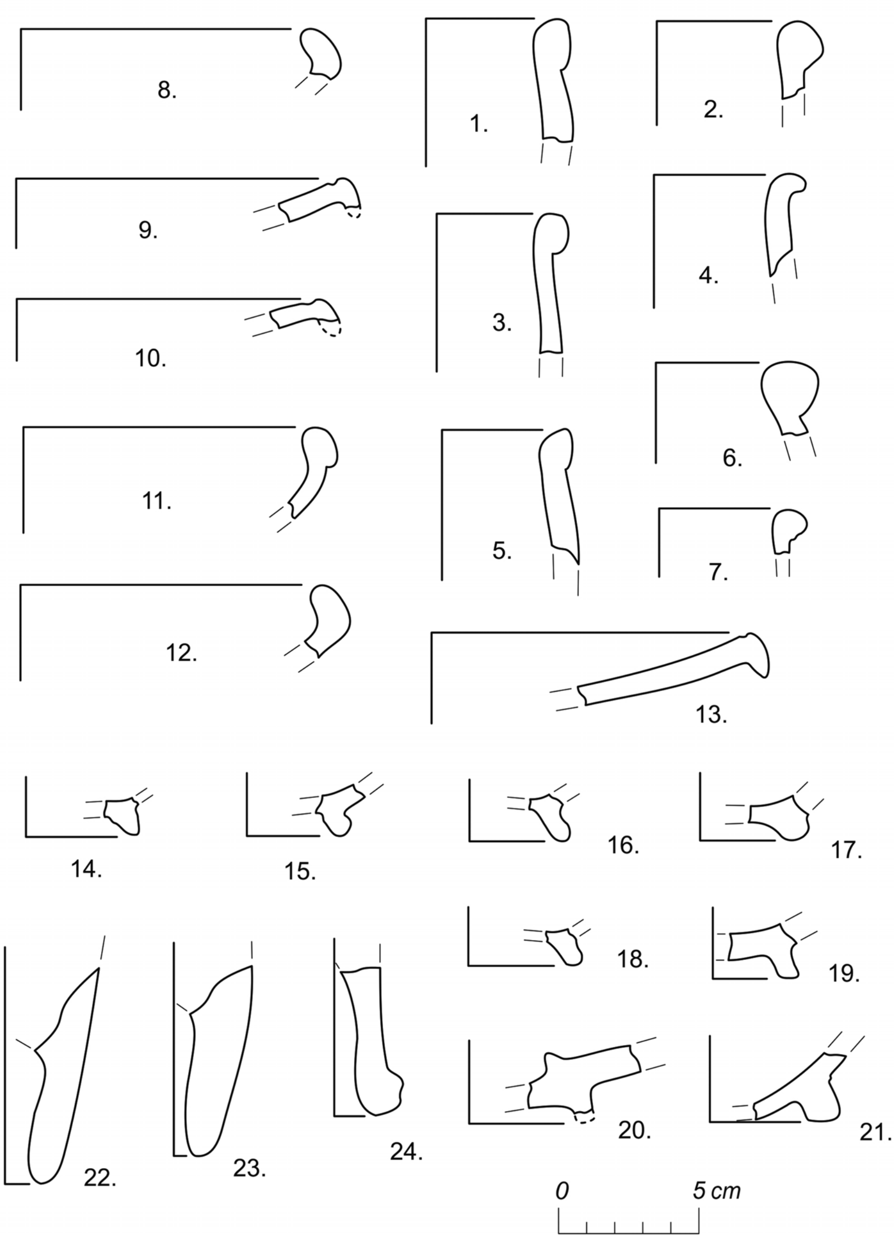

Fig. 2. Excavation area 40, square A, Б-80. Finds:
1–7, 22–24 – amphora fragments; 8–21– fragments of tableware. Spade dig 1.

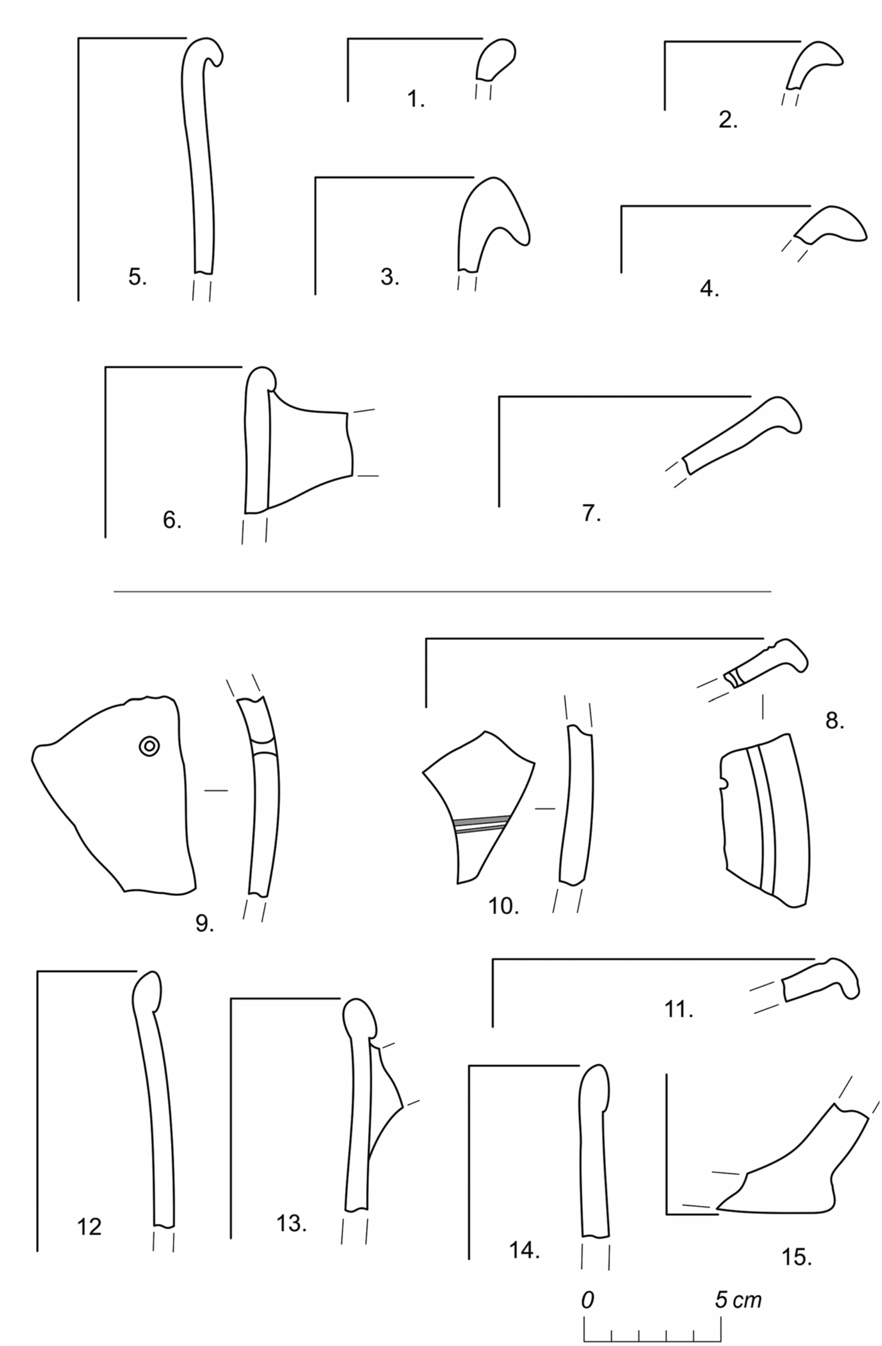

Fig. 3. Area 40, square A, Б-80. Finds:
1–7 – amphora fragments. Spade dig 2; 8–11 – fragments of tableware;
12–14 – amphora fragments; 15 – fragment of a handmade jar. Spade dig 3.

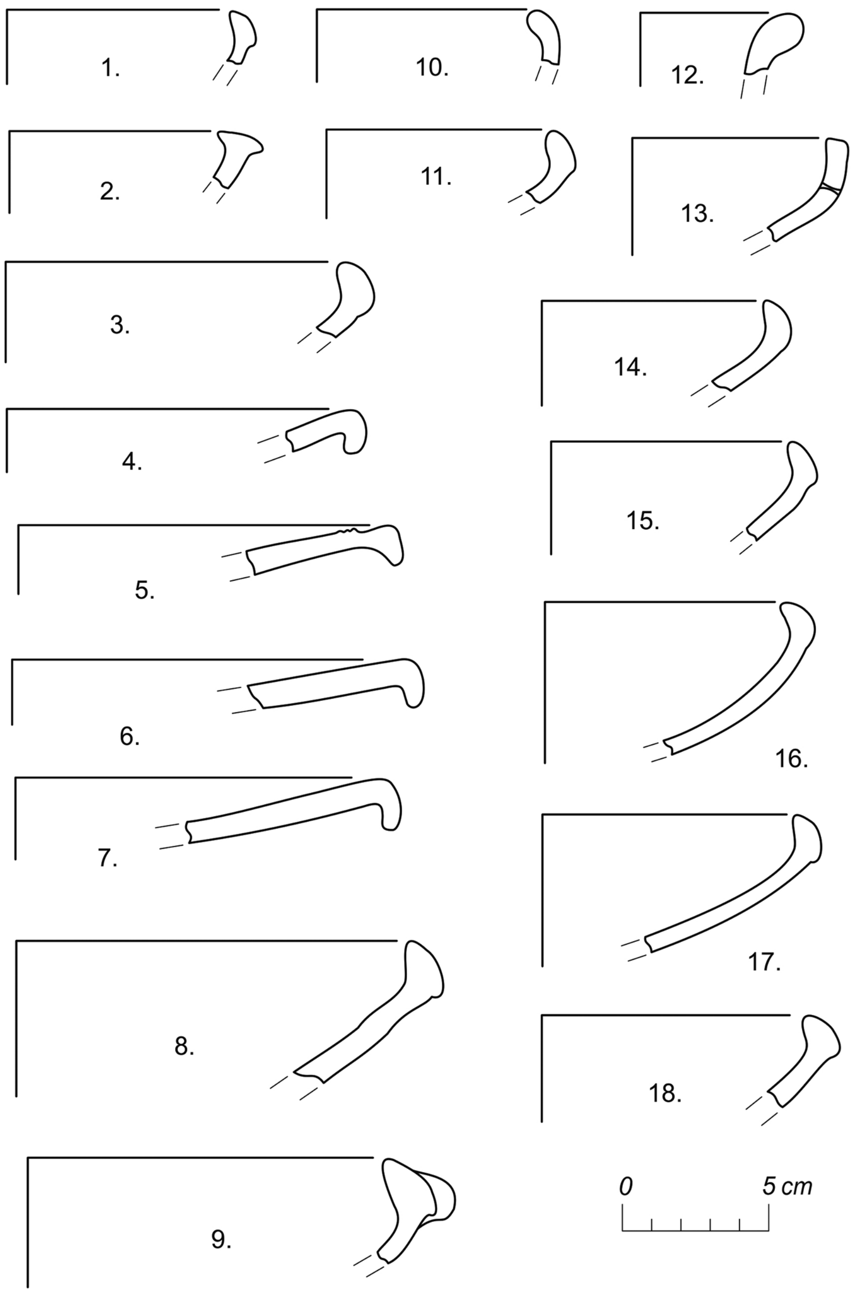

Fig. 4. Area 40, square A, Б-80. Finds:
1–18 – fragments of tableware. Spade dig 4.

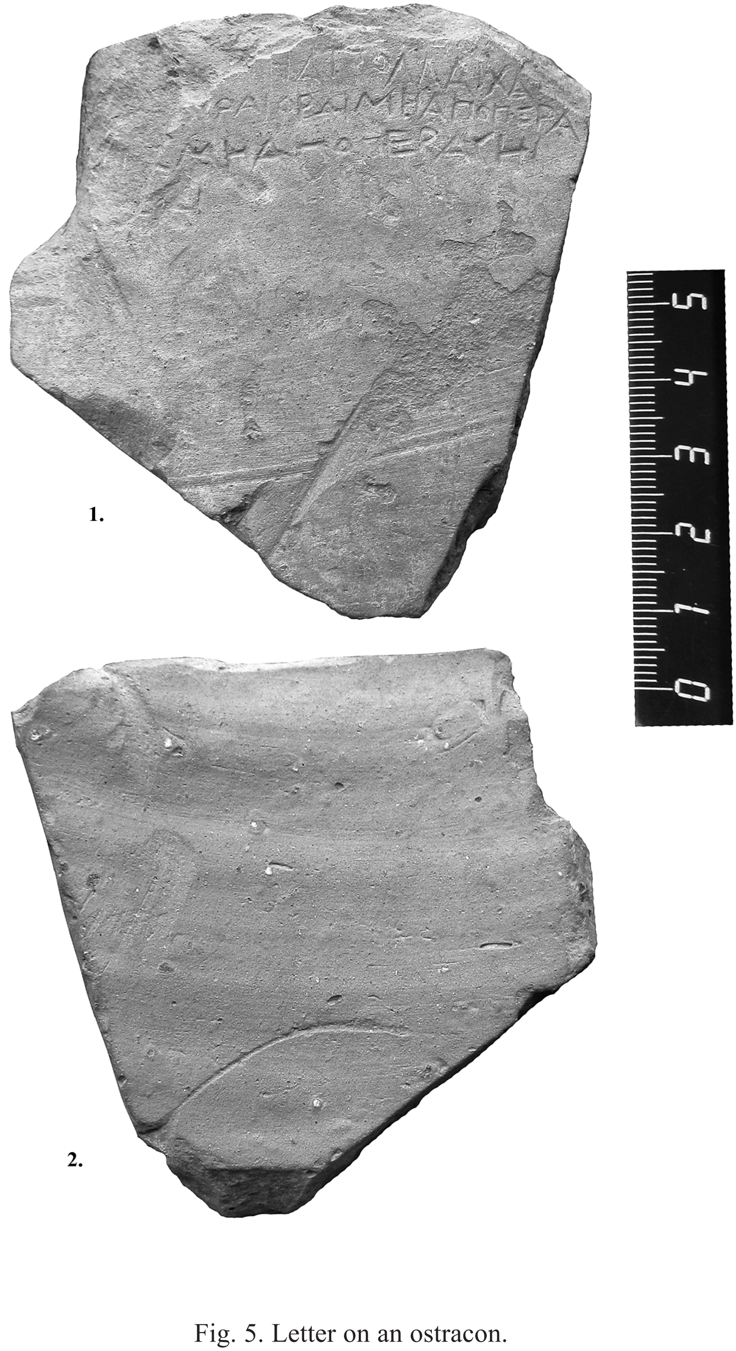

Fig. 5. Letter on an ostracon.
1, 2 – photograph of the front and reverse side.

Fig. 6. Letter on an ostracon.
1 – representation of the inscription.

The type of the letter is characterized by the following features:

The letters of the inscription vary in size (0.2 to 0.5 cm), the lines are curving and follow the outlines of the upper edge of the shard. The *alphas* are fairly broad and present two types – with straight or slightly curved hastae, a horizontal crossbar and a vertical dash on top of the letter. *Epsilon* has horizontal hastae of varying length. *Lambda*, similarly to *alpha*, in the first line of the letter has slightly curved hastae and a vertical dash on the top of the letter. *Pi* has the right vertical hasta shorter than the left one. *Rho* has a rounded semicircle. *Sigma* is of lunar type with a 'break' in the middle. *Omega* has horizontal feet. Both *omega* and *omicron* are considerably smaller than the size of the lines and are raised above the lower edge of the line of writing.

In lapidary inscriptions the gradual decrease of the size of *omicron* and *omega* began by the late 4th century BC as attested by inscriptions of Spartokos III.[7] In inscriptions of Perisades II[8] *omicron* and *omega* become considerably smaller than the height of the line; moreover *omega* acquires the same shape as that in the letter from the settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3, and *alpha* and *lambda* have slightly curving lines. On the basis of such inscriptions as *CIRB* 254 where the lunar *epsilon*, *sigma* and *omega* are combined with the forms of letters typical to the 3rd century BC, Anna I. Boltunova and Tatyana N. Knipovich surmise that the appearance of the lunar *sigma* in lapidary inscriptions can be dated as early as this period. We must naturally take into account that in epitaphs the type was not regulated like in decrees for example.

The combination of the lunar *sigma* with a 'bend' and *epsilon* of classical form with the *alpha* having slightly bent hastae is also present in a graffito on the wall of a Thasian (?) amphora from Nymphaion (area M, Hellenistic level; State Hermitage, inv. no. НФ.82.226).[9] Identical forms of *sigma* and *alpha* are attested by an invocation with the word ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΣ from a private collection. This inscription published by Alexey V. Belousov apparently comes from the necropolis of Pantikapaion. *Omega* here also has a form similar to that found in our letter although the size of *omicron* and *omega* in the Pantikapaion invocation is varied – occasionally they are considerably smaller than the neighbouring letters while in other cases they correspond with the size of the line.[10] The presence of the lunar *sigma*

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[7] Boltunova, Knipovich 1962 [А. И. Болтунова, Т. Н. Книпович, "Очерк истории греческого лапидарного письма на Боспоре"], 13; *CIRB-Album* 18, 974, 1043.

[8] *CIRB-Album* 20, 21, 26, 1036.

[9] Namoylik 2010 [А. С. Намойлик, "Граффити на амфорах из раскопок Нимфея в коллекции Государственного Эрмитажа"], 443 Table 6.105.

[10] Belousov, Fedoseev 2014, 145.

induces Belousov to date this inscription to the 3rd century BC, albeit he gives no reasons for this dating.

Forms of *alpha*, *epsilon*, *lambda*, *pi*, *rho*, *sigma* and *omega* similar to those employed in our letter are found in a letter on a lead tablet retrieved from a layer of the Hellenistic period on the northeastern slope of Mt. Mithridat in association with finds (stamps on Bosporan tiles; Herakleian, Sinopean and Thasian amphora stamps; Pantikapaian tetrachalkoi of the type '*bearded satyr – protome of griffin, sturgeon*') which were dated by the authors of the publication to between the mid-4th century to circa 300 BC.[11]

More evidence for the the lunar *sigma*'s appearance in non-lapidary inscriptions as late as the second half of the 4th century BC is represented in the temple's mark ΙΕΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ, ΙΕΡΟΣ on an Attic black-glossed plate (rolled rim) from the sanctuary of Demeter in Nymphaion (State Hermitage, inv. № НФ.39.345) with a stamped pattern of six (?) palmettes inside several circles of incisions.[12] S. A. Danil'chenko dated this plate to circa 325 BC.[13] And it is approximately during the same period that the lunar *sigma* appears in invocations on lead tablets also in other Black Sea poleis – Olbia and Histria.[14]

The form of *omega* in the letter from Vyshesteblievskaya-3 is similar to one of the variants of the shape of *omega* in a Gorgippian graffito (line 3) – the latest one in Yury Vinogradov's opinion, dated by him to the middle or third quarter of the 4th century BC. Madalina Dana dates this graffito to 350–325 BC.[15] Similarly to our graffito, here the *omega* is also smaller than the height of the line, has straight feet and is raised above the lower edge of the line.[16]

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[11] Saprykin, Kulikov 1999 [С. Ю. Сапрыкин, А. В. Куликов, "Новые эпиграфические находки в Пантикапее", in: *Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы. 1996–1997*], 201, 202 Fig. 1.

[12] The present authors are sincerely grateful to the head of the Nymphaion Expedition of the State Hermitage Ol'ga Yu. Sokolova for her kind assistance in our examination of these materials.

[13] Danil'chenko [С. А. Данильченко, "Чернолаковая керамика из святилища Деметры в Нимфее", in: *Материалы Нимфейской экспедиции. Святилище Деметры*], in print; Sparkes, Talkott 1970, Pl. 310. Fig. 10, No. 1060 (325–310 BC); Tolstoy 1953 [И. И. Толстой, *Греческие граффити древних городов Северного Причерноморья*], 79 No. 123; Namoylik 2007 [А. С. Намойлик, "Граффити на чернолаковой керамике из святилища Деметры в Нимфее", in: *Боспорский феномен: сакральный смысл региона, памятников, находок*], 317, 320 Fig. 1.1.

[14] Tokhtas'ev 2007 [С. Р. Тохтасьев, "Новое заклятие на свинце из Северного Причерноморья"], 48 n. 1; Avram, Chiriac, Matei 2007, 391–393.

[15] Dana 2007, 89.

[16] Vinogradov 1997 [Ю. Г. Виноградов, "Письмо с горгиппийских наделов", in: Е. М. Алексеева, *Античный город Горгиппия*], 545.

Thus, considering the inevitable gap between the time of appearance of particular shapes of letters in inscriptions of a private character on ostraka and lead tablets on the one hand and in lapidary inscriptions on the other,[17] the letter on the ostracon from Vyshesteblievskaya-3 can be dated broadly to the second half of the 4th century BC.[18]

The ostracon was found at a settlement located in the rural territory of Phanagoria. This circumstance – as well as the fact that lead tablets would have been more convenient for correspondence with more or less remote localities – suggests that we are dealing with "local" correspondence. This would in turn lead us to expect the Ionian dialect typical of inscriptions on stone, lead and ceramics even from those Bosporan poleis where among the founders there were Teosians who founded Phanagoria, or Mytileneans as was the case in Hermonassa where so far no Aeolisms have been recorded.[19]

Below we analyse the text.

Line 1. In the beginning of the first line we can discern I and H, further on the personal name ʼΑπολλᾶς in dative, then *chi, alpha* and *iota* thus immediately suggesting one of the standard epistolary introductions – a nominative, a dative and χαίρειν: "such and such a person wishes such and such to be well". IH in the end of the first name indicates that the author of the message was most probably a woman. Considering the size of the lacuna, it seems acceptable, of all the known feminine names ending in -ιη, to reconstruct, e.g., a name Δημητρίη well-known in the Bosporan onomasticon with the Ionian -ιη instead of the Attic -ια.[20]

[17] For a comparison between the types in lapidary inscriptions and those in inscriptions on lead tablets and ostraka, see also: Saprykin, Belousov, Fedoseev 2013 [С. Ю. Сапрыкин, А. В. Белоусов, Н. Ф. Федосеев, "Два фрагмента свинцовых пластин из Пантикапея"], 272.

[18] Kashaev, Pavlichenko 2014 [С. В. Кашаев, Н. А. Павличенко, "О датировке письма на остраконе с поселения Вышестеблиевская-3", in: *Боспорские чтения XV. Боспор Киммерийский и варварский мир в период античности и средневековья. Актуальные проблемы хронологии*], 219–225.

[19] Tokhtas'ev 2011 [С. Р. Тохтасьев, "Греческий язык на Боспоре: общее и особенное", in: *Боспорский феномен. Население, языки, контакты. Материалы международной научной конференции*], 675–676.

[20] Naturally there are also other women's names ending in -ια/-ιη. Among the names found in Bosporan inscriptions of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC where the number of letters and the ratio between the 'broad' and 'narrow' letters corresponds to the size of the lacuna in the present message, one may cite, e.g., ʼΑρτινοίη (*CIRB* 169 – Pantikapaion, 2nd half of the 4th century BC) or Φιλονοίη (*CIRB* 1017 – Patrasys, 4th century BC). Finally, quite possibly there were feminine variants of such names as ʽΕκαταῖος (*CIRB* 117 – Pantikapaion, late 4th to early 3rd century BC) or Μητρόβιος (*CIRB* 1137. Gorgippia, 1st half of the 3rd century BC).

This name is known, inter alia, from the Pantikapaian dedication to Demeter of the second half of the 4th century BC in the name of the priestess of Demeter, Ἀριστονίκη Ξενοκρίτου θυγάτηρ, asking a favour for her daughter Δημητρίη (*CIRB* 14)[21] and a Pantikapaian epitaph also of the 4th century BC to [Δημ]ητρίη [Π]οσειδίππου (*CIRB* 176). The Bosporan epigraphy presents many examples of theophoric names derived from the name of one of the main gods of the Bosporan pantheon: Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ἀπολλοφάνης, Ἀπόλλων, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀπολλωνίδης. The personal name Ἀπολλᾶς also has been already encountered, e.g. in the list of names from Nymphaion of the 3rd century BC (*CIRB* 912.1.8) – [Ἀπ]ολλᾶς Ἀπατουρίου, twice – [Ἀπολ]λᾶς Καβαθάξεω and Ἀπολλᾶς Τ[- - -] – in the name list from Hermonassa of the 4th century BC (*CIRB* 1056.1_{20}; 1056.2_{2}) and [Ἀπ]ολλᾶς Σατύρου in the Gorgippian agonistic catalogue of the first half of the 3rd century BC (*CIRB* 1137 Б. 1_{6}). Hence the two names – both the reconstructed Δημητρίη and Ἀπολλᾶς – are quite typical ones in Bosporos.

The formula of the introduction with a χαίρειν is well attested. It is remarkable that it was used both in relatively lengthy messages and in very brief notes. For instance it is encountered in a recently found verbose letter on an ostracon from Nikonion (second half of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century BC) − Διονύσιος τοῖς ἐν οἴκω[ι] χαίρειν. ἕως τούτου ἔρ<ρω>μαι καὶ ὁ ὑός,[22] in the letter of Artikon from Olbia (ca. 350 BC) – Ἀρτικῶν τοῖς ἐν οἴκω(ι) χαίρειν,[23] as well as in a note on a fragment of the lid of a red-figure pyxis or lekanis from Platon O. Burachkov's collection (late 5th to early 4th centuries BC; kept in the State Historical Museum): Ῥόδων Ἡρακᾶι χαίρειν. Ἔλαβε, i.e. "Rhodon is greeting Herakas. Received".[24] The same form of greeting is employed in an inscription, possibly a love letter, on a fresco from Nymphaion (250/49–240 BC), scratched by some Theodora − [Θ]εοδώρα Πίθωνι χαίρειν. καλῶς ποιήσεις με, ἀγρυπνίσεις με ("Theodora sends her greeting to Python (Pothon?). Thou will nicely treat me and lose your

[21] The publishers of the *CIRB* regarded this inscription, after Vasiliy V. Latyshev, as a monument from Pantikapaion, but Yury Vinogradov surmised that it came from Gorgippia – see *LGPN* IV. s. v. Δημητρίη.

[22] Awianowicz 2011, 237.

[23] Dubois 1996, 63 No. 25.

[24] *Na kraju oikumeny* 2002 [*На краю ойкумены. Греки и варвары на северном берегу Понта Эвксинского. Из фондов Государственного исторического музея, Государственного музея Востока, Краснодарского государственного историко-археологического музея-заповедника. Каталог выставки*], 36, no. 74.

sleep because of me").[25] Χαίρειν is also used in the greetings sent by three residents of Nymphaion to Satyros and sons of Perisades.[26]

Lines 2–3. In the second and third lines, μὴ ἀποπεράσηι is strikingly twice repeated. The form is clear – it is the conjunctive of aorist, third person singular. In the third line, it is preserved completely, while from the second line it is partly carried over to the third line. Ἀποπεράσηι can be derived from ἀποπεράω ('move, cross'); besides, this form can originate from the verb ἀποπέρνημι ('sell'). If πέρνημι in the meaning of 'sell' can be interpreted as 'carry out for sale' or 'sell as bribery' (see LSJ, s.v.) then ἀποπέρνημι can be employed, as it seems, where the matter is concerned with the sale of immovable property, e.g. land plots. Two inscriptions, both in the Ionian dialect, can be cited. A treaty about the establishment of property rights on disputable immovable property, i.e. land and a house, concluded by residents of Halikarnassos and Lygdamos in 454/453 BC (Halikarnassos, *Syll.*^{3} 45_{32}) says that

> καρτερὸς δ᾽ εἶναι γῆς καὶ οἰκίων οἵτινες τότ᾽ εἶχον ὅτε Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Παναμύης ἐμνημόνευον, εἰ μὴ ὕστερον ἀπεπέρασαν.
>
> Those must possess the land and the houses who possessed them at the moment when Apollonides and Panamyes were the mnemons unless they did not sell them.

A decree from Zeleia of the last third of the 4th century BC on the sale of the land of exiles says:[27]

> ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι· τὰς γέας τῶμ φυγάδων ἀποπεράσαι, τὸν [δὲ πρι]άμενον τὴν τιμὴν ἀποδοῦναι τεσσάρων ἐτέων, τέταρτομ μ[έ]ρος ἔτεος ἑ[κ]ά[σ]το[υ δ]ιὰ μηνὸς Κε[κ]υπ[ωσίου]
>
> The People has decided: the lands of exiles must be sold so that he who has bought them must pay for four years one quarter of the cost in the month of Kekyposios.

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25 Tokhtas'ev 2006 ["Новые материалы по истории койне", in: *Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология – X. Материалы чтений, посвященных памяти профессора Иосифа Моисеевича Тронского. 19–21 июня 2006 г.*], 295. Of note is also an incompletely preserved lead letter from Pantikapaion which, as it seems, began in the same manner – Saprykin, Kulikov 1999, 202 – Ἑρμαῖο[ς τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν ‑‑‑]. M. Dana noted that simplicity or the total absence of an established form are typical for Black Sea letters in general (Dana 2007, 91 No. 52).

26 Tokhtas'ev 2006, 302.

27 *SGDI* III. 2 (Göttingen 1905) 654. No. 5533 f (= *Inschriften Mysia & Troas* [IMT], eds. Matthias Barth and Josef Stauber. Leopold Wenger Institut. Universität München. Version of 25.8.1993 (Ibycus). Packard Humanities Institute CD #7, 1996. – Mysia, "Aisepos & Kadiköy Dere", no. 1136).

Before ΜΗΑΠΟΠΕΡΑ in the second line we see ΟΡΩΙ. According to its form, it is a dative singular of a noun of the second declension, i.e. it can be a form of dative case of τὸ ὄρον – 'the wooden part of the press for grapes and olives' or derived from ὁ ὀρός – 'whey' which seems rather senseless. Also it may be a dative of ὁ ὅρος in the sense of 'limit, boundary' or 'landmark'.

Between the second syllable in χαίρειν and [---]ΟΥΡΑΙ in the second line there is space for two or maximum three letters. The context suggests here either an imperative or an infinitive used as an imperative that is fairly frequently found, inter alia, in letters (e.g. in the address of Mnesiergos' letter [*Syll.*[3] 1259, Attica, 350 BC] it is written: Φέρεν ἰς τὸγ κέραμον χυτρικὸν, ἀποδôναι δὲ Ναυσίαι ἢ Θρασυκλῆι ἢ θυἱῶι). Inverse glossaries propose ἀποῦραι as a variant − an infinitive attested only by Eustathios (Il. IV, p. 661, 17) and, as it seems, derived from Homer's participle ἀπούρας (ἀπηύρων − 'deprive of, bereave of'). Even if one accepts that the popular etymology could have derived ἀπηύρων from ὁ ὅρος ('limit, boundary, landmark stone') it is necessary to explain the appearance of this form in the text of a simple note. Correspondingly, although the preserved part of the word, as well as the general context, allow us to suggest here the infinitive of a verb meaning 'to mark, to designate', a faithful reconstruction of [---]ΟΥΡΑΙ is difficult.

῞Ορωι probably does not imply 'a limit, a boundary',[28] but rather an object which marks this boundary, i.e. a 'landmark stone',[29] or a 'safeguard stone'. Both in Attica, and in other regions of Greece, ὅροι, placed at the boundary of a sacred precinct or a land plot, not only delimited the ownership like the landmark stones proper (by contrast to the latter, ὅροι often were installed as a single sign, which corresponds to the singular form of the ὅρωι in the letter here published here), but served as information about the ownership and status of the land plot. Thus along with ordinary land-division stones the *horoi* functioned as protection of a land plot against intrusion and profanation. *Horoi* may have been installed at the corners of a plot or in places convenient in terms of the relief of a particular locality. The stele which served as a *horos* occasionally bore inscriptions on its two sides or only on the external

[28] E.g. see an Athenian decree of 352/1 on the reinstallation of the ὅροι of a sacred precinct in Eleusis which tells that one should σημαίνεσθαι λίθοις τοὺς ὅρους, i.e. "mark the boundary using (landmark) stones" (*Syll.*[3] 204 $_{72}$).

[29] For instance Theophrastos (*Char.* 10. 9), when characterizing a μικρολόγος, writes that in the nature of a person of this kind is to check daily whether the boundary stones are still in their place – καὶ τοὺς ὅρους δ᾽ ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι ὁσημέραι εἰ διαμένουσιν οἱ αὐτοί.

one facing the passerby. Occasionally it was an opisthograph and, in this case, the inscriptions were related to the land plots on both sides of the land-division line. Some of the ὅροι bore inscriptions indicating some encumbrance of the plot, e.g. containing information that the particular land was a debt security.[30]

If we thus assume that the inscription concerns the definition of the legal status of the land, which shall be designated by a horos, we obtain the following text:

> Demetria (?) wishes Apollas well. [---]ΟΥΡΑΙ (*scil.* the plot) with a landmark stone in order that he not sell it.

It is unclear who was meant as the subject concerned with ἀποπεράσηι, however it may be supposed that some resident of Phanagoria or of a neighbouring rural settlement attempted to sell a disputed land plot and Apollas had written to Demetria (?) that “Such and such wants to sell the land” – to which she answers: “Install a landmark stone so that he cannot sell it”.

The last syllable -σηι in ἀποπεράσηι is carried over from the second to the third line. The letters in the third line are set fairly loosely with large intervals between them, so that between the final iota in -σηι and the *mu* in the beginning of the third line there remains space for only one or two letters. At start of the third line an oblique dash is discernible which might very possibly have been part of a *sigma*. If we supplement the *omega* we obtain the conjunction [ὥ]ς with the subsequent repetition of μὴ ἀποπεράσηι. Why is μὴ ἀποπεράσηι repeated twice? Perhaps for greater expressivity.[31]

Line 4. Behind the chipped area we see a horizontal dash and a vertical one. It is impossible to know with confidence whether we are dealing here with remains of letters or just chance indentations. In the first two lines the last syllable in χαί[ρειν] and in ἀποπερά[σηι] is carried over to the next line. In the third line, however, between the final *iota* in ἀποπεράσηι and the edge of the ostracon, there remains sufficient space for only one or two letters, so that the author of the text was able to write the next word only in a new line. This word could have been a direct

[30] Fine 1951, 41−60; Lalonde 1991, 5, 7, 18–21; Guarducci 1995, II, 430–434; III, 227 ff. Inscriptions of this kind include, inter alia, a *tabula ansata* from Pantikapaion with the inscription Στρατηγῶν (*CIRB* 827, 2nd half of the 1st century BC) which designated the limits of the cemetery plot allotted for interment of strategoi.

[31] Cf. μᾶλλον, μᾶλλον in a letter of an Athenian boy – Jordan 2000, 93; see also Denniston 1952, 90–95.

object for μὴ ἀποπεράσηι – for instance any word meaning 'land' / 'land plot' e.g. γέας or, rather, χωρίον by analogy with the Athenian *horoi*.[32] Unfortunately, we can speak about it only at a hypothetical level because of the ostracon's poor state of preservation.

As a whole the text of the letter seems to be as follows:

> [Δημητρ?]ίη ʼΑπολλᾶι χαί/[ρειν. - – -]ΟΥΡΑΙ ὅρωι μὴ ἀποπερά/[σηι. ῾Ω]ς̣ μὴ ἀποπεράσηι [- - -?].
>
> (Demetria (?) wishes Apollas well. [- - -]ΟΥΡΑΙ (*scil*. the plot) with a safeguard stone so that he cannot sell it! So that he cannot sell it [- - -?]!).

Along with 'royal' and temple lands, or lands owned by the barbarian tribes, in Bosporos there were naturally a number of plots belonging to private persons. It is exactly the problems concerned with determination of the property rights for a plot of this kind that have found their reflection in the letter on the ostracon from the settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3. Thus the ostracon published here supplements the mass of written evidence on the existence of a system of ancient land division on the Taman peninsula,[33] as is also confirmed through archaeological excavations and surveys of the recent years. Thus there have been discovered traces of land division near Cape Tuzla,[34] on the Fontalovsky Peninsula,[35] in the

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[32] *IG* II [2] 2593, 2594, 2631, 2642, 2658, 2659, 2714, 2765 etc.

[33] The written sources informing us about land use in Bosporos are extremely scarce. They include for instance the story by Diodoros (*Diod*. 20. 25) about Eumelos having allotted land to a thousand Kallatians in Bosporos and having divided it into plots (τὴν χώραν κατεκληρούχησεν). Demosthene's oration *Contra Lacritum* (*Dem*. XXXV. 32) mentions the owner of a large land tenure who bought 80 amphorae of Koan wine for its workers, the wine turning out to be sour. In addition, land plots are mentioned in a number of inscriptions from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. *CIRB* 976 (Phanagoria, 151 AD) tells us of the existence of temple lands – Rhoimetalkos returns to a certain goddess the γέας ἐν Θιαννέοις dedicated to her sometime before. *CIRB* 837 (Hermonassa (?), late 2nd century to 1st half of the 3rd century AD) is a typical *terminus* defining the boundaries of a land plot. In addition, a Phanagorian dedication of the 1st half of the 2nd century AD (*CIRB* 983) mentions τοὺς τόπ[ους], that also may imply 'land plots'.

