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ναυσι δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὐροῖς
ἔς Ἑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν

(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29-30)

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Dionysio Keyer, Laurentio Northmore-Ball, Nataliae Pavlichenko, Nataliae
Tchernetska, qui multum auxilii in hoc fasciculo
pertractando atque corrigendo attulerunt,
editores gratias agunt.

GEFÖRDERT DURCH EINE ZUWENDUNG
DER ALFRIED KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH-STIFTUNG

SCYLAX OF CARYANDA ON THE BOSPORUS AND THE STRAIT AT THE PILLARS

For Francesco Prontera

We owe due to the *Ora maritima* by Avienus a number of valuable references to early authors and explorers. One of them presents the statement of Scylax concerning the Strait of Gibraltar (*Or. mar.* 370 ff. = 709 *FGrHist* F 8):

sed ad columnas quidquid interfunditur
undae aestuantis stadia septem vix ait
Damastus esse; Caryandaeus Scylax
medium fluentum inter columnas adserit
tantum patere quantus aestus Bosporo est.

This piece of information about the man famous through his exploration of India and subsequent sail from Indian shores to Egypt (c. 518–515 BC) has not impressed scholars.¹ Moreover, the text of Avienus was cited to prove that Scylax had never been at the Strait of Gibraltar.² I shall argue that the evidence implies the contrary, which entails rather impressive conclusions.

It was repeatedly pointed out that since maximal breadth of the Bosphorus is about 4,5 km and minimal breadth is just above 700 m, while the Strait of Gibraltar is 14,2 km broad at the narrowest, their likening is out of the mark.³ This fair observation was not supplemented, however, by the ques-

¹ For Scylax in general and his Indian expedition in particular see: W. Reese, *Die griechischen Nachrichten über Indien bis zum Feldzuge Alexanders des Grossen* (Leipzig 1914) 39–52; F. Gisinger, “Skylax”, *RE* III A (1927) 619–646; H. Schiwiek, “Der Persische Golf als Schiffahrts- und Seehandelsroute in Achämenidischer Zeit und in der Zeit der Alexanders des Grossen”, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 162 (1962) 4–97; A. Peretti, *Il periplo di Scilace. Studio sul primo portolano del Mediterraneo* (Pisa 1979) 55–83; Klaus Karttunen, *India in Early Greek Literature* (Helsinki 1989) 40–48, 65–68; F. J. González Ponce, “Suda, s.v. Σκύλαξ. Sobre el título, el contenido y la unidad de *FGrHist* III C 709”, *Geographia Antiqua* 6 (1997) 37–51; and my papers in *Hyperboreus* 4 (1998): 2, 211–242; 8 (2002): 1, 5–12; 9 (2003): 2, 274–294.

² So Hermann Bengtson in his otherwise excellent paper “Skylax von Karyanda und Herakleides von Mylasa”, *Historia* 3 (1955): 3, 303–307.

³ A. Schulten, *Iberische Landeskunde* I (Strasbourg 1955) 405; Bengtson (n. 2) 307; in a similar way: Gisinger (n. 1) 631 ff.; Peretti (n. 1) 77.

tion of what might compel Scylax to take responsibility for an unwarranted statement and accept the risk of being severely criticized for his mistake. To be sure *errare humanum est*, but it is one thing if a person asked about the height of Tour Eiffel gives a wrong number of meters, and it is another matter if it is asserted that Tour Eiffel is as high as the Notre Dame de Paris. Moreover, the scale of mistake is not the only surprise of the passage. Scylax' reference to the 'middle part' of the Strait of Gibraltar reveals good knowledge of local topography. The channel is significantly larger at both eastern and western entrances than at the middle part, while its breadth in the middle part does not vary conspicuously. Scylax' mistake appears thus hardly comprehensible.

The paradox disappears as soon as one realizes that the original comparison involved the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the Strait of Kerch that fits the comparison well, and not the Thracian Bosphorus. The ancient authors typically specify which of the two *Bosporoi* they mean, yet not infrequently they assume that it is clear from the context. If the context is missing, no a priori conclusion is justified. It is the Cimmerian Bosphorus that is just Βόσπορος in the *Prometheus Bound* (729–735), in a fragment of Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 69) and probably in a fragment of Hecataeus,⁴ but it is the Thracian Bosphorus in Mandrocles' inscription commemorating his building the bridge for Darius (Hdt. 4. 88). Actually the triple division of the body of water between the Black Sea and Aegean Sea into the Bosphorus, the Propontis and the Hellespont is attested for the first time only in a geographical passage of Herodotus (4. 85), while the 'Hellespont' still includes the Propontis and even the areas of Byzantium and Chalcedon in historical passages of his work (4. 138; 144),⁵ and one may suspect that Mandrocles was the first to call the Thracian strait 'Bosphorus' in order to link the bridge that he built with a glorious name. To say the least, there is no a priori reason to assume that Scylax had in mind the Thracian Bosphorus rather than the Cimmerian.

It was apparently the words by Damastes in the same quotation from Avienus that made scholars look in the wrong direction. Damastes' estimate

⁴ *FGrHist* 1 F 196: ὁ μὲν οὖν Βόσπορος καὶ ὁ Πόντος οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος κατὰ ταῦτά μοι μεμετρήαται. The words are so similar to those in Hdt. 4. 86 that Felix Jacoby thinks of a corruption in the source; for the contrary view see: O. Kimball Armayor, "Did Herodotus Ever Go to the Black Sea?", *HSCP* 82 (1978) 45–49.

⁵ Strab. 7, fr. 22 Radt knows authors who call 'Hellespont' the whole Propontis and even a part of the Aegean Sea. Felix Jacoby (ad *FGrHist* 1 F 139) admits that Hecataeus was one of them.

of the width of the strait at the Pillars immediately precedes Scylax' likening of that strait to the Bosphorus. Damastes' figure is seven stadia. Therefore, one naturally thinks of that of the two *Bosporoi* which fits with the figure just given. While the Strait of Kerch in no way fits, this very figure for the width of the Thracian Bosphorus is attested; it appears in that version of Scylax' periplus which was published in the time of Philip of Macedonia.⁶ Imagine now that the reference to Damastes is absent in the text by Avienus, and that we are left only with Scylax' comparison of the strait at the Pillars to the Bosphorus. In this case scholars would inevitably think of the larger of the two *Bosporoi*, the Strait of Kerch. That very figure which disoriented them, the seven stadia, provides a likely clue to what had happened. We are told that Damastes was both a plagiarizer (*FGrHist* 5 T 4) and a careless geographer (Strab. 1. 3. 1 = *FGrHist* 5 T 7 and F 8). It is not therefore surprising that Damastes tried to win credit for his own allegedly innovative report instead of modestly citing the authority of Scylax and that his trick resulted in confusion. On the basis of Scylax' equation, Damastes gave that figure for the breadth of the strait at the Pillars which, he knew, had been obtained for the breadth of the Bosphorus. He chose, however, the wrong Bosphorus.

The Strait of Kerch has rather complex configuration. It can be said to be constituted of two channels, northern and southern, and a part without a distinct shape in between. The southern channel is the longer and larger of the two, its breadth being about 15 km, which is roughly the breadth of the Strait of Gibraltar in its narrow or middle part. If Scylax compared the breadth of the Strait at Pillars with the breadth of the southern channel of the Strait of Kerch, he was quite correct. The difficulty remains that *pars pro toto* cannot work for the southern channel of the Strait of Kerch since it is not there where two seas join. At the same time, the northern channel is not wide enough (4–5 km) to be neatly compared with the Strait of Gibraltar (14–15 km). We have therefore to take a closer look at ancient ideas about the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

For advanced geography, it is τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος. This is not trivial since the strait is named after a minor and more remote sea. The term

⁶ A. Peretti (n. 1) has shown how strange are in fact ideas according to which the extant periplus is a forgery or a compilation. Along his lines, I assume that the preserved version of the periplus has nothing to do with the intention to deceive buyers or readers and that it is just, say, tenth up-to-date edition of the pilot of the sea from the Pillars to the Tanais, originally composed by Scylax. It still retains something of Scylax' work, but it is typically impossible to recover the original nucleus with certainty.

‘the mouth of the Maeotis’ was apparently established because of the current from the Sea of Azov; on an analogous reason, the Thracian Bosphorus was referred to as ‘the mouth of Pontos’ and the Hellespont as ‘the mouth of the Propontis’ – all three straits are named in the same way in the extant version of Scylax’ periplus (68; 70; 94). We are dealing, it seems, with an elaborate system affected by cosmographical debate – the southwards flow in all three straits⁷ was taken to prove the southwards slope of the earth (Aristot. *Meteor.* 354 a 28–32). Although the earth is high in the north already in Anaximenes, an older contemporary of Scylax, it is likely that the definition of the Bosphorus as τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος is later than Scylax’ work.

The other idea is certainly early, since it is attested in the *Prometheus Bound*. For Aeschylus and his source, ‘Bosphorus’ is a narrow body of water at which one crosses from Europe to Asia. It is not specifically τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος, and all passages that describe Panticapaeum as a Bosporan city and all names related to the Bosporan kingdom reflect a similar perception.

In his description of Europe, Strabo seems to harmonize two traditions. The Cimmerian Bosphorus for him is τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος, but he makes us realize that this is not to be understood in too narrow a sense (7. 4. 3); he further observes that the Cimmerian Bosphorus is significantly larger at the beginning, near Panticapaeum, where people cross to Asia (7. 4. 5). Thus the area near Panticapaeum is included in the definition of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.⁸ It is not easy to locate the place of crossing on such a vague account; besides the coastline on the Asian side has undergone significant changes, so that some ancient sites are now under water.⁹ In any case when Strabo asserts that the breadth of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is approximately 70 stadia, he explicitly refers to the area of crossing near Panticapaeum (7. 4. 5):

τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος καλεῖται μὲν Κιμμερικὸς Βόσπορος, ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ μείζονος πλάτους ἑβδομήκοντά που σταδίων καθ’ ὃ δι-

⁷ The experts say that these upper currents are counter-balanced by deeper currents in the opposite direction.

⁸ Plin. *NH* 4. 87 locates Panticapaeum at the very beginning of Bosphorus (*in ipso Bospori introitu*). Panticapaeum does not belong to τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος in Ps.-Sc. 68, but it is characteristic that the term ‘Bosphorus’ does not appear in the context.

⁹ *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World. Map-by-Map Directory II*. Ed. by Richard J. A. Talbert (Princeton 2000) with further references.

αίρουσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ Παντικάπαιον τόπων εἰς τὴν ἐγγυτάτω πόλιν τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν Φαναγόρειαν.

In his description of Asia, Strabo is more specific. He estimates the breadth of the straits as 70 stadia between Corocondame (at the end of the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the Asian side) and Acra, a village in the land of the Panticapaeans.¹⁰ It seems to follow from this and related data that the southern border of the strait was mentally drawn roughly along the line Corocondame – Panticapaeum, that is, along what is now *kosa Tuzla*, assuming that the location of Corocondame in the *Barrington Atlas* is correct. The distance between two shores here is roughly from 14,5 km to 15 km – both along the line I suggest and across what I call the southern channel in the east-west direction, which corresponds very well to the breadth of the Strait of Gibraltar in its ‘middle’, narrow part. We see that there was a definition of the Cimmerian Bosphorus in antiquity to justify the equation of its breadth to that of the strait at the Pillars. It is also significant that the 70 stadia is Strabo’s figure not only for the breadth of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (7. 4. 5; 11. 2. 8), but also for the breadth of the Strait at the Pillars at the narrowest (2. 5. 19). Both points strongly support my contention as to which of the *Bosporoi* Scylax had in mind.

The figure of 70 stadia for 14,2 km implies a stadion of c. 203 m, which makes one wonder whether one is dealing with the result of actual measurement of the Strait of Gibraltar or still with an application of Scylax’ formula. At all events, ancient accounts of the strait at the Pillars, on the one hand, and the Bosphorus (whichever is meant), on the other hand, display a number of interesting correspondences.

According to Avien. *Or. mar.* 355, Euctemon of Athens (who is probably identical with the prominent calendar-maker, and if so, is roughly contemporary with Damastes) maintained that the Pillars are 30 stadia apart, while Polybius gives the same figure for the breadth of the Cimmerian

¹⁰ Strab. 11. 2. 8: Πλησίον δὲ κόμη Πατραεὺς, ἀφ’ ἧς ἐπὶ κόμην Κοροκονδάμην ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα· αὕτη δ’ ἐστὶ τοῦ Κιμμερικοῦ καλουμένου Βοσπόρου πέρας. καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ὁ στενωπὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἀχίλλειον καὶ τὸ Μυρμήκιον στενῶν διατεινῶν μέχρι πρὸς τὴν Κοροκονδάμην καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον αὐτῇ κωμίον τῆς Παντικαπαίων γῆς ὄνομα Ἄκραν ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων διειργόμενον πορθμῶ· μέχρι γὰρ δεῦρο καὶ ὁ κρύσταλλος διατείνει, πηττομένης τῆς Μαιώτιδος κατὰ τοὺς κρυμοὺς ὥστε πεζεῦεσθαι. ἅπας δ’ ἐστὶν εὐλίμενος ὁ στενωπὸς οὗτος.

Bosporus (4. 39. 3), which is quite a reasonable estimate if the northern channel is meant.

Further, several authors give the same length, 120 stadia, for both the strait at the Pillars (Strab. 2. 5. 19; Ps.-Scymn. 139; Plin. 3. 3: 15 miles) and the Thracian Bosporus (Hdt. 4. 85; Polyb. 4. 39; 43). Since 120 stadia for the Thracian Bosporus implies a giant foot of more than 40 cm,¹¹ one may consider the possibility that this figure was initially connected with the Cimmerian Bosporus.¹² Pliny (4. 87) gives its length as 12,5 miles, which on his regular equation means 100 stadia. It is tempting to combine Pliny's data with the 20 stadia of the distance between Panticapaeum and τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος in Ps.-Sc. 68 (20 stadia = 2,5 miles are also present in the Pliny's context, though as the distance from Panticapaeum to Cimmerium on the other side of the strait). Be that as it may, Pliny's explicit figure, 12,5 miles = 100 stadia finds exact correspondence with the length of the strait at the Pillars in the manuscripts of Strab. 17. 3. 6.¹³ Actually *inter columnas* in Avienus' formulation of Scylax' statement does not preclude the comparison of the length of two straits, since the identification of the Pillars with two opposite mountains, Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abila (spectacular Jebel Musa), was not the only ancient tradition; for instance, the Pillars are said to have been separated by one day's sail in the extant periplus that bears the name of Scylax (1).

There is also suspicion about one more figure. The breadth of the strait at the Pillars is 60 stadia in Polybius (16. 29. 9), Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* 5. 1) and another passage by Strabo (17. 3. 6). The same figure is attached to the Cimmerian Bosporus, though to its length, in Polybius (4. 39. 3), and also appears in relevant, though not unambiguous, passages of Arr. *Per. Pont. Eux.* 19. 1 and Anon. *Per. Pont. Eux.* 50. It is characteristic that when we finally encounter correct figures for the breadth of the straits at the Pillars, 80 stadia (Agathem. 20; Marcian. 1. 3) or 10 miles (Mela 1. 6), they have no parallels in reports on either the Thracian or Cimmerian Bosporus.

¹¹ The stadion of both Herodotus and Polybius was defined as equal to 600 feet (unlike the stadion of Eratosthenes, which was equal in all probability to 100 double paces).

¹² While the length of the Thracian Bosporus is about 30 km, the distance from the line Corocondame – Panticapaeum to the Asian edge of the Cimmerian Bosporus is about 25 km and less than 15 km to its European edge.

¹³ One manuscript gives, however, 120 stadia, which can easily be correction on the basis of Strab. 2. 5. 19 and related tradition.

Whatever particular cases, one may conclude that not only Damastes, but also many other Greek geographers based their judgments about the size of the strait at the Pillars on the comparison formulated by Scylax.¹⁴ Their interpretations of Scylax' formula were, however, different. This suggests that they were typically not aware of the original context. From where, then, did they get the formula? One inevitably thinks of Hecataeus, a key figure in early geographical tradition.¹⁵ It is commonly agreed, and for a good reason, that Hecataeus used Scylax' account of his Indian journey. It now seems to emerge that Hecataeus also used his periplus, for which there are other signs as well.¹⁶ In that case Scylax appears to be the originator of *ora maritima* genre (to use the title of Avienus' poem), the first author of a periplus of major scale. He is thus a half-predecessor, so to speak, of Hecataeus, the first author of the *Tour of the World*.

A few further suggestions seem appropriate. An account of an Indian journey could hardly fit with the style of a periplus, and so the periplus must be a different work. We have no reliable information concerning its title. The Suda (s. v. Σκύλαξ = *FGrHist* 709 F 1) gives meaningless Περίπλους τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν. Scholars proposed to supplement it with either ἐκτὸς, or ἐντὸς τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν, or with both. But early works in prose were sometimes named just after their opening words. One may suppose that the original title (in the specified sense) has been preserved in the opening words of the extant version of Scylax' periplus: ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν. We are told that Scylax presented his work to Darius (*FGrHist* 709 F 4). One usually thinks of his Indian account. But the context of the testimony implies that this was his periplus, and we know from Herodotus that Darius was interested not only in obtaining information about the Indian Ocean, but in the description of the Mediterranean shores as well (3. 136). Scylax' ability to provide a comprehensible and trustworthy de-

¹⁴ The frequently assumed Carthaginian blockade of navigation in the westernmost Mediterranean may explain the lack of new knowledge about the strait at the Pillars over a long period of time.

¹⁵ For Damastes at least we have explicit testimony that he borrowed a lot from the work of Hecataeus: τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκ τῶν Ἑκαταίου μεταγράψας Περίπλου ἐγραψεν (Agathem. 1. 1 = *FGrHist* 5 T 4).

¹⁶ Felix Jacoby, "Hekataios", in *RE* 7 (1912) 2731–2734 pointed to striking similarities in description of the Libyan coast by Herodotus and extant version of Scylax' periplus. He concluded that both depend on Hecataeus. But why might not both Hecataeus and Herodotus depend on Scylax (cf. Peretti [n. 1] 121)? Hecataeus displays a fuller knowledge of the Iberian peninsula than the periplus (Peretti [n. 1] 140); this may suggest a later date for Hecataeus' work relative to the original periplus by Scylax.

scription of the routes and shores could have been one of the reasons to entrust to him an important role in Indian and subsequent maritime expedition (cf. Hdt. 4. 44 = *FGrHist* 709 F 3). Accordingly, Scylax' periplus can be dated to c. 520 BC, after Darius' accession in 522 and before Scylax' departure for India in c. 518.

Even if the proposals of the preceding paragraph are, as I hope, plausible, they remain of course conjectural. Yet one important truth seems to emerge with almost complete certainty. An adequate comparison of the Strait of Gibraltar with the Strait of Kerch unambiguously points to an eyewitness account. If one does not resort to artificial assumptions (there was a certain captain whom Scylax trusted as he trusted himself), one concludes that Scylax was at both straits. In combination with his exploration of Indian Ocean, Scylax' sailing to both straits constitutes the records of the most widely travelled ancient mariner of whom we know the name.¹⁷

Dmitri Panchenko

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По утверждению Скилака из Карианды, сохраненному в поэме Авиена, пролив у Геракловых Столбов столь же велик, как и Боспор. В статье доказывается, что Скилак при этом имел в виду Боспор Киммерийский, а не Боспор Фракийский, и что такое уподобление мог сформулировать лишь человек, побывавший в обоих проливах. Выясняется также, что целый ряд утверждений древних географов о размерах Гибралтарского пролива был основан не на новых измерениях, а на формуле Скилака, не всегда правильно понятой.

¹⁷ Bill Mullen has kindly checked my English.

IRRTÜMER IM GEREDE DER MENSCHEN oder Kleine Textkritik zu Pindar *Ol.* 1, 28–29

Drei Verse in Pindars erster Olympe (28b–29) bieten zwar kein metrisches, doch ein syntaktisch-hermeneutisches Problem:

ἦ θαύματα πολλὰ καὶ πό τι καὶ βροτῶν
φάτις ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀλαθῆ λόγον
δεδαϊδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις
ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι,

ohne Interpunktion, wohlgermt, und noch ohne schlüssige Übersetzung, die hier erstellt zu werden hat. Vorab soll gesagt sein, dass uns die Akzentuierung von θαύματα oder θαυματά zunächst noch nicht zu interessieren braucht. Das zentrale Problem φάτις, das wörtlich schwer verständlich ist und daher zu Textveränderung, gewaltsamer metrischer Auslegung oder auch, vor allem in neueren Übersetzungen, gemeinhin ohne eigentliche kritische Festlegung zu weitläufigen Umschreibungen geführt hat, die die eigentliche Schwierigkeit mit weit ausholender Bewegung semantisch vom Tisch zu wischen trachten;¹ wodurch sie erst so recht kenntlich wird.

Zum textkritischen Befund also. Die besseren Handschriften² bieten mehrheitlich φάτις – ohne zunächst den Casus berühren zu wollen. Daneben finden sich φάτιν, ja sogar φρένας, die leicht als spätere Hand erwiesen sind. Wie konnte es zu diesen Veränderungen kommen? Ein Indiz liefert hierbei die althergebrachte Annahme, dass es sich selbst beim ordentlich bezeugten φάτις um einen Akkusativ des Plurals handeln müs-

¹ Den Grundstein dürfte bereits O. Schröders (*Pindari Carmina*. Rec. O. Schroeder [Lipsiae 1900] 83) lateinische Deutung gelegt haben, die quasi Übersetzungscharakter besitzt: “Admirabilia, inquit poeta, sane multa (eaeque vera), sunt tamen opinor etiam quae hominum *sermone* ultra id quod unice verum est exornatae versicoloribus mendaciis fallant vel fallaciter proferant fabulae”. Vgl. seitdem E. Dönt (Hrsg.), Pindar, *Oden*. Griechisch-deutsch (Stuttgart 1986) 7: “Freilich, viel Wunderbares gibt es, doch in dem, was die Menschen reden, lassen sie sich wohl auch über die Wahrheit hinaus von Märchen, die mit bunten Lügen verziert sind, täuschen”; W. H. Race (ed. and transl.), Pindar, *Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes* (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1997) 49: “Yes, wonders are many, but then, too, I think, in men’s talks stories are embellished beyond the true account and deceive by means of elaborate lies”.