[34] Gorlov, Porotov, Trebelev 2006 [Ю. В. Горлов, А. В. Поротов, Г. В. Требелев, "Юго-западное побережье Таманского полуострова в античную эпоху"], 68–70, 75 fig.1.

[35] Garbuzov 2006 [Г. П. "Гарбузов, "Древнее землеустройство нелинейного типа и характеристики современного ландшафта Таманского полуострова"], 57 fig. 5.

region of the Central Ridge of the Taman Peninsula[36] as well as in the plots near the settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3.[37]

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36 Garbuzov 2005 [Г. П. Гарбузов, "Признаки древнего землеустройства в районе Центральной гряды Таманского полуострова"], 107 fig. 2.

37 Garbuzov 2009 [Г. П. Гарбузов, "Районирование античных агроландшафтов Таманского полуострова"], 137 fig. 10.

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In 2013 at the settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3 was found a fragment (broken on the left) of the wall of a Mediterranean amphora with an inscription: – [Δημητρ?]ίη ’Απολλᾶι χαί/[ρειν. - – -]ΟΥΡΑΙ ὅρωι μὴ ἀποπερά/[σηι. ῾Ω]ς μὴ ἀποπεράσηι [- - -?]. ("Demetria (?) wishes Apollas well. [- - -]ΟΥΡΑΙ (*scil*. the plot) with a safeguard stone so that he cannot sell it! So that he cannot sell it [- - -?]!"). The ostracon was retrieved from a turf layer (square A, Б-80; area 40) in the area where a structure arbitrarily called the 'Ditch' was excavated at the level of the virgin soil. The type of letter allows us to date it only broadly to the second half of the fourth century BC. The ostracon published here is thus one of the rare pieces of written evidence of the existence of a system of ancient land division on the Taman Peninsula as also confirmed by archaeological excavations and surveys of recent years.

В 2013 г. на поселении Вышестеблиевская-3 в дерновом слое (квадрат А, Б-80 [участок 40], в котором на уровне материка зафиксирован и исследован объект "Ров") был найден обломанный слева фрагмент стенки средиземноморской амфоры с текстом письма – [Δημητρ?]ίη ’Απολλᾶι χαί/[ρειν. - – -] ΟΥΡΑΙ ὅρωι μὴ ἀποπερά/[σηι. ῾Ω]ς μὴ ἀποπεράσηι [- - -?]. ("Деметрия (?) Аполле желает здравствовать. [- - -]ΟΥΡΑΙ (*scil*. участок) с помощью horos, чтобы он не продал. Чтобы он не продал!"). Шрифт письма позволяет датировать его в широких рамках 2-й половины IV в. до н. э. Публикуемый остракон является, таким образом, одним из немногих письменных свидетельств существования на Таманском полуострове системы древнего размежевания земельных наделов, что подтверждается также археологическими раскопками и разведками последних лет.

RETRIEVING THE APHRODITE OF HERMOGENES OF CYTHERA*

The aim of this essay is to analyse the form of the statue of Aphrodite set up in the agora (forum) of the Roman colony of Corinth and recorded by Pausanias 2. 2. 8. An understanding of this statue will lead to a likely suggestion about the age of flourishing of its sculptor.

In 2. 2. 8 Pausanias lists the most noteworthy statues of deities located along the western side of the agora of Corinth. First, he saw a statue cast in Parian marble of Tyche in her own temple, probably of the early Augustan period, recognized on Corinthian coins and whose head probably survives;[1] then a bronze Poseidon on a fountain, probably of the first decades of the 1st century AD;[2] next, a bronze image of Apollo Clarius, probably also Augustan or early Julio-Claudian and recognized on a Corinthian coin type of the age of Julia Domna;[3] and finally, he saw 'a statue of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera' (ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης Ἑρμογένους Κυθηρίου ποιήσαντος).[4] After this he reports on two bronze statues of Hermes[5] and three representations of Zeus.[6]

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* Previous versions of this article were delivered in Fano (Italy) at a conference held by the Centre of Vitruvian Studies in December 2013, in Chicago at the conference *Drakmatic Art* held in the Hilton Hotel of this city in February 2014 and finally at Athens in the auditorium of the National Archaeological Museum, in March 2014. Scholars who attended these events are warmly thanked. Special thanks are due to Dr. Ch. Kritsas for his clever question raised during the debate which followed my lecture in the National Museum.

1 Regarding this Tyche, see Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner, Oikonomides 1964, 20, pl. E, figs. nos. 83 and 85. Concerning the head, see Johnson 1931, 46–47, no. 54.

2 See Dubbini 2011, 152–154 and Aristodimou 2012 [Γ. Α. Αριστοδήμου, *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος νυμφαίων και κρηνών στο ανατολικό τμήμα της ρωμαϊκής αυτοκρατορίας*], 291–292, nos. 29–31.

3 See Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner, Oikonomides 1964, 156, no. 25, pl. F, fig. 14; Seltman 1928, 98–99 and Dubbini 2011, 101.

4 See Dubbini 2011, 91–99.

5 *Ibid*., 152.

6 *Ibid*., 157.

Hermogenes of Cythera is known only from this passage of Pausanias.[7]

It should be noted that his statue is the only one among the ἀγάλματα listed in 2. 2. 8 whose sculptor is specified. This fact suggests that such a specification was considered important and that this sculptor was also considered valuable.

Pausanias does not clarify the master of this Aphrodite with the words ἔργον or τέχνη + the name of the artist in genitive but with an absolute genitive (Ἑρμογένους Κυθηρίου ποιήσαντος). This detail suggests that Pausanias read the customary signature consisting of the sculptor's name, ethnic and ἐποίησεν on the base supporting the statue.

The exact location of the statue on the western side of the agora of Corinth has been suggested: it is likely that it was erected near or in the Augustan F temple, dedicated to Venus and located in the south section of the west side of the agora (Fig. 1): it was a prostylos tetrastyle Ionic ναός, the finest building on the west side of the agora (Fig. 2),[8] thus also the appropriate setting for a distinguished statue of the love goddess.

Since the F temple was Augustan, the statue of Hermogenes probably dates to the same era.

Hermogenes' Aphrodite was likely depicted on coins of the Roman colony of Corinth.[9] Corinthian coins of the neo-sophistic period depict three basic versions of Aphrodite whose styles are plausible candidates for statues, and thus likely inspired by the statues seen by Pausanias:

a) an Aphrodite holding her shield, in keeping with the Capua type of this goddess and to be identified with the ἄγαλμα of Aphrodite ὁπλισμένη in her sanctuary and temple on the Acrocorinth (Paus. 2. 5. 1);[10]

b) a draped Aphrodite, holding sceptre and apple,[11] perhaps to be identified with Aphrodite Μελαινίς, whose temple was located just east of the urban centre of Corinth (Paus. 2. 2. 4): this sanctuary was associated with the famous courtesan Lais.[12] The attribute of the apple may have referred to the many victories in love guaranteed by the goddess

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[7] See Flemberg 2001, 304–305 and *Der neue Overbeck* 2014, 5. 407–408, sources nos. 4007–4008.

[8] Regarding the dedication of this temple to Venus, see Kent 1966, 33, no. 56. Regarding the F temple, see Scranton 1951, 57–63 with a wrong identification of the F temple with the temple of Tyche. Historical considerations in Musti, Torelli 1986, 217–220 and Dubbini 2011, 91.

[9] Regarding the cult of Aphrodite in Corinth, see Soles 1983; Williams 1986, 12–24 and Lanci 2005, 205–220.

[10] See Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner, Oikonomides 1964, 25–27 and 157.

[11] See *Ibid.*, 18.

[12] See Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 97–98.

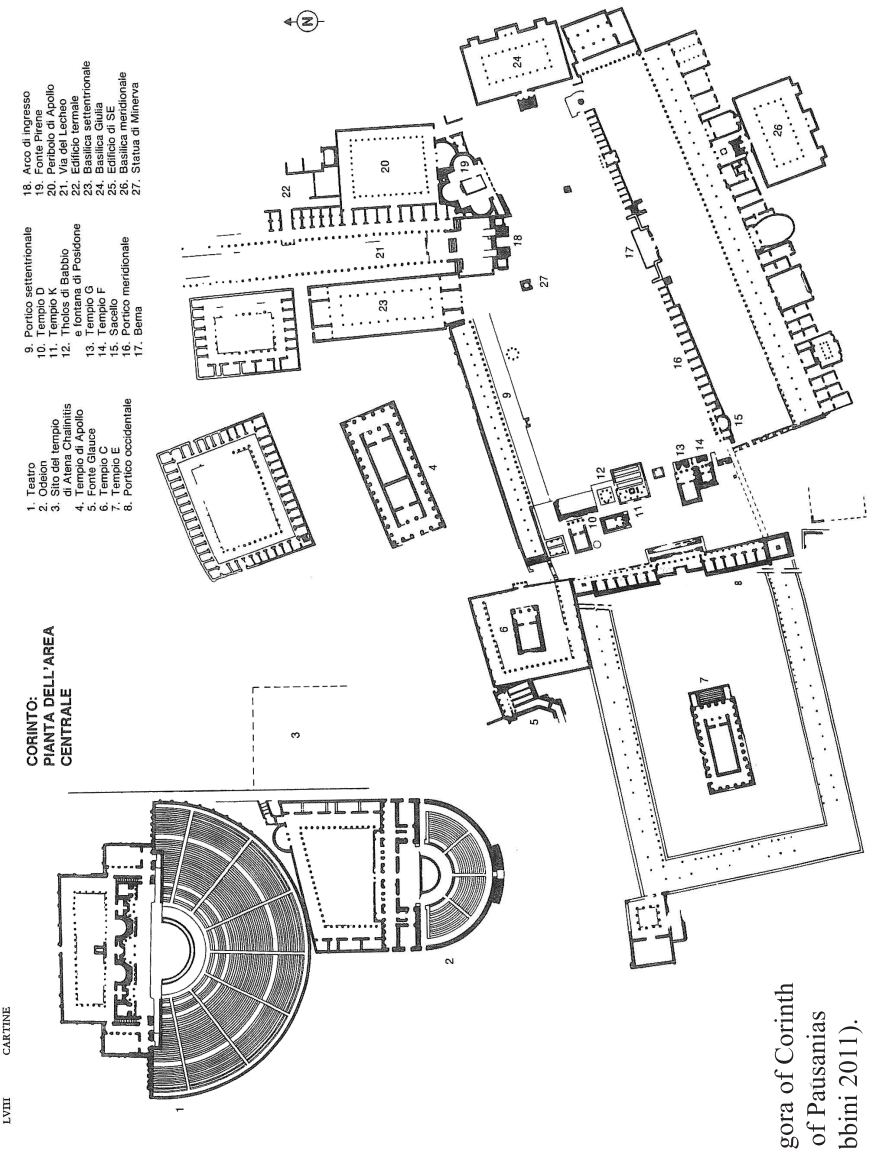

Fig. 1. The agora of Corinth in the age of Pausanias (from Dubbini 2011).

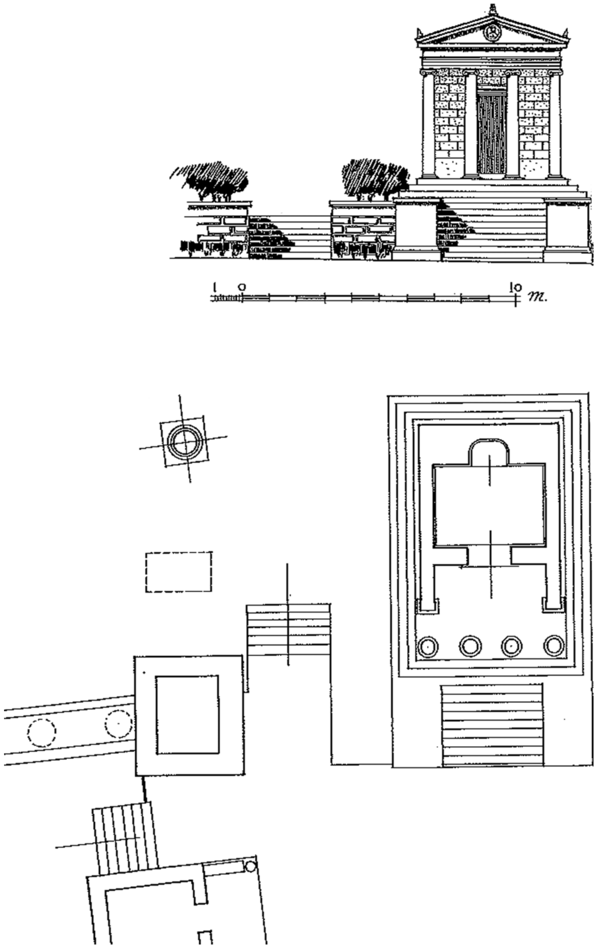

Fig. 2. The temple F in the agora of Corinth (from Scranton 1951).

to her protected courtesan (See Polemon, *frg.* 44 Preller and Athenaeus 13. 588 c);

c) an Aphrodite on coin types dating to the era of Julia Domna (Fig. 3) and Caracalla (Fig. 4):[13] the goddess is naked; her figure moderately curvaceous. Her left foot stands fully on the ground while her right foot rests on tiptoes with a bent knee. Her left arm is lowered, with its elbow

[13] See Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner, Oikonomides 1964, 18–19 and Seltman 1928, 98–99.

Fig. 3. *AE* of Corinth struck under Julia Domna, London, The British Museum, Department of Coins.

Fig. 4. *AE* of Corinth struck under Caracalla, reverse, Museum des Stiftes St. Florian.

bent, and her left hand is brought in front of the body, probably in order to hold an attribute, perhaps a mirror. Her right arm is at her side, its elbow bent, the forearm brought to her head, probably in order to wreath it.

The general form of this figure is a plausible candidate for a bronze statue: there is no side support despite the position of the right arm at its side.

Fig. 5. Marble statuette at Corinth, Museum, no. 1181.

As already suggested by Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner, Seltman, Oikonomides and Soles,[14] the statuary type shown on these coins must represent the Aphrodite by Hermogenes of Cythera. In fact in the previously mentioned coin type of the era of Julia Domna, this Aphrodite appears together with an Apollo: a fact in keeping with Pausanias' mention in 2. 2. 8 of a statue of Apollo Clarius and of Hermogenes' Aphrodite standing next to one other.

The same type is reproduced with a Julio-Claudian marble statuette found in ancient Corinth but without a specific provenance (Fig. 5):[15] the head, both arms and most of legs are missing. This statuette is also sinuous in style, the left leg stood on the ground while the right leg was bent. The left arm was lowered, the right, uplifted.

This statuette portrays the same version of Aphrodite which is shown on the above mentioned coins and for this reason was

[14] See the publications cited in notes 1, 2 and 9.

[15] Corinth, Museum, no. 1181: see Johnson 1931, 42–43, no. 44 and Soles 1983, 124–125, no. 22.

probably a miniature copy of Hermogenes' statue. It reveals some information regarding the specific style characteristic of this statue: its fleshy and light-and-shadow depiction of the surfaces is still late Hellenistic and not in keeping with the cold, academic style of the Augustan classicism.

Thus although Hermogenes likely flourished during the Augustan period, he still shows Hellenistic sensibility.[16]

On the two previously mentioned coin types, the head is slightly inclined, with an oval face and wavy hair.

The representation of the goddess 'au toilette' catches her as she looks at her mirror, wreathing her head. Since the goddess is naked – and patronized the sacred prostitution in Corinth[17] – it might be suggested that the moment when the courtesan is making up for her client is transferred to the divine realm. Thus perhaps this statue might have advertised that the renowned business of the Corinthian courtesans stood under the protection of their goddess.

Fig. 6. Bronze statuette at Berlin, Altes Museum, Antikensammlung, no. 7101.

Even before the age of Augustus, pre-Roman Corinth was endowed with a bronze Aphrodite bearing the same general style which was later reused by Hermogenes. This work is known thanks to a bronze statuette probably of Corinthian craftsmanship dating to the late 4th c. BC found on Thera (Fig. 6).[18] The general style of the body, legs and left arm is the same as that of the Aphrodite on the previously mentioned coin types of Julia Domna and Caracalla. The statuette also allows an appreciation of the head:

[16] In the Augustan Peloponnese, there is a current that continues from the late Hellenistic styles: see Themelis 2012 [Π. Θέμελης, "Έργα επωνύμων γλυπτών και εργαστήριο γλυπτικής πρώιμων ρωμαϊκών χρόνων στή Μεσσήνη", in: Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου (ed.), *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της Ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδος*], 177–191.

[17] See the bibliography in note 9.

[18] This statuette is kept at Berlin, Altes Museum, Antikensammlung, no. 7101: see Corso 2013, 129–130.

the face is typically Praxitelean (oval shape, triangular forehead, narrow and elongated eyes, long nose, short mouth and slightly protruding chin). The hair is divided in the middle and brought back to the nape with the usual wavy locks. The skin of this body appears to have a velvety texture; the bones and muscles are not expressed.

The face is very similar to those of the Arles type of Aphrodite (Fig. 7), which is probably the copyist type of Praxiteles' Thespian Aphrodite, and of the Aspremont-Lynden / Arles type of head (Fig. 8): the latter likely portrayed the Thespian image of Phryne, which had also been made by Praxiteles.[19] The same face is found again on the Aphrodite Pseliumene (Fig. 9),[20] on the Townley Aphrodite (Fig. 10) probably derived from Praxiteles' statue of Phryne at Delphi,[21] as well as on the Leconfield Aphrodite (Fig. 11).[22]

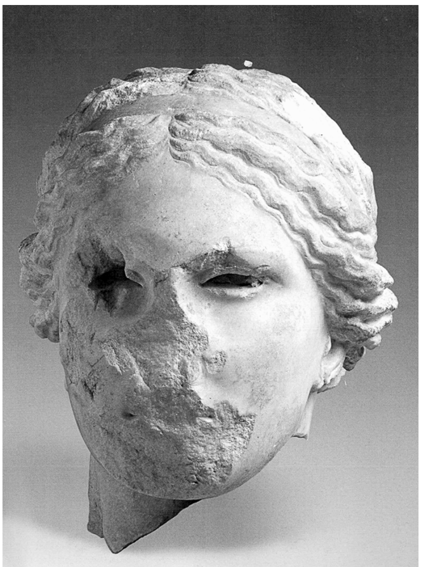

Fig. 7. Marble head in the type of the Arles Aphrodite, Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. NMA 200.

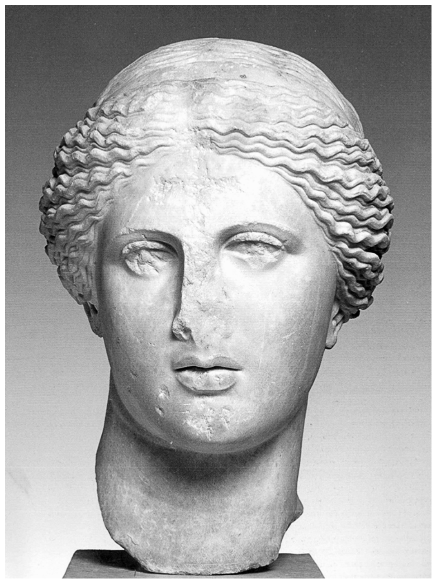

Fig. 8. Marble head at Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 1762.

[19] See Corso 2004, 257–281, work no. 17; Pasquier 2007, 130–201 and Kaltsas, Despinis 2007 [Ν. Καλτσάς, Γ. Δεσπίνης, *Πραξιτέλης*], 114–117, nos. 22–26.

[20] See Corso 2013, 172–185, work no. 53.

[21] See Corso 2014, work no. 62.

[22] See Corso 2014, work no. 65.

Fig. 9. Bronze statuette at London, The British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, no. Br 1084.

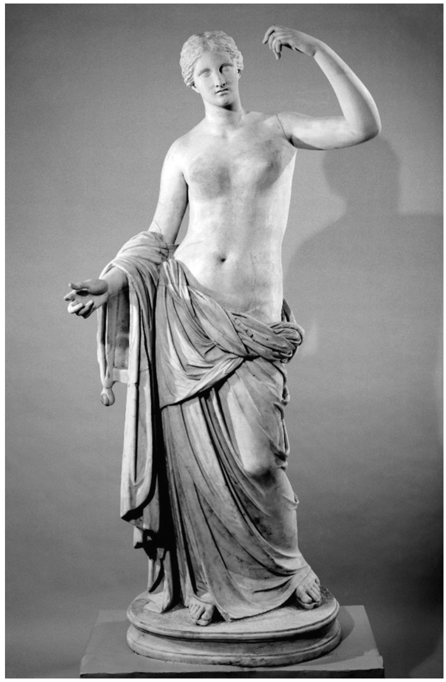

Fig. 10. Venus Townley, London, The British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Townley collection, no. 1574.

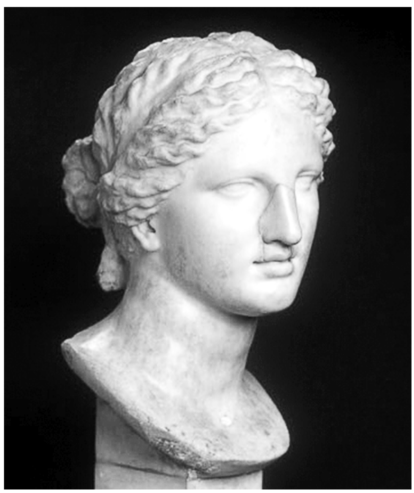

Fig. 11. Leconfield head, Petworth House.

The obvious conclusion is that Phryne, the lover of Praxiteles, had been the model of the bronze Aphrodite, later echoed in the Theran statuette. The clear Praxitelean features of this work suggest that this bronze Aphrodite was the one made by Praxiteles, brought to Rome and set up there in front of the temple of Happiness where it perished in a fire during the reign of Claudius (Pliny 34. 69). This statue was part of the bounty of works of art brought from Corinth by Mummius, as it is argued both by Strabo 8. 6. 23. 381 and Dio Cassius 22. 76. 2. The original location of the statue was not a sanctuary but a public area, as it is argued by Cicero, *In Verrem* 2. 4. 4 who specified that Mummius never looted sanctuaries. Thus it is likely that Praxiteles' bronze Aphrodite stood in the agora of Corinth, perhaps in the same place where at a later time Hermogenes' Aphrodite was erected.

As soon as the Roman colony of Corinth was established, the authorities of the sanctuary may have commissioned a new statue of Aphrodite from Hermogenes of Cythera: this statue of the love goddess was meant to be, if not a copy, at least a variation of Praxiteles' bronze Aphrodite removed to Rome and at the time standing in the capital of the empire in front of the temple of Felicitas.

Since Cythera was famous for its cult of Aphrodite (Paus. 3. 23. 1), Hermogenes may have specialized in the imagery of this goddess and this may be the reason that he was commissioned to make this important statue.

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In this article, the statue of Aphrodite by Hermogenes of Cythera is discussed. This statue is recorded by Pausanias, and was located in the temple of the love goddess in the forum of the Roman colony of Corinth. The temple is Augustan, thus probably the statue and its artist are also of this period. It is likely that this Aphrodite was represented on Roman imperial coins: a naked standing female wreathing herself with her right hand and looking at a mirror held in her left hand. A statuette from Corinth may also be a copy of this work. A bronze Aphrodite of the same style had been set up in Corinth already in the 4th century BC (as it is known thanks to a statuette of Corinthian production from Thera), but this bronze statue had been brought to Rome by Mummius. The new work by Hermogenes was meant to replace it.

Статья посвящена статуе Афродиты работы Гермогена Киферского. Согласно Павсанию, она стояла в храме богини любви на форуме римской колонии Коринф. Храм датируется эпохой Августа, поэтому к ней же, очевидно, можно отнести саму статую и ее автора. Вероятно, что эта Афродита изображена на монетах императорской эпохи: стоящая обнаженная женская фигура, которая возлагает на себя венок правой рукой и держит зеркало в левой. Произведение Гермогена, видимо, копирует и найденная в Коринфе статуэтка. Уже в IV в. до н. э. в Коринфе была бронзовая статуя Афродиты, выдержанная в таком же стиле (о ней позволяет судить статуэтка коринфского производства с Феры), но Муммий увез ее в Рим. Новое произведение Гермогена предназначалось для того, чтобы заменить ее.

BATĂVI ODER *BATĀVI*?
ZU LUC. *PHARS*. I, 430–440

Eines der größten textkritischen Probleme im Gallien-Katalog Lucans (*Phars*. I, 392–465) stellen die Verse 430–440 dar. Dort endet die lange Reihe von Subjekten, die mit dem weit davor stehenden Prädikat *gaudet* (422) verknüpft sind und mit denen die sich über Cäsars Abzug freuenden gallischen Völker benannt werden. Es ist kaum verwunderlich, dass gerade diese Stelle zu Interpolationen reizte.

Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, bracis
Vangiones, Batavique truces, quos aere recurvo
stridentes acuere tubae; qua Cinga pererrat
gurgite, qua Rhodanus raptum velocibus undis
in mare fert Ararim, qua montibus ardua summis
gens habitat cana pendentes rupe Cebennas.
[Pictones immunes subigunt sua rura; nec ultra
instabiles Turonas circumsita castra coercent.
in nebulis Meduana tuis marcere perosus
Andus, iam placida Ligeris recreatur ab unda,
incluta Caesareis Genabos dissolvitur alis].

Daran, dass die Verse 436–440 im Mittelalter interpoliert wurden, besteht heute kein Zweifel: Die Scholiasten erwähnen sie nicht, in den Handschriften sind die ersten vier dieser Verse von zweiter Hand eingefügt; sie entstanden wohl um das Jahr 1100 (die frühen Lucan-Herausgeber schrieben sie Marbode, dem Erzbischof von Rennes, zu[1]). Franz van Oudendorp, dessen Ausgabe im 18. Jahrhundert erschien, sah sie in gewissen Handschriften ein bisschen weiter unten eingefügt, und zwar hinter Vers 443[2] – was natürlich ebenfalls gegen die Echtheit dieser Verse spricht. Was den Vers 440 betrifft, ist dieser laut Paul Lejay zum

[1] Lejay gelang es, die Geschichte dieser Vermutung bis zu François Guyet (1575–1655) zurückzuverfolgen; s. Lejay 1894, CI–CII und Getty 1940, 135.

[2] Oudendorpius 1728, ad loc.

ersten Mal im Ausonius-Kommentar von Mariangelo Accorsi (1521) bezeugt.[3] Neben der kaum gesicherten Geschichte des Fragments gibt es auch viele andere Gründe, dieses für unecht zu halten: das *e* in *Genabos* ist hier kurz,[4] der Flussname *Meduana* ist in den Quellen erst im frühen Mittelalter belegt, und die Sätze, deren Prädikate synonymisch sind (*gaudet*, 422 – *laetatus*, 441), sind auf eine verdächtige Weise voneinander getrennt. Diese und die anderen von Paul Lejay in seinem Vorwort zur Ausgabe des 1. Buches verzeichneten Eigentümlichkeiten[5] seien durch die folgenden ergänzt: das Adjektiv *circumsitus* ist vor Ammianus Marcellinus nicht bezeugt;[6] die Konstruktion *recreatur ab unda* wirkt merkwürdig; *perosus* wird im klassischen Latein nicht mit dem Infinitiv gebraucht.[7] Die Absicht der ganzen Interpolation ist völlig klar: man wollte die im Katalog fehlenden Landschaften entlang der Loire hinzufügen. Die Namen *Pictones*, *Turones*, *Andi*, *Meduana* und *Liger* sind schließlich bis heute als *Poitiers*, *Tours*, *Angers*, *Mayenne* und *Loire* erhalten; an der Stelle von Genabos befindet sich heute die Stadt Orléans.

Viel schwieriger verhält sich die Sache bei den vorangehenden Versen 430–435. Diese sind in allen Handschriften vorhanden und waren den Verfassern nicht nur von Lucan-Scholien, sondern auch von Juvenal-Scholien bekannt (*Schol. Iuv.* VIII, 51). Die Echtheit dieser Verse wurde von Johann Schrader, einem Zeitgenossen von Oudendorp, bezweifelt.[8] Die Lucan-Herausgeber streichen diese Verse nicht wie die folgenden fünf, aber Housman zum Beispiel scheint hier Bedenken zu hegen. Für diese Bedenken gibt es im Wesentlichen drei Ursachen: erstens die Kürze des zweiten *a* in *Batavi* (431), zweitens die Erwähnung des Cinga (432), der nicht in Gallien, sondern in den Pyrenäen fließt, und drittens das intransitiv gebrauchte *pererrat* (432).[9] Wir werden im Folgenden jeden dieser drei Punkte erörtern.

Um die "richtige" Quantität in den bei Lucan verzeichneten Volksnamen zu finden, liegt es nahe, zwei Typen von Hinweisen heranzuziehen: die Prosodie in der lateinischen Poesie und die Unterscheidung zwischen ε und η oder ο und ω in den griechischen Texten. Letztere hat mit unserem Fall nichts zu tun. Auch die etymologischen Gegebenheiten

[3] Lejay 1894, C–CI.
[4] Vgl. Κήναβον bei Strabo (IV, 2, 3).
[5] Lejay 1894, C–CII. Vgl. Gelsomino 1961, 656.
[6] Amm. XXI, 10, 3 etc.; s. *ThLL* III, 1166, 48–53.
[7] Vgl. *ThLL* X, 1, 1608, 27–28.
[8] Schraderus 1776, XXVI–XXVII.
[9] Housman 1926, ad loc.

nützen hier nicht viel: laut Cassius Dio haben die Bataver ihren Namen bekommen, weil sie geschickte Reiter waren (D. Cass. LV, 24, 7), und heutzutage führt man das Wort auf die in den germanischen Sprachen reichlich bezeugte Wurzel des Komparativs und des Superlativs vom Adjektiv "gut" zurück.[10] Wenn daraus überhaupt irgendwelche Schlüsse über die Quantität zu ziehen sind, gilt das freilich nur für die erste Silbe.

Es bleibt nur noch sich den lateinischen Dichtern zuzuwenden. *Batavi* mit einem langen *a* wird von Martial, von Juvenal und von Silius Italicus verwendet;[11] mit einem kurzen *a*, wie hier bei Lucan, wird der Name erst von Venantius Fortunatus[12] im 6. Jahrhundert benutzt, als alle Quantitäten allerdings bereits fiktiv sind.

Es folgt eine Tabelle mit anderen gallischen Orts- und Volksnamen, die im Katalog erwähnt sind:

Lucan	Lateinische Dichter	Griechische Quellen
396: Lĕmanno	–	Λημέννα λίμνη Str. IV, 1, 11 (coni. Λημέννης pro μεγάλης); IV, 6, 6 (πηλεμέννα codd.). 11; Λημένη λίμνη Ptol. *Geog.* II, 10, 2; Λέμμανος λίμνη D. Cass. XXXIX, 5, 2
397: Vŏsĕgi	Vŏsĕgus Sil. IV, 213	–
398: Lingŏnas	Lingŏnicus Mart. I, 53, 5; Lingŏnus Mart. VIII, 75, 2	Λίγγονες Plb. II, 17, 7; Str. IV, 3, 4; 6, 11; Plut. *Caes.* XXVI, 6; D. Cass. XL, 38, 3; LXVI, 3, 1
399: Ĭsărae	–	Ἰσάρας Plb. III, 49, 6, D. Cass. XXXVII, 47, 3; Ἴσαρ, -αρος Str. IV, 1, 11; 2, 3; 6, 5, Ptol. *Geog.* II, 10, 4
402: Rŭtēni	–	Ῥουτηνοί Str. IV, 2, 2; Ῥουτανοί Ptol. *Geog.* II, 7, 12
403: Ătax	Ătax Tib. I, 7, 4; Ătacino Hor. *Sat.* I, 10, 46	Ἄταξ, -ακος (-αγος) Str. IV, 1, 6; IV, 1, 14; Ptol. *Geogr.* II, 10, 2; St. Byz. s. v. Νάρβων
419: Nĕmētis	–	gen. Νεμήτων Ptol. *Geog.* II, 9, 9

[10] Ihm 1897, 119. 22–25; Callies, Neumann 1976, 91; Dietz 1997, 491.

[11] *Hinc petit Euphraten iuuenis domitique Batavi* (Iuv. VIII, 51); *aurem qui modo non habet Batavam?* (Mart. VI, 82, 6); *et mutat Latias spuma Batava comas* (Mart. VIII, 33, 20); *sum figuli lusus russi persona Batavi* (Mart. XIV, 176, 1); *iam puer auricomo praeformidate Batavo* (Sil. III, 608).

[12] *Condolet hinc Batavus, gemit illinc Baeticus axis* (Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI, 5, 349).

Lucan	Lateinische Dichter	Griechische Quellen
420: Ătÿri	–	gen. Ἀτούριος Ptol. *Geog.* II, 7, 1; Marcian. *Peripl.* II, 21–22
422: Santŏnus	Santŏnici Tib. I, 7, 10; Santŏnico Iuv. VIII, 145; Mart. XIV, 128, 1; Santŏnica Mart. IX, 94, 1	Σάντονοι Str. IV, 2, 1–2; 6, 11; Σάντονες Ptol. *Geog.* II, 7, 1. 6; Marcian. *Peripl.* II, 21; St. Byz. s. v.
423: Bĭtŭrix	–	Βιτούριγες Str. IV, 2, 1–2; Plut. *Cam.* XV, 2; Ptol. *Geog.* II, 7, 7. 10; D. Cass. XL, 33, 2; 34, 1
423: Suessōnes	–	Σουεσσίωνες Str. IV, 3, 5; 4, 3; Οὐέσσονες Ptol. *Geog.* II, 9, 6
424: Rēmus	–	Ῥῆμοι Str. IV, 3, 5; Ptol. *Geog.* II, 9, 6–7; Ῥημοί D. Cass. XXXIX, 1, 2–3; XL, 11, 2
425: Sēquăna	Sēquănicae Mart. IV, 19, 1	Σηκοάνας Str. IV, 1, 14; 3, 2–5; IV, 4, 1; 5, 2, Ptol. *Geog.* II, 8, 2–3. 5. 7–10; 9, 1. 4. 6; Marcian. *Peripl.* II, 24–27. 30; Anon. Geog. Comp. 30; Σηκουανός D. Cass. XL, 38, 4
441: Trēvir	–	Τρήουιροι Str. IV, 3, 4–5; Τρίβηροι Ptol. *Geog.* II, 9, 7; Τρήουηροι D. Cass. XXXIX, 47, 1; XL, 11, 1; XL, 31, 2–3; 32, 1; LI, 20, 5

Eine gewisse Beständigkeit der Quantitäten ist augenfällig: *Vŏsĕgi* findet eine Entsprechung bei Silius, *Lingŏnas* bei Martial und in den griechischen Quellen, *Ătax* bei Tibull und Horaz, *Santŏnus* bei Tibull, Juvenal, Martial und in den griechischen Quellen, *Sēquăna* bei Martial und *Rutēni*, *Nĕmētis*, *Rēmus* in den griechischen Quellen. Außerdem gibt es in den griechischen Quellen Schwankungen betreffend *Lĕmanno*, *Suessōnes* und *Trēvir*. Was das kurze *u* in *Biturix* und *Ruteni* angeht, kann der griechische Diphthong wegen des Qualitätsunterschieds zwischen dem lateinischen *u* und dem griechischen *υ* als ganz normal angesehen werden; mit demselben Unterschied lässt sich der Diphthong im griechischen Ἀτούριος erklären, obwohl wir bei Lucan – der vermutlich auch einer griechischen Quelle folgt – ein kurzes *ÿ* sehen. Denn es finden sich bei den Griechen viele Beispiele unterschiedlicher Transliteration von *u*: so wird das römische Cognomen *Catŭlus* von Plutarch mit dem Diphthong wiedergegeben (*Publ.* XV, 2, *Mor.* 806 D), von Dio Cassius aber mit *υ* (p. 172 Boussevain etc.); andererseits gibt Dio Cassius das Nomen *Lŭtatius* mit dem Diphthong wieder (loc. cit.), während Polybius das υ verwendet (I, 60, 4; I, 62, 7 etc.). Das bei Lucan stehende *Ătўri* ist also völlig in Ordnung, und R. Getty hat unrecht, wenn er es mit *Batăvi* auf eine Stufe stellt.[13]

Somit ergibt sich, dass der Widerspruch zwischen Lucan und anderen lateinischen Dichtern die Quantität des *a* in *Batavi* betreffend unter den anderen Orts- und Volksnamen des gallischen Katalogs eine wirklich merkwürdige Ausnahme darstellt. Ch. W. Whitaker schlägt vor, diese Ausnahme zu ignorieren, und zählt ähnliche Unregelmäßigkeiten bei den römischen Dichtern auf.[14] Es scheint aber, dass die Erklärung in gewissem Sinne umgekehrt sein sollte. Während die von Whitaker angeführten Unregelmäßigkeiten (zumindest in *Sicanus* und *Sicania*) als eine Freiheit bezeichnet werden könnten, die durch lange poetische Tradition "legalisiert" worden war,[15] lässt sich der Fehler in unserem Fall mit der fehlenden Bekanntheit des Volksnamen erklären – selbst im Vergleich mit den anderen im Katalog erwähnten Stämmen. Solche Völker wie die Lingonen, Rutenen und Santonen bewohnten das viel nähere Gallia Celtica, sie werden von Cäsar – und nicht nur von ihm[16] – mehrmals[17] erwähnt; diese Namen klangen für die Römer der Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. schon mehr oder weniger vertraut[18] und waren deshalb den Unregelmäßigkeiten in der Aussprache nicht besonders ausgesetzt. Die Bataver dagegen wohnten fast am äußersten Rand der den Römern bekannten Welt und werden vor Lucan nur einmal von Cäsar erwähnt – und das ausgerechnet in dem Kapitel, das als ein unechter späterer Zusatz gilt.[19]

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[13] Getty 1940, 134.

[14] Whitaker 1956, 320–321. Das gewöhnlich lange *A* im Wort *Apulia* wird im strittigen *Ăpuliae* in Hor. *Carm.* III, 4, 10 gekürzt. Was *Sicania* betrifft, variiert die Quantität in beiden Wurzelsilben: *Sīcănia* in Verg. *Aen.* I, 557 und *Sīcănius* in Verg. *Aen.* III, 692; VIII, 416, aber *Sĭcānus* in Verg. *Ecl.* X, 4; *Aen.* V, 24. 293; VII, 795; VIII, 328; XI, 317; *Sīcănus* in Sil. X, 313; XIV, 258; XVI, 216, aber *Sĭcānus* in Sil. VIII, 356; XIV, 34. 110. 291; XV, 356.

[15] Was das bei Whitaker auch angeführte *Fidenae* (ī in Prop. IV, 1a, 36; Hor. *Epist.* I, 11, 8; Iuv. VI, 57; X, 100; Mart. IV, 64, 15; Sil. XV, 91; aber ĭ in Verg. *Aen.* VI, 773) betrifft, sei bemerkt, dass der hier besonders wichtige und ziemlich sicher nicht geringe Teil der Belege für die Quantität des *i* in diesem Wort – nämlich die archaische Poesie – für uns verloren ist.

[16] Rutenen sind bei Cicero belegt, Lingonen, Biturigen, Suessonen und Treveren bei Livius, Santonen bei Tibull und Mela.

[17] Lingonen und Rutenen je 8-mal, Santonen 4-mal, Biturigen 17-mal, Suessonen 6-mal, Remen 26-mal, Treveren 32-mal.

[18] Vgl. Pinter 1902, 15.

[19] Caes. *Gall.* IV, 10, 2: die Erzählung von den Verhandlungen zwischen Cäsar und den Germanen wird durch einen ungehörigen und an Fehlern reichen geographischen Exkurs unterbrochen; s. z. B. Kraner, Dittenberger 1913, ad loc.

Die Bataver[20] scheinen sich im 1. Jh. v. Chr. vom Stamm der Chatten abgespalten zu haben. Sie besetzten das Territorium, das ihre Nachkommen noch heute bewohnen, nämlich die Rheinmündung. Im Jahre 12 v. Chr. wurden sie von den Römern abhängig.[21] Im Jahre 16 n. Chr. marschierte, wie wir dank des 2. Buches der *Annalen* von Tacitus wissen, das Heer von Germanicus durch ihr Land (Tac. *Ann.* II, 6); es ist jedoch bezeichnend, dass Velleius Paterculus sie unter den germanischen Volksstämmen in II, 105 – wie auch anderswo – nicht erwähnt.[22] Suetonius gibt freilich an, dass schon in der Zeit von Caligula die Bataver zur germanischen Abteilung der kaiserlichen Leibwache gehörten (Suet. *Cal.* 43). Aber vor dem berühmten, von Tacitus im 4. Buch der *Historia* eingehend beschriebenen Aufstand von Iulius Civilis (69–70 n. Chr.), bei dem die Bataver zwei römische Legionen überwältigten und die Römer Gefahr liefen, einen großen Teil von Gallien zu verlieren, scheinen die Bataver nie großes Aufsehen erregt zu haben; sie finden keine Erwähnung in den Quellen und waren den Römern offensichtlich wenig bekannt. Wegen des Aufstands – der erst einige Jahre nach dem Erscheinen der *Pharsalia*-Ausgabe stattfand – wird der Volksname so geläufig, dass Plinius ihr Land als *nobilissima Batavorum insula* (*NH* IV, 101) bezeichnet. Gleichzeitig bekommt der Name seine feste Aussprache mit der Quantität, wie wir sie um 100 n. Chr. bei Martial, Silius und Juvenal finden.

Der wichtigste Beweis gegen die Echtheit von 430–435 ist also beseitigt. Aber die Probleme, die die Wortfügung *qua Cinga pererrat gurgite* enthält, können leider kaum überwunden werden.

Der Cinga fließt wie gesagt nicht durch Gallien,[23] und Lucan (der überdies selbst aus Spanien stammte, wie Reinach an dieser Stelle anmerkt[24]) weiß das: Er nennt diesen Fluss im 4. Buch, wo es um Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Cäsar und den Pompeianern in Spanien geht (IV, 19–23):

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[20] S. a. Ihm 1897, Callies, Neumann 1976, Dietz 1997.

[21] D. Cass. LIV, 32; vgl. Mommsen 1904, 110.

[22] Vgl. Ihm 1897, 118. 61–65.

[23] Es gab selbstverständlich Gelehrte, die den Text zu bewahren versuchten, indem sie die Lückenhaftigkeit unserer Kenntnisse über die gallische Geographie hervorhoben (s. z. B. Pichon 1912, 26; Bourgery 1976, ad loc.; Gagliardi 1989, ad loc.; Viansino 1995, ad loc.), aber es ist kaum wahrscheinlich, dass ein Fluss, der klein genug ist, um in keiner geographischen Abhandlung der Antike zu erscheinen, in einem poetischen Katalog Platz findet; außerdem ist die Weise erkennbar, auf die das Wort *Cinga* in den Text eingedrungen ist – s. unten, S. 97.

[24] Reinach 1897, 145.

Explicat hinc tellus campos effusa patentis
vix oculo prendente modum, camposque coerces,
Cinga rapax, vetitus fluctus et litora cursu
Oceani pepulisse tuo; nam gurgite mixto
qui praestat terris aufert tibi nomen Hiberus.

Streng genommen sind auch die Bataver und die Vangionen keine gallischen, sondern germanische Stämme, was Schrader ebenso verdächtig schien.[25] Aber die von diesen Stämmen bewohnten Gebiete grenzen an die Länder, in denen Cäsars acht Jahre währende Feldzüge stattfanden, und passen ziemlich gut in den Katalog. Die Pyrenäen dagegen gehören zu einem ganz anderen Teil der Erzählung.[26] Bezeichnend dabei ist, dass Cäsar diesen Fluss nur einmal erwähnt (in den *Commentarii de bello civili*) – und zwar genau im selben Zusammenhang wie Lucan (Caes. *Civ.* I, 48, 3).

Richard Bentley schlug die Konjektur *Sulga* vor,[27] die Francken (1896) als letzter der Herausgeber in den Text aufnahm. Die Sulga ist ein Nebenfluss der Rhone, der bei Strabo erwähnt wird (Str. IV, 1, 11; IV, 2, 3) und heute Sorgue heißt.[28] Paläographisch gesehen ist diese Lesart natürlich verlockend, aber die Länge des Flusses (ungefähr 35 km) und seine geringe Bekanntheit[29] erlauben es nicht, von einem "Umherirren" zu sprechen oder den Fluss in einer kurzen Zusammenfassung der gesamten gallischen Geographie einzuschließen.

Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts gab der Italiener Remo Gelsomino eine neue Ausgabe des Werks des spätantiken Geographen Vibius Sequester heraus. Die Ortsnamen, die Vibius in Verzeichnissen zusammengestellt hat, stammen aus den Werken von Vergil, Silius Italicus, Lucan und Ovid – und genau in dieser Reihenfolge sind sie innerhalb jedes Buchstaben aufgeführt. Um Lucans Ortsnamen zu erläutern, benutzte Vibius die heute nicht mehr erhaltenen Scholien.[30] Deshalb macht Gelsomino anhand der Verzeichnisse von Vibius[31] eine Reihe von textkritischen Vorschlägen zum Text der *Pharsalia*; einer dieser Vorschläge berührt unsere Stelle. Nach einigen sizilianischen Gewässern, die im Epos von Silius genannt sind, folgt bei Vibius (49):

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[25] Schraderus 1776, XXVII.

[26] Die gegensätzliche Ansicht vertritt Lejay, der den Fluss aus dem gallischen Katalog mit dem spanischen identifiziert (Lejay 1894, ad loc.).

[27] Weber 1821, ad loc.

[28] Wackernagel 1931, 727.

[29] Neben Strabo wird die Sulga nur von Florus erwähnt (I, 37), bei dem sie sich unter dem Namen *Vindelicus amnis* versteckt.

[30] Gelsomino 1961, 648; Gelsomino 1967, XLVII.

[31] Die, was angemerkt werden muss, keineswegs erschöpfend sind.

Cirta, Massiliensium, secundum Agatham urbem.

Gelsomino vermutet, dass die richtige Lesart in *Phars.* I, 432 tatsächlich *Cirta* ist,[32] und D. Shackleton Bailey nimmt diese Emendation in der neuesten kritischen Ausgabe der *Pharsalia* an. Aber auch dieser scharfsinnigen und paläographisch sehr glaubwürdigen Konjektur kann man mindestens zwei Umstände gegenüberstellen: Erstens ist der Flussname *Cirta* aus anderen Texten nicht bekannt; die Lucan zeitlich näheren Geographen nennen den Fluss, der in den Cevennen seine Quelle hat und die Stadt Agatha umspült, *Arauris* (Mela II, 80; Str. IV, 1, 6; Ptol. *Geog.* II, 10, 2) oder *Araris* (Plin. *Nat.* III, 32); zweitens fehlt der in dem Verzeichnis als nächster folgende Flussname *Casilinum* in Lucans Epos gänzlich.[33]

Man muss zugeben, dass keine der vorgeschlagenen Konjekturen wirklich gesichert oder glaubenswürdig ist. Besser verhält sich die Sache mit der Erklärung, wie *Cinga* in den Text gelangen konnte; Robert Samse hat das in seiner textkritischen Erörterung des Katalogs recht überzeugend gezeigt. Das Wort soll nämlich am Rande einer der Handschriften aufgetaucht sein, in der der Scholiast die Einmündung der Saône in die Rhone (433–434) mit der Einmündung des Cinga in den Ebro im 4. Buch (s. o.) zu vergleichen vorschlug.[34]

Aber die dann folgende Lösung von Samse,[35] obwohl ziemlich elegant, kann kaum als ebenso überzeugend gelten: anstatt des *Cinga* sei *rura* zu vermuten, und dieses *rura* habe den Abschreiber wegen des im Singular stehenden Verbs verwirrt; im nächsten Vers soll *quem* statt *qua* gestanden haben – das hieße, das Subjekt zu *pererrat* wäre *Arar*, und *rura* das gewünschte Objekt zu *pererrat*. Aber die sich daraus ergebende syntaktische Konstruktion scheint selbst für Lucan allzu schwerfällig, davon abgesehen, dass es überhaupt keinen Grund gibt, die Lesart *rura* anzunehmen,[36] umso weniger als dass Lucan dieses Wort ohnehin zweimal im Katalog verwendet (394 und 419).

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32 Gelsomino 1961, 654–655.

33 Gelsomino vermutet, dass Vibius diesen Namen aus den Scholien zu II, 392 genommen hat (Gelsomino 1961, 654).

34 Samse 1939, 173.

35 *Ibid.*, 174–175.

36 Das ist nicht das einzige Beispiel dafür, wie Robert Samse (der übrigens sehr viel für Lucans Textologie geleistet hat), eine paläographisch nicht gerechtfertigte und dem Sinn nach keineswegs obligatorische Rekonstruktion des Textes vorschlägt: ebenso wird das zweifelhafte *silvas* in II, 409 von Samse durch *ripas* ersetzt, ohne dass irgendwelche zwingenden Argumente zugunsten des letzteren angeführt werden (Samse 1940, 300).

Was das Verb *pererrare* betrifft, ist dieses zwar in der lateinischen Literatur durchaus nicht ungewöhnlich: man findet es sowohl in der Poesie (z. B. 6-mal bei Vergil, 14-mal bei Ovid) als auch in der Prosa (z. B. 12-mal bei Seneca, 4-mal bei Tacitus); aber intransitiv wird es (wenn man von den spätlateinischen Autoren absieht) nur einmal gebraucht, nämlich von Plinius dem Älteren. Es bezieht sich hier auf die Ochsen:[37]

> Conceptio uno initu peragitur, quae si forte pererravit, XX post diem marem femina repetit.

Es fällt auf, dass das intransitive *pererrare* bei Plinius mit unserer Stelle, in der *pererrat* ungefähr "umherirrt" oder "sich windet" bedeutet,[38] nichts zu tun hat. G. Viansino versucht in seiner Ausgabe der *Pharsalia pererrat* zu retten, indem er das Heranziehen von zwei anderen Verben bei Lucan zum Vergleich vorschlägt, nämlich *perflare* im 5. Buch und *pervolare* im 8. Buch:[39]

> Hic utinam summi curvet carchesia mali
> incumbatque furens et Graia ad moenia perflet (V, 418–419).
>
> Sic fatus plenusque sinus ardente favilla
> pervolat ad truncum, qui fluctu paene relatus
> litore pendebat (VIII, 752–754).

Was mit einem solchen Vergleich bezweckt wird, bleibt unklar. In den beiden angeführten Fällen ist das Präfix *per-* treffend angebracht; es entspricht ungefähr dem deutschen "hinüber", und sowohl der Ausgangspunkt als auch das Ziel sind entweder deutlich ausgewiesen oder zumindest vorausgesetzt. Der Sinn des Präfixes ist also viel verständlicher als in unserer Stelle. Auch im Gebrauch des *pervolare* gibt es nichts Ungewöhnliches;[40] was *perflare* angeht, ist dabei lediglich ein bisschen ungewöhnlich, dass es transitiv verwendet wird[41] – die Besonderheit steht zum *pererrare* also gerade im Gegensatz.

Whitaker schlug vor, das *Cinga pererrat* durch *Liger oberrat* zu ersetzen, da der Text folgenderweise beschädigt worden sein soll: *r* und *p* werden in den Handschriften des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts oft

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[37] Plin. *NH* VIII, 177; vgl. *ThLL* X, 1, 1343, 50–72.

[38] S. *OLD* s. v. *pererro* 1b; in der englischen Übersetzung von Duff ist es als *stray* wiedergegeben, in der französischen von Bourgery als *laisse errer ses eaux*.

[39] Viansino 1995, ad loc.

[40] Vgl. *ThLL* X.1.1885.50–1886.15, *OLD* s. v. *pervolo*[1] 3.

[41] Vgl. *ThLL* X.1.1394.70–75, *OLD* s. v. *perflo*.

verwechselt, und die Verwechslung zwischen *b* und *p* ist überhaupt üblich. Als Zwischenergebnis soll die Wortfügung *lige pererrat* gedient haben, und ein gelehrter Abschreiber ersetzte das unverständliche *lige* durch den geographisch am ehesten passenden Namen von den drei Flüssen, die bei Lucan erwähnt sind und zugleich die metrische Struktur longa–brevis haben;[42] die richtige Lesart *Liger* soll an den Rand verdrängt worden sein und die Anregung für die weitere Interpolation (436–440) gegeben haben.[43] Auch diese Vermutung scheint sinnreich, aber sie ist vom paläographischen Standpunkt aus ein bisschen problematisch und, was noch gewichtiger ist, sie steht im Widerspruch zur bei Tibull belegten Kürze des *i* in *Liger* (Tib. I, 7, 12). Dabei ist bemerkenswert, wie häufig das Fehlen der Loire im Katalog Erstaunen hervorruft: Abgesehen vom mittelalterlichen Interpolator und von Whitaker wurde es auch von Samse nicht hingenommen, der im Vers 442 die humanistische Konjektur *Liger* (statt des handschriftlichen *Ligur*) verteidigte.[44]

Wahrscheinlich wurden im Text der Flussname und das Präfix beschädigt; wir können davon ausgehen, dass zwischen *qua* und *errat* ein dreisilbiger Flussname stand. Teilweise spricht dafür eine mögliche Anspielung auf Lucan, die Roche bei Silius findet (IX, 227–229):

> At parte in dextra, sinuat qua flexibus undam
> Aufidus et curvo circum errat gurgite ripas,
> Mago regit.

Übrigens hat bei Silius *gurgite* ein Attribut; das Fehlen eines solchen bei Lucan befremdete Samse.[45] Die Konstruktion scheint syntaktisch gestört zu sein, aber Viansino weist auf eine ähnliche Verwendung des Wortes in VI, 276 hin:[46]

> Tum flumine toto
> transit et ignotos operit sibi gurgite campos.

Zusammenfassend können wir die Verse 436–440 noch einmal als zweifellos unechte bezeichnen; die Echtheit der vorangehenden Verse steht dagegen außer Zweifel. Die Quantität im Wort *Batavi* war Lucan nicht bekannt; er hat das Wort wahrscheinlich nie gehört und schrieb es einfach

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[42] Neben Cinga sind das der ligurische Macra und der umbrische Sena; sie sind im Katalog der apenninischen Flüsse erwähnt (II, 426 resp. II, 407).
[43] Whitaker 1956, 323–324.
[44] Samse 1939, 176–177.
[45] *Ibid*., 173.
[46] Viansino 1995, ad loc.

von seiner Quelle ab. Das Ende des Verses 432 und vielleicht auch der Anfang des Verses 433 sind stark beschädigt; eine sichere Restitution des Originaltextes scheint kaum möglich zu sein. Somit gibt es keinen Grund, diese Verse für eine Interpolation zu halten: im Gegensatz zu 436–440, deren Verfasser unter Einsatz aller Kräfte einen bestimmten Teil Galliens zu preisen suchte, ist die geographische Streuung in 430–435 ziemlich breit, ebenso wie in den vorangehenden und in den folgenden Teilen des Katalogs.

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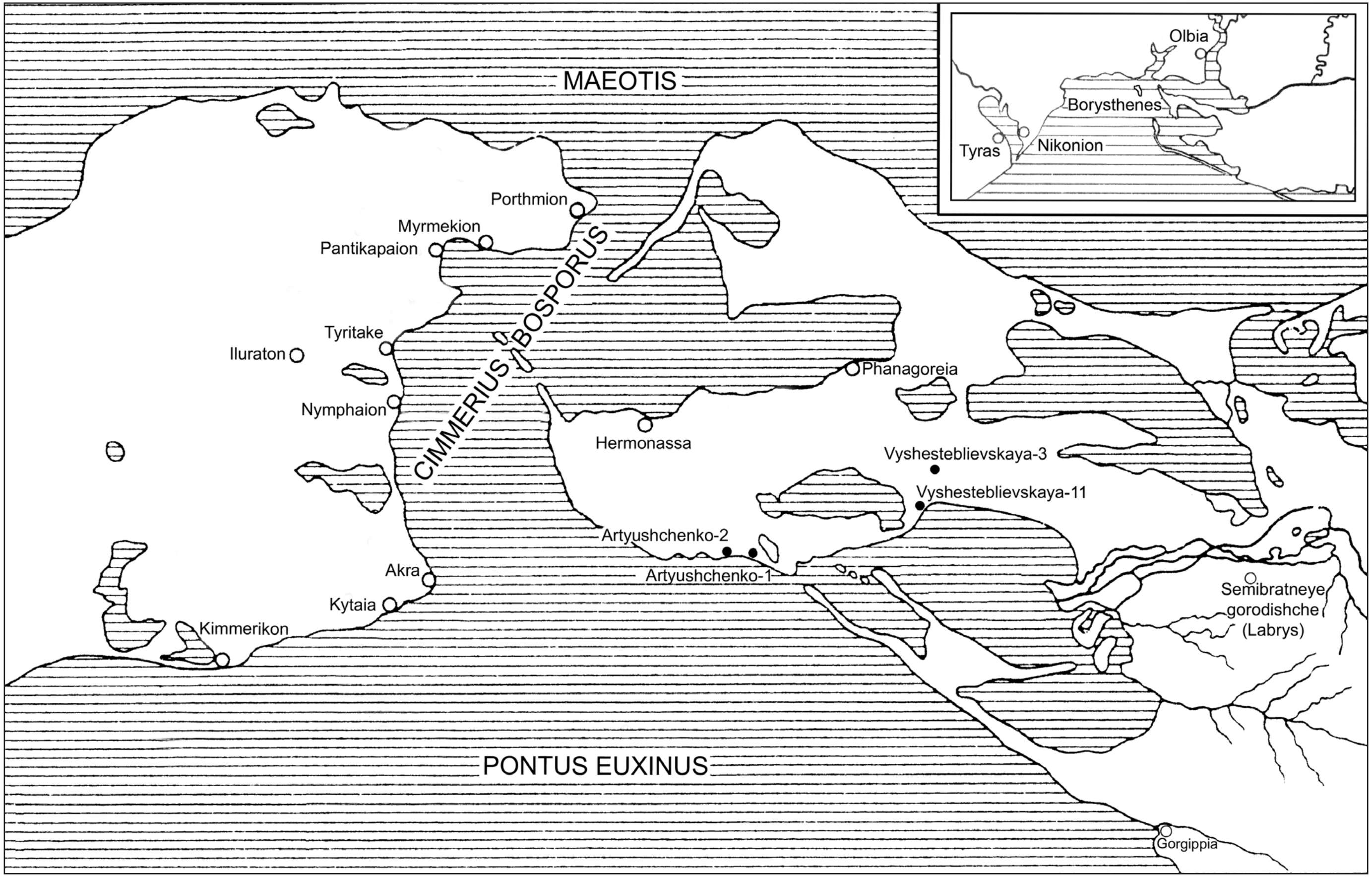
One of the most serious textological issues connected with Lucan's catalogue of Gallic tribes is the authenticity of vv. 430–440. There is no doubt that vv. 436–440 were interpolated in the Middle Ages; as for vv. 430–435, the question seems to be more intricate. There are three points making them suspicious: (1) the brevity of the second *-a-* in *Batavi*; (2) the presence of Cinga river, that actually flows not in Gallia, but in the region of the Pyrenees, as Lucan well knows (cf. IV, 21); (3) the lack of direct object depending on *pererrat*. *Batavi* with *-ā-* is attested by Martial, Juvenal and Silius Italicus, whereas *-ă-*, except for Lucan, does not appear until the 6th century AD (Venantius Fortunatus). Comparison with other Gallic toponyms and ethnonyms, which occur in Lucan's catalogue as well as by other Latin poets of the Golden and the Silver Age, demonstrates constancy of quantities. The contradiction in this case can be explained by Lucan's unfamiliarity with the name *Batavi*. Such tribes as Lingones, Ruteni and Santoni, which inhabitated Gallia Celtica and were mentioned not only by Caesar, were more or less familiar to Lucan's contemporaries and therefore less exposed to pronunciation inconsistencies. In contrast to them, Batavi, living nearly on the borders of the Roman world, are attested before Lucan only once (in a dubious passage of Caesar) and were not much talked about before the revolt of 69–70 AD. After that, since the ethnonym was frequently used, the pronunciation with *-ā-* was established, as can be clearly seen in the poetry of the end of the 1st century AD. Thus the essential argument against the authenticity of vv. 430–435 seems to lose its value. On the other hand, one cannot deny that the words *qua Cinga pererrat gurgite* remain a problem. No convincing conjectures have been proposed, but it is most probable that the passage underwent a large-scale text corruption, rather than an interpolation: unlike vv. 436–440, which are obviously inserted in order to fill in the lacking areas of the Loire region, these verses do not give any reasons for interpolation.

Одну из главных текстологических проблем в каталоге галльских племен у Лукана представляют собой ст. 430–440. Тот факт, что ст. 436–440 были интерполированы в Средние века, считается бесспорным; сложнее обстоит дело со ст. 430–435. Против их аутентичности говорят три обстоятельства: (1) краткость второго *-a-* в слове *Batavi*; (2) упоминание реки Cinga, которая течет не в Галлии, а в Пиренеях, о чем Лукану известно (ср. IV, 21);

(3) отсутствие прямого дополнения при *pererrat*. Форма *Batāvi* есть у Марциала, Ювенала и Силия Италика; *Batăvi*, как у Лукана, – только у Венанция Фортуната в VI в. Сопоставляя с этим другие галльские топонимы и этнонимы, встречающиеся и в каталоге Лукана, и у других поэтов золотого и серебряного века, мы обнаруживаем постоянство долгот. Противоречие можно объяснить "экзотичностью" этого этнонима. Названия таких племен, как лингоны, рутены и сантоны, живших в Gallia Celtica и упоминаемых не только Цезарем, были для римлян времен Лукана более или менее привычны и, следовательно, с меньшей вероятностью могли претерпевать колебания в произношении. Батавы, напротив, жили на самом краю освоенных римлянами территорий, до Лукана лишь однажды упоминались у Цезаря и оставались, вероятно, малоизвестными для римлян до восстания 69–70 гг. В связи с восстанием этноним оказывается "на слуху", и в нем прочно устанавливается долгое *-a-*, как видно из поэзии конца I в. Таким образом, ключевой аргумент против подлинности ст. 430–435, как представляется, теряет свою весомость. В то же время нельзя не признавать наличие вышеупомянутых проблем в словах *qua Cinga pererrat gurgite*. Среди существующих конъектур по-настоящему убедительной нет, однако более вероятной кажется именно крупномасштабная порча текста, а не интерполяция: в отличие от ст. 436–440, явно призванных восполнить отсутствие в каталоге территорий, прилегающих к Луаре, здесь заметного повода для интерполяции нет.

ARCHAEOLOGICA


MAEOTIS
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Tyritake
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Akra
Kytaia
Kimmerikon
Hermonassa
Phanagoreia
Vyshesteblievskaya-3
Vyshesteblievskaya-11
Artyushchenko-2
Artyushchenko-1
Semibratneye
gorodishche
(Labrys)
Gorgippia
Olbia
Borysthenes
Tyras
Nikonion

Abbreviations

KSIIMK = КСИИМК	–	*Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры* [*Kratkije soobshchenija Instituta istorii material'noj kultury*]
MIA = МИА	–	*Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР* [*Materialy i issledovanija po archeologii SSSR*]
OAK = ОАК	–	*Отчет императорской Археологической комиссии* [*Otch'ot imperatorskoj Arkheologicheskoj komissii*]
SA = СА	–	*Советская археология* [*Sov'etskaja arkheologija*]
VDI = ВДИ	–	*Вестник древней истории* [*V'estnik drevnej istoriji*]

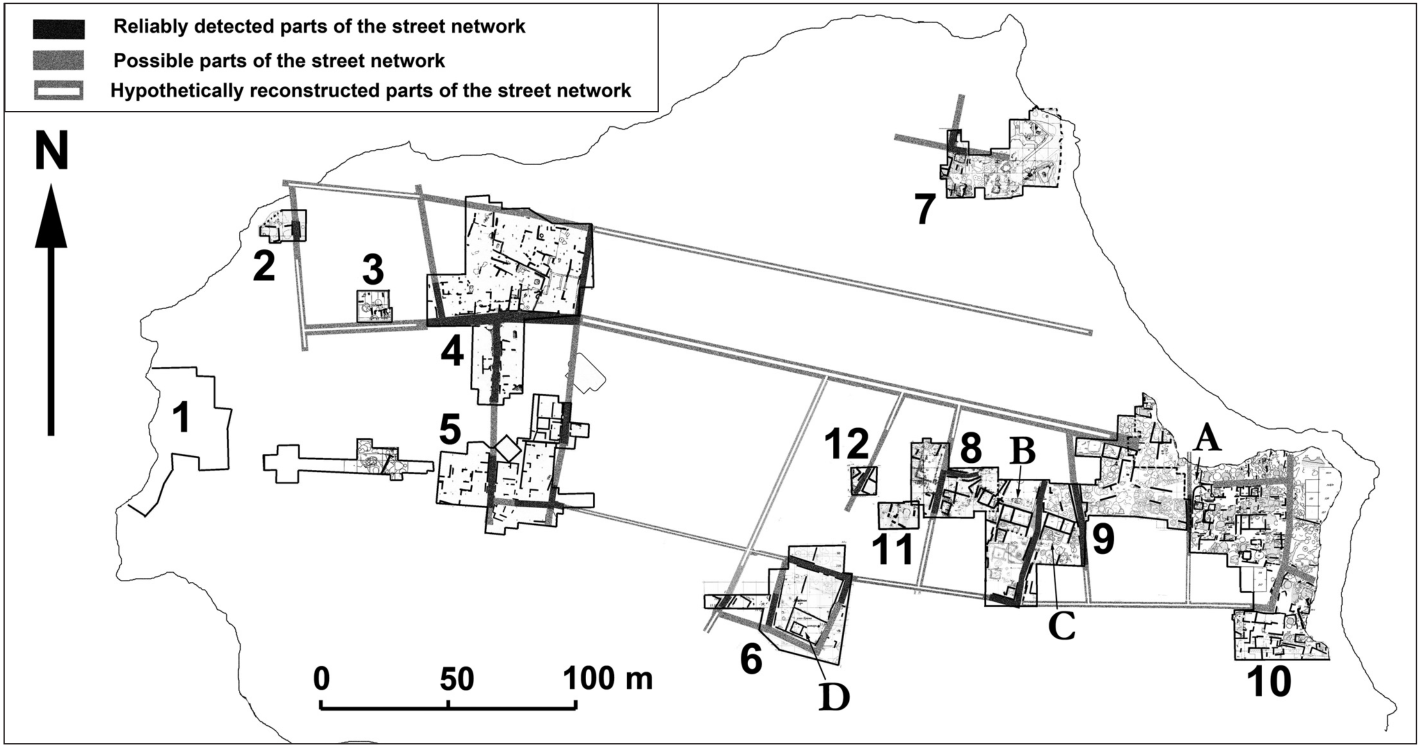


Fig. 1. Possible reconstruction of the street network of the Berezan settlement. Numbers of the excavation sectors on the plan: *1* – Necropolis, *2* – sector “S-1” (Northern-1), *3* – sector “S-2” (Northern-2), *4* – sector “North-Western A”, *5* – sector “North-Western B”, *6* – sector “T”, *7* – sector “G”, *8* – sector R-1v (Eastern), *9* – sector “O”-Western (1991–2012), *10* – sector “O”-Eastern (1960–1980), *11* – sector “GSh”. Structures mentioned in the text of the article are tagged by the following letters: A – “apsidal house”; B, C – late archaic civil buildings (probable *hestiatoria*); D – temenos with the temple in antis (“sanctuary of Aphrodite”).

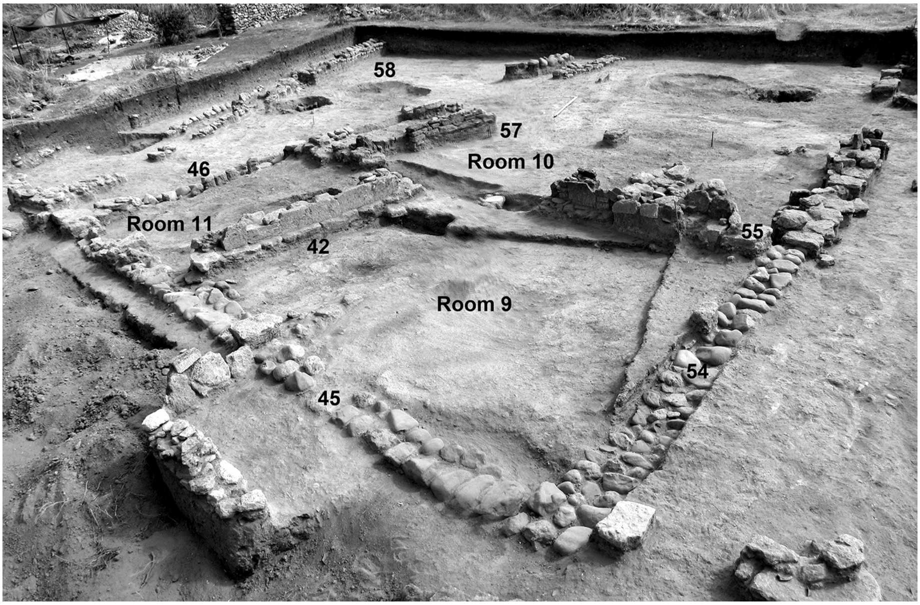


Fig. 2. Berezan. Late archaic civil building no. 1 (view from the North-West).

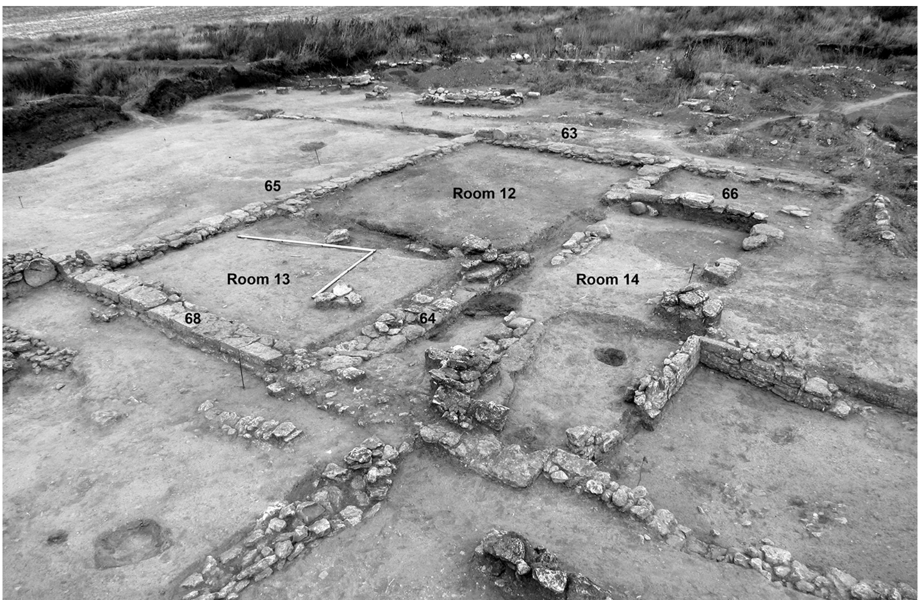


Fig. 3. Berezan. Late archaic civil building no. 2 (view from the South-West).

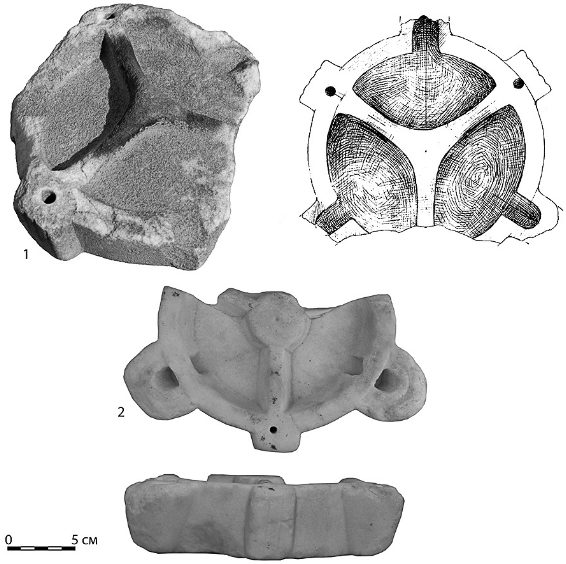


Fig. 4. Berezan. Marble lamps, found on the territory of the yard in front of Structure 2: *1–2* – БЭ 2013.49/442.

Fig. 5. Berezan. Cellar of the house, dated to the Classical period (room 21). View from the East.