² Ausführliche Diskussion der Handschriften- und Quellenlage (mit metrisch unrichtiger *conclusio*) in: *Pindari Carmina*. Rec. Tycho Mommsen (Berolini 1864) 3–4.

se.³ Diese Auslegung aber ist gesucht, sowohl metrisch als auch semantisch so gut wie unhaltbar und das Ergebnis einer gelehrten Odyssee, die schon bei den Scholien beginnt und doch nur im Zirkelschluss endet. Und der verläuft folgendermaßen:⁴ φάτις metrisch korrekt als Nominativ schwer verständlich – Erklärung (zunächst nur semantisch) als φάτιν oder φρένας (was manchen schon in den Text gerutscht ist) – Versuch der Textkongruenz in der Interpretation mit gewaltsamer Auslegung des ursprünglichen φάτις als Akkusativ Plural schon im Text – Verdrängen der metrischen Schwierigkeit – Ausweichen auf interpretierende Übersetzung fernab syntaktischer Gegebenheiten. Wie ist hier Klarheit zu schaffen? Zunächst zu den Wurzeln des Problems, die – und das ist gerade für Pindar nicht untypisch – schon im Nährboden antiker Gelehrsamkeit stecken, den Scholien nämlich.

Der Befund der Scholien: Hier finden wir genau genommen drei Varianten:

1. Der ursprüngliche, der φάτις als das nimmt, was es ist: Nom. Sg., den Kontext exuberant beschreibt und damit den Grundstein für die Blüten späterer Übersetzungen legt. Hierhin gehört in den Scholia vetera 44 a:⁵

καί ποῦ τι καὶ βροτῶν φάτις· τὸ σαφές: καὶ δὴ οἱ
λόγοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, φησὶν, οἳτινες ποικίλων λόγων τεχνάσασιν
εἰς τὸ ἀπαντῆσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας πεποικιλμένοι ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ
λόγον, ἐξαπατᾶν δύνανται.

Bemerkenswert schon, dass das Syntagma genau in dieser Form zitiert wird, bis zum enjambementhaften φάτις (und nicht etwa allfälligen Versgrenzen oder anderen syntaktischen Einheiten); in die genaue Texter-

³ So eben bei Mommsen im Kommentar *ad loc.* (*op. cit.*, 4); scheint zuletzt auch der Übersetzung Dönts (nur bedingt Race's) zugrunde zu liegen (s. o., Anm. 1).

⁴ Ein für den ganzen Zusammenhang interpretatorisch wie stilistisch merkwürdiges Produkt *sui generis* ist die Abhandlung von L. Cerrato, "Questione di varianti in un luogo controverso di Pindaro", *RFIC* 14 (1886) 107–123, auf die im Folgenden noch zu verweisen sein wird. Für seine Darlegung des Problems will er offensichtlich φάτιν lesen (*op. cit.*, 110 mit Text nach Boeckh [1811, s. unten Anm. 12]; *conclusio ibid.*, 122), was ihn eine mehr als ambivalente Position zum Befund der Scholien beziehen lässt: Ein überzogenes φρένας klassifiziert er gern mit Boeckh als "audace sostituzione dei Bizantini" (113), der von ihm bevorzugten Variante φάτιν verleiht er hingegen Übergewicht durch die ebenso simple wie kühne Schlussfolgerung, eine ursprüngliche Lesart φάτις hätte so klar und verständlich sein können, dass die Scholiasten sich gar nicht hätten bemüht fühlen müssen überhaupt etwas zu erklären, woraus dann eben φάτιν wohl noch als *lectio difficilior* abgeleitet wird (121–122). *Is autem est circulus vitiosus.*

⁵ Vollständige Zusammenstellung, Reihung und textkritische Bearbeitung in: *Scholia vetera in Pindari Carmina*. Rec. A. B. Drachmann, I (Lipsiae 1903) 31–32.

klärung⁶ fließt mehr oder weniger beiläufig das für nötig empfundene Objekt zum ἐξαπατῶσιν des Texts ein, *scil.* τοὺς ἀκούοντας. Der unmittelbare Beginn der Erklärung καὶ δὴ οἱ λόγοι εἰσὶ lässt bereits in verführerischer Weise offen, wer nun damit so eigentlich gemeint ist: das unmittelbar vorher zitierte φάτις? die μῦθοι aus V. 29, von denen unbestreitbar die Wirkkraft aus dem Prädikat ἐξαπατῶσιν zu ἐξαπατᾶν δύνανται im Scholion geworden ist?

Prinzipiell in dieselbe Kerbe schlägt weiter unten 44 d:

ἄλλως· οἱ μῦθοι ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἰσχύουσι καὶ ἐξαπατῶσι τοῖς δεδαιδαλμένοις ψεύδεσι καὶ ποικίλοις· πολλὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ νομίζεται ἐκ τῆς φήμης, ὅτε τὸ ψεῦδος προσλάβῃ.

Hier wird auf φάτις syntaktisch gar nicht mehr Bezug genommen, dafür reicht offensichtlich die Wirkungsperiode von μῦθοι bis ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον zurück; richtigerweise, wie noch zu zeigen sein wird. Bezüglich der Voraussetzung eines Objekts zu ἐξαπατῶσι hüllt sich der Scholiast in vornehmes Schweigen; bei richtiger Interpretation des Vorgehenden ist ein solches ja auch kein derartiges Desiderat mehr. Dafür wird der Begriff φήμη (selbe Wurzel wie φάτις!) eingeführt, was offensichtlich als Wirkung der μῦθοι nebst ψεύδεσι aufgefasst wird.

2. Das Skandalon späterer Verwirrung folgt auf dem Fuße in 44 b–c:

ἐνιοι δὲ φάτιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὰς φρένας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπατῶσιν οἱ ψευδεῖς λόγοι (44 b).

γράφεται καὶ φασί. ἐν τῷ συντάγματι συντάσσεται γὰρ καὶ τὰς φάτις· συντάσσεται δὲ καὶ φασὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγουσιν (44 c).

Hier taucht die – metrisch noch richtige – Akkusativ-Variante φάτιν auf, erklärt aus dem Bedürfnis, das (unnötigerweise, s. u.) vermisste Objekt zu ἐξαπατῶντι nachzuweisen, wobei ἀντὶ τοῦ φρένας ... ἀπατῶσιν zunächst nur absolute Erklärung gewesen sein mag (ἀντί steht allgemein für ‘im Sinne von’), aus der sich die Lesart φάτιν für φάτις zwecks effektiver textlicher Verankerung entwickelte; die Bemerkung des Scholiasten spiegelt jedenfalls den Endzustand dieser Entwicklung wider.

Das andere Scholion verstrickt sich des weiteren in aphoristisch gehaltene Spekulationen, was überhaupt alles hier in den Text passen könnte (συν-

⁶ Das bedeutet wohl τὸ σαφές: Die genaue Aussage des pindarischen Texts. Cf. *Schol.* 79 e zu *Ol.* 7, 44, wo auf τὸ δὲ σαφές οὕτως ἔχει eine interpretatorisch ausformulierte Wiedergabe des Texts folgt, dann, erst auf zweiter Stufe sozusagen, mit ὃ δὲ φησὶν, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· κτλ. eine synonymische Erklärung gegeben wird.

τάσσειται); dabei wäre das – als 3. Pl. genommen metrisch noch richtige – φασί eine konjekturale Verflachung (ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγουσι: im Sinne von ‘man sagt’), τὰς φάτις hingegen muss als Versuch erscheinen, den bestüberlieferten Text in einer – gegenüber z. B. φάτιν – wenigstens noch graphematisch (aber eben nicht mehr metrisch) unveränderten Form für die Verankerung des vermissten Objekts heranzuziehen. Das aber ist schlimmer als Teufel und Beelzebub zusammen, denn dann muss eben τὰς φάτις das Objekt μῦθοι ἐξαπατῶντι abgeben, was zu einem bedenklichen semantischen Zirkel führt: “die Erzählungen täuschen das Gerede (der Sterblichen)”.⁷ Den nichtsdestoweniger viele Spätere übernommen haben, wobei die inhärente Problematik durch weitschweifige Übersetzungsvorschläge verschleiert wird.

3. Die ursprünglich richtige Einsicht in φάτις als Nom. Sg. gepaart mit Ansätzen zu einem syntaktisch relevanten Deutungsversuch erscheint dann in zwei Stufen noch in folgenden Scholien, wobei die Erwähnung der falschen Akkusativ-Variante offensichtlich schon irgendwie “dazugehört”: Zuerst bezieht sich regressiv 51 b (zu V. 31) auf die fragliche Stelle:

καὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ φάτις τῶν βροτῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ ἰσχύει λόγον, ἵνα ἐξαπατῶσιν οἱ μῦθοι πεποικιλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις. ἢ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς φάτις καὶ τὰς διανοίας τῶν βροτῶν ἐξαπατῶσιν οἱ μῦθοι δεδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἰσχύοντες.

Hier sind φάτις und μῦθοι einmal als Nominative gesetzt, während der Übergang gleichwohl ziemlich salopp und frei interpretierend final angegeben wird (ἡ φάτις ἰσχύει, ἵνα ἐξαπατῶσιν οἱ μῦθοι). Indem dann als Alternative τὰς φάτις καὶ τὰς διανοίας (τῶν βροτῶν) in einem Syntagma als objektivische Ergänzung zu ἐξαπατῶσιν οἱ μῦθοι aufgeführt werden, bleibt erst recht ungesagt, ob hier – im Scholion zur späteren Stelle – Erklärung oder Textgestaltung für V. 28 b zu verstehen sind, gibt aber einen schönen Einblick in die Genese der verderbten Textauffassung unseres Verses.

Beim jüngeren Scholion Thomae magistri zu *Ol.* 1, 44 heißt es dann:⁸

Ἐπειδὴ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων λόγων ἡ φήμη συνίσταται. διὰ τοῦτο φάτις εἰπὼν εἶτα πρὸς τὸ ταύτης σημαίνομενον τὸ μῦθοι ἐπήγαγε.

Erstmals sehen wir φάτις offensichtlich wieder unbestritten als Nom. Sg. vorausgesetzt und im Anschluss den weitergehenden Versuch, μῦθοι als se-

⁷ Dieser Erkenntnis wird immerhin auch stattgegeben bei Cerrato (o. Anm. 4) 113; was natürlich nicht dazu verleiten darf, auf φρένας oder andere semantisch bequeme Substitute zu verfallen (Argumentation *ibid.*).

⁸ *Scholia recentia in Pindari Epinicia I: Scholia in Olympia et Pythia.* Ed. E. Abel (Budapestini – Berolini 1891) 68.

mantisches Äquivalent quasi-appositionell daran anschließen zu lassen. Interessant jedenfalls auch die an 44 d erinnernde Verbindung von φάτις und dem erklärenden φήμη, womit der Hinweis für eine Deutung über gewöhnliches “Gerede” hinaus gegeben ist (s. u.). Φήμη resultiert erst (συνίσταται) als höherer Gehalt aus den ἀνθρώπων λόγοι, ist nicht *a priori* mit ihnen ident.

Nun zum metrischen Befund. Die Genese einer Interpretation von φάτις als Akk. Pl. als reflektierender Schlimmbesserung, die vom Versuch einer semantischen Klärung herrührt, haben wir gezeigt. Das Responsorium der folgenden Strophen hat in diesem Verse eindeutig *brevis* an zweiter Position. Nun mag vielleicht die Basis als frei gelten, Pindar hat jedoch so gut wie immer – und erst recht an dieser Position – exakte Entsprechungen, wobei bestenfalls im Eingang zwei Kürzen als quantitatives Äquivalent statt einer Länge stehen können.⁹ Längen gegen Kürzen im Verhältnis 1:1 (das ja als solches quantitativ gar nicht akzeptabel sein kann) sind nicht austauschbar. Belege für die Form φάτις als Akk. Pl. sind außerdem spärlich und keineswegs nur in metrisch reinem Kontext zu finden.¹⁰ Womit wir also für den Text bei der guten Überlieferung φάτις *qua* Nom. Sg. zu bleiben haben.

Der Befund der neuzeitlichen Herausgeber und Übersetzer zeigt das eingangs zitierte Dilemma; allerdings nicht durchgehend. Die Textausgaben sind rasch aufgezählt: Heyne φρένας,¹¹ Bergk φάτις (gar als Nom. Pl.),¹² Boeckh φάτιν,¹³ Schröder φάτις,¹⁴ ebenso (ohne distinkte Bezugnahme)

⁹ Responsorien: das Schema von 28 b (A'), 57 b (B'), 86 b (Γ') und 115 b (Δ') jeweils exakt übereinstimmend mit υυυ—υυ—υ (dazu merkt das metr. Scholion Z. 80–82 an: τὸ ια' [scil. τῆς ἐπφοδοῦ] ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ μείζονος δίμετρον παρατετηρημένον: τὴν γὰρ πρώτην συζυγίαν ἀπὸ βραχείας ἀρχομένην ἐποίησεν [ἴγουν παίωνα δεύτερον jedenfalls interessant wegen der auffälligen drei *breves* im Eingang]). Doppelbrevis statt Länge im Eingang: *Ol.* 10, 36 vs. 15/57/78/99.

¹⁰ Auch *LSJ* will φάτις Akk. Pl. nicht für *Ol.* 1, 28 b kennen, ein weiterer Beleg bei Pindar (*Ol.* 3, 112) ist mit s. v. l. (*si vera lectio*) gekennzeichnet. *detto* W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) s. v. φάτις (scil. *Ol.* 1, 28 b als Nom. Sg., wo sich die interpretatorisch interessante Anm. findet: “appositionem φάτις – μῦθοι agnovit Hermann: loc. susp.”, leider ohne Zitat). Das späte und morphologisch inkorrekte κόρις mit metrisch (?) bedingt kurzer Endungssilbe (*AP* 9, 113, 1) wird schon von Wilamowitz (U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros* [Berlin 1922] 235) als Beispiel verworfen.

¹¹ *Pindari Carmina*. Scholis habendis iterum expressa curante Chr. G. Heyne (Gottingiae 1797).

¹² *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*. Rec. Th. Bergk, I (Lipsiae 31866).

¹³ *Pindari Opera quae supersunt*. Ed. A. Boeckh, I (Lipsiae 1911).

¹⁴ Schroeder (o. Anm. 1) 83.

Christ,¹⁵ Snell,¹⁶ Bowra,¹⁷ Dönt und Race.¹⁸ Dabei verfolgt Bergk exakt die Genese falscher Akkusativvarianten seit den Scholien, um dann an der Fortsetzung mit μῦθοι als “plane otiosum et languidum” hängen zu bleiben (was er jedenfalls erkannte: dass ein Prädikat ἐξαπατῶντι im Pl. nicht zu φάτις als Subj. passen kann, s. noch im Folgenden), schließlich für φάτις einen Nom. Pl. belegen zu wollen und Pindar quasi neu nachzudichten.¹⁹ Darauf nimmt Schröder Bezug, referiert Handschriften- und Scholiensituation und behält φάτις ohne weitere Rechtfertigung.²⁰ Desgleichen weist Mommsen in Handschriften und Scholien den roten Faden der alten Irrtümer scharfsinnig nach und verliert sich dann zum unhaltbaren Akk. Pl.²¹ G. Hermann hat wohl wieder den ersten Schritt auf dem – zunächst einmal metrisch und morphologisch – richtigen Weg gesetzt. Er bemerkt: “(...) obgleich, wer die Stelle unbefangen betrachtet, sehen muss, dass diess (*scil.* φάτιν in der Textgestaltung Dissens) die Emendation eines Grammatikers ist, der die Apposition, eine dem Pindar so gewöhnliche Figur, (...) nicht begriff (...)”.²² Das würdigt Wilamowitz.²³ Dieser Meinung hat sich zuletzt Gerber²⁴ angeschlossen, dabei aber ebenso auf einen Übersetzungsvorschlag wie auf jegliche Bezugnahme auf das im Plural stehende Prädikat verzichtet. Ohne einen ebenso schlüssigen wie vollständigen Übersetzungsvorschlag aber setzen sich all diese an sich begrüßenswerten Ansätze gleichwohl galant über zweierlei syntaktische Schwierigkeit hinweg: Zum einen will das Prädikat ἐξαπατῶντι im Plural nicht wirklich so recht zu μῦθοι als Apposition passen, wenn doch das eigentliche Subjekt φάτις gewesen sein soll. Zum anderen wird nun die Abwesenheit eines nicht einmal mehr elliptisch ergänzbaren Objekts zu ἐξαπατῶντι noch schmerzlicher empfunden, wenn etwa βροτῶν als Attribut zum Subjekt φάτις syntaktisch – bzw. von der inneren Semantik her – für diesen Zweck unbrauchbar gemacht ist. Diese *lectio* aber ist nicht *difficilior*, sondern *nimis*

¹⁵ *Pindari carmina prolegomenis et commentariis instructa* a W. Christ (Lipsiae 1896). Seine Edition 1887 hatte noch φάτιν ausgewiesen.

¹⁶ *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*, ed. B. Snell, I (Lipsiae 1953).

¹⁷ C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 29.

¹⁸ Die Deutungen von Dönt und Race s. o., Anm. 1.

¹⁹ Bergk (o. Anm. 11) 16. Sein Vorschlag: καὶ πού τι καὶ βροτῶν λόγον ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ φάτις δαιδαλμένῳ ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθῳ.

²⁰ Schroeder (o. Anm. 1: zu seiner lat. Deutung) 83.

²¹ Mommsen (o. Anm. 2) 3–4.

²² G. Hermann, *Opuscula* VI (Lipsiae 1835) 35 (im Zuge der Besprechung der Ausgabe: *Pindari carmina*. Ed. L. Dissen).

²³ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (o. Anm. 9) 235.

²⁴ D. E. Gerber, *Pindar's Olympian One: A Commentary* (Toronto 1982) 61–62.

difficilis; Versuche, die ihr innewohnende Schwierigkeit zu glätten, scheitern *de facto* an der Umsetzung in der deutschen Zielsprache, die mehr als missverständlich klingt und einen ebenso verderbten Ausgangstext voraussetzen müsste.²⁵ Und der Versuch ist auch *a priori* zum Scheitern verurteilt, da der griechische Text die Grundlage dafür eben nicht hergibt.

Dagegen hat Mezger²⁶ die offenbar von Schnitzer *loc. incert.*²⁷ erahnte, aber im Zusammenhang mit $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ zu wenig gefestigte Semantik der Verse erkannt, ist seinerseits jedoch vor der Wahrheit zurückgeschreckt: “Es bliebe nun noch übrig nach einem anderen vorschlag Schnitzer’s hinter $\phi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma$ einen punkt (*sic*) zu setzen und als prädikat $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ dazu zu ergänzen. Aber dies würde einen störenden un Griechischen gedanken ergeben”. Das wesentliche Hindernis liegt hier noch in der starren Auffassung von Pindars Religiosität, sodass Zweifel an der Bedeutung von $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ *a priori* nicht aufkommen können: “Denn $\phi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma$ ist nichts anderes als das gerede der menschen, und wir können dem dichter nicht zutrauen, dass er in e i n e m athem der von überirdischem glanze umstrahlten geburt des Pelops und den klatschereien neidischer nachbarn einen wunderbaren character beilegt”.²⁸ Die Folge davon ist ein Verwerfen des älteren (offensichtlich nicht ganz ausgegorenen) Ansatzes.

Daher zusammenfassend der bisher analysierte Stand der Problemstellung:

- $\phi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\nu$ oder $\phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ sekundär, durch Überlieferung nicht zu halten;
- $\phi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma$ Akk. Pl. metrisch unrichtig und ein bedenklicher semantischer Zirkel (“Erzählungen täuschen Gerede der Sterblichen”);

²⁵ Vgl. R. Nünlist, *Poetologische Bildersprache in der Frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Stuttgart 1998) 98: “Doch in gewissen Fällen täuscht über die Wahrheit hinaus das, worüber die Menschen reden, Geschichten, die mit bunten Lügen ausgeschmückt sind”.

²⁶ F. Mezger, “Zur Erklärung und Kritik der Schriftsteller. 38. Zu Pindar”, *Philologus* 28 (1869) 717–718 s. v. Miscellen III. Cerrato ([o. Anm. 4] 114–121) bezieht sich in seiner Auseinandersetzung mit dem ihm offenbar suspekten Philologenpaar Mezger – Rumpel auf Mezgers Ausgabe *Pindars Siegeslieder* (Leipzig 1880). – Im Übrigen finden Mezger und sein Ansatz in der späteren Literatur kaum Gehör; Gerber zitiert ihn im Kommentar *ad loc.* ([o. Anm. 23] 61) zusammen mit Boehmer und Christ (beide *sine loco*; E. Boehmer, *Pindars Sicilische Oden nebst den Epizephyrischen* [Bonn 1891]; Christ [o. Anm. 14]: dort findet sich allerdings kein Hinweis auf abweichende Interpunktion), ohne auf die Frage der relevanten Interpunktion einzugehen.

²⁷ So gewandt die alte Philologie im Umgang mit dem sprachlichen Gehalt der Texte war, so nachlässig war sie in der Begegnung mit der Sekundärliteratur. Die Arbeit Schnitzers war nicht ausfindig zu machen.

²⁸ Mezger (o. Anm. 25) 717.

– φάτις Nom. Sg. und dazu μῦθοι erklärende Apposition syntaktisch gewaltsam (das Prädikat ἐξοπᾶτωντι ginge dann nach Apposition statt Subjekt), Fehlen eines Objekts zu ἐξοπᾶτωντι wird hier merklicher empfunden (der Ausgangspunkt für die “Besserungs” versuche der obigen Ansätze);

– semantisch zielführendste Versuche bei Beibehaltung des Nom. Sg. und entsprechender Interpunktion bei Schnitzer und Mezger, die allerdings jeder in zu eng vorgefassten lexikalisch-grammatikalischen Modellen stecken bleiben (und dabei dann einander diametral widersprechen).