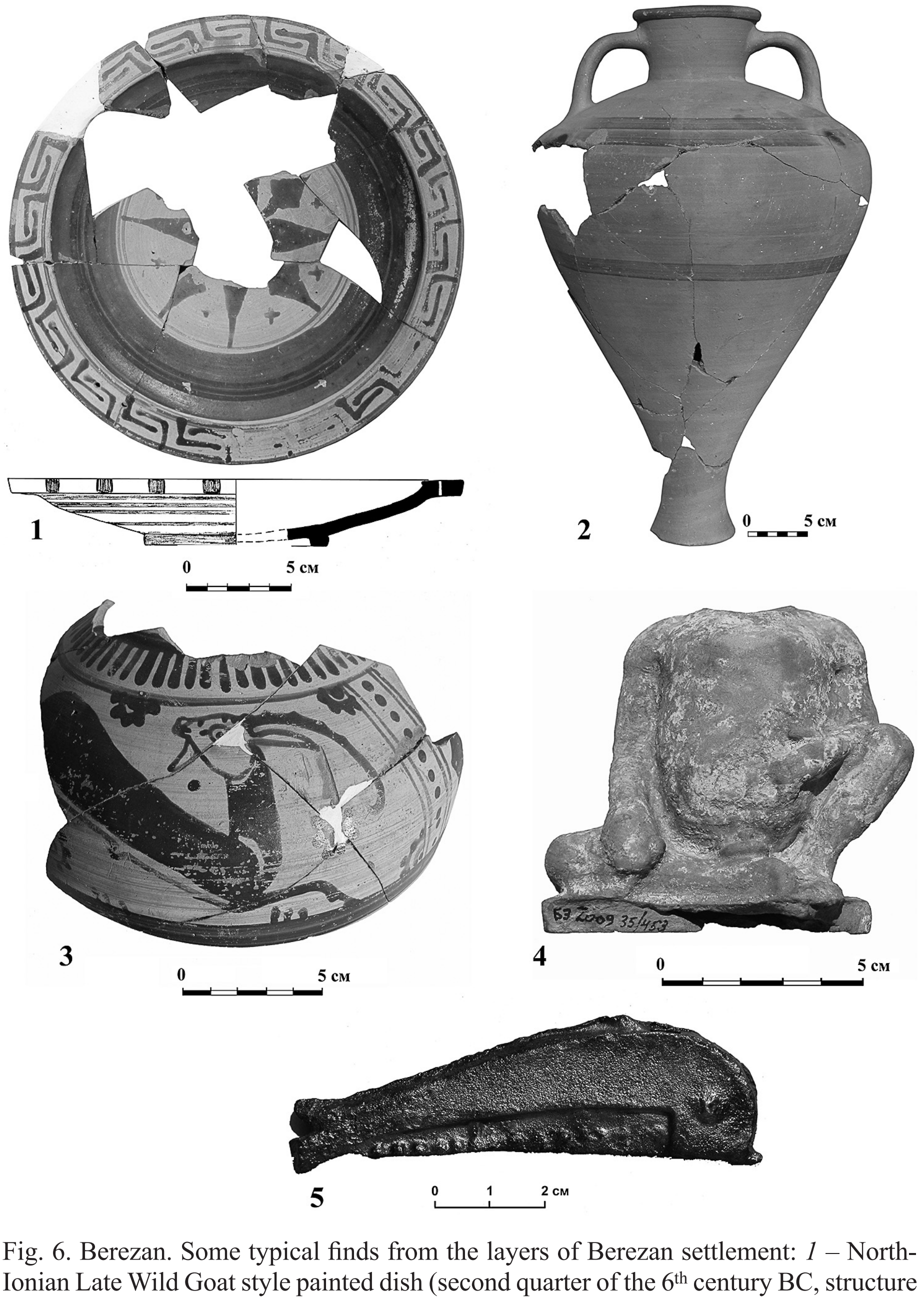


Fig. 6. Berezan. Some typical finds from the layers of Berezan settlement: *1* – North-Ionian Late Wild Goat style painted dish (second quarter of the 6th century BC, structure 18). *2* – Storage amphora, second quarter of the 6th century BC. Klazomenai or “Klazomenian circle”. Dugout 63). *3* – Late Wild Goat style painted amphora fragment, 2nd quarter of the 6th century BC (filling of the storage pit no.147). *4* – Terracotta figurine of the so-called “temple-boy” type (early 5th century BC, classical dugout no. 46). *5* – Big dolphin-shaped coin, found in the layers of the early 5th century BC.

Fig. 7. Berezan. Dugout 18. View from the West.

Fig. 1. Necropolis of Kytaion. Excavation XL. Tomb no. 344.
View from the North.

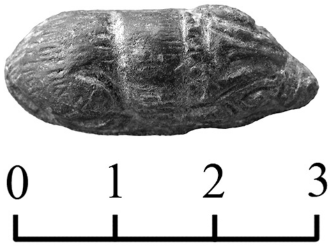


Fig. 2. Necropolis of Kytaion.
Excavation XL. Tomb no. 344.
Bronze figurine of a dog.

Fig. 3. Necropolis of Kytaion.
Excavation XL. Tomb no. 344.
Figured fibula with an enamel
coating representing a lion.

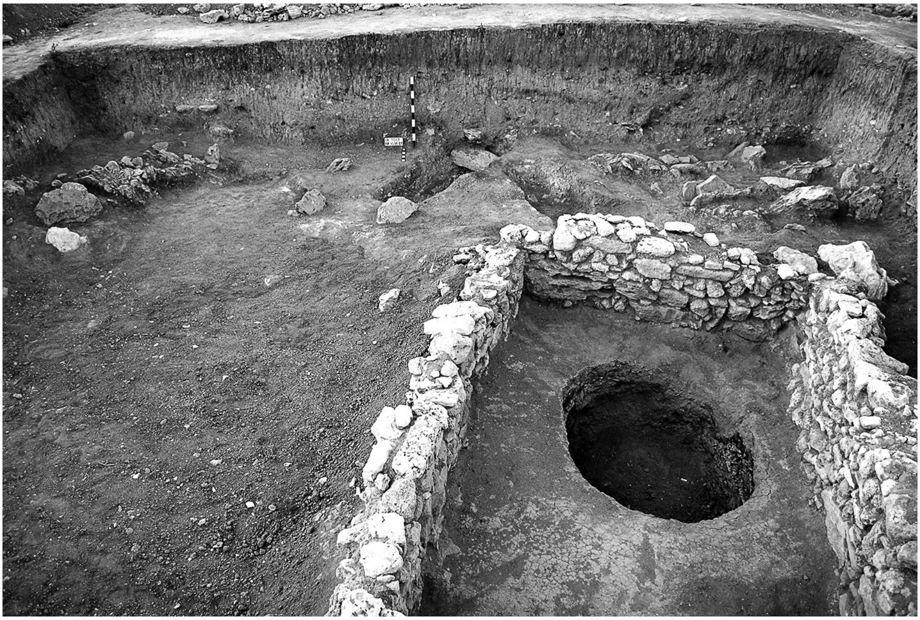


Fig. 4. Necropolis of Kytaion. Excavation XLVI.
Ritual complex no. 380 and flat graves nos. 382 and 384. View from the South.

Fig. 5. Necropolis of Kytaion. Excavation XLVI. Flat grave no. 384.
View from the West.

Fig. 6. Necropolis of Kytaion. Excavation XLVI. Flat grave no. 384.
Amphora-like handmade vessel.

Fig. 7. Necropolis of Kytaion. Excavation XLVI. Graffito "…OMAP…" on the wall of a black-glossed vessel.

Fig. 8. Necropolis of Kytaion. Excavation XLVI. Graffito "ΚΑΘΑ" on the rim of a red-glossed vessel.

Fig. 9. Iluraton Plateau. Tomb no. 213.
View from the South.

Fig. 10. Iluraton Plateau. Tomb no. 213.
Openwork signet-ring with garnets.

Fig. 11. Iluraton Plateau. Tomb no. 220.
View from the North-North-West.

Fig. 12. Iluraton Plateau. Tomb no. 220.
Cornelian insert from a signet-ring with
a representation of a capricorn.

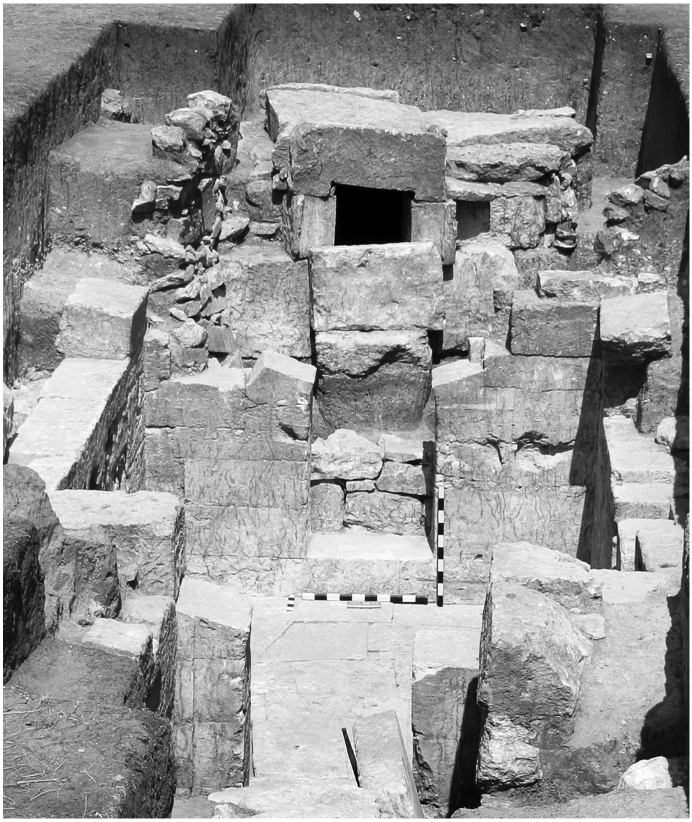


Fig. 13. Iluraton Plateau. Tombs nos. 225–227.
View from the South.

Fig. 14. Iluraton Plateau. Tomb no. 225. Terracotta protome of a goddess.

Fig. 15. Iluraton Plateau. Tomb no. 226. Gypsum appliqué in the form of a theatre mask.

Fig. 16. Iluraton Plateau. Tomb no. 227. Gypsum appliqué in the form of the head of a feline predator (panther).

Fig. 1. Nymphaion. Section “M”, view from the East. 2012.
Photo by S. V. Pokrovskiy.

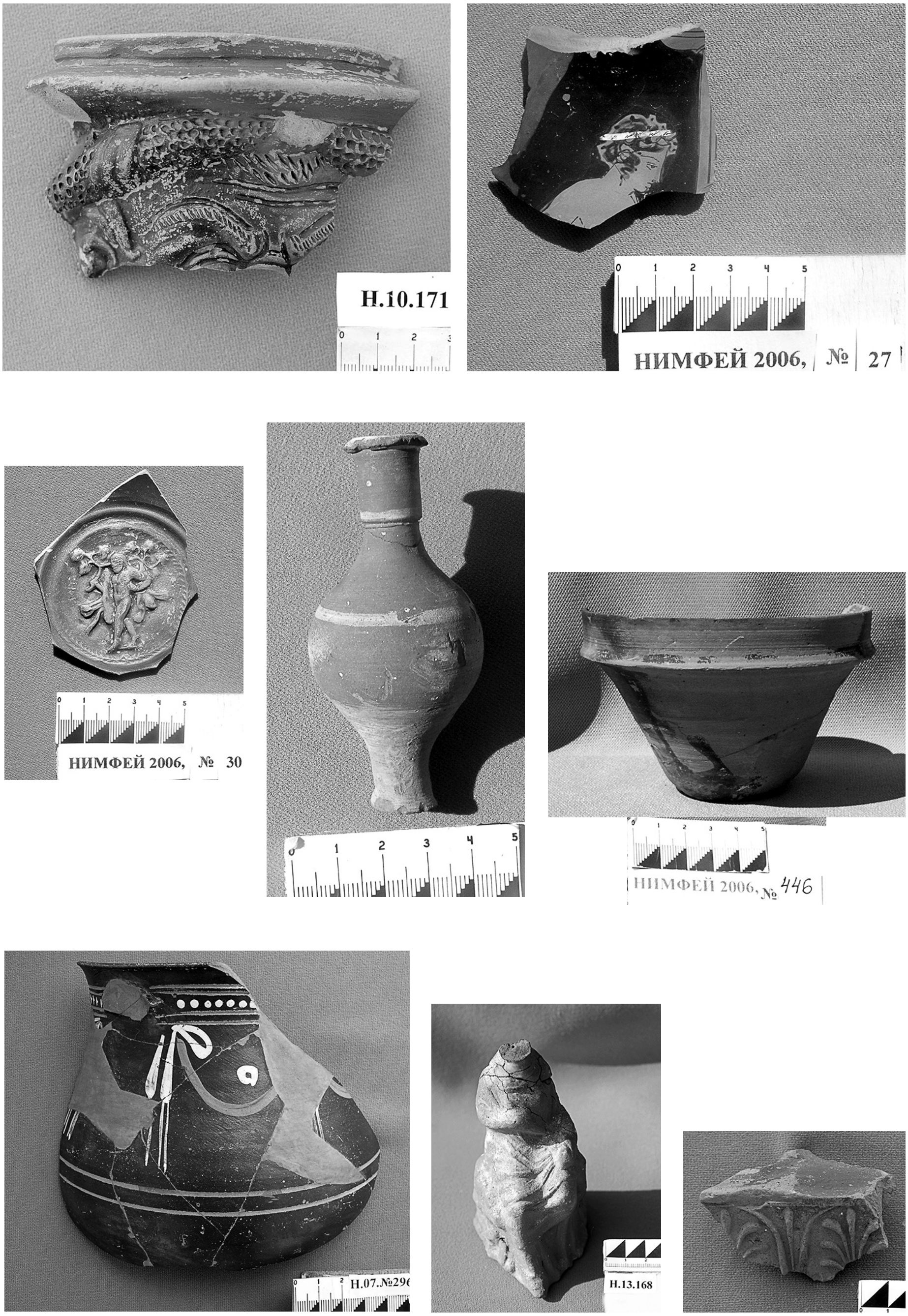


Fig. 2. Nymphaion. Finds from excavations of 2006–2013.
Photo by S. V. Pokrovskiy.

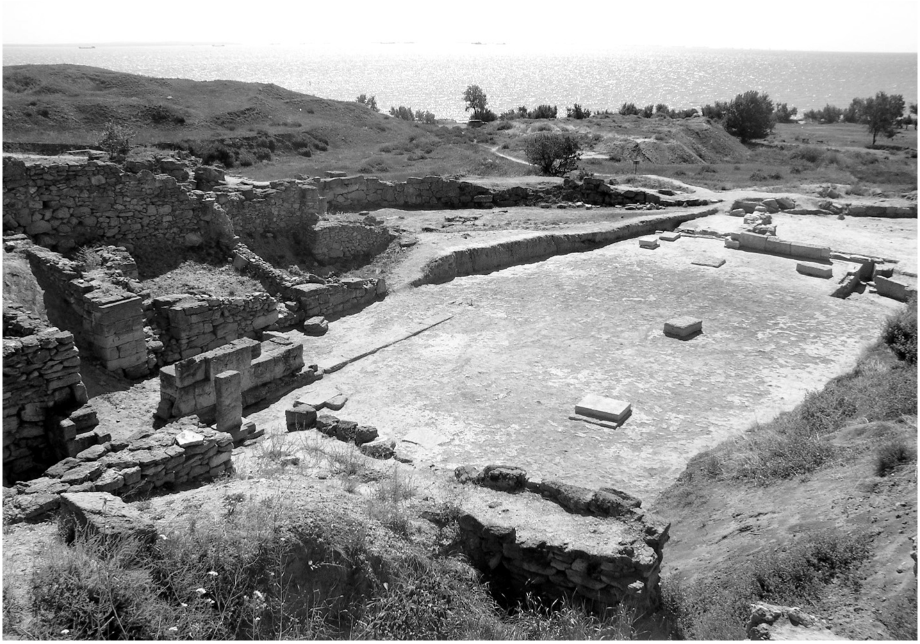


Fig. 3. Nymphaion. Section “M”, western excavation. 2013.
Photo by S. V. Pokrovskiy.

Fig. 4. Nymphaion. Section “M”, amphitheatre benches. 2009.
Photo by S. V. Pokrovskiy.

Fig. 5. Nymphaion. Section “M”. 2011. Photo by S. V. Pokrovskiy.

Fig. 6. Nymphaion. Section “M”,
pit no. 25, architectural detail. 2007.
Photo by S. V. Pokrovskiy.

Fig. 7. Nymphaion, necropolis.
Keystone with a bull head. 2012.
Photo by S. V. Pokrovskiy.

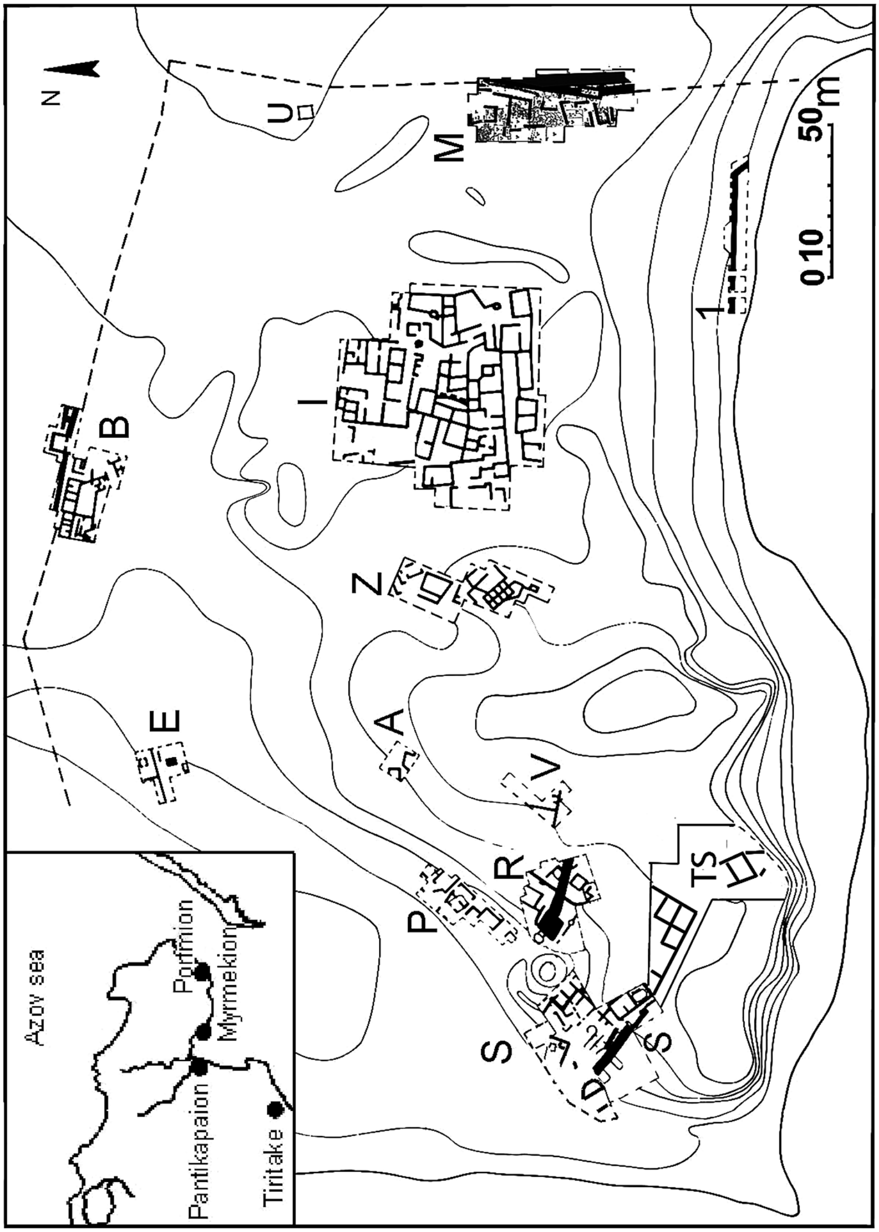


Fig. 1. Myrmekion. Schematic sections.

Fig. 2. Myrmekion. Coin of the empress Julia Domna, 198 AD. Section “S”.

Fig. 3. Myrmekion. Fragmentary black-glossed Attic cup with graffito. Section “I”.

Fig. 4. Myrmekion. Fragmentary black-glossed Attic cup with graffito. Section “I”.

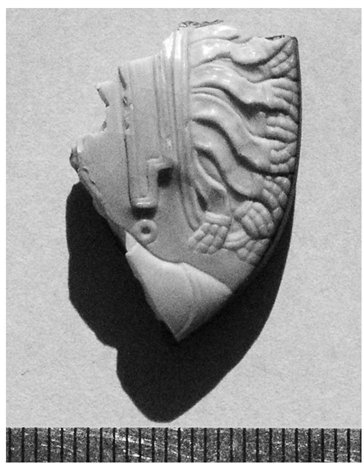


Fig. 5. Myrmekion. Fragmentary cameo. Roman emperor (?). Section “TS”.

Fig. 1. Porthmion. The remains of the trace of the southern Archaic defensive wall (view from the West).

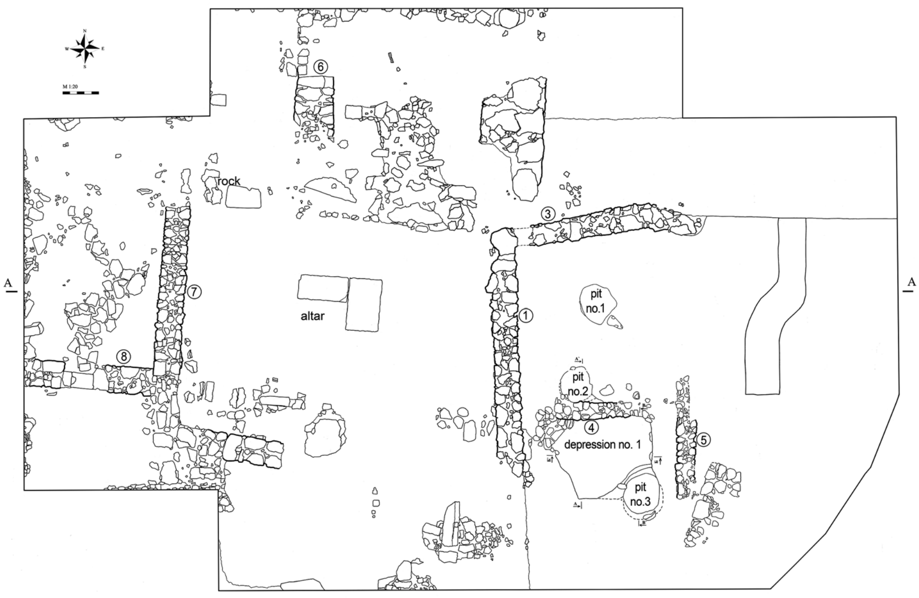


Fig. 2. Porthmion, excavation area B/2, composite plan.

Fig. 3. Porthmion. The remains of above-ground complex of the second part of the 4th century BC.

Fig. 4. Porthmion. Pit no.1.


Fig. 5. Porthmion. The remains of the altar in the north-eastern sector of the site.


Fig. 6. Porthmion. Depression (dugout structure?).

Fig. 7. Porthmion. The upper part of Heraclean amphora with a stamp.

Fig. 8. Porthmion. The remains of the Hellenic house.

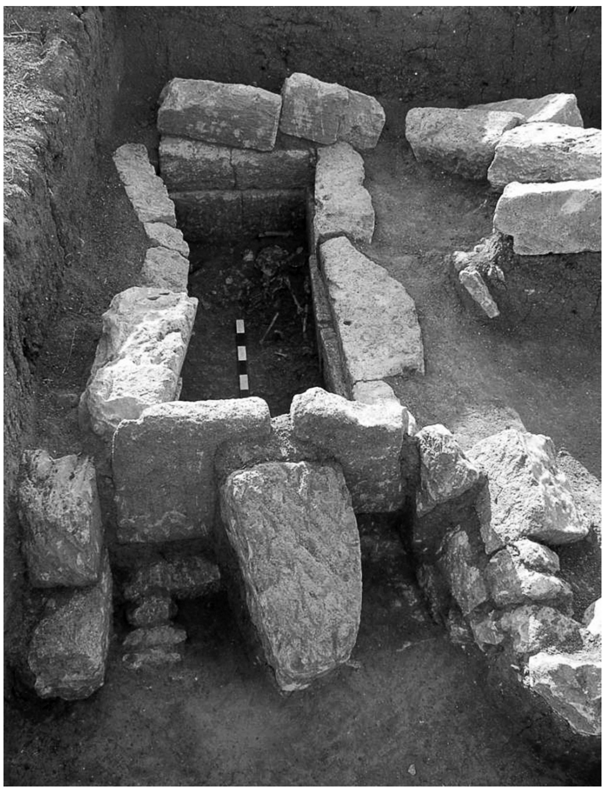


Fig. 9. Porthmion. Necropolis, crypt no. 4.

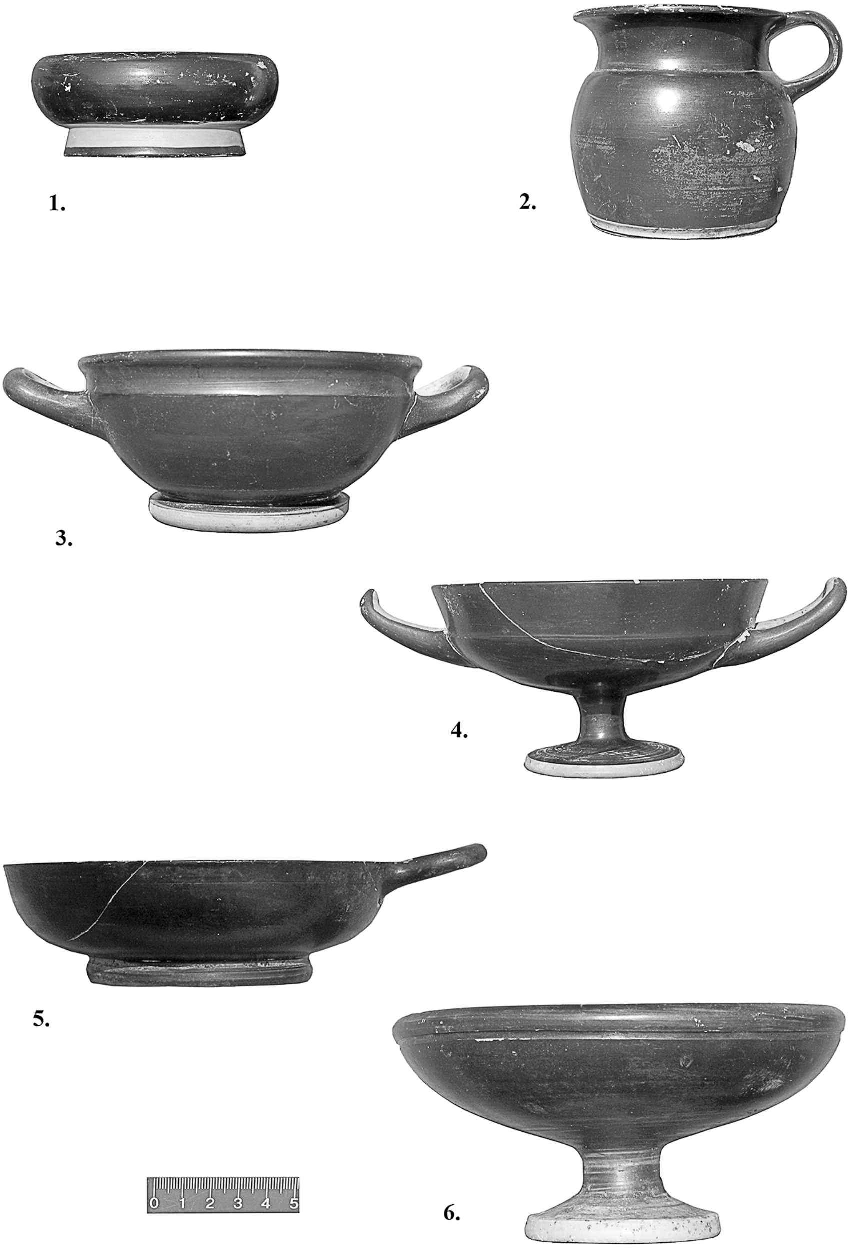
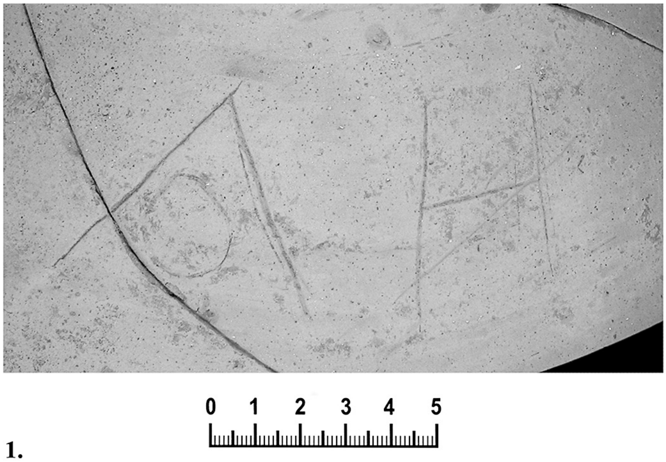


Fig. 1. Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2. Black-glossed ware.
1 – Burial 32; *2* – Burial 38; *3* – Burial 40; *4* – Burial 55;
5 – Burial 83; *6* – Burial 43.

Fig. 2. Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2. Painted pottery.
1 – Burial 47; *2* – Burial 6; *3* – Burial 6; *4* – Burial 70;
5 – Burial 93; *6* – Burial 83; *7* – Burial 39.



1.

2.

Fig. 3. Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2.
1, *2* – amphora with a graffito from Burial 120.

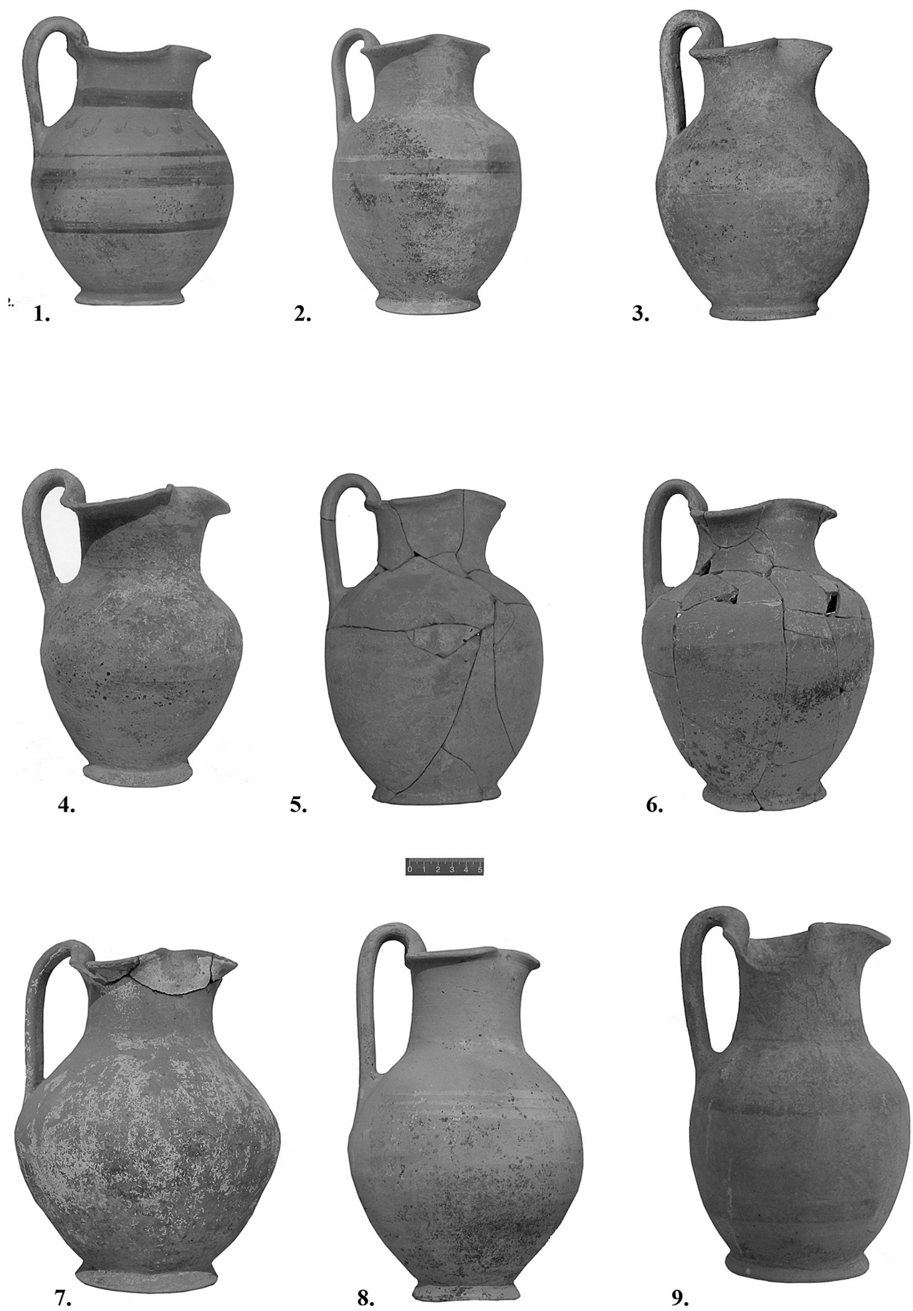


Fig. 4. Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2. Oinochoes.
1 – Burial Г10; *2* – Burial 67; *3* – Burial 52; *4* – Burial 78; *5* – Burial 103;
6 – Burial 81; *7* – Burial 82; *8* – Burial 86; *9* – Burial 112.

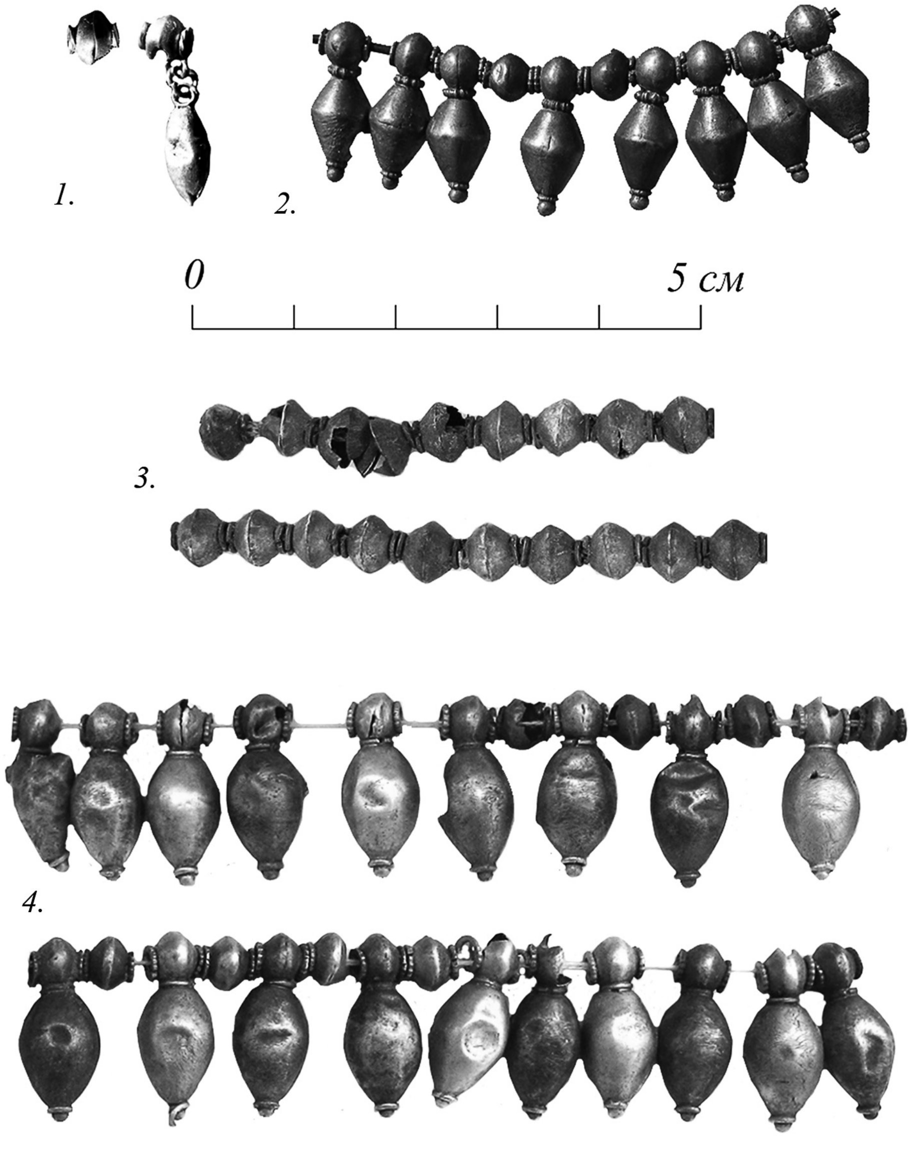


Fig. 5. Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2. Gold ornaments.
1 – Burial 20; *2* – Burial 69; *3* – Burial 66; *4* – Burial 47.