Wie also ist die Stelle zu lösen? In jedem Falle durch den interpunktiven Ansatz: Hochpunkt in V. 28 b; ob nach φάτις oder λόγον, wird noch zu klären sein. Auf jeden Fall bleibt die Kernaussage des Folgenden: “mit mannigfaltigen Lügengebilden kunstvoll ausgestaltete Erzählungen/Legenden täuschen”. Die Frage “wen?” erledigen die βροτοί aus V. 28, die nunmehr syntaktisch frei geworden sind, sodass einer elliptischen Ergänzung als βροτούς zum Prädikat ἐξοπᾶτωντι nichts mehr im Wege steht. Damit ist die erste und wesentlichste Hürde genommen, die schon manchem Scholiasten Kopfzerbrechen bereitet hat.²⁹

Für die Bedeutung des vorderen Teils, der mithin in einem doppelten Nominalsatz resultiert, ist zunächst die Akzentuierung von θαύματα von gewissem Belang. Teilweise die Scholien bis hin zu den neuen Übersetzungen setzen Akut akrostatisch, woraus sich die *a priori* substantivische Bedeutung ‘Wunderdinge’ erschließt; die ist *mindestens* wertneutral, wenn nicht positiv: θαῦμα ist ein Gegenstand oder Ereignis, der/das zurecht Be-, gegebenenfalls Verwunderung auslöst. Damit ist die wundersame Heilung des Pelops als tra-

²⁹ Vgl. immerhin schon die Erläuterung in 44 a, die instinktiv ein sinngemäßes Objekt τοὺς ἀκούοντας aufführt.– Eben diese Verständnisschwierigkeit war schon der Aufhänger für Cerratos eigenwillige Scholiastendeutung (o. Anm. 4); in seiner Begeisterung für die Auseinandersetzung mit “varianti” verwirft er anhand Mezgers Ausführungen (wobei aber diluzide Erkenntnisse zur pindarischen Syntax referiert werden, S. 118) ein Festhalten an der mehrheitlichen Überlieferung φάτις, und quasi im Handumdrehen ergänzt er (S. 121) plausible syntaktische Argumente für eine noch bessere Interpunktion als die Mezgers (“e così tutto sarebbe salvo”), um die Überlieferung dann quasi als *lectio facilior* abzutun, weil einerseits kein Scholiast eine solche Lösung habe durchblicken lassen (“non v’è un’interpretazione d’uno scoliaste, la quale s’accordi con una punteggiatura così interposta”), andererseits sie gar nicht weiter erklärenswert hätte scheinen dürfen (“non vogliamo tener conto degli scoliasti, perchè si credono in obbligo di spiegare anche dove il senso è perspicuo?”). So aber kann ein falsch – nämlich in genau umgekehrter Richtung – begangener Weg auch nur beinahe zum richtigen Ziel führen, und gerade deshalb darf es dann nicht anerkannt werden; wir gehen den Weg darum auch im Folgenden in anderer Richtung.

ditioneller Mythos zunächst einmal in den Bereich “echter” Wunderdinge, also solcher, die man mit Verwunderung *ad notam* nimmt, gerückt – bevor Pindar den Mythos widerruft und seine Korrektur an dessen Stelle setzt. Akzentuiert man hysterostatisch θαυματά, so ist eine nach Ausweis der Scholien mit der Form θαυμαστά (fast) gleichwertige, also vom Verbaladjektiv abgeleitete, gewählt. Diese enthält dann unterschwellig die Konnotation von Dingen, über die man sich wohl wundern kann, wenn nicht sollte; also *höchstens* wertfrei bzw. eine Wertung noch offen lassend, denn gerade diese Mythosvariante soll ja korrigiert werden. Und dazu passt auch besser die Fortsetzung mit καί, die zur teilweise bedenklichen Überlieferung unter den Sterblichen überleitet; wäre θαυματα positiv zu lesen, ist eher eine ad-versative Konjunktion zu erwarten (δέ o. ä.).³⁰ Daher besser θαυματά.

Dies ist jedoch nur Vorbedingung für das Folgende. Wird im Vers 28 b durch Hochpunkt getrennt, so bedeutet der zweite Teil des Nominalsatzes: “und wohl auch in manchen Belangen Kunde unter den Sterblichen”, *i. e.* eben ein Ding, über das man sich bisweilen (τι) wundern kann/sollte. Wie eben die abgelehnte Erzählung vom Tantalosmahl. Die korrekte Redeweise von Pelops (φάτις, darum auch von den Scholien in instinktivem Verständnis mit φήμη geglichen) wird Pindar selbst gleich beibringen. Die Erklärung dafür ist klar: Durch Lügengeschichten bis zur (beglückenden) Kunstfertigkeit ausgestaltete Sagen-Erzählungen täuschen (sie: die Sterblichen).³¹ Setzt man den Hochpunkt erst am Ende des Verses (λόγον: Mezger), so würde dies eine spezielle Kennzeichnung der βροτῶν φάτις als habituelle Begleiterscheinung bedeuten: “Kunde unter den Menschen, die über den wahren Sinngehalt hinausgeht” (ständig).³² Damit aber wäre sicherlich zu viel gesagt, und einem möglichen Gegenargument Tür und Tor geöffnet.³³ Ist die Kunde unter den

³⁰ Anders Mezger, der sich unreflektiert an Pindars “frommen sinn” klammert und aus θαυματά herausliest: “...betont er zuerst kräftigst seinen glauben an wunder” ([o. Anm. 25] 718). Gerber braucht καί im Sinne von ‘yet’ für seine Auslegung und kann eine derartige Verwendung natürlich belegen; sie ist gleichwohl hier nicht nötig, und der Vergleich mit Soph. *Ant.* 332 ist schief (s. u. Anm. 37). Richtig hingegen seine Erläuterungen zu πού ([o. Anm. 23] 61).

³¹ Dass gerade die kunstvoll-lügenhafte Ausgestaltung nötig ist, um den unwahren Gehalt unbemerkt dem Publikum zu suggerieren, hält der Scholiast fest: πολλὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ νομίζεται ἐκ τῆς φήμης, ὅτε τὸ ψεῦδος προσλάβῃ (44 d zu V. 29).

³² Den präpositionalen Block nochmals referentiell auf τι “in mancherlei Hinsicht” zu beziehen, gibt die Semantik des Versbaus m. E. nicht her.

³³ Genau diesen Vorwurf aber wird sich Mezger gefallen lassen müssen, wenn er unbeeindruckt an seiner distinktiv positiven Auslegung von θαυματά festhält und dieselben von φάτις in der Aussage des Dichters klar geschieden sehen will.

Menschen prinzipiell verfehlt, üben alle Mythen grundsätzlich Betrug (ὕπερ τὸν ἀλαθῆ λόγον) an der zum vernünftig-abwägenden Denken anzuhaltenden Leserschaft? (Natürlich immer Pindars eigene Mythologeme ausgenommen, versteht sich.) So weit geht der Dichter hier m. E. wohl nicht. Also Hochpunkt nach φάτις:³⁴ Und im Weiteren sollte man nun auch nicht notgedrungenermaßen φάτις mit simplem ‘Gerede’ gleichsetzen. Der Kontext erlaubt vielmehr, mit ‘Kunde’ im Sinn einer proto-dichterischen Aussage zu rechnen, mit dem, was von besonderen Menschen über besondere Menschen ausgesagt wird und sich dergestalt verbreitet – dichterisches Sujet eben, das aus mythologischem Allgemeingut stammt und dasselbe seinerseits wieder bereichert, wie es nun auch Pindar tut. Dass φάτις das hergibt, braucht nicht bewiesen zu werden.³⁵ Daher schlagen wir an dieser Stelle folgende Lesart und Übersetzung der zur Frage stehenden Verse vor:

ἦ θαυματὰ πολλά, καὶ πού τι καὶ βροτῶν
 φάτις· ὕπερ τὸν ἀλαθῆ λόγον
 δεδαϊδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις
 ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι.

Es gibt wahrhaftig wundersame Sachen viele, und so wohl auch in mancherlei Hinsicht Kunde unter den Sterblichen; über den wahren Sinngehalt hinaus täuschen [*die Sterblichen*] mit mannigfachen Lügengeschichten kunstvoll ausgestaltete Erzählungen.

Diese ‘Kunde’ berichtet nun sehr wohl Wunderdinge,³⁶ und den Inhalt auf das Gefäß der Form selbst abgebildet, wird sie dann auch zu einem solchen Wunderding. Ebenso – und das ist hier die Fortführung des Gedankens – kann³⁷ der Mythos viel ψεῦδος enthalten und damit selbst auch zu

³⁴ Gerber ([o. Anm. 23] 61) meint indes unter einem rein syntaktischen Aspekt, dass wenn bei dieser Auslegung ein Hochpunkt, dann dieser immer noch am Ende des Verses gesetzt werden müsste, da ἦ θαύματα πολλά als Gnome der Copula nicht bedürfe, dieselbe aber bei der unterschiedlichen Aussage καὶ πού τι καὶ βροτῶν φάτις dann abgehe. Genau das aber ist der Witz des ganzen Ausdrucks, dass eben auch φάτις dazugehört.

³⁵ φάτις hier eher im semantischen Kreis von μῦθοι: Mezger (o. Anm. 25) 118. Das jedoch keinesfalls als ‘Gerede’ oder ‘Klatschereien’ (*sic*) – vgl. o. Anm. 28 und meine weiteren Ausführungen bis Anm. 32; vgl. weiters die φήμη-Synonymik und ihre Herleitung im Scholien Thomae magistri zu *Ol.* 1, 44.

³⁶ Echte θαύματα wie auch eher θαυματά; in Wahrheit sollte man an unserer Stelle die Akzentuierung offen lassen können. (So muss die Interpretation das Ihre dazu tun.)

³⁷ μῦθοι müssen ja auch nicht alle zwanghaft und *ex sua natura* täuschen; im Gegenteil zieht ja Pindar selbst im Folgenden seine scharfe Grenze, indem er etwa das Tantalos-

solchem werden. Belegstellen dafür sind seit Homer und Hesiod Legion. Hier bei Pindar ist ein differenzierter Fortschritt enthalten: Die mythologische Tradition – βροτῶν φάτις – bringt viele Wunderdinge, gehört mithin selbst metonymisch bzw. ikonisch zur Gesamtmenge derselben;³⁸ Erklärung: im Umlauf befindliche Einzelgeschichten – μῦθοι – üben infolge ihrer kunstvollen Ausgestaltung trügerische Wirkung aus (oft, aber nicht ausschließlich). Das aber hat der Dichter durchschaut und kennt eine andere, seine eigene Wahrheit. Die ist vom Charakter des Phantastischen her der überlieferten Variante nicht nachstehend – so gilt hier jedenfalls das klassische *si non è vero, è ben trovato*,³⁹ wie es dem ingeniosen Dichter, dem σοφός eben, nicht weniger als ziemt; darüber hinaus aber ist sie reiner, logisch konsistenter, dem vorliegenden Anlass besser angepasst (und läuft also dem ἀλαθῆς λόγος nicht zuwider). Und das wollen wir ja als Pindars Zentralmaxime gelten lassen.⁴⁰ ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι.

Viktor Streicher

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Понимание стихов 28 b–29 первой олимпийской оды Пиндара, и прежде всего слова φάτις (28 b), вызывает ряд трудностей. Их пытались преодолеть уже античные ученые, предлагая различные исправления. Автор статьи доказывает, (1) что чтение φάτις, представляющее собой lectio difficilior, является правильным, (2) что попытки изменить падеж φάτις неприемлемы по метрическим соображениям и (3) что правильное понимание этого места достигается членением фразы с колоном после φάτις.