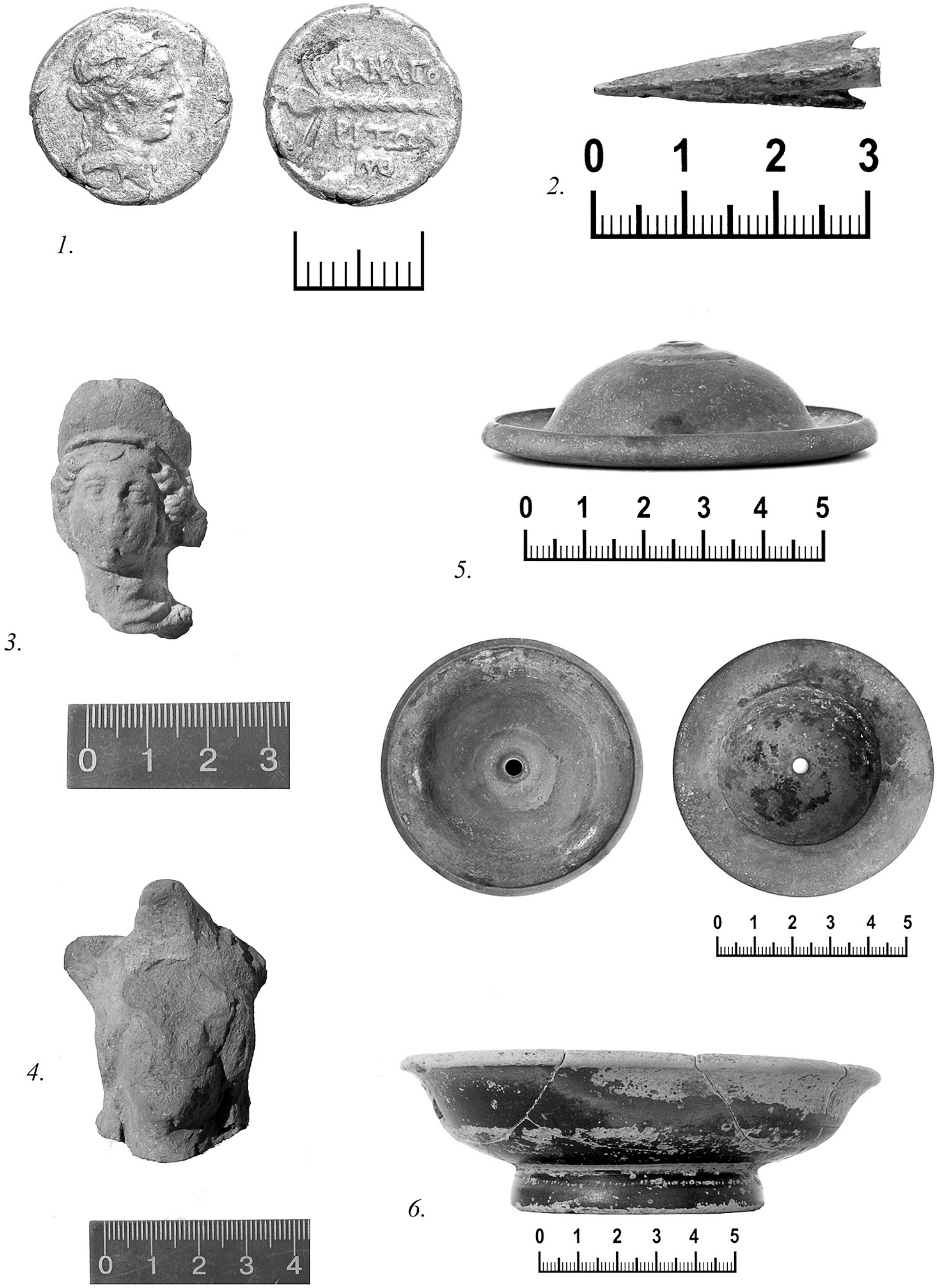


Fig. 6. Settlement of Artyushchenko-2. Excavation-5, finds.
1 – silver coin; *2* – bronze arrowhead; *3* – head of a terracotta figurine;
4 – head of a terracotta figurine, *5* – bronze cymbal; *6* – small black-glossed plate.

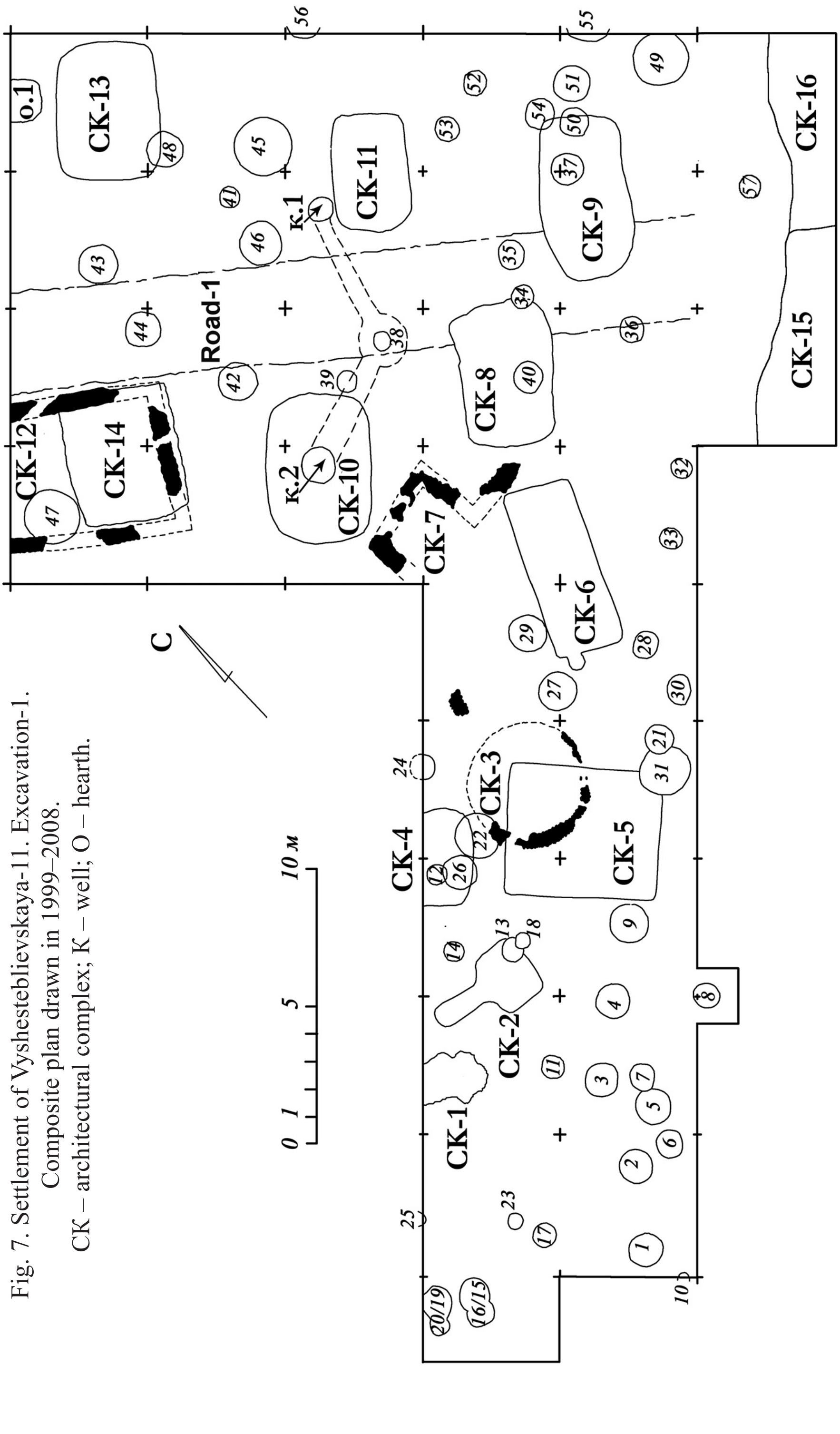


Fig. 7. Settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-11. Excavation-1.
Composite plan drawn in 1999–2008.
СК – architectural complex; К – well; О – hearth.

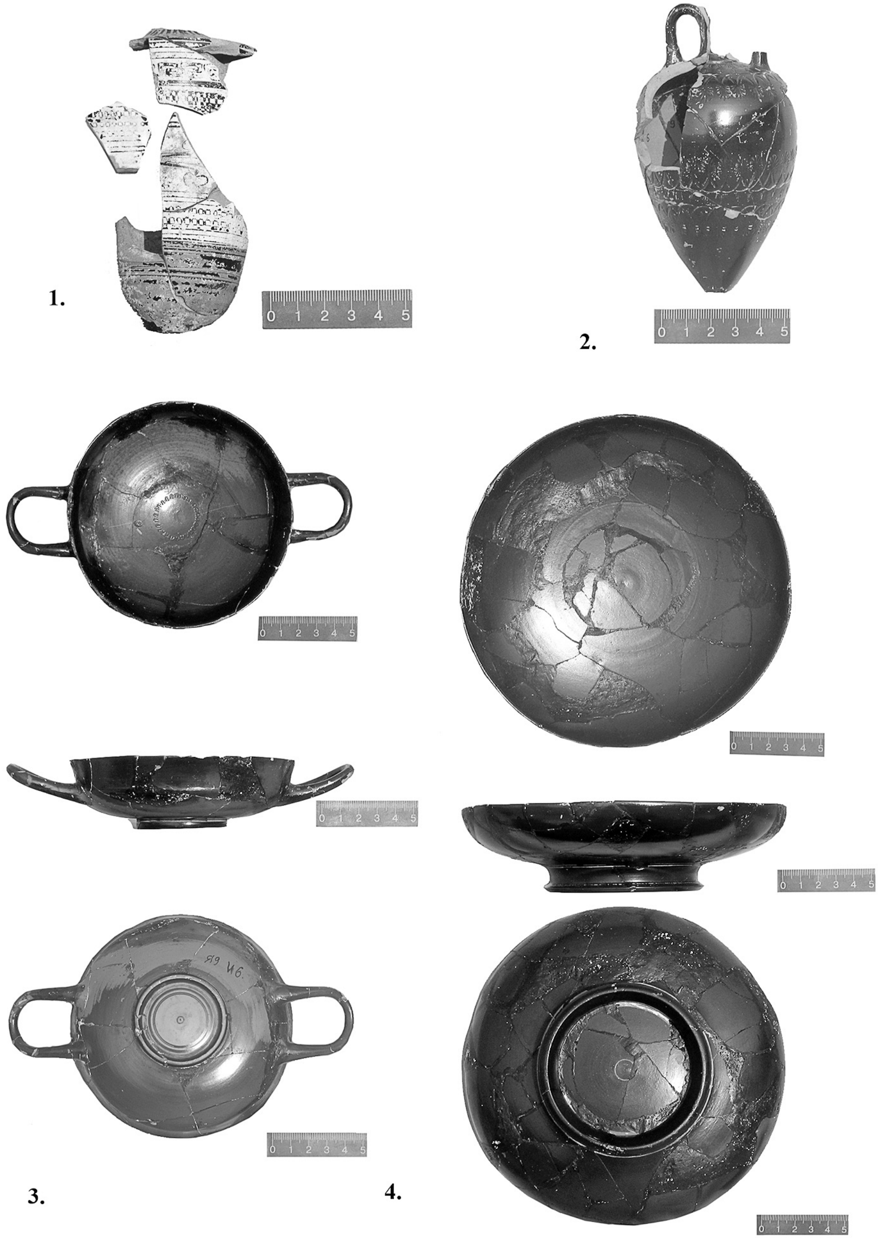


Fig. 8. Settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-11. Excavation-1, finds.
1 – fragments of a cylindrical white-ground lekythos; *2* – black-glossed amphoriskos; *3* – black-glossed kylix; *4* – black-glossed plate.

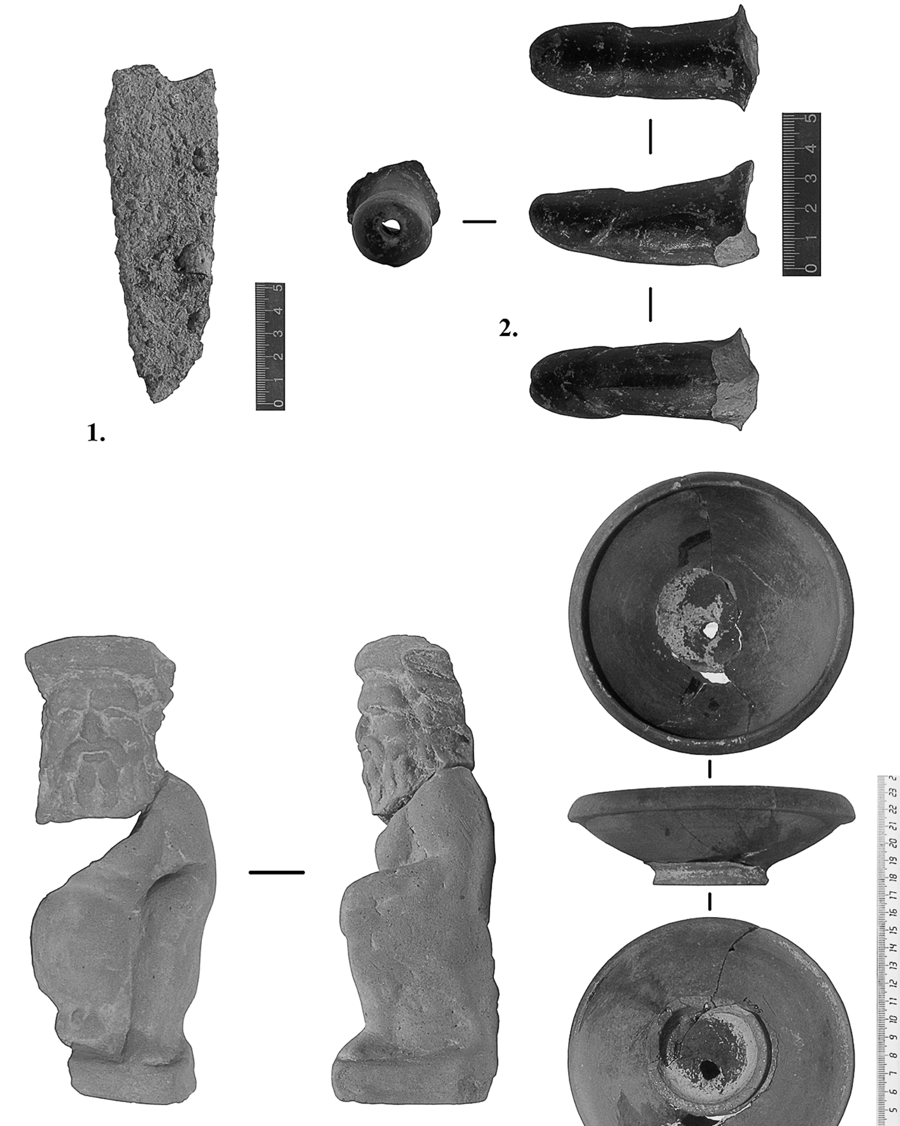


Fig. 9. Settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-11. Excavation-3, finds.
1 – fragment of a steel machaira; *2* – nozzle of a black-glossed vessel in the form of phallus; *3* – terracotta statuette, Silenus; *4* – redware plate.

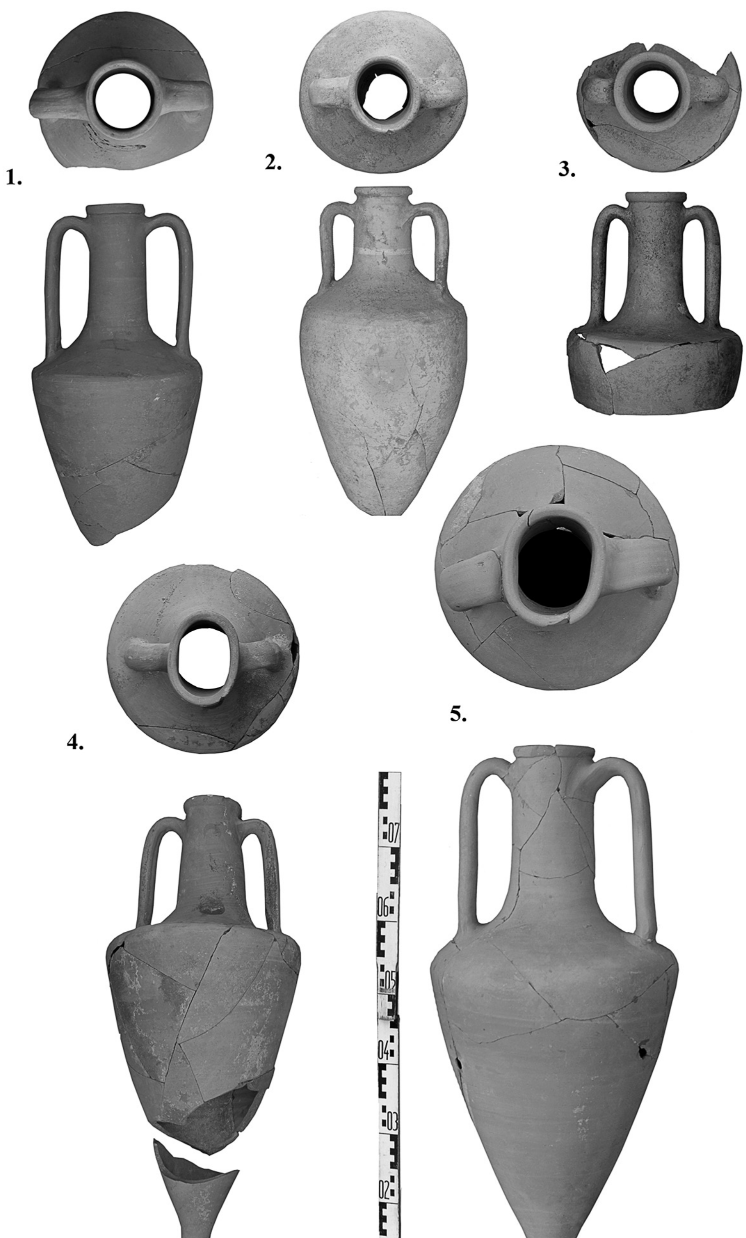
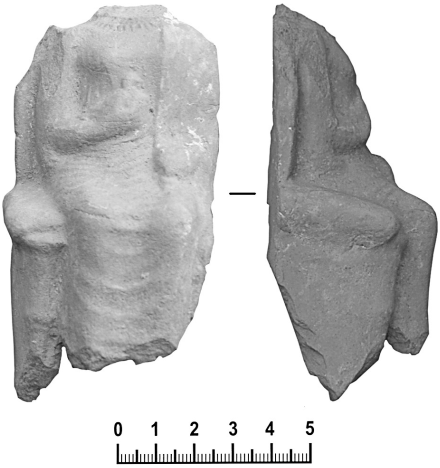


Fig. 10. Settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3. Finds, amphorae.
1 – pit 23; *2* – pit 27; *3* – pit 10; *4* – pit 14a; *5* – pit 25.

Fig. 11. Settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3. Finds, pit 13.
1 – rim of a painted black-glossed kylix; *2* – black-glossed lekythos;
3 – lamp; *4* – oinochoe; *5* – pot.

1.



2.

3.

Fig. 12. Settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3. Finds.
1 – fragmentary terracotta relief; *2* – terracotta figurine, Aphrodite;
3 – red-figured kylix.

Fig. 1. Artyushchenko I. Pit (no. 59) with the skeleton of a pig.

Fig. 2. Artyushchenko I. Pit (no. 55) with four human skulls.

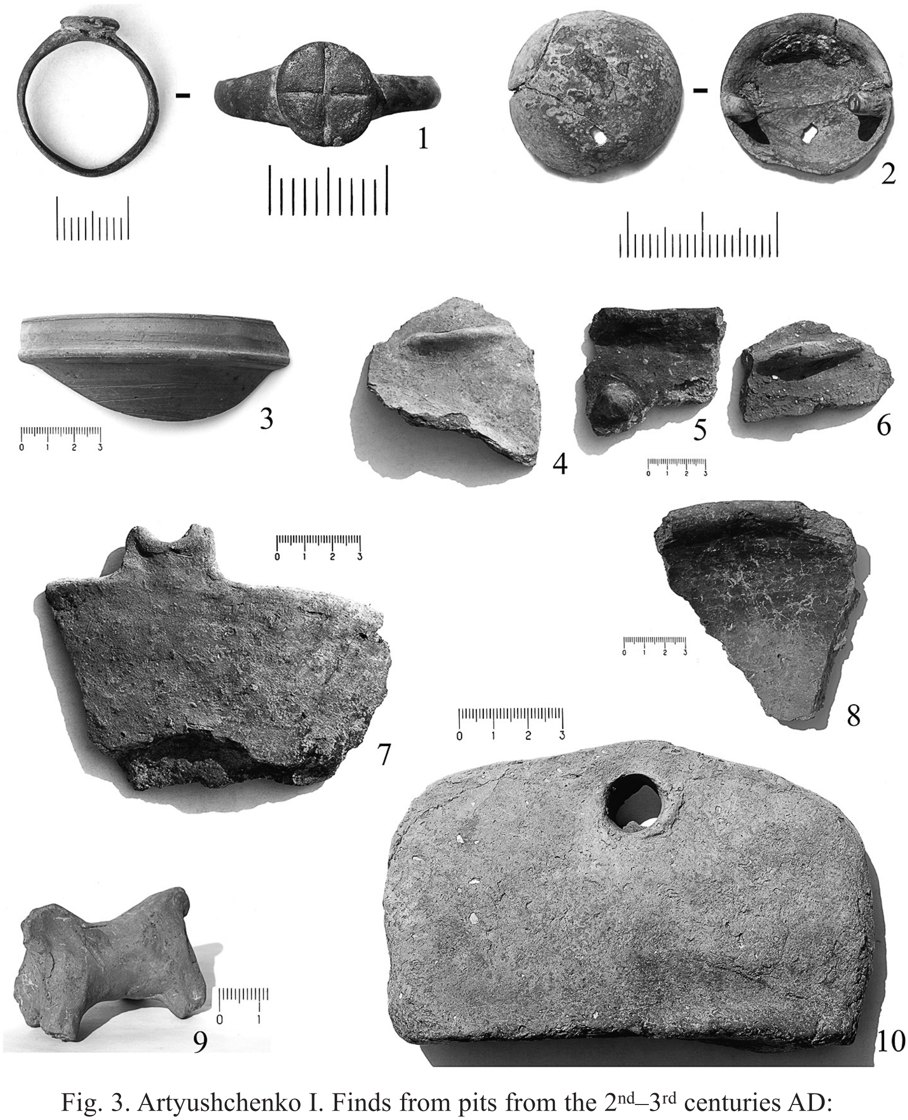


Fig. 3. Artyushchenko I. Finds from pits from the 2nd–3rd centuries AD:
1 – bronze finger-ring; *2* – bronze fibula; *3* – fragment of red-glazed bowl;
4–8 – fragments of hand-made pottery; *9* – terracotta figurine; *10* – clay weight.

Fig. 4. Artyushchenko I. Ground-dwelling (no. XIV) from the second part of the 4th century AD. View from the North-West.

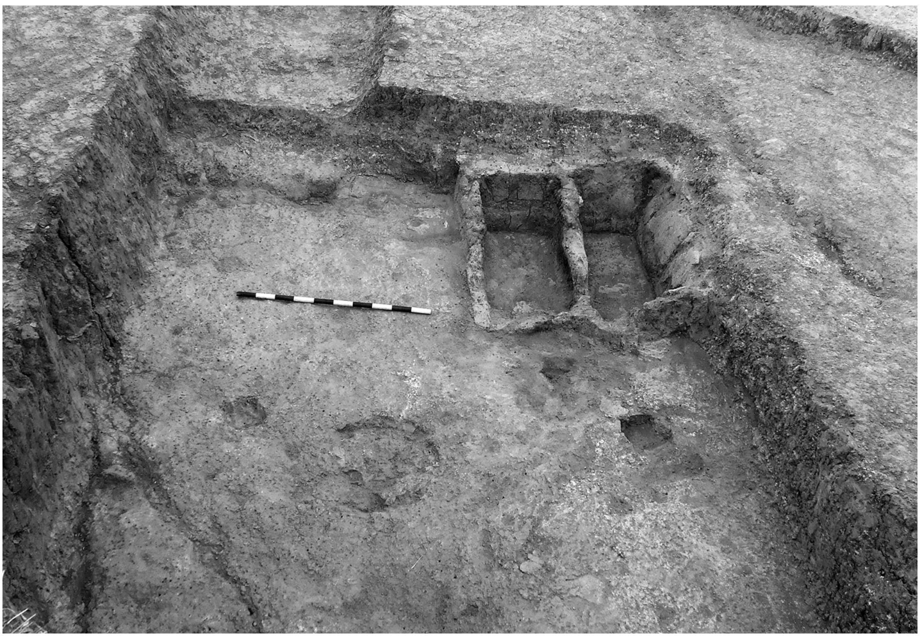


Fig. 5. Artyushchenko I. Ground-dwelling (no. XIV) from the second part of the 4th century AD. View from the South-East.

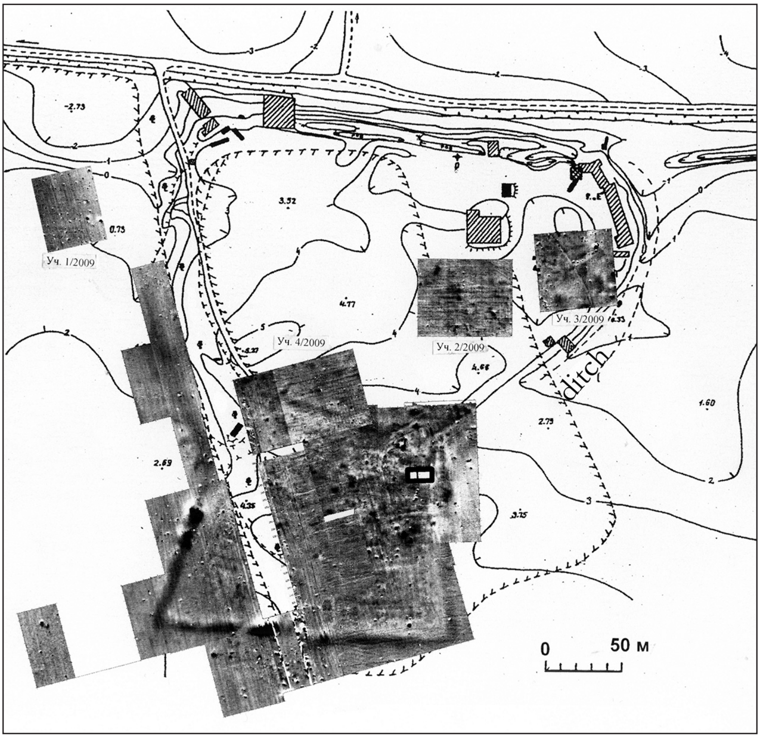


Fig. 1. Labrys. Composite monochrome magnetic map composed in 2006–2009 superimposed onto a topographic plan.

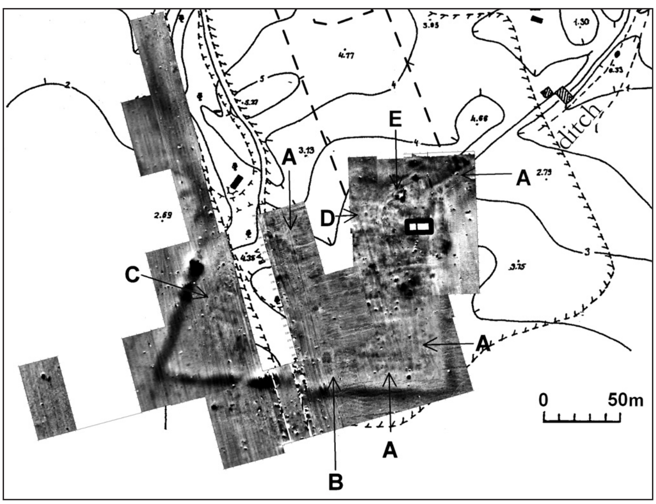


Fig. 2. Labrys. Geomagnetic map with results of the surveys of 2006–2008 and their interpretation:
A – sectional structure of magnetic anomalies in the area of the defensive walls; B – stone building consisting of two rooms; *C* – large rectangular building in front of the western gate; *D* – rectangular monumental building; *E* – metalworking workshop.

Fig. 3. Labrys. Remains of a building on the lower terrace of the *temenos.*

Fig. 4. Labrys. Large altar on the lower terrace of the *temenos.*

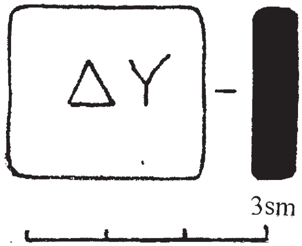


Fig. 5. Labrys. Lead weight with a graffito.

Fig. 6. Labrys. Pilaster in the Ionic order. Chance find from near the lower terrace of the temenos.

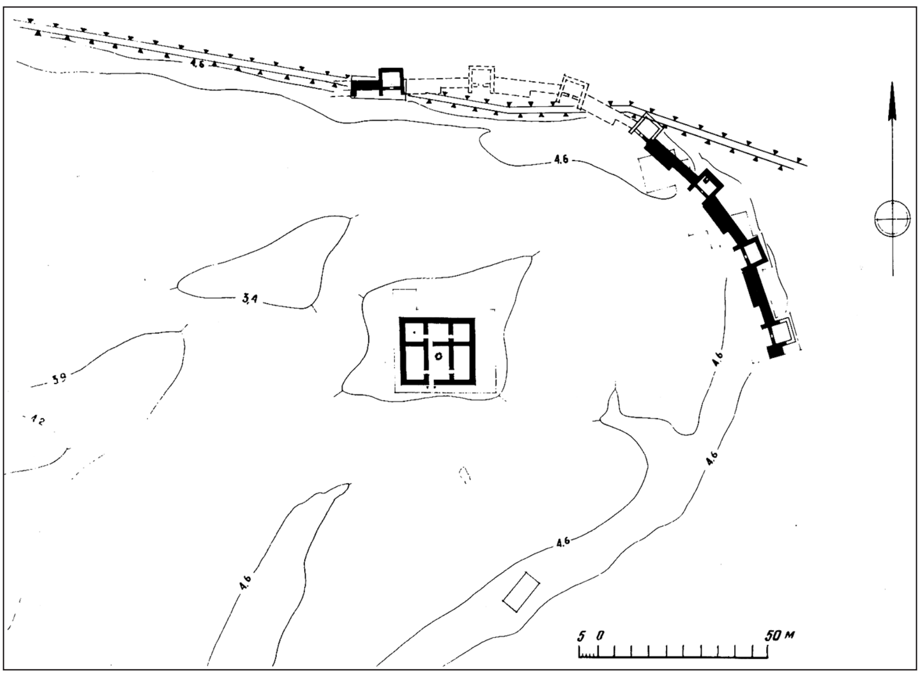


Fig. 7. Labrys. The plan of N. V. Anfimov's excavations in the northeastern part of the Semibratneye townsite (after V. P. Tolstikov).

Fig. 8. Labrys. Additional investigations of excavation area 'A'
with the remains of the fortified building (general view from the South-West).

INVESTIGATIONS ON THE BEREZAN ISLAND, 2006–2013 (Hermitage Museum Archaeological Mission)

An archaeological mission, established more than fifty years ago (in 1962) by the State Hermitage museum in collaboration with Ukrainian archaeologists, continues to carry out systematic complex research of the Berezan island site. The Berezan settlement, probably ancient Borysthenes, today located on a small island in the Black Sea close to the estuary of Dnepr and S. Bug rivers, is an important archaeological site, considered one of the first archaic Greek colonies in the North Pontic region. While the previous article[1] was dedicated to the results of the excavations undertaken at sector "O" in the Nort-Eastern part of the island in the field season 2005, the present one contains a brief overview of the main outcome of the subsequent years (2006–2013).

The excavations, undertaken in the course of the above mentioned period, unearthed a significant part of the built-up area of the archaic town.[2] Uncovered architectural remains belong to various periods of the settlement's existence: most of them are dated to the Archaic and Classical periods (from the end of the 7th up to the middle of the 5th centuries BC). These works provided the possibility to clarify the urban planning of the archaic Borysthenes (see Fig. 1). Below are listed several structures of significant interest.

A very significant complex of late Archaic buildings was excavated in the Western part of the sector "O" (Fig. 1, sector no. 9, tagged by the letters "B" and "C"). It included at least two houses of similar size and layout. Both of these buildings emerged in the late 6th or early 5th centuries BC, and existed approximately up to the second quarter of

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[1] D. Chistov, "Archaeological Investigations of the Hermitage Expedition on Berezan Island in 2005", *Hyperboreus* 11: 2 (2005) 287–291.

[2] The main results of the campaigns 2005–2009 are published in Russian in the 2nd volume of the "Materials of the Berezan expedition": Chistov, Zuev, Ilyina, Kasparov, Novoselova 2012 [Д. Е. Чистов, В. Ю. Зуев, Ю. И. Ильина, А. К. Каспаров, Н. Ю. Новоселова, *Материалы Березанской (Нижнебугской) античной археологической экспедиции.* II. *Исследования на острове Березань в 2005–2009 гг.*].

the 5th century BC.[3] Structure 1 (Fig. 2) had an almost rectangular ground plan (11.45 × 11.30 m). The Northern part of the building was divided into two rooms of unequal size (the Eastern one had a square of 16.32 m^2, the Western one – 26.68 m^2); the rooms were divided by an internal wall (Fig. 2), which was built on prepared foundation, and definitely had no doorway. The Eastern and Western rooms therefore had no connection. The Southern compartment had no Southern wall. Apparently it was a roofed gallery, a porch, bordered by long antae from the West and the East, although there were no clear traces of column bases found during the excavations between the antae.

At a distance of 5.4 meters to the West from the abovementioned building the Structure 2 was uncovered (Fig. 3). The layout features of this building and its orientation are almost identical to the Structure 1. The second building also has a rectangular ground plan (12.4 × 10.2 m), with the internal part of the house again being divided into two rooms of unequal size, but in this case the Eastern compartment was the largest one (6.60 × 5.10 m, i. e. 33.6 m^2). A curious feature of the structures no. 1 and 2 therefore is their mirror reflected layout: the biggest square room was located on the Western side of the first building and on the Eastern side of the second one. The Southern compartment of the Structure 2, also opened to the South, contained remains of stone constructions, which can be interpreted as bases for wooden posts. This discovery confirms the reconstruction of this compartment as a portico between two antae, and also gives the opportunity to suppose the same for the Southern compartment of Structure 1. The porch probably had five columns along the facade (only four of them are preserved). In two cases the rounded cuts of the stones forming these bases give the opportunity to measure the possible diameter of the wooden posts as about 0.32–0.34 m.

The walls of both buildings had foundations, but their construction differs. The foundations beneath the walls of Structure 1 consisted of big rolled boulders of volcanic rock, possibly brought to Berezan among the ship's ballast. Boulders were placed into a trench of 0.4 m in depth and covered by the layer of sea sand. The walls of Structure 2 had substructures which consisted of the layers of sand and shredded limestone – the constructive predecessor of so-called "layered foundations", typical of house building in neighboring Olbia in the Hellenistic period. Both

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[3] Chistov, Ilyina 2012 [Д. Е. Чистов, Ю. И. Ильина, "Комплекс построек общественного назначения периода Поздней Архаики из раскопок в северо-восточной части Березанского поселения"], 19–48; Chistov, Zuev, Ilyina, Kasparov, Novoselova 2012, 87–95.

buildings also had similar walls with limestone socles of orthostatic masonry. To the South from each of these two houses big open courtyards were uncovered, contained by fences on three sides. This yard, situated to the South of Structure 2 (and almost completely excavated up to date) had an area of about 290 square meters. Open vacant space, only partially explored, was located, apparently, to the North of these buildings within the same block. It was probably also divided by the fences. Structures no. 1 and 2 were divided by a narrow street (Fig. 1), whose width varied between 2.50–3.10 m. This bystreet had an intersection with one of the major, latitudinally oriented city streets from the South.

The layout of these two buildings makes it possible to interpret them as "banquette halls", *hestiatoria,* which were used for public dining, associated with cult and social activities and festivals.[4] Although there have been no discoveries of inscriptions or graffiti in vicinity of these structures, which could prove such identification, there are two marble lamps of similar kind (Fig. 4), typical of civic buildings or temples, that were found in the opened territory of the yard of Structure 1. The proposed interpretation could serve as an interesting testimony to the traditions of sacred feasts in the Greek cities of the Northern Black Sea coast, but it could also provide important information about the political history of Borysthenes. It should also be noted that all known structures of Berezan settlement identified as civic buildings of religious or social purpose are located in the same area of the site. A so-called "apsidal house"[5] is situated only 45 meters to the East of the fence of the late archaic public buildings, while the small temenos of the "sanctuary of Aphrodite"[6] is located a distance of no more than 75 meters to the South-West of Structure 2, and probably on the same city street. These observations could be evidence for the possible public centre localization precisely in this part of the Berezan settlement.

Among the other main results of the Hermitage Museum excavations of 2006–2013 one could mention the discovery of a partly preserved house with two cellar rooms (Fig. 5), dated to the middle – third quarter of the 5th century BC, i. e. to the period when the archaic town was abandoned by the majority of its population. This house was built in the space of the

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[4] Chistov, Ilyina 2012, 36–37.

[5] Lapin 1966 [В. В. Лапин, *Греческая колонизация Северного Причерноморья (Критические очерки отечественных теорий колонизации)*], 119; Kryzhitskiy 2009 [С. Д. Крыжицкий, "К вопросу о функциональном назначении некоторых сооружений Березани и Ольвии"], 138–140.

[6] Nazarov 2001 [В. В. Назаров, Святилище Афродиты в Борисфене], 154–165; Kryzhitskiy 2001 [С. Д. Крыжицкий, "Храм Афродиты на Березани. Реконструкция"], 165–175.

yard belonging to the abovementioned late-archaic Structure 2, during the period when the earlier building was no longer in use. Until recently the structures of the Berezan settlement, dated to the same time, were represented mostly by relatively few dugouts,[7] so the discovery of a single, but rather large household makes us adjust the conception of the classical settlement's appearance.

In the course of the excavations of the earliest layers of the Berezan settlement (late 7th – first half of the 6th centuries BC) numerous dugouts and semi-dugouts were uncovered. In the filling of these structures numerous finds of Eastern Greek tableware and storage amphorae could usually be found (Fig. 6, *1–3*). Among the early structures, building 18 has to be mentioned (Fig. 7). This big (about 36 m^2) rectangular dugout dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BC had adobe walls with stone facing, forced by wooden posts inside, fireplaces, clay floors and traces of wattle walls dividing the internal space of the building. This type of dwelling, a so-called "colonist's house", which combines features of early dugouts and later surface multichamber buildings, is up to now represented on the site only by several similar structures, discovered in various parts of the Berezan island, but also has analogies in other urban and rural archaic sites of the North Pontic region.[8]

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[7] Solovyov 1999, 98–113.