Mahl und die daraus resultierende Schulter-Transplantation am wiedererweckten Pelops verwirft, den Diebstahl von Nektar und Ambrosia aber gelten lässt und seinerseits noch den quasi-ganymedischen Raub des Tantalossohns durch Poseidon dazuerfindet.

³⁸ In diesen Kontext passt vollends die auch von Gerber (o. Anm. 23) 61 festgestellte syntaktische Analogie zu Soph. *Ant.* 332–333, nur schießt er mit seiner Wiedergabe durch “yet nothing” übers Ziel hinaus. Πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ, κοῦδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει bedeutet die Gesamtmenge alles Gewaltigen, in die sich organisch “der Mensch” als Teilmenge (hier die dominante) einfügt bzw. exemplarisch aus ihr herausgegriffen wird. Eben – so wie hier – kein gegensätzlicher, sondern konsequent weitergeführter Gedanke.

³⁹ Zu möglichen Vorläuferversionen einer Beziehung Pelops – Poseidon s. Gerber (o. Anm. 23) 134–136 (zu V. 87).

⁴⁰ Dönt (o. Anm. 1) 314–315.

SOME REMARKS ON THE EARTH IN PLATO'S *PHAEDO*

INTRODUCTION: THE SPHERICITY OF THE EARTH IN THE *PHAEDO*

In Plato's *Phaedo* we have the earliest known exposition of the sphericity of the earth. However, this does not mean that he wanted to propose a completely new conception. Close reading of the relevant texts of the *Phaedo* reveals that the sphericity of the earth is not treated there as a new knowledge, but rather as an accepted fact. The text of 108 e 4–5 reads as follows:

πέπεισμαι τοίνυν, ἦ δ' ὄζ, ἐγὼ ὡς πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ οὐρανῷ περιφερῆς οἴσα (sc. ἡ γῆ)

I am convinced', he said, 'in the first place that, if the earth is spherical (...).

Harold Cherniss has pointed to the fact that here the sphericity of the earth "is expressed in a subordinate clause as the accepted fact on which depends the notion of equilibrium at the center".¹ If Plato had wanted Socrates to introduce the sphericity of the earth as a completely new theory, he would have let him say something like: "I am convinced that the earth is spherical". But already earlier, at 97 d, when Socrates wonders if Anaxagoras could have told him whether the earth is flat or round (meaning spherical), this obviously presupposes an already ongoing discussion between these two theories, both of which had their defenders, and with both of which Anaxagoras was acquainted.² Moreover, if Plato really had wanted to put forward the spherical earth as an entirely new theory, he could not have dispensed with some sort of proof. This is, however, completely absent in the *Phaedo*, as it is elsewhere in Plato's oeuvre. The same holds for an answer to the question – which is not even posed in the *Phaedo* – why we (or at least our antipodes) do not fall off the spherical earth.

Who was the first Greek to teach the sphericity of the earth is a much discussed question. Since ancient times, the ambiguity of the word στρογγύλος plays a certain part in this debate. When Socrates, at *Phaedo* 97 d–e,

¹ H. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy* (New York 1964) 395. See also: L. Tarán, *Parmenides* (Princeton etc. 1965) 296–297.

² D. Panchenko ("Anaxagoras' Argument Against the Sphericity of the Earth", *Hyperboreus* 3 [1997]: 1, 175–178) has convincingly shown that Anaxagoras was familiar with the idea of the sphericity of the earth and argued against it.

wonders what the shape of the earth is, Plato uses the word *στρογγύλος*. It is precisely the ambiguity of this word that made some scholars deny that Plato was advocating here the sphericity of the earth.³ We do not have to repeat in detail the refutations of this interpretation.⁴ The main arguments are: (1) in 97 d–e, *στρογγύλη* ('round') opposed to *πλατεῖα* ('flat') must mean 'spherical', not 'disk-like'.⁵ (2) Plato's assertion that, seen from above, the earth looks like a twelve-paneled sphere (*ὡσπερ αἱ δωδεκάσκυτοι σφαῖραι*, 110 b 6–7) by itself should be enough to discount the theory that Plato adhered to the Ionian view of the earth as a disk.⁶ (3) Socrates' argument, at 108 e–109 a, that the earth needs nothing to support it than its 'equiformity' (*ὁμοιότης*) and 'equilibrium' (*ἰσορροπία*) presupposes its sphericity.⁷ (4) In an unequivocal context (and it is argued in 1–3 that this is the case), the normal Greek word for 'spherical' is *στρογγύλος* ('round'). In English too the earth is commonly called 'round', rather than 'spherical'. (5) Finally, the whole dramatic and serious context – Socrates' last words on his dying-bed – involves that Socrates would not have uttered something trivial like the earth being flat and round, as it is conceived already in Homer.

Anaximander and the shape of the earth

The ambiguity of the word *στρογγύλος* has obscured the discussion of the earth's shape almost from the beginning. Most scholars agree that Anaximander conceived the earth like a column-drum.⁸ Diogenes Laërtius, how-

³ T. G. Rosenmeyer, "*Phaedo* 111 c 4 ff.," *CIQ* 6 (1956) 193–197. J. S. Morrison, "The Shape of the Earth in Plato's *Phaedo*," *Phronesis* 4 (1959) 101–119. D. Fehling, "Das Problem der Geschichte des griechischen Weltmodells vor Aristoteles," *RhM* 128 (1985) 195–231.

⁴ See e. g. W. M. Calder III, "The Spherical Earth in Plato's *Phaedo*," *Phronesis* 3 (1958) 121–125; W. J. Verdenius, "Notes on Plato's *Phaedo*," *Mnemosyne* 11 (1958) 192–243; D. R. Dicks, *Early Greek Astronomy to Aristotle* (Ithaca – New York 1970) 98–99.

⁵ Cf.: Ch. H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (New York 1960) 118.

⁶ Cf. Dicks (n. 4) 98.

⁷ Why Ebert holds that also a cylinder or a cone would answer the description, I do not understand. See: Th. Ebert, *Platon. Phaidon. Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Göttingen 2004) 435: "Was Sokrates hier sagt, trifft nicht nur auf kugelförmige Gegenstände zu. Auch ein Zylinder oder ein Kegel würde dieser Beschreibung entsprechen".

⁸ Actually, this interpretation is the combination of three rather corrupted texts. In two of them, the shape of the earth is said to be like a column of stone, and in the third

ever, ascribes the sphericity of the earth to Anaximander, calling it σφαιροειδής (D. L., 2. 1 = DK 12 A 1). It is generally accepted that he was confused here. Recently, I have argued that Diogenes must have been victim of the fallacy of anachronism, as he simply was not able to imagine that anyone could believe the earth to be something other than a sphere.⁹ In reaction to this, Daniel Graham suggested, that Diogenes was confused between Anaximander and Anaxagoras.¹⁰ This suggestion does not help, however, as Anaxagoras did not teach the sphericity of the earth either.¹¹

As an alternative explanation I would like to recall to a suggestion, made by Erich Frank as early as 1923: perhaps Diogenes was misled by the ambiguity of the word στρογγύλος, which, as we have seen, may mean both ‘circular’ and ‘spherical’. After having shown how Theophrastus’ indication of Parmenides’ earth by the word στρογγύλος has been mistaken by a later doxographer to mean ‘spherical’, Frank writes: “Durch dasselbe Mißverständnis kommt wahrscheinlich auch Anaximander zu dieser unverdienten Ehre”.¹² The shape of the earth according to Anaximander is described by Hippolytus, in a text that goes also back to Theophrastus,¹³ by the word στρογγύλος (DK 12 A 11 [3]). Frank’s denial of the sphericity of the earth as a doctrine taught by Parmenides has been contested.¹⁴ However this may be, we may imagine how Diogenes, reading the same word for Anaximander’s earth as was used by Theophrastus in the case of Parmenides (στρογγύλος), must have thought that ‘spherical’ was meant. So he replaced it wrongly by σφαιροειδής.

it is said to be cylindrical, its height being three times its diameter. See DK 12 A 11, 25, and 10.

⁹ D. L. Couprie e. a., *Anaximander in Context* (Albany 2003) 174.

¹⁰ D. W. Graham, “Review of ‘Anaximander in Context’”, *Ancient Philosophy* 24 (2004) 453.

¹¹ See DK 59 A 42 (5). Jørgen Mejer, to whom Graham refers, does not include the sphericity of the earth into his suggestion of a confusion between Anaximander and Anaxagoras. He confines it to the next lines (put between brackets in DK 12 A 1), which are on the light of the moon and the size of the sun, and which certainly belong to Anaxagoras. See: J. Mejer, *Diogenes Laërtius and his Hellenistic Background* (Wiesbaden 1978) 22 and 26.

¹² Cf. E. Frank, *Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer. Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des griechischen Geistes* (Halle 1923) 200. See also: Kahn (n. 5) 56.

¹³ Cf. Kahn (n. 5) 15: “All of the information which this author (sc. Hippolytus) gives us concerning Anaximander (...) comes from Theophrastus and from no other source”.

¹⁴ See, e. g., Cherniss (n. 1) 395, and W. Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft. Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon* (Nürnberg 1962) 283–284.

As a matter of fact, it was neither Anaximander nor, according to most scholars, Parmenides who was the originator of the concept of a spherical earth. Frank's thorough investigation into Plato and the so-called Pythagoreans pointed to Archytas as the most likely candidate, although his conclusions, as already said, have been challenged.¹⁵ However, I will not speculate further about who was the first to hold the earth to be spherical, but return to the *Phaedo*.

Socrates' proof of the stability of the earth

Socrates explicitly refrains from what he had asked from Anaxagoras at 97 d–e, to wit the answer to the question why it is better for the earth to be spherical. At 108 d he gives as a reason for this that it would take more time than he had left before he had to drink the poisoned cup. We may understand his problem when we see how Aristotle, in his *De caelo*, still has difficulties in fighting some empirical arguments for a flat earth, which he overcomes at last by means of a metaphysical argument: the sphere is the natural shape for a body that, consisting of the heaviest element, is amassed at its natural place, which is below, and in a spherical universe this means: at the center of that universe (Arist. *De caelo* 2. 13–14). This typically Aristotelian argument Socrates of course did not know. So one can imagine that to counterargue the defenders of a flat earth would have taken more time than the few hours that were left before his death.

Socrates does offer a solution, however, to the other question he had expected Anaxagoras to answer, viz. why it is better for the earth to be at the center of the universe (at 108 e–109 a). This question has become urgent since Anaximander had proclaimed that the earth floats unsupported in space. As is clear from Aristotle's discussion in *De caelo*, this question is equivalent to: why does the earth not fall.¹⁶ In conformity with his demands for a really philosophical answer, the solution offered by Socrates is, that the earth, being at the center of the universe, has no reason to go elsewhere. This answer clearly is meant to be opposed to solutions in physical terms, such as that the earth does not fall because it is supported by air or kept in its place by a vortex. With his solution, Socrates wants to prove that "mind is the king of heaven and earth", as Plato expresses it later, at *Philebus* 28 c 7–8. It is almost tragical, however, that the argument, put into the mouth of the

¹⁵ See note 14.

¹⁶ Cf. Fehling (n. 3) 224: "...daß es Aristoteles in *De caelo* gar nicht um die Weltbau geht, sondern nur um die Frage, warum die Erde nicht fällt".

dying Socrates, is fallacious, for the simple reason that the earth is not at the center of the universe. Aristotle, who ascribes the argument to Anaximander but is evidently arguing with the text of the *Phaedo*, ridicules it by saying that for the same reason a hair, on which was pulled from all sides with equal strength, would not break (Arist. *De caelo* 295 b 31). Ironically, however, his own argument why the earth rests at the center of the universe was equally false, and for the same reason.