[8] Chistov 2013 [Д. Е. Чистов, "Тип 'Дома колониста' в Северном Причерноморье архаического периода", in: *Боспорский Феномен. Материалы конференции*], 592–606.

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A survey of the excavations on the Berezan Island (the estuary of Dnepr and S. Bug) conducted by the Hermitage Museum Archaeological Mission in 2006–2013.

Обзор раскопок на острове Березань (устье Днепра и Южного Буга), проводившихся экспедицией Государственного Эрмитажа в 2006–2013 гг.

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE NECROPOLEIS OF KYTAION AND THE ILURATON PLATEAU (2006–2013)

From 2006 to 2013, under mutual collaboration, the State Museum of the History of Religion (until 2008), the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences (since 2009) and the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences continued investigations of the necropoleis of Kytaion (Kytaia) and the Iluraton Plateau. The results of these studies have been presented by the author of this paper in several publications.

Necropolis of Kytaion

At the necropolis of Kytaion, the investigations were carried out in the central, South-Eastern and South-Western sections. In the central area, primarily trenches with (both historically and recently) plundered burials (vault no. 373; graves nos. 364–372, 375) were re-excavated. In the South-Eastern area, undisturbed rock-cut grave-cenotaph no. 376 was found. It was of regular rectangular plan (1.7–1.9 × 0.6 m, depth 0.7 m). The grave was oriented from West to East with a small deviation Southwards and Northwards respectively. Over the grave, two slabs forming the roof have survived in situ. In the soil filling of the grave a fragmentary bronze signet-ring with a representation of a kantharos on a flat bezel was found. However, no traces of a skeleton were discovered. In addition, a buried skull and bones (metapodia and the lower phalanges) of the fore- and hind-legs of a young horse (aged about 2.5 years according to palaeozoological analysis) were revealed under a layer of gravel in the immediate vicinity to this grave (0.6–0.7 m to the South-East). The arrangement of the cranium and teeth bones suggested that the skull was buried vertically facing East with a slight deviation northwards. The most surprising find here (on the bones of the horse's cranium under the lower layer of the gravel) was a strongly corroded copper coin (without holes for suspension, meaning that it was placed here separately and on purpose). Its nearest equivalent (the obverse showing the head of Athena facing to the right; on the reverse ΠAN. and a ship's bow) is dated to 140–130 BC. Accordingly, this date defines the terminus post quem of the burial complex under consideration where the coin, a peculiar "Charon's obol", was placed together with the skull and leg bones of a horse which was buried alongside the cenotaph. The archaeological association here suggests that this Hellenistic rock-cut grave of the 4th – 3rd century BC (the grave offerings possibly included the abovementioned bronze signet-ring with the representation of a kantharos) was reused for making the cenotaph in the 2nd – 1st centuries BC.

During recent years, the efforts of archaeologists have focused upon protection and rescue excavations in the South-Western part of the necropolis of Kytaion located in the coastal erosion zone. Here, near the three large Hellenistic tombs most probably constructed in the last quarter of the 4th century BC, a rock-cut earth-filled crypt (no. 344) of the late Roman period was discovered and extensively explored. The grave was extended in a meridional direction. Its chamber was 5.5–6.3 m long, 4.0–4.3 m wide, with a nearly square dromos that was 2.0–2.6 m long, 2.5–3.5 m wide and 2.4–2.5 m deep down to its floor – made by levelling the virgin clay – from the present-day ground surface level (Fig. 1). The crypt was plundered in ancient times, but even the scanty finds (a bronze figurine of a small dog, Fig. 2, and a figured fibula with enamel coating representing a lion, Fig. 3) were of undoubted interest, while coins of the last Bosporan kings (Phophorses, Rescuporis V) yielded a reliable upper date of its construction and functioning as the late 3rd – 4th century BC.

To the East of grave no. 344, also in the zone of coastal erosion, a monumental burial and ritual assemblage was discovered, datable preliminarily to the same period and culture. In 2010–2013, sacrificial pits covered with a single common mound were uncovered here. These included burials nos. 377–379, 381, 383, ritual complex no. 380, a horse burial and two flat graves nos. 382 and 384. The mound presented a bank running from North to South. Its height was roughly 2 m, with a width (accounting for its deformation with time) of up to 20 m. The Southern section of the mound was disturbed by the shoreline erosion. The Northern part of the bank reached a length of at least 80 m.

The most monumental structure of those uncovered beneath the mound was the ritual complex no. 380. It was almost rectangular, extending from the South to the North (with a slight Eastward deviation). It was 5.2–5.7 m in length, and 2.8 m wide. The walls of the installation were constructed of irregular masonry, consisting of 2–3 layers of slabs of different size laid flat. It is believed that they are preserved to their full height of 0.8–1 m around most of the perimeter. Within the enclosed space, in the centre of the complex, there was a circular pit measuring around 1.8 m in diameter, with a depth of 1.7 m. On its bottom was found a discoid sacrificial altar cut from limestone. Numerous fragments of amphorae, along with black-glossed and red-glossed ware, a painted lagynos, fragmentary wheel-made and handmade vessels have been retrieved from the soil fill over complex no. 380 and are broadly dateable to the period from 4th century BC to 3rd – 4th century AD. Inside the complex, above and along the floor level, materials of the late Roman period were predominant.

On the outside of the ritual installation, immediately beyond the Northern part of its Eastern wall, yet another sacrificial pit related to the complex was discovered. It was numbered 381. The diameter of the pit was about 2 m, and the determinable depth was at least 1.25–1.3 m. The pit was sunk into the mound that covered ritual complex no. 380, and consequently was of a later period. A poorly preserved horse burial was discovered beyond the Southern part of the Eastern wall. The skeleton within was abutted with a sculptural representation of a horse head carved from marl.[1] Beyond the North-Western corner of ritual complex no. 380, two undisturbed flat graves (nos. 382 and 384) were revealed. Preliminarily, they are also datable to the late Roman period (Fig. 4). Hopefully, a handmade amphora-like vessel (Fig. 5–6) found at the feet of the buried in grave 384 will present an ethno-cultural indicator. Within the mound covering the entirety of the excavated objects, as well as on the floor of complex no. 380, there were large accumulations of animal bones, both in the form of separate remains and complete skeletons (horses, cows, pigs, sheep or goats, dogs). There were also bones of birds and fishes.

Along with synchronous traces of animal sacrifices, amphora remains, crushed handmade ware and copper coins of the last Bosporan kings from ritual deposits over graves of the late 3rd to 4th century AD, there were also large amounts of Hellenistic materials from the 4th – 2nd centuries BC: numerous fragments of imported amphora containers (including those with stamps) from Chios, Thasos, Herakleia Pontike, Sinope, Rhodes, sherds of painted black-glossed and red-glossed vessels (some of them bearing graffiti, Figs. 7–8),[2] terracotta statuettes and early Pantikapaion coins. These finds possibly originated from Hellenistic tombs situated nearby (and, probably, already destroyed and plundered by the period specified). In smaller quantities, objects were found (amphorae, painted pottery, coins) dating from the 1st century BC to 2nd century AD. An item

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[1] Kucherevskaya 2013 [Н. Л. Кучеревская, “О консервации скульптуры из осадочных камнеподобных пород”, in: *Боспорский феномен: греки и варвары на евразийском перекрестке*], 703–705.

[2] The publication of all the stamps and graffiti from the necropolis of Kytaion is now under preparation.

of note among these finds is the stamp VISELLI which is rare to see in the Northern Black Sea region.[3]

The general number and findspots of the asynchronous artefacts possibly indicate that these ‘foreign’ objects were collected on purpose and reused in late Roman funerary rites sensibly and intentionally. An indirect confirmation of this supposition is in the fact that many fragments of stamped amphorae appear deliberately chipped or broken. Furthermore, some stamps were found on sherds that had been smoothed after their presence in the sea and, perhaps, collected from the seabed or from the shore. In addition, along with the Hellenistic objects, there were here stone tools (a grain-grinder, a fragment of an axe, a knife) and “wastes” of their production discovered.

The question of the ethno-cultural belonging of the funerary and ritual complexes of the late 3rd to 4th century AD, which were excavated in the South-Western area of the necropolis of Kytaion, remains so far unsolved.

Archaeological sites of the Iluraton Plateau

In 2003–2008, three very large and closely grouped tombs were discovered and excavated in the South-Western area of the Iluraton Plateau. They were constructed from blocks and slabs of limestone and roofed in antiquity by semicircular vaults (nos. 213, 220 and 225). In one of the tombs (no. 213), the vault is preserved completely over a niche in the Northern wall (Fig. 9). Along with the fine and monumental architecture, the elite character of these prominent funerary installations is indicated by some of the finds. In particular, the grave goods from the aforementioned tomb no. 213 comprised a fragment of a funerary wreath made of golden foil, a wide openwork gold signet-ring with a flat figured bezel ornamented with five inserts (cabochons) – two have survived in casts. It is one of the three most magnificent rings of this type and artistic level in the Northern Black Sea littoral (Fig. 10), all dating from the first half to the middle of the second half of the 2nd century AD. Two other examples of this rare category of openwork signet-rings with inserts were found in rich burials from the first half of the 2nd century AD at the necropolis of Gorgippia.[4]

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[3] Pavlichenko 2013 [Н. А. Павличенко, “Находка римского клейма в Китее”, in: *ФИДИТИЯ памяти Ю. В. Андреева*], 108–110.

[4] Zakharenkov, Khrshanovskiy, Treyster 2004 [Н. В. Захаренков, В. А. Хршановский, М. Ю. Трейстер, “Выдающийся памятник погребальной архитектуры некрополя Илурата”, in: *Историк. Археолог. Литератор. К 90-летию М. М. Кубланова*], 79–83.

In 2006, excavation of another tomb, no. 220 (Fig. 11), was completed. Similarly to tomb no. 213, it was oriented from South to East. However, in contrast to the former, it had two chambers (a smaller one and a larger one). The first chamber was separated from the dromos and the second one from the first by thresholds. Between the dromos and the first chamber, a blocking slab was standing in situ. The dromos was of regular rectangular form and had a length of 3.6–3.7 m and a width of 1.2–1.58 m. The height of the walls of the dromos almost completely preserved was up to 2.45 m. The floor cut in the virgin clay was ramped downwards. The maximum height of the walls of the chamber was 1.9 m. The first chamber was of nearly square plan. It is notable by the fact that its width (2.8–2.9 m) slightly exceeded its length (2.6–2.65 m). The second (larger) chamber of tomb no. 220 was of regular rectangular plan (5.6 × 3 m). The floors, both in the larger and smaller chambers, were paved with limestone flags of different shapes (square, rectangular, trapezoid).

The most ancient finds synchronous to the period of the construction of the tomb (late 1st century – first half of the 2nd century) consisted of amphora fragments, sherds of red-glossed pottery and bronze objects. Of special note is a cornelian signet-ring insert with an intaglio representing a capricorn (Fig. 12). It is, however, necessary to state that after its construction, the tomb was repeatedly reused also in the 3rd – 4th and 5th – 6th centuries as indicated, in particular, by a cross carved of limestone found in the upper layers during the excavation.

Twenty metres to the West of tomb no. 220, yet another (the third in this area) tomb of the same rank constructed of blocks and slabs was discovered. To this tomb number 225 was assigned (Fig. 13). It most likely constituted a common burial and ritual installation together with two tombs/cenotaphs (nos. 226–227). Traces of ritual feasts were found nearby. Similarly to the two previously described tombs (nos. 213 and 220), this tomb was oriented meridionally: the dromos led from the South to a chamber roofed in antiquity by a semi-spherical vault. This tomb was exceptional in the fact that its construction was not completed: amidst the rear (Northern) wall of the chamber there was another doorway with a vaulted roof which led not to the second chamber but to the cenotaph tombs (nos. 226–227) and a ritual area fenced in front of them was found.

The dromos of tomb no. 225 was of regular rectangular plan. It was cut in the natural loam and on both sides was faced with stone walls. The dromos was 2–2.2 m long and 1.6–1.7 m wide (slightly expanding towards the entrance of the chamber). The walls were up to 2.3–2.35 m high. The chamber was of regular rectangular plan (3.5 × 4.6 m) extended in the meridional direction. The walls of the chamber (like those of the dromos) were constructed from smoothly cut limestone blocks carefully cut to fit together. The maximum height of the survived walls was up to 2.4 m (!). In the middle of the Northern wall (directly in front of the entrance to the chamber) there was an entrance way (width 1–0.97 m) leading to the cenotaph tombs. The floor of the chamber was paved with limestone flags.

Among the earliest artefacts synchronous to the time of construction of tomb no. 225 (late 1st half of the 2nd century AD) and its initial use are diagnostic amphora fragments, red-glossed vessels, lamps and terracotta statuettes including a rare protome of a goddess with a high head-dress (Fig. 14).

Cenotaph tomb no. 226 was located about 1 m from the Northern wall of tomb no. 225, directly opposite the entrance opening in the Northern wall of its chamber. However, its threshold was positioned considerably higher (by 1.4–1.5 m) than the threshold of the chamber, i. e. almost at the level of the lower blocks of the arched roof of the opening. Crypt no. 226, which was constructed from limestone slabs set on edge was of regular rectangular plan oriented meridionally (with a very slight deviation to the South-East). The length of the tomb was 2.3–2.5 m, with a width of 1–1.2 m and a height of 1.45–1.5 m. The entrance, which was 0.7–0.6 m wide and 0.95 m high, was barred by three rectangular blocks. The levelled natural loam served as the floor of the tomb chamber.

Cenotaph tomb no. 227 was placed in "mirror fashion" to tomb no. 226: its entrance was in the North. It was also a regular rectangle in plan oriented meridionally with a slight deviation to the North-West and South-East, respectively. The tomb was 2.4–2.3 m long, had a width 0.75–0.8 m and a height of 1.35 m. The entrance to the chamber (0.75 × 1.45 m) was blocked by a vertically placed limestone slab, which was close to having a rectangular shape with an uneven upper edge. The slab was 0.8–0.97 m wide, with a height of 1.95 m, and was 0.08–0.12 m thick.

Tombs nos. 226 and 227 had a common internal wall and separate roofs composed each of three transversally laid limestone slabs.

The finds from cenotaphs nos. 226 and 227 were almost identical: there was a set of gypsum appliqué pieces (slightly differing from each other) in each. The figures are poorly preserved. Among those found in tomb no. 226, one may guess representations of Niobidae, a wounded Niobid, theatre masks (Fig. 15) and female protomes (?). The latter types were encountered also in tomb no. 227. However, by contrast to the appliqués from the neighbouring tomb, representations of Niobidae here were absent but the head of a feline predator (panther?) was placed within instead (Fig. 16). At the same time, no wooden coffins have been found, where gypsum appliqué pieces are usually the decorations. On the floor of each of the tombs was found a lamp (one of grey ware with an elongated spout and a rounded red-glossed example in the other) and a snake skeleton. The extended position of this skeleton, according to the opinion of ophiologists, is unnatural for snakes in burrows suggesting their intentional use in the burial ritual.

Burial and ritual complex consisting of the uncompleted tomb no. 225 and cenotaph crypts nos. 226–227 undoubtedly is an evidence of some historical events which took place in the first half of the 2nd century AD. The supposition that these events concerned the elite (or perhaps even the ruling top) of the Bosporan kingdom is confirmed by the fact that the compactly grouped tombs nos. 213, 220 and 225 are among the five of the largest ones of the Roman period known in Bosporos up to now. Moreover, their location suggests a special (sacral?) status of the Iluraton Plateau in general. The latter hypothesis is also suggested by the presence of later archaeological monuments dating from the 4th to 13th centuries.

During recent years (2009–2013), three further funerary ritual complexes (nos. 228–230) were excavated in the Eastern area of the Iluraton Plateau. These were functioning in the post-Iluraton period when the ancient site closest to them – the city-fortress of Iluraton – had already ceased to exist (during the last third of the 3rd century AD).

Ritual complex no. 228 was a regular rectangle in plan extending in the South-East to North-West direction with the walls constructed of rather small flat limestone boulders. Its dimensions (along the internal contour) were a length of 4.6–4.7 m, a width of 3.0–3.1 m, and the thickness of the walls was 0.6–0.7 m, with a height of 0.6–1.1 m. On the South-Eastern side, the wall was absent. It was replaced with a row of three smoothly cut limestone blocks carefully cut to fit together. In the Southern part of the block joining the South-Western wall, on its upper side, there was a cup-like hollow (diameter 0.3 m, depth 0.1 m) where the foot of a Hellenistic Sinopean amphora was lying in situ. The basically Greek type of the masonry that differs from the mediaeval one suggests that the date of construction of this installation (perhaps in place of some earlier one) was the 3rd – 4th century AD. However, as may be judged from a crushed amphora and handmade pottery found on the floor, the last ritual activities at this assemblage were practiced as late as in the Khazar times, i. e. in the 8th – 9th century.[5]

South-East of the row of blocks, another (of a later date?) addition was discovered. A masonry of small flat stones, up to 0.6 m high, fenced off a space (1.5–2.2 × 4 m) divided into two parts. Each was of

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[5] Tul'pe, Khrshanovskiy 2011 [И. А. Тульпе, В. А. Хршановский, "Новый комплекс хазарского времени на Илуратском плато", in: *Боспорский феномен: население, языки, контакты*], 228–236.

semicircular “apsidal” plan. The Southern area measured 1 × 1.3 m and the Northern area was 1.5 × 1.5 m. Some structures of dressed limestone slabs uncovered within these areas can be justifiably interpreted as altar installations. The scanty and non-diagnostic ceramic finds form no basis for narrow dating of the functioning period of this room, but there are no doubts concerning its belonging to the late-antiquity period and early Middle Ages.

Sanctuary no. 229 revealed nearby, like the one described previously, was oriented from South-East to North-West. However, by contrast to the latter, it was cut in the form of amphitheatre in the rock to a depth of about 2 m from the ancient surface. It was of a circular plan (3 × 5 m). On the South-Eastern side it was framed by a thick circular masonry. Inside the fenced area near the altar (?), were found skulls of a gilt and of a bird of prey (eagle-owl?). In addition, in the filling soil of the ritual complex, bones of other animals (cows, sheep or goats) were encountered. The materials retrieved in the course of excavations (fragments of amphorae, wheelmade and handmade pottery, a bronze buckle) suggest that this complex was also constructed in the late-antiquity period (4th century AD) and, possibly, was reused in the 8th – 9th century AD. However the final conclusion regarding the time of its construction and functioning can be made only after the completion of the investigations.

The last of the ritual installations excavated in the same area of the Iluraton Plateau (no. 230) was also a structure of circular plan, measuring 2.5–3.0 m in diameter and about 1 m deep. Its lower section was sunk into the natural loam; in the upper section (humus layer), along its entire circumference there was a circular masonry 0.2–0.3 m high constructed from different sized pieces of stone and small blocks. The entrance to the ritual structure was on the Eastern side. Below the level of the floor, on a pavement of limestone flags extending from South-East to North-West (length about 3 m, width 1 m), was found the lower jaw of a horse facing the North-West. This find confirms the ritual character of the structure under consideration. Not numerous artefacts (handles of late light-ware amphorae) from the complex date the period of its functioning to the 4th century AD.

The question as to the ethno-cultural belonging to the late antique ritual complexes nos. 228–230 on the Iluraton Plateau remains open.

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A survey of the excavations of the necropoleis of Kytaion and on the Iluraton plateau conducted by the expedition of the State Museum of the History of Religion (2006–2008), the Institute for the History of Material Culture, RAS (since 2009) and the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences.

Обзор раскопок некрополей в Китее и на плато Илурат, проводившихся совместной экспедицией Государственного музея истории религии (2006–2008), Института материальной культуры РАН (с 2009) и Института археологии Национальной академии наук Украины.

THE NYMPHAION EXPEDITION OF THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM (2006–2013)

The excavations of the Bosporan city of Nymphaion[1] continued in 2006–2013. The ruins of the town are located in the southern part of Kerch, in the outskirts of the village of Eltigen (Geroyevskoye). During the period specified, the main studies at the site concentrated on the southern slope of the Nymphaion plateau (section M), where cultural layers and construction remains of the Hellenistic and Roman periods were studied. In addition, protective excavations were carried out in the area of the flat-grave necropolis.[2]

1. Excavations at the ancient townsite

One of the primary focuses of recent years has involved the excavation of deposits covering the area to the south of the Propylaea. This site was discovered in 1996–1997.[3] The deposits under study include layers of loam of different tints and density containing numerous intercalations of burnt soil and ashes, small lenses and interbeds of pure ash, unfinished wares,

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[1] See Sokolova 2005.

[2] In 2009–2011, the works were carried out jointly with the Institute of Archaeology NASU (supervisor of the Ukrainian part was Dr. A. V. Buyskikh, senior researcher at IA NASU). Since 2012 the excavations were conducted jointly with the Kerch Historical and Cultural Preserve (in 2012 the head of the Ukrainian part was M. A. Kotin, Scientific Assistant of the Kerch Preserve, and in 2013, A. V. Kulikov, the Academic Secretary of the Preserve).

[3] The smart facade of the northern propylon can be reconstructed through an assemblage of architectural details found here and an inscription on an architrave elucidating the purpose of its construction. See Sokolova, Dolinskaya 2001 [О. Ю. Соколова, Н. В. Долинская, “Нимфейский пропилон. Вопросы реконструкции и датировки”, in: *175 лет Керченскому музею древностей. Материалы международной конференции*], 66–69; Sokolova 2001 [О. Ю. Соколова, “Новая надпись из Нимфея (предварительное сообщение)”, *Древности Боспора*], 368–376; Sokolova, Pavlichenko 2002 [О. Ю. Соколова, Н. А. Павличенко, “Новая посвятительная надпись из Нимфея”].

mud bricks, eelgrass (*Zostera marina*), pieces of charcoal mixed with rubble and ceramic fragments. The maximum thickness of the layer was up to 7 m (Fig. 1).

Most of the finds consist of fragments of amphorae, among which of note are those from Thasos of the 5th – early 3rd century BC, as well as from Lesbos, Chios (end of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd century BC[4]); Mende, Peparethos, Herakleia Pontike, Sinope, Chersonesos, Samos (second half of the 4th century BC); Colchis, Rhodes, Kos, Paros, Akanthos, Knidos (including those of "Zenon's type") and other unidentified centers. In addition, archeologists found several fragments of amphorae from Klazomenai dating to the second half of the 6th century BC. Discoveries of amphora stamps were notably numerous. The most prevalent among these were Sinopean stamps from the 3rd – early 2nd century BC and stamps of Rhodes dating primarily from the second half of the 3rd or the first half of the 2nd century BC. Stamps of other centers are rare, and a considerable number of those on Bosporan tiles are dated to the period of 370–340 BC.

The black-glossed ware from Asia Minor as well as of Attic production, brown-glossed and red-glossed Hellenistic vessels, red-ware and grey-ware pottery are represented by the forms typical to levels of the 4th–3rd centuries BC; along with the latter, fragments of the 5th and 2nd centuries BC have been found. Several notable discoveries have been made of terracotta statuettes, fragments of architectural details made from clay and stone, ivory, bone, as well as objects of glass, iron and bronze (Fig. 2). Most coins found here are poorly preserved specimens which have been heavily corroded.

In the area located to the south of the Propylaea discovered in 1996–1997, the base of an altar and the altar orthostate were uncovered after removal of the deposits.[5] Besides, archeologists found four profiled plates in different parts of the site, the base of a second propylon and the second bed of a big drain which had already been partially studied in 1986 (Fig. 3). In the northwestern corner of the area, four rows of plates were visible in the form of large "steps" (Fig. 4) oriented along a northwest-southwest axis with a small deviation to the south at their southwestern ends.

In 2006–2010, in order to continue studies of the fortification system in Nymphaion and the adjacent territory, the excavation was expanded

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[4] A few examples of plump-necked vessels of the 5th century BC, variants with a conical toe and with pointed bottoms without marked toes.

[5] Another altar orthostate was found at this site in 1997: Arsentyeva 2004 [Е. И. Арсентьева, "Алтарь из Нимфея. Попытка реконструкции", *Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа*], 54–60.

westward. These investigations revealed that rocks and virgin clay were undercut here in order to build the western wall of a defensive tower. The archeologists also excavated over 50 household pits of cylindrical or pear-shaped outlines, their depth ranging from 0.2 to 2.4 m and the diameter at the bottom varying from 0.37 to 2.6 m (Fig. 5). Some of the pits had stone lining at their mouth. Finds from a number of these pits revealed that they date from the 5th to 4th centuries BC, while most of the others belong to the first century BC.

A set of architectural details was discovered in one of the pits. Of particular interest are two limestone blocks with a vegetal ornament relief dating back to the 4th century BC (Fig. 6).

2. Excavations of the necropolis

The protective excavations in the area of the necropolis was the second objective of the work in 2006–2013. In 2006, a new excavation was begun to the west of the "alley of crypts". This area was chosen due to a great number of robbers' pits (more than 40) where certain traces of burials were discernible. In the investigated area of 234 square meters, 22 burials and one household pit were excavated. Mostly, they are datable to the 4th century BC.

In 2009, a catacomb burial (no. 28) was excavated at a distance of about 400 m to the south-west of the "alley of crypts". It was similar to funeral constructions studied in 1973–1978.[6] Catacomb tomb no. 28 consisted of a dromos and a chamber stretching in a west-east direction, with the axis of the dromos deviating slightly southward in relation to the axis of the chamber. The entrance staircase to the dromos located to the east consisted of 6–7 roughly cut steps. The length of the trapezoid dromos was about 4.0 m. The entrance to the chamber was arch-shaped. Its height was 1.53 m and its width – 0.9 m. It was blocked with a rectangular plate placed on an oblong stone block which served as a kind of threshold. The chamber had the shape of an irregular quadrangle. Its dimensions were as follows: the eastern wall – 2.9 m, the western wall – 2.65 m, the southern wall – 3.15 m, and the northern wall – 3.2 m. The vault of the chamber was ruined, but evidently it was semi-circular. The height of the chamber was 1.85 m. Three small steps led to the chamber from the dromos; the height of each was 0.26 m. Opposite the entrance there was a trapezoid-shaped niche carved in the wall for a lamp.

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[6] Grach 1999.

The catacomb tomb under consideration had been repeatedly plundered. When uncovering the floor of the chamber, the researchers found fragments of glass jars and balsamaria dating from the end of the 1st – beginning of the 2nd century AD, beads from glass paste, fragments of iron blades of swords and knives, numerous fragments of bronze articles and coins which unfortunately are in poor condition, fragmented iron nails and pieces of wood from sarcophagi, fragments of gypsum applications in the form of pawns, leaves of acanthus, palmettes, fragmentary tragic masks and masks of Medusa. In terms of their forms and the preserved traces of painting, these findings are similar to the objects found during the excavation of catacombs in 1973–1978. Of note is the discovery of a few pieces of gold jewelry: bits of leaves from a funeral wreath and two beads. Generally, in terms of its design and contents, the structure under consideration is similar to the catacombs of the "alley of crypts" and can be dated back to the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

Within a small area in front of the entrance to the dromos of catacomb tomb K-28, four burials were uncovered; one was a flat grave and the three others – slab cists. These all are dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

In 2012, two areas of the necropolis were excavated.[7] In one of them, a collapse of large dressed stone blocks lying under the sod layer was revealed. Considering their shape, they probably belonged to a crypt with a semicircular vault. Among the blocks a keystone of the entrance arch was found, as indicated by a relief image of a bull head (bucranium, Fig. 7). In addition, a cultural layer 1.6 m thick from the 5th–4th centuries BC was discovered here. This layer is probably related to the western part of the ancient settlement of "Western Eltigen" discovered in 1991 by V. N. Zin'ko. At the second site, two stone cists were investigated. Although completely plundered, they are nevertheless datable to the Hellenistic period as indicated by the contents.

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EXCAVATIONS AT MYRMEKION IN 2006–2013

During the past eight years, the Myrmekion expedition of the State Hermitage Museum continued excavations at the ancient settlement-site of Myrmekion which is situated on the northern coast of the Bay of Kerch near Cape Karantinny (Fig. 1).[1] Over 800 sq. m of the archaeological site were studied here at various points. The main efforts of the expedition were concentrated on two important areas of the site. One of the latter is area "TS" formed by joining areas "S" and "T" investigated before. Area "TS" closed the line of excavations of the town's acropolis surrounding the rock of the cape. Of primary interest are structures from the Roman period. The other area marked "I" is located in the central part of the site where zones of compact settlement layout of the late archaic and classical periods had been continually replacing each other. Afterwards, monumental ash-dump 2 composed of ashes arose here. Its remains became the main object of the expedition's research for several years. In addition, excavations of limited zones in areas "S", "M" and "U" were conducted. We will begin our review with these small excavations.

In 2008, test pit "U" measuring 2.2 × 2.2 m was sunk in the northeast part of the site. In addition to later deposits, certain structures of the Roman period have been found here. In the same season, the excavation of the remains of a tower and the adjacent territory in area "M", which is situated near the eastern boundary of the Myrmekion site, was carried out. An area of about 20 sq. m was excavated in order to date the beginning of construction of the defensive wall. It was established that adjoining structures date from the 4th century BC.

In 2000–2005, area "S", which is situated to the northwest of the cape rock, began to be actively investigated and a foundation for an

[1] Bytyagin, Vinogradov 2006 [А. М. Бутягин, Ю. А. Виноградов, "История и археология древнего Мирмекия", in: *Мирмекий в свете новых археологических исследований*], 4–51.

unfinished tower or, possibly, some tomb was discovered here buried in the rock. In 2006, a small excavation was organized to clarify its date and complement the results of the previous excavations. A large pit of the late archaic period and a re-deposited layer containing ceramics of the Bronze Age were uncovered here. In 2012, a small excavation and several test pits were sunk directly in the rock of the cape in order to examine the integrity of these cultural layers. It has been revealed that almost the entire occupation layer here was destroyed during construction of the *Quarantine* in the 19th century. Only small spots of deposits of the Roman period and Middle Ages were remaining. A bronze coin of the empress Julia Domna of 198 AD was found in the layer under study (Fig. 2). It is the only coin of the Roman Empire which has been found in the territory of this ancient settlement during the excavations of the State Hermitage expedition.

The aim of the excavation at area "M" in 2008 was concerned with establishing the date of the eastern defensive line of Myrmekion which was discovered during investigations by V. F. Gaydukevich. About 20 sq. m of the buried layer have been excavated. Sections of masonry and a pavement were exposed which belong to the 4th century BC. This discovery has confirmed *en masse* D. E. Chistov's conclusions about the chronology of construction of the wall encircling the city.[2]

The main efforts of the expedition in 2008–2013 were concentrated on excavation of area "I", where investigations had been already carried out on a limited scale before. The completion of studies of a large city living quarter dated to the beginning of the 5th century BC became the main objective in this area from 2001, when excavations were continued in the northern part of V. F. Gaydukevich's excavation. In addition, remains of structures of the 5th and 4th centuries BC located above this layer were investigated, including the remains of walls and pavements of the so-called "Demeter Sanctuary". Most large-scaled researches were conducted in the surviving area of Myrmekion Ash-Hill 2. These excavations have yielded a huge quantity of ceramic materials.

It has now been established that a quadrangular semi-dugout house with rounded corners, dating from the third quarter of the 6th century BC, is the earliest structure in the area under consideration. It was previously believed that the limits of the most ancient settlement were approximately one hundred meters to the west. At the turn of the 6th to the 5th century

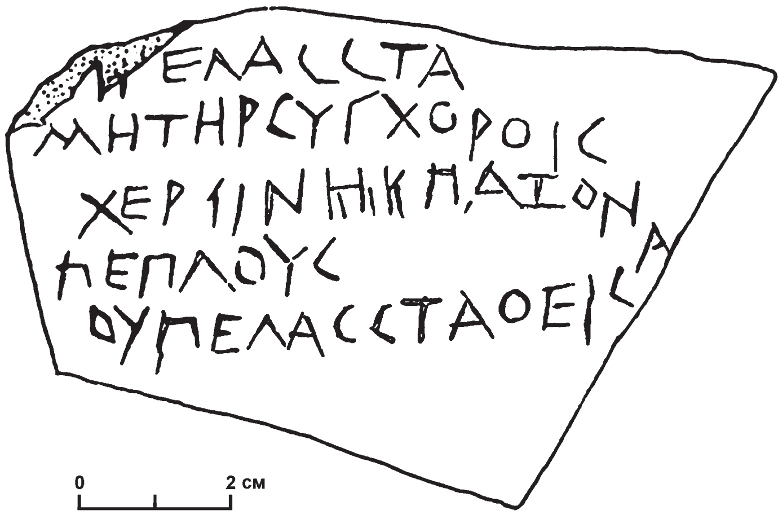
[2] Chistov 1999 [Д. Е. Чистов, "Развитие оборонительной системы Мирмекия в V–III вв. до н. э.", in: *Античный мир*], 82–85.

BC, the earth dwelling mentioned was completely covered by soil. A multi-chamber complex, which was likely part of a living quarter of the city, was constructed above this earth dwelling. The living quarter had quadrangular outlines measuring about 20 × 33 m, with a total area about 650 sq. m. It was checked at its western side by a street, 2 m wide, which was partially paved with stone. A small stone sidewalk was uncovered near the northern part of the house. At least three separate houses with stone-paved yards and premises have been revealed within this living block. The floors of the houses were covered with a thick clay plaster. This complex was once subjected to considerable reconstruction when up to 1 m of earth was added to the floor level of some of the rooms. Notable discoveries include a fragmentary steel sword, found in the floor plaster, and fragments of red-figure vessels and terracotta. This unique complex was destroyed in a fire in the second quarter of the 5th century BC.

Only fragments of a number of walls, several rooms and about ten pits remained at the site from structures of the late 5th and the first half of the 4th centuries BC. A large ditch filled with soil and remains of burned wood was located in the central part of the site. Signs of burning and destruction were found in a small room measuring 1.56 × 2.4 m with tiles collapsed onto the floor. This room was undoubtedly part of some building which has not survived. This structure was later rebuilt with lime-plastered floors up to 10 cm thick above the destruction level. Traces of floors were found also to the north and to the east of this area. Such floors are typical only of the "sanctuary of Demeter", dated to the first half of the 4th century BC. Apparently the complex under study had been considerably larger than was previously believed. Among the finds, fragments of a black-glossed bowl with an inscription are worthy of mention. Its sherds were found in different areas of the excavation and in a pit (Fig. 3–4). Furthermore, a fragment of an amphora wall with a five-line graffito was uncovered in the layers of the second half of the 5th century BC covering a late archaic street. All the inscriptions on pottery from Myrmekion are now being prepared for publication.

The surviving layers of Ash-Hill 2 were investigated in 2008–2011. The total area of the ash hill excavation was 200 sq. m, but it should be noted that certain layers of the ash sometimes poured through its western wall so that the area covered by the ashes stretched up to 230–250 sq. m.

Moreover, about ¼ of the area of the ashes at the excavation was destroyed during the construction of a wartime shelter and its driveways. These cavities were filled though with the contents of the ash hill and



Sherd of an amphora with a five-line graffito. Section "I"

the finds made here are easily distinguishable from wartime objects. The thickness of the ash hill layers was 3.1–3.4 m. Over 350,000 fragments of ceramics, as well as hundreds of coins, pieces of bone and metal objects, terracottas, animal bones and other objects have been excavated. It was established that this ash hill grew most drastically in the first half of the 3rd century BC or, possibly, in the first two decades of that century, although it continued also up to the 2nd century BC. Moreover, some economic activity also took place here in the Roman period. Notable discoveries include several hundreds of amphora stamps, over 100 fragments of terracottas, a great number of fragments of graffiti and numerous copper coins.[3]

In 2006–2009 active investigations were conducted in area "TS", near the rock of the acropolis. During previous excavations a number of lapidary inscriptions had been found.[4] After the rock had been cleared

[3] Butyagin, Kolosov 2013 [А. М. Бутягин, В. П. Колосов, "Керамические материалы из раскопок зольника 2 городища Мирмекий: комплексный анализ", in: *Боспорский феномен: греки и варвары на евразийском перекрестке (материалы международной научной конференции)*], 155–161.

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from the soil, some coins and pottery of the 19th century, including traces of a French camp of the Crimean war period, were found. Unfortunately, there are traces of blasts here which have considerably distorted the appearance of the rock. In this mixed layer, a fragment of a unique large cameo (Fig. 5) was discovered, dating from the 1st century AD. It probably comes from a destroyed gorgeous tomb built in the 2nd century AD on the cape.[5] The occupation layer was preserved much better slightly closer to the northern edges of the rock.

The earliest complex here was a burial of the late Bronze Age found in an earth-pit grave lined with blocks of ragged stone. The deceased lay on his right side. The grave contents included a handmade pot and bird bones. This find put forward the question as to whether Cape Karantinny was already occupied in the pre-Greek period. It is of interest that one of the facing stone blocks from the burial was subsequently built into the wall of a late archaic house. Numerous fragments of painted glossed pottery and the remains of several ovens of the 6th century BC were found here. In the beginning of the 5th century BC, a block of Greek surface houses was built here. The remains of the masonry of the latter are still preserved. Three slabs are from the fencing of some monumental building, probably of the 4th century BC, which unfortunately was completely destroyed by subsequent reconstructions. It may be that a fragment of a large marble sculpture belonged to that building. These architectural remains were covered by the outstretches, up to 1.5 m thick, of the "eastern" ash heap dated to the 3rd–1st centuries BC, if not to an even later period. Fragments of relief ware are of note among the finds.

In the 1st century AD, during the construction of a large rural house, the earliest layers were subjected to considerable destruction. The base of the rural house constituted a terrace, probably dating from the Hellenistic period. This terrace was 24 m long, ranging along the edge of the rock (it was excavated to a length of about 24 m). The residential building was probably two storeys high, each divided into two rooms extending north to south. The dimensions of the house were 9 × 7.5 m. A paved courtyard was situated to the north of the house. A pithos embedded in the floor was found in a small western extension intended for economic purposes. It seems that there were other rooms on the terrace further to the west. Their presence was discovered during excavation in the beginning of the 1990s. Possibly the estate under consideration extended as far as the ruins of

[5] Vinogradov, Butyagin [Ю. А. Виноградов, А. М. Бутягин, *Мирмекийский саркофаг*], forthcoming.

a large tower which served as the main defense point of the complex. The structures are reliably dated by numismatic finds. Of note are fragments of a vessel from a mosaic glass. The buildings described were destroyed in the middle of the 2nd century AD and afterwards covered with a layer of collapsed adobe-and-stone walls.

The ancient layers were disturbed by pits of the 13th–15th centuries in connection with the medieval settlement of Pondiko. In one of the pits parts of a child skeleton were found. The child was probably killed during extermination of the local population by the Turks. There was also discovered an earth dwelling with a heated bench – "*sufa*" which is unique for the Crimea.

Future plans include investigations north of area "TS" and the completion of excavations in area "I" down to the virgin soil.

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A survey of the excavations at Myrmekion (the Northern coast of the Bay of Kerch) conducted by the Myrmekion expedition of the State Hermitage Museum in 2006–2013.

Обзор раскопок в Мирмекии (Северный берег Керченской бухты), проводившихся Мирмикийской экспедицией Государственного Эрмитажа в 2006–2013 гг.

PORTHMION ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION OF THE INSTITUTE FOR HISTORY OF MATERIAL CULTURE, RAS – INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY, NASU

The joint Porthmion archaeological expedition of IIMK, Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (until 2009, the Porthmion section of the Bosporan expedition of IIMK) is continuing the study of the ancient settlement of Porthmion and its necropolis in the eastern Crimea.[1] The excavations are basically of a rescue-conservation nature. Their primary goal is the completion of the study of earlier excavattions and damaged parts of the site.

The settlement. In the south-eastern sector of the site (excavation area Г/1) the expedition examined the course of the southern defensive wall of Porthmion in the archaic period, which survives in fragments. Fortifications here went along the southern limit of the plateau on which the ancient town was located. Huge, natural rocks of limestone were used in this wall's construction, sometimes slightly worked. Intervening space between these rocks was filled with smaller stones, while natural outcrops were incorporated within the structure (Fig. 1). It was possible to trace the course of this wall for some 20 metres. In an area adjacent to its north were found the remains of mud-brick walls, which belonged to houses of the archaic period. During cleaning of these houses were found fragments of East Greek tableware belonging to the third quarter-second half of the sixth century BC.

From 2008 to the present, excavation was conducted in the north-eastern portion of the site (excavation area B/2, Fig. 2). Here, over an area of about 400 square metres, were found items from different periods, from archaic to Hellenistic. Of particular interest were finds and complexes dated to the fourth century BC. This is a period very little studied at Porthmion, since its remains suffered particularly during the reconstruction of the town in the second half of the third century BC and are especially hard to trace. In

[1] Vakhtina 2005, 306–309; Vakhtina 2009 [М. Ю. Вахтина, "Порфмий – греческий город у переправы через Киммерийский Боспор", *Боспорские исследования*], 91–126.

the eastern section of this area, over some 30 square metres, were found the remains of a large above-ground complex, whose walls were aligned with the four points of the compass (Fig. 3). Two rooms survived, a northern and a southern (nos. 1–2). They shared a western wall, running north-south with minor deviations. The foundations of the wall were found to a length of 5.3 metres, surviving to a maximum height of some 0.4 metres and breadth of 0.60 metres. A second wall (no. 2, now demolished) separated the two rooms, running in an east-west direction. Its foundations could be traced for 3.75 metres, while its extant height reached 0.56 metres and its breadth 0.55–0.60 metres. The construction of these walls was irregular, with two extant courses. Wall no. 3 ran parallel to wall no. 2 and formed the northern wall of the complex. Only one course of its stones survived, traceable for a distance of 5.6 metres at a height of 0.35 metres and breadth of 0.4–0.45 metres. During study of the fill of these rooms were found remains of their clay floors. Fragments of amphorae and tableware here allowed the dating of this complex to the second half of the fourth century BC.

During work on the lower level of the floor of the northern room, by its western wall, a domestic pit (no. 1) was located (Fig. 4), sunk in the earth to a depth of 2.5 metres. Its upper part was oval, almost circular in shape, and measured 1.4 × 1.3 metres at its mouth. However, the pit as a whole was pear-shaped in that, at a depth of some 0.6–0.7 metres from its mouth, its sides began to open outwards, so that its base was 2.7 metres in diameter. It contained an abundance of finds – fragments of amphorae, plain tableware, black glaze, lamps and metal objects. Among these last were parts of two iron knives, two bronze rings (one, poorly preserved, depicting a bird or imaginary winged creature), and a belt-buckle. Most of the finds from this pit (no. 1) were dated to the fourth – first half of the third century BC.

Cleaning to the west of this complex showed an area devoid of building remains, or stonework. It is provisionally termed a “roadway”, and runs in a north-south direction. This “roadway” was studied for a distance of 7.15 metres, at a breadth of 3.20 metres. A lot of pottery was found here, overwhelmingly fragments of amphorae, of which the earliest date to the end of the sixth century and beginning of the fifth century BC. Most, however, belong to the fourth and third centuries BC.

In the western part of the “roadway” were found two rectangular limestone blocks, abutted (Fig. 5). They are of a soft, yellow-to-white limestone, well worked. They were probably part of a small altar of four such stones, from which the other two have been removed.[2] It is not hard to imagine the original form and size of this altar on the basis of the two

[2] Vakhtina, Vinogradov, Goroncharovsky 2010, 367–398.

extant blocks. It was rectangular, almosy square, in shape, approximately 2.05 × 2.01 metres, with a height of 0.70 metres. The original four blocks encompassed a rectangular space between them. It may be tentatively suggested that this altar at Porthmion was dedicated to chthonic deities.[3] This assumption bases on the construction of the object, which originally had a hole in the central part, allowing the offerings to get from the upper part to the soil. The lay in this area was soft and dark. We know that in ancient times this feature was typical for the altars where chtonic gods were worshiped.[4]

During study of the whole cultural layer in the eastern part of the excavation, very slight traces were found of an earlier structure (Fig. 6). Best preserved were the foundations of wall no. 4, running east-west. It was visible up to 1.90 metres in length, 0.40 metres wide at its base. Evidently, these are the remains of a building of the second half of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries BC. At a distance of 0.65 metres to the east of wall no. 4, cleaning revealed a portion of yet another wall (no. 5), running north-south. It survives to a length of 1.8 metres, being up to 0.25 metres high and 0.45 metres in breadth.

To the south of wall no. 4 was found a rectangularish depression, whose northern part went under that same wall. Its dimensions were 2.10 × 2.30 metres, to a depth of 0.83 metres. It was filled with dark brown sub-clay and other earth, including fragments of mud brick. This depression was cut into the ground beneath the cultural layers. Among the finds in this depression were fragments of Chian banded amphorae, with "eyes" at the neck, fragments of Aeolian amphorae (grey and red clay), a bronze ring and fragments of black glaze. Evidently, the depression is to be dated around the last quarter of the sixth century BC. Despite the lack of any remnants of construction here, we cannot exclude the possibility that this was part of a dugout structure.

The southeastern corner of the depression was cut by pit no. 3. It was round in shape, with a diameter of 1.10 metres at its mouth and a depth of 0.7 metres. It contained a large quantity of amphora fragments, including Chian and a stamped fragment of the upper portion of an amphora from Heraclea (Fig. 7).

In the western part of the excavation was found a building-complex of the hellenistic period (Fig. 8), from which we have the eastern (no. 7) and southern (no. 8) walls. The foundations of wall no. 7 were located to

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[3] Vakhtina 2013 [М. Ю. Вахтина, "Порфмийский алтарь", in: А. В. Коваленко (ed.), *Причерноморье в раннеантичное и скифское время. Сборник научных трудов, посвященных проф. В. П. Копылову*], 142–145.

[4] Yaviş 1949, 92–93.

a length of 6. 20 metres and a height of 0. 80 metres, running north-south with minor deviation. Wall no. 8 was built so as to join it at the southern side, surviving to a length of 3.60 metres and a height of 0.39 metres. In the area encompassed by these walls was found paving, being fragments of large limestone slabs. In the southern wall, at a distance of 1.2 metres from its eastern corner, was found a threshold, made of large, cut flagstones. This was probably the entrance to the interior of the building. The area excavated seems to have been part of the courtyard of a small dwelling of a kind typical for so-called "Late Porthmion". Finds there suggest a date in the second half of the third to second centuries BC.

In the northern sector work continues along the northern hellenistic wall of the settlement. Here were found large, unworked boulders of limestone, strewn about, which in antiquity belonged to the structure of the wall. Here in 2013 was found part of the foundation of a substantial wall, running north-south. It was traced to a distance of 3.80 metres, at a breadth of 1 metre at its base. Further east were found numerous fragments of Bosporan tiles with "royal" stamps.

The necropolis. The expedition continues its work on the necropolis of Porthmion, situated to the west of the settlement. Here were found burials of different types – individual inhumations in simple pits or in pits lined with stone slabs, as well as collective burials in crypts made with worked slabs of local limestone (Fig. 9).[5] Most of what was excavated here belongs to late hellenistic times.

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A survey of the excavations at Porthmion conducted by the archaeological expedition of IIMK, Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Обзор раскопок в Порфмии, проводившихся совместной экспедицией Института материальной культуры РАН и Института археологии Национальной академии наук Украины.

THE TAMAN DETACHMENT OF THE BOSPORAN EXPEDITION OF IIMK RAS, 2006–2013

From 2006 to 2013, the Taman team of the Bosporan Expedition of the Institute of the History of Material Culture (IIMK) RAS carried out investigations at four sites in the Southern part of the Taman Peninsula (Temryuk region of the Krasnodar Krai): at the necropolis and settlement-site of Artyushchenko-2, rural sites of Vyshesteblievskaya-11 and Vyshesteblievskaya-3.

Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2

The settlement-site and necropolis of Artyushchenko-2 are situated on the shore of the Black Sea, four kilometres South-East of the farmstead of Artyushchenko (Novoatamansky rural district). The flat-grave necropolis is located 250–300 m Eastward of the settlement and, similarly to the latter, is constantly degraded by strong erosion. At the largest scale, the regular works were carried out at the flat-grave necropolis of Artyushchenko-2.

In 2009, traces of large-scale clandestine diggings were first registered at the necropolis of Artyushchenko-2. From 2009 to 2013, 63 robbers' trenches were found throughout the territory of the cemetery. On the top surface near the most of them there were fragments of human bones, iron objects and other finds from the plundered burials. From 2006 to 2013, over 3352 sq. m of the necropolis were excavated with 117 burials discovered and investigated. From 2003 to 2013, the total area of about 3600 sq. m was investigated; 142 burials were discovered, of which 12 were re-investigated after the robbers. These graves were specially numerated by the letter "Г" (from Russian 'грабители' – 'robbers', see Table 1).

These works have demonstrated that the Northern boundary of the necropolis was located over 100 m further from the present-day shore precipice, while its extension from West to East must have been at least 200 m. Thus the area of the necropolis may presumably have been over 20 000 square m.

The most ancient of the discovered burials are dated from the late 6th century BC or the turn between the 6th/5th centuries BC, while the most recent ones belong to the 1st century AD. The majority of the burials identified are dated within the time span between the early 5th and early 4th centuries BC.

In the Northernmost and Easternmost investigated areas, ever increasing numbers of graves of the 3rd–2nd centuries BC have been found along with those of the 5th–4th centuries BC. This fact suggests that, in terms of topography, this necropolis was expanding from South-West to North-East. Thus in the Southern and Western areas of the cemetery, burials of the late 6th to early 4th century BC are predominant, while at the Northern and Eastern parts there are graves from the Hellenistic period. Archaeological investigations suggest the Eastward expansion of the necropolis.

Table 1. Investigations at the necropolis of Artyushchenko-2 in different years (areas, numbers and quantities of burials).

Excavation year	Excavated area, sq. m	Uncovered squares	Nos. of burials excavated	Quantity of burials
2002	0	—	1; 2	2
2003	43	А1–А3	3–6	4
2004	133	А1'–А3', А11', А12', Б1'–Б3', Б11', Б12'	7–13	7
2005	320	А10, А11, Б4–Б11, А4'–А10', Б4'–Б10', В36', В37'	14–25	12
2006	470	А11–А14, Б11–Б14, В8–В14, Г8–Г14, Д8–Д14, Е8–Е11	26–35	10
2007	494	В1–В7, Г1–Г7, В1'–В8', Г1'–Г8'	36–51	16
2008	495	Д1–Д7, Е1–Е7, Д1'–В8', Е1'–Г8', А12'–А14', Б13'–Б20'	52–66	15
2009	570	В9'–В14', Г9'–Г14', Д6'–Д17', Е6'–Е17'	67–81, Г1-Г5	16, 5
2010	389	Ж10–Ж8, З10–З8, И10–И8, К10–К8, М10–М8, Л10–Л8, В15'–В17', Г15'–Г17'	82–101, Г6–Г9	20, 4

Table 1 (end)

Excavation year	Excavated area, sq. m	Uncovered squares	Nos. of burials excavated	Quantity of burials
2011	412	Ж5'–Ж17', З5'–З17'	102–115, Г10, Г11	13, 2
2012	320	Ж3– Ж4', З3–З4', В18'–В20', Г18'–Г20'	116–126, Г12	11, 1
2013	202	В21'–В29', Г21'–Г29'	127–130	4
Total:	3848		1–130, Г1–Г12	130, 12

The characteristic features of the burial rite in the 5th and 4th centuries BC are demonstrated at this necropolis through the orientation of the dead, set of the accompanying goods and the design of the mortuary structures etc. In general, it seems that this burial rite at the necropoleis of the Taman Peninsula is a common one.[1]

The skeletons in these burials are lying extended on their back with the arms parallel to the body. The buried were oriented mostly with the head to the East or East with a slight deviation to the North. However, Southern and Northern orientations also occur, with major deviations. The grave goods were placed along the Southern or Western walls of the graves.

Black-glossed ware is usually found in burials with a relatively rich and diverse assemblage of grave goods (Fig. 1). During the recent period, black-glossed vessels of very different shapes have been discovered. Among them, there were black-glossed saltcellars of several types, of which an example from Burial 32 is here presented (Fig. 1, *1*).[2] Differing types of 'drinking cups', such as kylikes and skyphoi (Fig. 1, *3–4*), have also been found including those on high stems and on circular pedestals.[3] Occasionally, vessels of rare types are encountered, e.g. a small mug from burial 38 (Fig. 1, *2*).[4] 'Food pottery' is represented by two types: the first one comprises bowls on a pedestal which were predominant in the first half of the 5th century BC.[5] The second type includes bowls with

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1 Korovina 1987 [А. К. Коровина, "Раскопки некрополя Тирамбы", in: *Сообщения Государственного музея изобразительных искусств им. А. С. Пушкина*], 4.
2 Sparkes, Talcott 1970, nos. 826. 828.
3 Sparkes, Talcott 1970, nos. 436. 437. 438. 577. 578.
4 Sparkes, Talcott 1970, no. 202.
5 Sparkes, Talcott 1970, nos. 959. 960.

a single handle (one-handlers) which were in use in the second half of the 5th century BC.[6]

Painted ware has also been uncovered (Fig. 2): miniature skyphoi (kotylai), black-glossed kylikes, a kalpis, black-glossed lekythoi and a miniature oinochoe. Into the same group, cylindrical and aryballic lekythoi, mostly painted with palmettes, may be included.

The painted vessels from the necropolis of Artyushchenko-2 chronologically belong to the first and third quarters of the 5th century BC. The kylix with a representation of Dionysus dated to 490–480 BC is the most ancient example.[7] The latest ware comprises of cylindrical and aryballic lekythoi from 450–430 BC.[8] The more rare finds among this assemblage include a cylindrical lekythos with large horizontal palmettes and a pyxis with a representation of a hare.

Amphorae constituting funerary offerings were specially positioned in the graves – at the feet of the buried. They were found in the burials with the richest and most diverse grave goods.

All the burials with amphorae were found in mudbrick cists or graves with complicated mortuary structures that demanded much more expenditures compared with the construction of a simple ground grave.

In total, ten amphora containers have been found in the burials under consideration, of which nine were uncovered in Burials nos. 3, 24, 32, 40, 45, 47, 64, Г5 and Г8. The tenth amphora was confiscated by police from grave robbers.

The majority of these amphorae are attributable to the third and fourth series according to Sergey Yu. Monakhov; they are dated to within the span from the first third to first half of the 5th century BC. Particular vessels, however, may have belonged to the third series dated to the turn of the 6th to the 5th centuries BC.[9]

In Burial 24, a Chian conical amphora with a straight throat and a prototypical conical toe was uncovered. According to S. Yu. Monakhov, it is of type V-A which is dated to about the late 5th century BC.[10]

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6 Sparkes, Talcott 1970, nos. 749. 450. 751.

7 Moore, Philippides 1986, 382 no. 1564; *CVA France* 40, *Lille: Palais des Beaux-Arts. Université Charles-de-Gaulle* (Paris 2005) pl. 12.4–6; *CVA Danemark* 3, *Copenhague: Museum National* (Paris–Copenhague 1928) pl. 119.5.

8 Vickers, Kakhidze 2004, 364 Fig. 107, 457; Shtal' 2004 [И. В. Шталь, *Свод мифо-эпических сюжетов античной вазовой росписи по музеям Российской Федерации и стран СНГ*], 188 no. 30, 232.

9 Monakhov 2003 [С. Ю. Монахов, *Греческие амфоры в Причерноморье. Типология*], 40–41.

10 Monakhov 2003.

At this cemetery, the tradition to put amphorae into the graves was probably characteristic mostly of the 5th century BC. In burials dated from other periods no amphorae have so far been encountered. There are a few examples of burials with babies in amphorae. One such assemblage is represented by burial 120 where an extremely rare amphora was found (Fig. 3). This example is probably of Aegean origin dated to the 1st century AD, and therefore it presents one of the latest assemblages at the cemetery.

Of this amphora, the most of the body, along with the throat and a handle has survived; the lower body with the toe was lost, probably still in antiquity, when the body of a deceased child was being put into it. On the shoulder of the vessel, a graffito “ΛΟΗ” is scratched where the *omicron* is inscribed inside the *lambda*. The graffito on the amphora from burial 120 is probably a notation of the price in obols according to the alphabetical system.[11]

Almost everywhere, the grave offerings include two objects – a ‘vessel for wine’, most often an oinochoe (occasionally a pitcher or an amphora), and a bowl. Oinochoes (Fig. 4) and bowls are the main elements of the funerary assemblage, and in almost every burial where grave offerings were found, there was a combination of a bowl and an oinochoe, or at least one of them.

As demonstrated by archaeological observations, the large oinochoes were, as a rule, offered to adult men and women, while the smaller vessels were put into children’s graves. Many oinochoes were ornamented on the body by circular bands painted in red, brown and white, and a wavy line around the shoulder. Depending on the quality of clay, baking and paint, this ornamentation survived fairly well in some cases, but occasionally was almost completely deleted.

On the basis of morphological features, two main types of oinochoes are recognizable: namely those with low and high throats. In the first case, the body is oval or globular with the throat occasionally rather indistinctly marked. In terms of its ratio, the height of the throat is from 1/4 to 1/3 compared to the height of the body. A characteristic example of this is represented by the oinochoe from burial no. 81. In the second variant, the body is globular and the throat is distinctly standing out. The height of the throat is approximately 1/2 of the height of the body. An example of this is the oinochoe from burial no. 86. The examples mentioned are the most characteristic of the types concerned, but some of the finds may be considered as transitional variants.

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[11] Kashaev, Pavlichenko 2013 [С. В. Кашаев, Н. А. Павличенко, “Погребения №№ 119–120 из некрополя Артющенко-2”], 133–138.

Parallels to the oinochoes found in the burials under study can be found among materials from excavations of different sites at Bosporos, including the necropoleis of Tyramba[12] and Nymphaion,[13] and the townsites of Hermonassa [14] and Gorgippia.[15]

The male graves that were excavated at the necropolis under study often contained a more diverse and rich set of grave goods compared with the female burials. However golden objects have only been found in women's graves. The gold ornaments uncovered are all similar to each other in shape and are represented by two main types. The first type is constituted by globular hollow beads. The second type includes globular beads similar to those of the first type in terms of their form, but in their lower part, a grain-shaped pendant is attached to them (Fig. 5).

These ornaments, in comparison with objects retrieved from other rich flat graves and kurgans, are not marked by any diversity and are rather modestly finished. This is due to the fact that the dead buried at the necropolis of Artyushchenko-2 were residents of a rural settlement, and were unable to acquire any expensive and luxurious ornaments. Simultaneously, the form of the golden beads from the necropolis of Artyushchenko-2, along with the technique of their making, are quite characteristic of jewellery from the 5th century BC.[16]

The above set of grave offerings characterizes the necropolis of Artyushchenko-2 as a typical one of its period placing it into a single series with the other known archaic necropoleis of Bosporos or the Northern Black Sea region in general.

The peak of the frequency of burials occurs in the second and third quarters of the 5th century BC. Graves of that period contain the most diverse and rich grave goods which reflect the everyday life of the deceased as well as the trade and cultural relations of the region. In the early 4th century, burial rites were slightly transformed: the numbers of grave offerings decreased and became less diversified. This may have been connected either with changes in funerary traditions among the previous population or with an influx of foreigners bringing their traditions with them.

[12] Korovina 1987 [А. К. Коровина, "Раскопки некрополя Тирамбы", in: *Сообщения Государственного музея изобразительных искусств им. А. С. Пушкина*], 10 Fig. 7.

[13] Gaydukevich 1959 [В. Ф. Гайдукевич, "Некрополи некоторых боспорских городов", *МИА*], 163 Fig. 8; 180 Fig. 44; Grach 1999 [Н. Л. Грач, *Некрополь Нимфея*], 203 Pl. 29.4

[14] Korovina 2002 [А. К. Коровина, *Гермонасса. Античный город на Таманском полуострове*], 145 Pl. 16.1.

[15] Alekseeva 1997 [Е. М. Алексеева, *Античный город Горгиппия*], 288 Pl. 8.

[16] Uiljams, Ogden 1995, 129 = Williams, Ogden 1994, 272.

Settlement-site of Artyushchenko-2

At the settlement-site of Artyushchenko-2, which presumably belonged to the chora of Hermonassa, the investigations from 2006 to 2013 were conducted in three areas: Excavation-3, Excavation-5 and Excavation-6 (Table 2).

In the elevated part of the settlement of Artyushchenko-2, georadar prospections were performed and have indicated the presence of a large anomaly. Here, Excavation-5 (P-5) began in order to more precisely define the archaeological situation in this area.

In the course of excavations conducted from 2009 to 2010 at P-5, throughout the area of 160 sq. m, a series of household pits and other structures of the antiquity have been distinguished. The depth of the excavated layer at P-5 amounted to about 1.30 m.

As to the aforementioned geophysical anomaly, on its place an earthen dugout dated to the period of World War II was discovered. The maximum height of the fill of the dugout was 2.25 m.

Thus, notwithstanding the seeming failure, the mentioned georadar surveys confirmed the effectiveness of the application of remote sensing in archaeology.

The materials retrieved from Excavation-5 suggest that the main phases of occupation of the site within the excavated area are dated to the 4th century BC along with the second half of the 3rd to first half of the 2nd century BC.

To the first period of occupation, four household pits were pertaining. The second period is represented by fairly odd structures: a borrow pit with amphora-like outlines (6.5 × 2.5–4.5 m, depth 0.15–0.20 m) and a trench of Г-shaped plan (length 3.40 m; width 1.25 m and depth 0.25–0.50 m). All these features are located close to aggregations of iron ore protruding to the surface of the virgin soil. It seems that both the borrow pit and the trench served for the extraction of iron ore and were formed by activities of ore miners.

During the excavations, miscellaneous artefacts were found: a series of Bosporan coins, fragments of terracotta figurines and ceramic vessels including black-glossed ware, bronze objects (Fig. 6). A very uncommon find was that of a bronze cymbal.[17] In the Northern Black Sea littoral, objects of this type are very rare.

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[17] Vinogradov 2013 [Ю. А. Виноградов, “Кимвал из раскопок поселения Артющенко-2 на Таманском полуострове”, in: *Причерноморье в античное и раннесредневековое время*], 146–148.

Table 2. Excavations at the site of Artyushchenko-2 by years (excavation pits, area and number of structures).

Excavation	Years	Area, sq. m	Amount of household pits
P-1	1998–2000	530	21
P-2	1998	75	0
P-3	1999, 2013	145	7
P-4	2000, 2002	70	2
P-5	2009, 2010	160	15
P-6	2013	100	1
Total:	1998–2013	1055	44

Excavation-3 (P-3) is located on a high, precipitous seashore. It began in 1999 and in 2013 it was expanded Eastwards (Table 2). Excavations resulted in the discovery of 7 household pits dating from the third quarter of the 5th to the 4th century BC.

Excavation-6 (P-6) was begun in 2013 in an abandoned ploughed field, 100 m to the North of Excavation-3. Here, within the area of 100 sq. m (Table 2), an altar dug into the earth was found. It was constructed of the lower parts of two Chian amphorae with capped toes dated to the mid-4th century BC.

At the same excavation, a pit dated to the last quarter of the 6th or early 5th century BC was cleared. This is the most ancient pit found at the settlement under study. It contained a buried dog laid on its back along the Northern edge, with its head facing to the East. It was most likely a ritual burial.

Settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-11

The settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-11, which probably constituted the chora of Phanagoria, is situated on the high shore of the Kiziltash Liman (Kiziltash Estuary) 4 km South-East of the Cossack village of Vyshesteblievskaya (in Vyshesteblievsky rural district). This site includes an unfortified settlement and a fortress in the North-Eastern part. From 2006 to 2013, investigations were carried out in Excavation-1 (P-1) and Excavation-3 (P-3).

Table 3. Investigations at the settlement-site of Vyshesteblievskaya-11 by years (excavations, area and amount of structures).

Excavation	Year	Area, sq. m	Number of household pits	Number of architectural complexes
P-1	1999–2008	1225	56	16
P-2	2001	40	6	0
P-3	2003–2006	425	32	2
Total:	1999–2008	1690	94	18

As we suppose, the works in Excavation-1 have succeeded in defining the structural layout of the excavated area in this site (Fig. 7). Identification of at least a partial plan of a rural ancient Greek settlement is a rare and important discovery.

Excavation-1 is situated along the shore precipice South-West from the fortress. In 2006–2008, an area of 125 sq. m was excavated here, while the total area investigated between 1999 and 2008 is 1225 sq. m.

In total in P-1, 56 household pits and 16 building assemblages have been found (Table 3). All of these structures belong to different chronological phases of the settlement's occupation, from the second half of the 5th century BC to the 7th–10th centuries AD.

In the North-Eastern section of Excavation-1, a length of Road-1 and a number of building complexes were investigated. The building complexes found here (CK-8 – CK-14) were situated on both sides of Road-1. It is probable that they constituted one of the houseblocks of the settlement.

Almost all of the architectural complexes (CK-8 – CK-16) were constructed using one and the same building technique. They present structures slightly embedded into the virgin loam, with walls constructed from mudbricks (adobe). These walls were erected upon a levelled earth surface without any foundations or stone socles. On the outside, the walls were plastered in order to be protected from erosion. After the complexes were abandoned, their adobe walls started to gradually collapse. In most cases, the remains of these structures are 'readable' owing only to the surviving dense floors. These floors were repeatedly daubed, which resulted into thick (occasionally up to 10 cm) and dense stratified layers. The floors cleared were fairly well preserved. They enabled the locations and approximate internal dimensions of the rooms to be defined. The external dimensions were slightly larger due to the thickness of the adobe walls. The reconstructed thickness of the mudbrick walls was about 0.4 m. On the basis of the composite plan of excavations from 1999 to 2008, a reconstruction of the building layout in the North-Eastern area of Excavation-1 was fulfilled. The discovered objects and architectural complexes are discussed in greater detail below.

Road-1 ran throughout the entire excavated area from North-West to South-East, i. e. from the centre of the settlement towards the shore precipice (Fig. 7). Throughout the excavated area it was traced as a belt of very dense clay in which numerous ceramic fragments were rammed.

The surface of Road-1 was recognizable at a depth of about 0.4–0.5 m from the modern soil surface. The road was about 3.5 m wide and it has been traced to a length of approximately 25 m.

Among the finds from the layer above Road-1, fairly small fragments of amphora walls and amphora handles predominated – however, profile fragments have also been encountered. These all belonged to Lesbian, Mendean and Chian plump-necked and straight-necked amphorae. These fragments mostly belonged to the late 5th century BC, although a few finds are dated from the later period.

The dates of ceramic fragments retrieved from the layer of Road-1 suggest that the latter was constructed approximately in the late 5th – early 4th century BC. It seems that about the same time, the layout of the houseblock was planned which then existed for a long period.

Three architectural complexes СК-6, СК-15 and СК-16 were situated near Road-1 and their positions seem to have been influenced by it. Building complex-6 (СК-6) is located slightly aside from Road-1 constituting the second row of the structures. This has the same orientation as all the others and was constructed in a similar building technique.

СК-6, excavated in 2001–2002 turned out to be one of the most uncommon and distinctive among the structures uncovered.[18] It is of rectangular plan with an internal room measuring about 3.0 × 6.0 m. During the excavation of its fill, a gravestone with a representation of seven-branched candlesticks was found along with a stone pavement constructed of five other similar tombstones.[19]

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18 Kashaev, Kashovskaya 2008 [С. В. Кашаев, Н. В. Кашовская, "Культовый комплекс (СК-6) и эпиграфические материалы с поселения Вышестеблиевская-11", *Древности Боспора*], 340–362.

19 Kashaev, Kashovskaya 2009 [С. В. Кашаев, Н. В. Кашовская, "Иудейская диаспора на Боспоре по данным археологии", in: *Archeologia Abrahamica. Исследования в области археологии и художественной традиции иудаизма, христианства и ислама*], 62.

Almost all of the uncovered architectural complexes (СК-6 to СК-16) are similar in their design and were constructed in the same technique and tradition. They all constituted a single building system, probably representing one of the 'houseblocks' of the settlement.

From one of the houses (СК-12), the bases of walls constructed of small undressed stones have survived. This structure is marked by the technique of its construction, but it generally corresponds to the given system of building layout. СК-12 was constructed at the location of a previous structure (СК-14) covering the latter over its area. Thus new houses were erected in the places of the destroyed older ones, while the existing plan of the 'houseblocks' was preserved.

No orientation of any houses on the cardinal points has been identified. Their orientation was linked primarily with the relief and topography of the locality, the close shore precipice, as well as with the earthen fortifications in the Northern section of the site. It is exactly the fortress that may have been the centre to which the layout of the unfortified part of the settlement was tied.[20]

Building complexes СК-8 to СК-16, on the basis of ceramic finds retrieved from their fills, belong to a later period of occupation of the settlement, and are preliminarily dated to the 2nd–6th centuries AD. Continuation of the studies of the ceramic finds from the complexes under consideration will be helpful in obtaining more precise dates.

The complexes most interesting for us at Excavation-1 are dated from the second half of the 5th century BC. They yielded a large quantity of finds including black-glossed and painted ware (Fig. 8).

In Excavation-3, the investigations were expanded throughout the area of 112.5 sq. m with the thickness of the excavated layer extending up to 1.4 m. The total area investigated at Excavation-3 during all these years has amounted to 425 sq. m (Table 3).

A series of newly discovered household pits has been registered (nos. 26–31). Of fair interest was the excavated building complex СК-2. It had a structure of rectangular plan slightly sunk into the soil. On the South-Eastern side there was a long narrow entrance. In the centre of СК-2 there was an oven measuring 1.0 × 1.1 m constructed of red-brown fired clay. Lateral walls of the oven have survived to the height of 15–20 cm while its upper vault with a rounded mouth in the centre collapsed inside

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20 Tsin'ko 2013 [А. С. Цинько, "Геофизические исследования крепости на поселении Вышестеблиевская-11", in: *Боспорский феномен: греки и варвары на евразийском перекрестке*], 712–717.

the oven. The fire chamber was constructed inside the North-Eastern wall, and around it there was much ash and many pieces of charcoal. No cinders nor ceramics, nor other materials suggesting any manufacturing process, have been discovered. So it seems that this oven was used exclusively for domestic purposes.

All the artefacts and structures uncovered in Excavation-3 are dated from the 4th–2nd centuries BC. Notable among the finds are a fragmentary blade of a machaira,[21] a phallus-shaped nozzle of a black-gloss ceramic vessel,[22] a terracotta figurine of sitting Silenus[23] and a redware plate (Fig. 9).

Settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3

At the settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3, which probably belonged to the rural surroundings of Phanagoria situated in the area of construction and reconstruction of the railway station Vyshesteblievskaya, rescue archaeological investigations have been carried out. The site under consideration is 4 km North-East from the Cossack village of Vyshesteblievskaya.

In accordance with the terms of the rescue works, the excavation was started at the area of 6 × 500 m measuring 3000 sq. m. The excavation was extended along the line of the railroad from West to East. This site had never been excavated before; only archaeological reconnaissance had been conducted.

The finds from the cultural deposits are datable to within the 5th century BC – 1st century AD. The earliest finds may be attributed to the late 6th or the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

In the course of the excavations, various objects were uncovered: 31 household pits (including a well and an underground passage) and a feature arbitrarily named "Ditch". Originally the latter may have served a defensive purpose, but afterwards it became a dump and was covered

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[21] Gritsik 2004 [Е. В. Грицик, "Находки предметов вооружения на поселении Вышестеблиевская-11", in: *Боспор Киммерийский, Понт и варварский мир в период античности и средневековья. Этнические процессы. Сборник научных материалов V Боспорских чтений*], 104–108.

[22] Kashaev 2006 [С. В. Кашаев, "Фигурный носик сосуда из раскопок поселения Вышестеблиевская-11", in: *Боспор Киммерийский, Понт и варварский мир в период античности и средневековья. Ойкос. Сборник научных материалов VII Боспорских чтений*], 176–179.

[23] Tsin'ko 2007 [А. С. Цинько, "Терракотовые статуэтки сельского поселения Вышестеблиевская-11", in: *Боспорский Феномен. Сакральный смысл региона, памятников, находок*], Part 1, 217–220.

with soil. The excavated archaeological complexes are dated to the 5th–2nd centuries BC.

In the course of the excavation of the cultural deposits and of the fill of the complexes, a considerable number of ceramic fragments, mostly sherds of amphorae, have been found.

Table 4 presents information on the total number of finds retrieved from layers, pits and the "Ditch" according to the types of finds and their percentage. As the table demonstrates, 43 997 artefacts in total have been retrieved during the excavations, including 246 fragments of tiles (0.56%), 39 428 fragments of amphorae (89.62%), 2 409 sherds of tableware (5.48%), 921 fragments of handmade vessels (2.09%), 182 glossed vessels (0.41%), 811 miscellaneous other finds (1.84%).

Table 4. The total amount of finds retrieved from the cultural deposits and archaeological complexes and their percentage.

	Tiles	Amphorae	Tableware	Handmade	Glossed	Other
Total	246	39428	2409	921	182	811
%	0,56	89,62	5,48	2,09	0,41	1,84

Along with fragments of amphorae, several almost complete vessels have been found (Fig. 10). Over 70 amphora stamps and impressions from diverse Greek centres have also been obtained (Sinope, Herakleia, Thasos, Chios, Rhodes etc.).[24] Of interest is an almost complete Sinopean amphora with a dipinto on the throat.

From the fill of household pits, not only large fragments but also archaeologically complete vessels have been retrieved (Fig. 11). Finds reflecting religious beliefs of the ancient dwellers of the settlement comprise terracotta figurines and reliefs representing the most worshiped goddesses – Demeter and Aphrodite (Fig. 12, *1–2*). This cultural layer holds small fragments of black-glossed and painted ware of Attic manufacture. Pit 22 yielded a rare kylix dated to the first quarter of the 4th century BC. (Fig. 13, *3*). Its painting is close in its type to works of Master Q from the circle of the Jena Painter who was active during that period. In the strata of the settlement and the uncovered structures, a considerable series of bronze coins (over 40 pieces) from the 4th century BC to the 1st century AD

[24] Kashaev, Pavlichenko 2014 "Kollekcija…" [С. В. Кашаев, Н. А. Павличенко, "Коллекция амфорных клейм из раскопок поселения Вышестеблиевская-3", *Записки ИИМК*], in press.

have been found. The finds also include bronze arrowheads, a leaden sling shot, grindstones and fragmentary lamps. Among the unique finds are two Greek inscriptions on ostraca.[25]

In general, the materials obtained during excavation of the settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-3 are dated to the time span from between the 5th century BC and the 1st century AD.