The dodecahedron-shaped earth

After having stated, at 108 e 4–5, that the earth is spherical (περιφερής), at 110 b 6–7 Plato compares it with a multi-colored ball, made of twelve pieces of leather. Although he does not mention the shape of those pieces, it is commonly accepted that he has in mind the dodecahedron, which is the fifth of the so-called Platonic bodies, consisting of twelve regular pentagons, as can be seen on the picture below.¹⁷

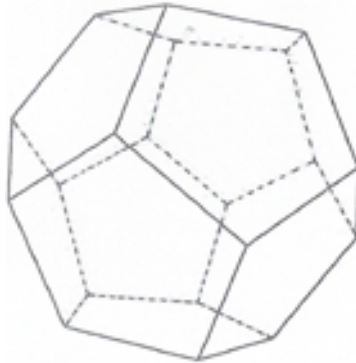


Figure 1: a dodecahedron

A leather dodecahedron, stuffed like the balls that Socrates mentions, or inflated like the one that lies on my desk, makes a rather perfect sphere. This is how Theodor Ebert understands the comparison, when he says that the

¹⁷ In the *Timaeus* 55 c, the dodecahedron is reserved for the shape of the universe as a whole, whereas the other regular bodies (tetrahedron, octahedron, icosahedron, cube) make up the elements (fire, air, water, and earth respectively). One may wonder, by the way, why Plato did not designate the cubical shape to the earth, which consists predominantly of the element earth.

pentagons which build the faces of this dodecahedron must not be thought of as flat, but as curved.¹⁸ And this is obviously also how most commentaries tacitly understand it, without paying further attention to it.¹⁹ The illustration below may elucidate this interpretation, which I believe to be only partially right, as will be explained hereafter.



Figure 2: a dodecahedron blown up onto a sphere (front view)

Scholars like Baensch, Fehling, Frank, and Friedländer, who have tried to visualize Plato's earth, completely ignore the image of the dodecahedron.²⁰ It seems to me, however, that Plato's comparison of the earth with a dodecahedron is not just incidental. From the *Timaeus* it is clear, that to Plato the regular bodies are very special mathematical objects. When he uses the dodecahedron, then, for his description of the shape of the earth, he must have done so intentionally. Moreover, he must have realized that a dodecahedron is the regular polyhedron that comes closest to a sphere, but that, of course, it *is not* a sphere. The dodecahedron is, so to speak, a sphere with excavated or cut out dents or hollows. This is exactly the way Plato, just before introducing the comparison of the ball of twelve pieces, describes the earth: "all over the world, there are

¹⁸ Ebert (n. 7) 438.

¹⁹ Just a few examples: J. Burnet, *Plato's Phaedo* (Oxford 1956 [1911]) 109 note at 110 b 6; Dicks (n. 4) 232 n. 122; H. Tredennick, *Plato. The Last Days of Socrates* (London 1953) 168 n. 54; L. Robin (ed.), *Platon. Oeuvres Complètes IV, 1 Phédon* (Paris 1963) 89 n. 3.

²⁰ O. Baensch, "Die Schilderung der Unterwelt in Platons *Phaidon*". *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 16 (1903) 190; Fehling (n. 3) 197; Frank (n. 12) 24; P. Friedländer, "Die Anfänge der Kugelgeographie", *JDAI* 29 (1914) 99 and 104.

many hollows” (109 b 5). As far as I know, nobody has drawn the simple consequence that those hollows must be the twelve pentagonal faces of the dodecahedron.²¹

Perhaps one reason why this has remained unnoticed is, that Plato speaks of “many hollows”, whereas a dodecahedron has only twelve faces. One must remember, however, that at 109 b 5 Plato is introducing the notion of hollows or cavities and has not yet spoken of the shape of the earth as a dodecahedron, which is only introduced at 110 b. Therefore, at 109 b 5, he still speaks rather vaguely of “many” hollows. Another reason why nobody has identified Plato’s hollows in the earth with the dents that make the difference between a dodecahedron and a sphere, might be that the sentence just quoted is followed by the words: “... of all sorts of shape and size”. And elsewhere (111 c 5 – d 2): “... and in the earth, in the cavities all over its surface, are many regions, some deeper and wider than that in which we live, others deeper but with a narrower opening than ours, while others again are shallower than this and broader”. This seems hardly applicable to a dodecahedron, which consists of identical regular pentagons. I think, however, that we have to read these words keeping in mind the description of our part of the earth – one of those hollows – which is given at 109 a 9 – b 4: “... it (sc. the earth) is very big ... and ... we who live between the Phasis river and the pillars of Hercules inhabit only a small part of it, living round the coast of the sea like ants or frogs by a pond, while many others live elsewhere, in many similar regions”. Of course, the other regions are not all shaped like the lands around the Mediterranean Sea, but they are, so to speak, “filled up” in different ways by lands and seas. In that sense, they will show “different shapes and sizes”, some being “deeper and wider”, others “shallower and broader”.

We might say that Plato, as the discussion on the shape of the earth is concerned, uses the image of the dodecahedron in order to illustrate the combined ideas of a flat earth (any face of the dodecahedron) and that of a spherical earth (the entire dodecahedron).²² The dodecahedron however, as

²¹ One might object that κοῖλος usually means something concave, whereas the surfaces of the pentagons of the dodecahedron are flat. My guess is, however, that in this context the word indicates the twelve pentagonal excavations cut out of the circumscribed sphere (cf. Figure 3 p. 9 below). Moreover, the flatness of these surfaces has not to be taken too literally. Just as in the case of a spherical surface of the earth, an irregular surface with mountains, valleys, and seas is meant.

²² A dodecahedron with circular openings in the pentagons, dated ca. 200 BC, which is preserved in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, unintentionally illus-

said before, is not a perfect sphere. My guess is that the dodecahedron represents the shape of the empirical or apparent earth, whereas the sphere represents the shape of what Plato calls the real earth. How these two shapes are interrelated will become clearer soon, after we have discussed another textual problem.

The one who lives at the bottom of the sea

The shape of the earth is also at stake at the description of the apparent and the real earth at 109 b ff. Let us first look at the strange passage where Plato compares us – the dwellers of the hollow that is formed by the basin of the Mediterranean Sea – with “someone who lives in the middle of the bottom of the sea (who) would believe to live upon the surface of the sea” (109 c 5–6). As far as I know, nobody has noticed that something is wrong with this text. First of all, how do we have to imagine someone who lives under water to think that he lives at the surface of the water (οἷοιτό τε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης οἰκεῖν)? Secondly, the comparison does not fit. Plato compares us, who live at the bottom of the air-sea, with a man who lives at the bottom of the water-sea. We believe that the air is the sky, just as the sea-dweller believes that the sea is the sky. He does not notice that the sky, in which the celestial bodies move, is above the surface of the sea. In the same way we have no idea that the real sky is above the surface of what we call the sky, but which is only the air. So far so good. We do not believe, however, that we live at the surface of our air-sea, as the parallel with the sea-dweller would require, but we assume that we live at the surface of the earth (οἷεσθαι ἄνω ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἰκεῖν). Something has gone wrong here.

Rather than thinking that Plato had a black-out, I would suggest to omit the clause οἷοιτό τε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης οἰκεῖν καὶ at 109 c 5–6, which looks to me as the insertion of a copyist, who unsuccessfully tried to improve the text. This would also do with the somewhat awkward repetition of words: πελάγους – θαλάττης – ὕδατος – θάλατταν, and also οἷοιτο – ἦγοῖτο. What remains makes perfect sense and contains the comparison Plato must have thought of. The passage in question, then, will read like this: “We do not realize that we are living in the earth's hollows, and suppose that we are living up above the top of the earth, just as if someone

trates Plato's image very nicely. See: M. Emmer (ed.), *The Visual Mind. Art and Mathematics* (Cambridge, Mass. 1993) 216.

living in the middle of the sea, noticing the sun and the stars through the water, were to imagine that the sea was the sky”.

Dodecahedron and sphere

The consequence of the simile used by Socrates is that what we call the sky must have a surface itself, separating the air and the ether (109 b 9), just like the sea, as we know, has a surface, which separates the sea and the air, although the dweller at the bottom of the sea is unaware of it. The intention of the comparison is that what we think to be the sky is only the air, and not the real sky, which is the ether (αἰθήρ) in which the celestial bodies move. If someone could climb out of our cavity and pop his head above the surface of the air (above the surface of our air-sea, so to speak), he would watch the real sky and the real earth (ἡ ὡς ἀληθῶς γῆ, cf. 110 a 1). What would this real earth look like? Let us return to the image of the dodecahedron. If I am right that the cavities of which Plato speaks are the twelve pentagonal faces of the dodecahedron, then the easiest way to outline the surface of the air which separates it from the heavens, is the sphere that can be circumscribed around the dodecahedron. The picture below may illustrate this. Every pentagon, that is: every cavity of the earth, would have its own curved cover of air, as is easiest seen at the pentagon on top of figure 3.²³



Figure 3: A dodecahedron-shaped earth with a spherical cover of air

²³ I am very much indebted to Ton Lecluse, who made this picture according to my instructions.

The real earth, then, will look like a sphere, on which, so to speak, the seams of the pentagonal panels are visible, just as is the case with the balls of which Plato speaks. The dwellers on the real earth, then, live around our air-sea and around that of the other hollows, just as we live like frogs around the sea (109 b 3). We may even imagine that some live more inland, where the seams between the pentagonal panels are rather broad. How we have to imagine the “islands encompassed by air near the mainland” (111 a 6–7), where some people live on the real earth, has been visualized very nicely by Friedländer.²⁴

The faces of the dodecahedron will also show some different colors, as Plato describes in 110 c. Apparently, we have to imagine looking at the real earth (ἡ ὧς ἀληθῶς γῆ) from above. Our eye, as it were, penetrates the air above the several cavities of the earth. Some of the hollows to the north of our region will show a bright whiteness, as they are covered with snow and ice, whereas those to the south, which are burnt by the sun will look purple and golden. The result might be, as Burnet suggests at 110 b 7: “Each of the twelve pentagons has its own color”.²⁵ Thus, the whole looks like a multi-colored ball.

The cavities in the earth and the allegory of the cave

Many authors have noticed the resemblance of Plato's description of the cavities in the earth with the allegory of the cave in his *Republic* 514 a ff. Few, however, have tried to work out this correspondence. Perceval Frutiger has printed both allegories in two columns next to each other.²⁶ As such, however, this does not say very much. The main difficulty is, that the allegory of the cave is a parable from the beginning to the end. It is, so to speak, the tale of a spiritual journey. The story of the earth-dwellers in the *Phaedo*, on the contrary, is, at least partially, meant as the empirical truth about the earth. This ambiguity is the main source of the differences between the two similes.

Some authors seem to believe that the parallels between the two stories consist of the description of three analogous levels. In the allegory of the cave we have the men who are chained and look at the wall, then the people who carry puppets behind their backs, and finally the people out-

²⁴ Friedländer (n. 20) 99 Abb. 2.

²⁵ J. Burnet (n. 19) 132. See also Calder (n. 4) 123.