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S. V. Kashaev, N. V. Kashovskaya, "Kul'tovyj kompleks (SK-6) i epigraficheskije materialy s poselenija Vyshesteblievskaja-11" ["Cult Complex (SK-6) and Epigraphic Materials from the Settlement-site of Vyshesteblievskaya-11"], *Drevnosti Bospora* 12: 1 (2008) 340–362.

S. V. Kashaev, N. V. Kashovskaya, "Iudejskaja diaspora na Bospore po dannym arkheologii" ["Judaic Diaspora in Bosporos through the Evidence of Archaeology"], in: *Archeologia Abrahamica. Issledovanija v oblasti arkheologii i khudozhestvennoj tradicii iudaizma, khristianstva i islama* (Moscow 2009) 55–77.

[25] Kashaev, Pavlichenko 2014 "O datirovke…" [С. В. Кашаев, Н. А. Павличенко, "О датировке письма на остраконе с поселения Вышестеблиевская-3", in: *Боспорские чтения XV. Боспор Киммерийский и варварский мир в период античности и средневековья. Актуальные проблемы хронологии*], 219–225.

S. V. Kashaev, N. A. Pavlichenko, "Pogrebenija №№ 119–120 iz nekropolja Art'ushchenko-2" ["Burials nos. 119–120 from the Necropolis of Artyushchenko-2"], in: *KOINON ΔΩPON. Studies and Essays in Honour of the 60-year Jubilee of Valeriy Pavlovich Nikonorov* (St Petersburg 2013) 133–138.

S. V. Kashaev, N. A. Pavlichenko, "Kollekcija amfornykh klejm iz raskopok poselenija Vyshesteblievskaja-3" ["Collection of Amphora Stamps from Excavations of the Settlement-site Vyshesteblievskaya-3"], *Zapiski IIMK* 9 (2014), in press.

S. V. Kashaev, N. A. Pavlichenko, "O datirovke pis'ma na ostrakone s poselenija Vyshesteblievskaja-3" ["On Dating of a Letter on an Ostracon from the Settlement-site Vyshesteblievskaya-3"], in: *Bosporskije chtenija XV. Bospor Kimmerijskij i varvarskij mir v period antichnosti i srednevekov'ja. Aktual'nyje problemy khronologii* (Kerch 2014), 219–225.

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Обзор раскопок некрополя и поселений Артющенко-2, Вышестеблиевская-11 и Вышестеблиевская-3 (юг Таманского п-ова), проводившихся Таманским отрядом Боспорской экспедиции Института материальной культуры РАН в 2006–2013 гг.

EXCAVATIONS AT THE SETTLEMENT OF ARTYUSHCHENKO I (BUGAZSKOE) ON THE TAMAN PENINSULA

The classical-time settlement of Artyushchenko I (Bugazskoe) is situated on the Taman peninsula, approximately 15 km south-east of what is now the Cossack village (*stanitsa*) Taman (ancient Hermonassa), on the shore of the Black Sea. The settlement has been partly demolished by coastal corrosion. Excavations at Artyushchenko I are conducted by the Bougaz group of the Bosporan Archaeological Expedition from the Institute for the History of Material Culture (St Petersburg). These investigations revealed the intermittent history of the site.[1] Populations came and went for long periods of time.

The site is divided into east and west by an ancient ravine. The results of the excavations also revealed that the eastern side was inhabited in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, while the western side was only occupied during the Roman period. During the Archaic period (last third of the 6th – first third of the 5th century BC) it was mainly populated by natives of agricultural tribes from the Kuban River region.[2] The settlement was probably part of the rural surroundings (χώρα) of the *polis* Hermonassa. It seems that it was a temporary (seasonal) settlement, visited by the agriculturalists only during times of field labour.

Remnants of the Classical period (the middle of the 4th century BC) are less numerous. In the Hellenistic period (the second half of the 3rd century – the first part of the 2nd century BC) an iron metallurgy workshop existed for the production of iron.[3] The small amount of hand-

[1] Vinogradov 2013 [Ю. А. Виноградов, “Основные итоги изучения поселения Артющенко I (Таманский полуостров)”, *Проблемы истории, филологии и культуры*], 233–241.

[2] Vinogradov 2002 [Ю. А. Виноградов, “Архаические комплексы поселения Артющенко I”, *Таманская старина*], 61–66; Vinogradov 2006 [“Лепная керамика архаического времени с поселения Артющенко I на Таманском полуострове”, *Записки ИИМК РАН*], 69–76.

[3] Vinogradov 2010 [Ю. А. Виноградов, “Железоделательная мастерская на поселении Артющенко I (Таманский полуостров)”, *Боспорские чтения*], 80–84.

made pottery,[4] the presence of Bosporan coins,[5] terracotta figurines[6] etc. suggest that it was primarily Greeks who lived here during this period. This workshop was linked to a series of cult complexes in which, or near which, a concentration of numerous terracotta figurines has been found. The cult installations suggest that the small sanctuary was connected to the workshop.[7]

Excavations over the last years have taken place on the western part of the site. Life began here in the 1st century AD, and it was also non-continuous. The settlement history reveals two periods of inhabitation in Roman times: pre-Gothic (1st century AD – first half of the 3rd century AD) and post-Gothic (the second half of the 4th century AD).

The remains of six primitive ground-dwellings and numerous pits belong to the pre-Gothic period. Some pits contained skeletons of dogs and pigs (Fig. 1); these finds may be understood to be sacrificial. In one pit four human skulls were found alongside other human and animal bones (Fig. 2). The pit and ground-dwelling discoveries are typical of the culture of agricultural population of the Bosporan kingdom during the Roman period (Fig. 3). It should also be stressed that the pieces of hand-made pottery discovered there were manufactured in a way typical of local barbarian tribes, and are characteristically found in settlements in this region (Fig. 3, *4–8*).

In all probability during this period the settlement was both rural and seasonal. Finds of charred cereal grains suggest that the peasants mainly sowed naked wheat (*Triticum aestivum s. l.*) and six-rowed barley (*Hordeum vulgare*). This combination is typical of the Greek colonies of the Northern

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4 Stoyanov 2009 [Р. В. Стоянов, "Лепная керамика второй половины III – первой половины II вв. до н. э. из раскопок поселения Артющенко I (1999–2006 гг.)", *Боспорские исследования*], 268–282.

5 Vinogradov, Tereshchenko 2009 [Ю. А. Виноградов, А. Е. Терещенко, "Монеты с поселения Артющенко I на Таманском полуострове", *Боспорские исследования*], 135–149.

6 Vinogradov 2005 [Ю. А. Виноградов, "Терракотовые статуэтки поселения Артющенко I", in: *Четвертая Кубанская археологическая конференция. Тезисы и доклады*], 44–46; Vinogradov 2008 [Ю. А. Виноградов, "Терракотовые статуэтки с изображением актера и музыкантов с поселения Артющенко I на Таманском полуострове", in: *Инструментальная музыка в межкультурном пространстве. Проблемы артикуляции*], 181–184; Novikova 2007 [А. Н. Новикова, "Изображение силена из Артющенко I", in: *Боспорский феномен: сакральный смысл региона, памятников, находок. Материалы международной научной конференции*], 207–210.

7 Vinogradov 2007 [Ю. А. Виноградов, "Культовые комплексы поселения Артющенко I на Таманском полуострове", *Боспорские чтения*], 62–65; Vakhtina, Vinogradov, Goroncharovskiy 2010, 370–373.

Black sea region.[8] However, in 2012 a small part of the threshing-floor (5,60 × 4,80 m) was excavated. The area was covered with a layer of clay (5 cm thick). A large amount of charred grains of cereals were found during this investigation of the threshing-floor, but what is highly unusual is that grains of bearded wheat (*Triticum monococcum*) were the most numerous here. This kind of wheat was characteristic of the stepp-forest zone of the Ukraine and not of Taman peninsula or Kuban River region.[9]

The remains of three ground-dwellings belong to the post-Gothic period, of which one is well-preserved (Fig. 4).[10] It is rectangular in shape, with a two-part clay heath situated in the corner. The pottery found in this ground-dwelling is both numerous and diverse, with fragments of various types of hand-made pottery forming the majority of the collection. The set of grains found near the heath is typical of such a find, with naked wheat (*Triticum aestivum s. l.*) the dominant component.

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[9] Pashkevich 2005 [Г. О. Пашкевич, "Археологія та палеоетноботаніка", *Археологія*], 82–83.

[10] Vinogradov 2011 [Ю. А. Виноградов, "Комплекс IV в. н. э. на поселении Артющенко I (Таманский полуостров)", in: *Европейская Сарматия. Сборник, посвящённый Марку Борисовичу Щукину*], 314–320.

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Обзор раскопок поселения Артющенко I (Бугазское), проводившихся Боспорской экспедицией Института материальной культуры РАН.

THE TOWNSITE OF SEMIBRATNEYE (LABRYS) RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS IN 2006–2009

The site of Semibratneye, covering an area of about 10 hectares, is located 28 km to the northeast of what is now the city of Anapa (ancient Gorgippia) on the left bank of the Kuban River (Fig. 1). It has been known by this name for more than a hundred years dating from 1878 when the first small excavations were conducted here by Vladimir G. Tiesenhausen,[1] who had previously excavated the famous Semibratneye (*Seven Brothers*) barrows. The next phase of the investigations began with an expedition of the Krasnodar Museum under Nikita V. Anfimov (1938–1940, 1949–1952, 1954–1955).[2] At that time no epigraphic documents were available which would have enabled us to identify the name of this ancient city. It only became possible after the fortunate discovery of a dedicatory inscription of the Bosporan king Leukon I (389/88–349/48 BC).[3]

It is now possible to identify five building periods of construction in Labrys: (1) the beginning of the 5th century BC to the beginning of the 4th century BC: the erection of defensive walls, first in the northern part and later in the southern section of the city which then flourished under the power of the so-called Sindian Kingdom; (2) the second quarter to the end of the 4th century BC: the total reconstruction of the entire defensive line after fires and destruction caused by the military events in Sindike (Polyaen. 8. 55) and the annexation of the latter by the Bosporan Kingdom under Leukon I; (3) late 4th to 3rd century BC: the gradual recovery of urban life after yet another devastation of Labrys and the final destruction

[1] *ОАК* 1878–1879, VIII–IX.

[2] Anfimov 1941 [Н. В. Анфимов, "Новые данные к истории Азиатского Боспора", *СА*], 258–267; Anfimov 1951 ["Раскопки Семибратнего городища", *КСИИМК*], 238–244; Anfimov 1953 ["Исследования Семибратнего городища", *КСИИМК*], 99–111.

[3] Tokhtas'ev 1998 [С. Р. Тохтасьев, "К чтению и интерпретации посвятительной надписи Левкона I с Семибратнего городища"], 286–302; Vinogradov 2002 [Ю. Г. Виноградов, "Левкон, Гекатей, Октамасад и Горгипп", *ВДИ*], 3–22; Yaylenko 2004 [В. П. Яйленко, "Вотив Левкона I из Лабриса", *Древности Боспора*], 425–445; Tokhtas'ev 2006, 1–25.

of the former defensive system, the creation of the *temenos* in the southern area of the townsite; (4) late 3rd to 1st century BC: construction of new defensive walls with towers and a large fortified building in the northern part of the townsite; (5) the end of the 1st century BC to the turn from the 1st to the 2nd century AD: most of the urban area was abandoned, and there arose a settlement which existed for about a hundred years near the ruins of the fortified building.

In 2001 the archaeological investigations of Labrys were resumed under the direction of the author of this article by the Bosporan Expedition of the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St Petersburg). During the first five field sessions, the excavations were carried out mainly in the southern part of the townsite.[4] Archaeologists have found here the remains of the *temenos* of the 3rd century BC with a fencing wall and a small two-stepped altar. The encircling wall consisted of a single row of enormous yellowish limestone blocks measuring from 0.6 × 0.32 × 0.28 m to 1.1 × 0.56 × 0.26 m. This structure is very similar to that of the remains at the eastern limits of the Olbian *temenos* dating from the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC [5] and the boundaries of the sacred precincts at the temple complex dating from the 4th to the mid-3rd centuries BC in Nymphaion.[6]

Studies of the earlier levels have revealed a defensive wall and an entrance-tower dating to the second quarter of the 5th century BC. They were destroyed in the beginning of the 4th century BC and rebuilt about the middle of the same century. At the end of the 4th century BC, the defensive system of Labrys once again suffered from military operations. The three-step staircase preserved at the *temeno*s up to the destruction level suggests that there were no defensive walls in this section of the town during the subsequent period.

From 2006 to 2009, the main goals of the expedition included geomagnetic surveys throughout the entire archaeological site (Fig. 1) and further investigation of Anfimov's excavation area 'A' in the northern area of Labrys where he uncovered the remains of a Hellenistic fortified building.

The first attempt at magnetic prospecting of the territory of Labrys was undertaken in 2006 by a German geophysical team of Prof. Harald Stümpel (Kiel University) who used a mobile multi-sensor system.

[4] Goroncharovskiy 2005, 320–325.

[5] Levi 1985 [Е. И Леви, *Ольвия. Город эпохи эллинизма*], 74 fig. 62.

[6] Sokolova 2001 [О. Ю. Соколова, "Новая надпись из Нимфея", *Древности Боспора*], 375 Fig. 1.

However, because of the numerous large stones and deep furrows in the field, it was only possible to investigate a strip about 70 m wide and 160 m long, at which the surface of the townsite was the smoothest. In the same year, another geomagnetic survey was conducted by Tatyana N. Smekalova in a raised area near excavation I. In 2007–2008 she composed a geomagnetic map of the entire southern part of the settlement (Fig. 2).[7] The complications mentioned above allowed the researchers to conduct the surveys only in successive passes using the GSM-19WG magnetometer. A second identical apparatus was installed at a 'reference' point with the 'normal' magnetic field. Subsequently the reference data was used for correcting the results by subtraction of the variable values of the Earth's magnetic field from the spatial measurements. From the very beginning a coordinate grid oriented to the four cardinal points was used. In order to cover the maximum area in the western part of the townsite, this grid was later re-oriented along the edge of the forest shelter-belt. The measurements were conducted with an interval of 0.5 m between the measuring lines and 0.25–0.3 metres lengthwise. The sensor was kept at a height of approximately 0.3 m above the surface.

One substantial result of the studies described above involved the identification of the precise boundaries of the southern section of our archaeological site. The magnetic map composed suggests that this area had a trapezoid form. Apparently it was the result of the ditch having been filled with burnt wooden material which had collapsed in the fire. It is notable that this magnetic anomaly is observed only at the southern edge of the defensive line where the surface is absolutely even. Possibly, at some stage of the occupation of Labrys, a rampart and wattle fences, the gaps between which were filled with earth, were constructed as an extra obstacle in front of the ditch. The height of these defensive structures barely exceeded 4 m.[8]

The base of the 'trapezium' is approximately 200 m wide. The lengths of its lateral sides are around 100 and 130 metres. They are at an angle of 77˚ to the base. At the southern, eastern and western sides, a noticeable increase of the intensity of magnetic anomalies is observable at several points which, so it seems, correspond to a gate defended by towers. It is of interest that at the southern line of the fortification there are two similar points, which enabled unexpected sallies if the enemy would have attempted to seize the city from this side.

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[7] Smekalova 2010, 103–110.

[8] Compare with the reconstruction of the defensive walls of this type: Marčenko, Źitnikov, Kopylov 2000, 76–77 Pl. 9 Fig. 18.

After examination of an aerial photo of 1959 fifteen years ago, Yuriy V. Gorlov and Yuriy A. Lopanov reconstructed the contours of the townsite of Labrys as having the form of a keyhole with a rectangular southern part.[9] Most likely, this assumption was due to the authors interpreting the external outlines of two large rectangular buildings as the remains of the defensive walls (Fig. 2, letters C and F) and another building with two extended rooms as the tower of the southern gate (Fig. 2, letter B). As typical of other examples of Greek fortification, the buildings were located at some distance from the defensive walls: a free passage at least 10 m wide ran along the inner perimeter. In our case, the results of geomagnetic surveys are naturally of more importance, as they reflect the real situation more accurately.

It is of considerable interest that at the place of supposed defensive walls of the early 5th century BC with the addition of the projecting fortifications in the southern part of the townsite, the magnetic map shows a distinct anomaly with a sectional structure. This consists of two parallel bands with a negative magnetic field gradient at an interval of about four meters between them (Fig. 2, letter A).

According to new data provided by the geomagnetic surveys of the encircling wall, the *temenos* stretched westward for at least 30 m to as far as the foot of the hill. The extension of the sacred precincts from north to south was at least 40 m. Thus the total area of the sacred precincts was approximately 2000 sq. m taking in account that their eastern limits must have been following the edge of the ditch. Such an area seems rather considerable when compared to the well-studied Olbian *temenos* which encompassed a space of nearly 3500 sq. m.[10]

In addition, to the west of excavation area I of 2001–2005, negative magnetic anomalies have been recorded (schematically shown in Fig. 1 as a black rectangle) which indicate the presence of a large rectangular building with a minimum width of 15 m (Fig. 2, letter D) and, presumably, an altar. These architectural remains were partially uncovered in 2006. They were located on a small artificial terrace cut into the slope of the hill and strengthened by large rough stone blocks measuring from 0.22 × 0.11 × 0.08 m to 0.34 × 0.29 × 0.09 m. This terrace slopes down to the west to a depth of 0.54 m near the border of the excavated area.

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[9] Gorlov, Lopanov 1999 [Ю. В. Горлов, Ю. А. Лопанов, “Опыт предварительной дешифровки аэрофотоснимков Семибратнего городища”, *Проблемы истории, филологии и культуры*], 172–174.

[10] Levi 1985, 73.

Within the area measuring 4.4 × 1.9 m where the geomagnetic surveys had indicated an anomaly, a corner of a building constructed from limestone blocks (from 0.16 × 0.1 m to 0.92 × 0.16 m) was excavated (Fig. 3). Most of its area was carefully paved with small rubble. On the pavement a coin of Pantikapaion was found, dated to 314–310 BC with the head of a Satyr on the obverse and a winged Pegasus on the reverse.[11] In the eastern section of the pavement, an area about 1 m wide was found between the poorly preserved pavement and the external wall of the building. It is likely that this place was reserved for some structure.

At the eastern edge of the terrace there was a large altar constructed from massive limestone slabs (Fig. 4) which partly continued into the southern edge of the trench.[12] The uncovered part of the altar was measuring 1.87 × 1.74 m at the base with a height of 0.27 m. Originally it must have been two-stepped but, if so, any remains of the upper step are missing because its slab was in an area that became a cultivated field and was probably removed by a plow. Its width, according to some indications, must have been about 1.32 m. The internal space of the altar near its rectangular lower step (1.14 × 0.62 m) was filled with densely packed grey clay containing fine pieces of stone. At the base of the western part of the altar there was a cracked stone step (1.03 × 0.35 × 0.14 m).

The altar was an independent structure located to the east of the temple as is considered normal practice. The distance of over 2 m between the building and the altar was paved with Bosporan tiles measuring 0.53 × 0.45 m. A few complete and five fragmentary unstamped tiles were found there, paving a square of 1.73 × 1.61 m. Above the latter, tile fragments from the collapsed roof were partially preserved but these differed in their type from the tiles used for the pavement. The remains of a roof were discovered within a strip ca. 1.7 m wide to the north of the structure. A redware bowl, an iron adze tip with a triangular edge, and a small lead weight bearing the graffito “ΔΥ” (2.4 × 2.2 × 0.6 cm; weight 36.3 g, i. e. 1/12 of a mina of Euboean-Attic standard) were uncovered to the north of the altar (Fig. 5).

Although the sequence in which the buildings discovered within the Early Hellenistic *temenos* were constructed has not been identified, their presence is proved by such architectural details as a pilaster of Ionic order measuring 0.39 m in diameter at the base (Fig. 6). It was found 38 m to the southwest of area I. The height of the original semicircular half-column

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[11] Anokhin 1986 [В. А. Анохин, *Монетное дело Боспора*], 140 Pl. 3, 112.

[12] In the geomagnetic map, there are fairly numerous distinct negative anomalies of rectangular outlines. The length of the altar thus must have been about 2.4 m.

might be calculated to have been about 2.7 m. In the 5th and 4th centuries BC, when Labrys was a flourishing city, it is possible that a large cult center also stood here. In view of this, of note is the find of a reused limestone block (0.97 × 0.47 × 0.27 m) which was originally decorated with a relief zone in an egg-and-dart pattern. This architectural detail must have come from the cornice of an Ionic temple. The height of its columns was at least 7.5 m. It seems hardly credible that this temple stood alone on the site. The architectural remains here can probably be preliminarily attributed to the cult of Phoebos-Apollo – the "lord of the city of the Labrytians".[13] This epithet, known from an inscription of Leukon I, confirms that the cult of Apollo was dominant in the area under study. Recently A. Rusyayeva came to the conclusion that Phoebos-Apollo was the protector of all the Bosporan colonists who had founded this city in the territory of the tribe of the Sindi.[14] Apparently, by the time of the events described in the inscription of Leukon I, Phoebos-Apollo had already become the divine patron of Labrys.[15]

North of the excavation area I, beyond the fence of the *temenos*, there was another stone building indicated by the geomagnetic map (Fig. 2, letter E). Inside the sacred precincts, we have identified objects which were probably production kilns or the remains of a metalworking workshop.

After continuation of large-scale geomagnetic surveys in Labrys by A. V. Chudin in 2009, the total investigated area amounts to 3.8 hectares, i. e. about 40% of the townsite. These magnetic surveys have allowed us to correct conclusions made before and obtain additional information on the defensive structures of the ancient settlement, as well as its inner layout. The surveys were carried out in the northern oval part of Labrys (Fig. 1). During these investigations we used a quantum magnetometer PKM-1 and a proton gradientmeter MPG-1. The studies were conducted throughout three areas.

Plot no. 1, to the northwest of the forest shelter-belt, was shaped as a rectangle measuring 40 × 50 m. At some point, the bed of the Kuban River was not far from the northern edge of the townsite and traces of a small inlet are identifiable in the relief of the locality suggesting that the port of Labrys might have been located here. For that reason a plot at the edge of a level field was investigated in an area where it slopes down

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[13] In the inscription of Leukon I, line 3: …τῆσδε πόλεως μεδέοντι Λαβρυτωμ… (see Tokhtas'ev 1998 [С. Р. Тохтасьев, "К чтению и интерпретации посвятительной надписи Левкона I с Семибратнего городища"], 299).

[14] Rusyayeva 2003 [А. С. Русяева, "Феб Аполлон на Боспоре", in: *Боспорские чтения*], 225 ff.

[15] Graham 2002, 98.

towards the ancient river bank. The geomagnetic map indicates distinctly only traces of tillage in the form of vertical bands with the complete absence of any architectural remains. Apparently, the local port was about 300 m to the west from the city, near the mouth of the Shakon River which now has almost disappeared.

Plot no. 2, measuring 60 × 50 m, was investigated at the northern boundary of the present-day ploughed field to the south of area 'A' excavated by Anfimov (1938–1940) where a number of positive anomalies have been revealed. These were probably connected to part of a large building oriented to the four cardinal points. Judging from the features of the building's layout which have been identified, it included a courtyard measuring 14 × 12.5 m and one or several rooms on the northern side with a total area of 12 × 8 m.

Plot no. 3 was square in shape with sides of 50 m. Its larger part is a low oval-shaped area overgrown with high grass and reeds. Earthen banks up to 2 m high are located along its perimeter. On the map, positive anomalies are clearly distinguishable. Probably these are induced by ash-heaps or rooms filled with remains of burning. A stone fence 57 m long and 1 m thick was also found here. It runs along the southwestern boundary of the previously discovered depression in the local relief. In the center of the depression, only a collapsed wall 20 m long and 1 m thick perpendicular to the fence was observable. It is difficult to interpret correctly this structure. The assumption that the positive magnetic anomalies here were induced by ash layers was further confirmed by visual examination of the area east of excavation 'A'. Twenty-two meters from the latter, three robbers' trenches about 1.5 m deep were discovered. Below the turf layer (which was up to 0.25 m thick), the pits contained only ashes in which there were fine fragments of tiles, amphorae, redware pottery and bones of domestic animals. Among the surface finds, only an amphora foot of variant I-F of Rhodian amphorae of type I according to S. Yu. Monakhov is of interest.[16] It is dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC. In any case, it seems possible to conclude that during the period in which the fortified building functioned – the 3rd–1st century BC – ashes were habitually thrown out of the house on its eastern side. Accordingly, there were no buildings in this part of Labrys during the period specified.

An interesting discovery was made at plot no. 4, where a distinct anomaly corresponds to a ditch about 6 m wide. To the north of the latter, there is a positive anomaly about 7 m wide which must correspond to a wall

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[16] Monakhov 2003 [С. Ю. Монахов, *Греческие амфоры в Причерноморье*], 120 Pl. 84, 5.

separating the northern oval part of the Labrys area from its southern trapezoid part. In this case, the width of the positive anomaly would be due to the fact that the masonry of the wall was gradually destroyed, crumbled out and spread over the field as a result of its cultivation. This assumption may confirm the previous hypothesis regarding two stages in the local urban evolution.

The studies of the final stage of the occupation of Labrys included a still uncompleted investigation conducted in 2007–2009 in the northern section of excavation area 'A' where a fortified Hellenistic building was discovered (Fig. 7). By now, due to the depredatory quarrying of stone by local residents, nothing has survived from the building's external walls, once about 1.7 m thick. As new evidence suggests, the dates of the building proposed by Anfimov as the 3rd century BC – 1st century AD possibly require revision of their lower chronological boundary because no early Hellenistic materials have been found here. However, we can accept this final conclusion only after re-examination of all available collections of finds from the excavations. The fact that the foundation of this monumental building had sunk into the destruction layer of the first half of the 4th century BC (Fig. 8), at the upper level of which only a few fireplaces and pits of the second half of the 4th–3rd centuries BC have been excavated, would seem to suggest that this area was temporarily desolated after the military and political events of the period when the city became part of the Bosporan state. Meanwhile, studies of the lower layers dated to the 5th – first half of the 4th century BC revealed a similar situation inside room A of the building under consideration. Here, within a limited area of about 30 sq. m, 14 pits were uncovered with no architectural remains except for some fragments of clay plaster on a wattle fence. The data of the geomagnetic surveys suggest that this part of the Labrys territory was used not for urban development but rather for economic purposes or perhaps as a refuge place.

To conclude, it should be noted that a comprehensive study of Labrys can yield a substantial amount of new information about the early Greek-Sindian interactions, the time of inclusion of Sindike into the Bosporan Kingdom, and the subsequent development of this region.

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A survey of the excavations at the townsite of Semibratneye/Labrys (28 km to the Nord-East of Gorgippia) conducted by the Bosporan expedition of the Institute for the History of Material Culture, RAS, in 2006–2009.

Обзор раскопок Семибратнего городища (Лабрис), 28 км к Северо-Востоку от Горгиппии, проводившихся Боспорской экспедицией Института материальной культуры РАН в 2006–2009 гг.

DISPUTATIONES

Peter Riedlberger, Domninus of Larissa, *Encheiridion and Spurious Works. Introduction, Critical Text, English Translation, and Commentary*, Mathematica Graeca Antiqua 2 (Pisa – Rome 2013). 285 Seiten. ISBN 978-88-6227-567-5.

Domninus von Larissa lebte im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus als etwas älterer Zeitgenosse des Proklos und war wohl gemeinsam mit diesem in Athen Schüler des Syrianos. Mit Sicherheit handelt es sich bei Domninus um einen der unbekannteren griechischen Mathematiker, aber gerade deshalb ist die neue Ausgabe von Peter Riedlberger so bedeutsam. Sie basiert auf seiner Promotion und enthält die Editionen von insgesamt drei Texten: Dem "Handbüchlein zur Arithmetischen Einführung" (Δομνίνου φιλοσόφου Λαρισσαίου ἐγχειρίδιον ἀριθμητικῆς εἰσαγωγῆς), dem Text darüber, "Wie man eine Proportion von einer Proportion abzieht" (Πῶς ἔστι λόγον ἐκ λόγου ἀφελεῖν), sowie von Scholien zu Nikomachos. Zum Handbüchlein existiert neben einer recht oberflächlichen Ausgabe von Jean Boissonade[1] und einigen Übersetzungen nur noch ein Aufsatz von Paul Tannery,[2] der einige textkritische Anmerkungen enthält, sowie eine neuere Edition von Francesco Romano.[3] Die Edition des Texts "Wie man eine Proportion von einer Proportion abzieht" von Ruelle[4] aus dem Jahr 1883 war bislang die einzig vorhandene, wobei in ihr zwei Handschriften als Grundlage fehlen, die Riedlberger neu hinzuzieht. Hinsichtlich der Scholien zu Nikomachos handelt es sich hier sogar um eine Erstedition, auch wenn diese wohl nicht Domninus zugeschrieben werden können, sondern sich lediglich in einer Handschrift an dessen Schriften anschließen. Selbiges gilt im Übrigen auch für die Schrift über die Proportionen. Doch

[1] J. F. Boissonade, Δομνίνου φιλοσόφου Λαρισσαίου ἐγχειρίδιον ἀριθμητικῆς εἰσαγωγῆς, in: J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis IV* (Paris 1832) 413–429.

[2] P. Tannery, "Domninus de Larissa", in: J. L. Heiberg, H. G. Zeuthen (Hgg.), *Mémoires scientifiques* II, *Sciences exactes dans l'antiquité, 1883–1898* (Toulouse 1912) 105–117.

[3] F. Romano, *Domninus di Larissa, La svolta impossible della filosofia matematica neoplatonica* (Catania 2000).

[4] Ch.-É. Ruelle, "Texte inédit de Domninus de Larisse sur l'arithmétique avec traduction et commentaire", *RPh* n.s. 7 (1883) 82–94.

auch die Autorschaft in Betracht zu ziehen und kritisch zu überprüfen, rechtfertigt die Publikation in diesem Kontext.

Obwohl die kritischen Editionen (Kapitel IV) und die Einführung in eben jene (Kapitel V) natürlich gewissermaßen den Kern des Buches bilden, so besteht in den darüberhinausgehenden Texten doch der eigentliche Wert. Die Edition und Übersetzung der antiken Texte ist gut mit zusätzlichen Kapiteln zu Biographie (Kapitel II) und Zeitgeschichte (Kapitel I) unterfüttert. Insbesondere gibt es eine längere Einführung in die spätantike Philosophie und Mathematik, bei der vor allem der Zusammenhang zwischen beiden Disziplinen aufgezeigt wird. Insofern und auch durch den Kommentar (Kapitel VII), der unter anderem grundlegende Probleme, wie beispielsweise den Unterschied zwischen einer Monade μονάς und einer Zahl ἀριθμός ausführlich diskutiert, eignet sich dieses Buch durchaus für Interessierte, die sich bisher noch nicht allzu weit in die antike Mathematik vorgewagt haben. Ebenso zugänglich sind die Texte des Domninus an sich, die mit dem *Encheiridion* grundlegende arithmetische Definitionen und mit dem Text zum Abziehen der Proportionen recht gut nachvollziehbare Operationen behandeln. Ein wenig problematisch an dieser Stelle ist jedoch die wiederholte Verwendung der modernen Notation, die zu einer Identifizierung der Proportionen mit Bruchzahlen führt, vor allem wenn man sich zuvor wenig mit dieser Materie beschäftigt hat. Wobei sich dies ausschließlich auf den Kommentarteil beschränkt und keinen Einzug in die Übersetzung gehalten hat.

Aufgrund der ausführlichen Einordnung in den philosophischen Kontext der Zeit wendet sich das Buch aber auch an diejenigen, die in erster Linie in der Mathematik und nicht der Philosophie firm sind. Zumal nach Tannery das Besondere an Domninus – und da scheine er im Gegensatz zu den anderen Mathematikern seiner Zeit zu stehen – die vermeintliche Wiederzuwendung zu den Euklidischen Idealen der axiomatischen Mathematik sei. Diese Einordnung impliziert zudem, dass sich Domninus’ Werk völlig losgelöst von seiner Zeit und unbeeinflusst von seiner philosophischen Tätigkeit lesen lasse. Zu zeigen, dass dem nicht so ist und Domninus sich statt an Euklid vor allem an Nikomachos’ Arithmetische Einführung (ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή) orientiert, auf dessen Domninus’ Handbüchlein offenbar basiert, ist ein wichtiges Anliegen dieses Kommentars.

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KEY WORDS

BARSAKH
Characterization, Colloquialism, Sophocles
Разговорные идиомы, речевая характеристика, Софокл

CORSO
Agora, Aphrodite, Augustan Period, Corinth, Cythera, Hermogenes
Агора, Афродита, Гермоген, Кифера, Коринф, эпоха Августа

COUPRIE
Anaximenes, Astronomy, Presocratics
Анаксимен, астрономия, досократики

KAZANSKAYA
Ancient Paroemiographical and Lexicographical Tradition, Hermippus, Herodotus, Herodotus' Ancient Reception
Античная паремиографическая и лексикографическая традиция, Гермипп, Геродот, рецепция Геродота в античности

KASHAEV, PAVLICHENKO
Ancient land-use, Chora of Phanagoria, Fosse, Greek letter, Landmark stones, Ostracon, Rural settlement, Taman, Vyshesteblievskaya-3
Античное землепользование, Вышестеблиевская-3, греческое письмо, межевые камни, остракон, ров, сельское поселение, Тамань, хора Фанагории

VETUSHKO-KALEVICH
Batavi, Gallic geography, Latin prosody, Lucan
Батавы, география Галлии, латинская просодия, Лукан

ARCHAEOLOGICA

CHISTOV
Archaeology, Berezan Island, Bosporus
Археология, о. Березань, Боспор

KHRSHANOVSKIY
Archaeology, Bosporus, Iluraton, Kytaion
Археология, Боспор, Илурат, Китей

Sokolova
Archaeology, Bosporus, Nymphaeum
Археология, Боспор, Нимфей

Butyagin
Archaeology, Bosporus, Myrmekion
Археология, Боспор, Мирмекий

Vakhtina
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Goroncharovskiy
Archaeology, Bosporus, Semibratneye (Labrys)
Археология, Боспор, Семибратнее (Лабрис)

ПРАВИЛА ДЛЯ АВТОРОВ

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Ссылки на античных авторов (в основном тексте и в примечаниях):

Cic. *De nat. deor.* II, 7. 8 (*т. е. 2-я кн., §§ 7 и 8*); III, 2.

Thuc. I, 2, 4. 6 (*т. е. 1-я кн., 2-я гл., §§ 4 и 6*); 5, 2–3 (*т. е. та же кн., 5-я гл., §§ 2 и 3*).

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Монография

G. Finsler. *Homer* (Leipzig ^{3}1924) (*т. е. 3-е изд.*).

K. Müllenhoff. *Deutsche Altertumskunde* III^{2} (Berlin 1896) (*т. е. 2-е изд. 3-го тома*).

— на русском языке

A. I. Zaicev. *Kulturnyj perevorot v Drevnej Grecii VIII–V vv. do n. e.* [*Cultural Revolution in Ancient Greece in VIII–IV cent. BC*] (St Petersburg ^{2}2001).

Серийное издание

J. S. Traill. *The Political Organization of Attica*, Hesperia Suppl. 14 (Princeton, NJ 1975).

Статья в журнале

D. Schaps. “Piglets again”, *JHS* 116 (1996) 169–171.

— на русском языке

S. Ja. Lur’je. “Klisfen i Pisistratidy” [“Cleisthenes and Peisistratidae”], *VDI* 1940: 2, 45–51.

Издание текста или сборника статей

D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed., tr.). *Cicero, Philippics* (Chapel Hill – London 1986).

R. Maisano. “Il discorso di Temistio a Gioviano sulla toleranza”, in: F. E. Consolino (ed.). *Pagani e cristiani da Giuliano l’Apostata al sacco di Roma* (Soveria Mannelli 1995).

M. Aubineau (éd.). *Grégoire de Nysse. Traité de la virginité*, Sources chrétiennes 119 (Paris 1966).

Ссылки на работу нескольких авторов

H. Lloyd-Jones, N. G. Wilson (eds.). *Sophoclis fabulae* (Oxonii 1990).

Сноски постраничные. Знак сноски ставится после знака препинания. В сносках ссылки на литературу даются в сокращенном виде:

Finsler 1924, 45 n. 2 (*т. е. стр. 45 прим. 2*).

Müllenhoff 1896, 32 Anm. 2; 44–46.

Название работ на русском языке и имена их авторов приводятся кириллицей в квадратных скобках при первом цитировании:

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G. Finsler, *Homer* (Leipzig ^{3}1924) 5–9 (*i.e. 3rd ed.*).

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Serial editions

J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Hesperia Suppl. 14 (Princeton, NJ 1975).

Journal papers

D. Schaps, "Piglets again", *JHS* 116 (1996) 169–171.

Editions of ancient authors and collections of articles

D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed., tr.), *Cicero, Philippics* (Chapel Hill – London 1986).

R. Maisano, "Il discorso di Temistio a Gioviano sulla toleranza", in: F. E. Consolino (ed.), *Pagani e cristiani da Giuliano l'Apostata al sacco di Roma* (Soveria Mannelli 1995).

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