²⁶ P. Frutiger, *Les mythes de Platon. Étude philosophique et littéraire* (Paris 1928) 64–65.

side the cave. Correspondingly, they say, in the exposition of the cavities of the earth we have the person at the bottom of the sea, then the people above the sea at the bottom of their cavity, and finally the people above the air on the real earth.²⁷

I think this rendering is a misunderstanding of Plato's intention in the *Phaedo*. The alleged person at the bottom of the sea is introduced by Plato not as a separate level of existence, but as nothing else than a comparison to make clear the position of our own existence within one of the hollows of the earth. In a similar way, the ants and frogs that live around a pound are introduced at 109 b in order to explain how we live around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and not as a separate level of existence. Moreover, in this interpretation the inhabitants of the other cavities do not play a separate role, whereas at 109 b they are introduced as an important part of the description of the earth.

Let us look at both stories somewhat more precisely. The starting point of the allegory of the cave in the *Republic* is the people that are chained and look at the wall. They obviously correspond to the people in the *Phaedo* that live in the cavity which is formed by the Mediterranean basin. The second step is, that we have to learn that our hollow is just one of many cavities on the earth, in other words, that we are not alone. This corresponds to the discovery of the prisoners in the cave who see, when they are unchained, that they are not alone, but that behind their backs other people live, who throw the images on the wall that was before them. The people they meet behind the wall live in the cave as well. The other people in the *Phaedo* also live in cavities, just like we, albeit this time in other cavities, behind the mountains that surround our cavity. The final step in the *Phaedo* is that we have to realize that the real earth is beyond the air, which we would see if we were able to climb to the air's surface or to grow wings. This parallels the real earth which is seen by the one who, in the allegory of the cave, manages to climb out of the cave. Perhaps a little diagram may elucidate the correspondences:

²⁷ So e. g. J.-F. Pradeau, "Le monde terrestre. Le modèle cosmologique du mythe final du 'Phédon'", *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* 121 (1996) 84: "C'est le sens de la comparaison tripartite (la partie pure de la terre, notre partie, celle, marine, des poissons; où chacun habite le ciel et de celui qui lui succède ...". Another example is D. Clay, "The Art of Glaukos (Plato's *Phaedo* 108 d 4–9), *AJPh* 106 (1985) 230: "We are to the region that lies above us as fish (!) are to humans dwelling above the sea". See also M. G. J. Beets, *From Time to Eternity. A Companion to Plato's Phaedo* (Baarn, 2003) 256.

the apparent and the real earth in the <i>Phaedo</i>	the allegory of the cave in the <i>Republic</i>
the people that live in one of the cavities of the earth	the chained people in the cave
the people that live elsewhere in other cavities	the people elsewhere in the cave, behind the wall
the people that live above the air of the cavities, on the surface of the real earth	the people outside the cave that live on the surface of the earth

The apparent and the real earth

One may differ in opinion as to the question, where in the *Phaedo* the description of the empirical earth ends and the mythical story begins. There is, after all, a general agreement that the description of the subterranean rivers and of the Tartarus at 111 d ff. is no longer meant as an empirical description of the earth. Plato ends this discussion with the words: "No man of sense should affirm decisively that all this is exactly as I have described it" (114 d 1–2). But how much of this judgment also bears upon the foregoing description of the earth is unclear. According to Detlev Fehling, the whole description of the shape of the earth in the *Phaedo* is mythological.²⁸ And also Perceval Frutiger holds that the passage 108 c – 113 c as a whole is mythical.²⁹

I think that the most natural way to read the text is to acknowledge that it is embedded in an eschatological context (107 d 5–108 c 5 and 113 d 1–114 c 9), concerning the fate of the soul after death and its journey into Hades and from there to its appropriate place. Within this context it is evident that the 'real earth', above the air-see, belongs to the mythical part of the story. It is said with so many words, that this place is also the destination of the souls of those who have lived exceptionally good lives (114 b). I maintain, however, that the description of the cavity in which we live, the other cavities in which other people live, as well as the shape of the earth as expressed by the image of the dodecahedron, are meant as a description of what we would call the empirical earth. Plato's point is, however, that the empirical earth, which people are inclined to call the real earth, is only the apparent earth. His description of the empirical earth is subordinated to the

²⁸ See Fehling (n. 3) 196: "Die 'Erde' Platos ist also nicht nur in der Form eines Mythos dargestellt, sie ist auch etwas rein Mythisches, ja Jenseitiges".

²⁹ Frutiger (n. 26) 61 ff.

mythical story about the soul's journey after death, in which also the description of the 'real' earth above the air takes its place. This 'real' earth, which we would rather call 'mythical', is Plato's spherical earth.

One may wonder why Socrates in his last hours, after the discussion has been on such a highly relevant subject as the immortality of the soul, wants to explain his vision of the earth's shape. I think that Plato had at least two reasons to put these words into Socrates' mouth on this solemn occasion. The first is, that he makes explicit by his argument why the earth is at the center of the universe, that "mind is the king of heaven and earth" (*Phileb.* 28 c 7–8). The second reason is, that Plato, as an homage to his teacher Socrates, makes him pronounce at his death-bed the first version of the famous allegory that constitutes the very core of his own philosophy. The dramatic setting of the *Phaedo* excludes that the tale about the earth is just a facetious previous stage ("eine humoristische Vorstufe") of the allegory of the cave, as Kurt von Fritz holds.³⁰

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Платон в "Федоне" использует образ двенадцатигранника, объясняя форму Земли. Обычно этот пассаж встречает недопонимание и недооценку. В статье доказывается, что слова о Земле в форме двенадцатигранника надо понимать буквально. Каждая из его пятиугольных поверхностей может рассматриваться как впадина в Земле, покрытая воздухом; одна из них – бассейн Средиземного моря. Каждая такая впадина, согласно Платону, представляет собой единственно видимую ее обитателями часть Земли. Сферическая поверхность истинной Земли складывается из всех таких впадин с их воздушным покрытием.

Жителей впадины Платон сравнивает с обитателями морского дна. В статье предлагается эмендация пассажа 109 с 5–6 (атетеза слов οἰοτό τε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης οἴκεῖν καὶ), в результате которой текст становится яснее.

Пассаж об истинной и видимой Земле имеет нечто общее с аллегорическим рассказом о пещере в "Государстве". Для лучшего понимания текста следует учитывать, что люди из других впадин в "Федоне" аналогичны людям за спиной у пленников в рассказе о пещере.

³⁰ K. von Fritz, *Grundprobleme der Geschichte der antiken Wissenschaft* (Berlin – New York 1971) 150.

PLATO'S TSUNAMI

Plato's *Republic* is, among many other things, a blueprint for a radical reform of political, social and educational structures. Three proposals in particular are introduced by the main speaker Socrates with an apology for the shock or incredulity they are likely to provoke.

The first shocking proposal (451 c – 457 b) is that women selected for their ability should be trained to be members of the elite class of the city's 'guards' or 'guardians', on a fully equal footing with men. Plato's overt motivation is not any conviction concerning women's rights; indeed, to locate the notion of 'rights' in ancient Greek ethics is not only difficult but quite possibly also unhistorical. Rather, he is driven by his determination that the city should not waste any of the talent available to it. The proposal, which involves *inter alia* women participating naked in athletic training alongside men, was not only outrageous to current Greek norms but almost certainly no less so to Plato's own male-centred philosophical coterie.

The second proposal (457 b – 466 d) is that in this same elite class the family as such should be abolished, to be replaced by a community of wives and a eugenic system of breeding which will maximise the chances of maintaining the elite's quality, while keeping secret each child's actual parentage. This inclusion of eugenics, a project hideously discredited by 20th-century history, is a reminder that our entirely proper admiration for Plato's proposal of female equality should not deceive us into mistaking him for anything remotely like a modern liberal. Nor does Plato's own evident anxiety about reactions to the proposal reflect any such squeamishness as we may today feel about eugenics; it is more likely to be focused on the threat to such preoccupations, central to the ideology of the polis, as the social and political advancement of one's own lineage.

The third proposal (471 c ff.) is the one Socrates expects to cause the most shock of all: government should be placed in the hands of trained philosophers. Only those who know the Form of the Good and the other eternal foundations of value are capable of administering a city in a way that will fully embody justice. Plato did not underestimate how uphill a task it would be to persuade the non-philosophical public to put their lives in the hands of this utterly unworldly intelligentsia.

In apologising for these three outrages to current values, Socrates adopts the metaphor of three waves. Each of the three proposals in turn faces a

‘wave’ (κῶμα) of reaction on behalf of the *status quo*, and the final one faces the biggest single wave within the ‘triple wave’ (τρικυμία, 472 a).

What are we to make of this metaphor? In particular, what is the significance of *three* waves? The number is not the merely accidental result of Socrates’ assembling and then counting up his most controversial proposals, because the word for a ‘triple wave’, τρικυμία, was well established in the Greek vocabulary by this date, and the list of three is clearly itself compiled with the meaning of that term in mind. According to W. S. Barrett’s commentary on Euripides’ *Hippolytus*,

The word must originally have meant ‘group or series of three waves’, and so – in the common belief that every third wave was the largest – Pl[ato] R[epublic] 472 a [...]; the shift in sense to ‘very large wave’ (here and elsewhere) was probably helped by the common use of τρίς, τρι- as an intensive with adjectives and adverbs (τρὶς μάκαρ, τρὶς ἄθλιος, etc.; τριγέρων, τρίπαλαι).¹

So far as concerns later ancient (and indeed modern Greek) usage, in which the word is extremely common, Barrett is clearly right that the τρι- prefix becomes a mere intensifier, so that the word comes to mean something no more specific than ‘storm’. But in Plato, the earliest surviving prose author to use the word, the meaning ‘triple wave’ is plainly still alive, as Barrett acknowledges, and the only evidence that Barrett and innumerable others have been able to cite for its being a common belief that every third wave is biggest is from the very part of the *Republic* that we are now considering, where Socrates remarks (472 a): “I barely escaped from the two waves, and now you’re urging upon me the biggest and most difficult of the triple wave (τρικυμία)”. Socrates’ remark is not in itself sufficient evidence that any such belief – a belief that could, after all, be easily falsified

¹ W. S. Barrett, *Euripides, Hippolytus* (Oxford 1964) 386. Cf.: H. Lloyd-Jones, “Modern interpretations of Pindar: the second Pythian and seventh Nemean Odes”, *JHS* 93 (1973) 130, who cites Barrett’s note in the course of commenting on Pindar, *N. 7. 17*: “The third wind [τριταῖον ἄνεμον] is the wind that will stir up the third and most formidable of three successive waves; the same notion is in Plato’s mind when in a famous passage of his *Republic* he compares the problems presented to Socrates by the formidable task of justifying the communistic elements of his ideal state to three successive waves, the last being the greatest, which he must stand up to”. If what I shall go on to argue is correct, such could indeed be the meaning of the Pindaric expression (for wind as supposed cause of the waves in question, cf. n. 8 below), even if it will presumably have to be divorced from the further notion that *every* third wave is the biggest.

by anyone spending five minutes at the beach² – was held by either Plato or anyone else.

Besides, the word *τρικυμία* is most naturally understood as designating a triple wave, not a third wave, and that assumption finds confirmation in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, where a huge and threatening wave is characterised as 'three-taloned' (*κῶμα ... τρίχαιλον*, 758–760).³ A much more plausible explanation of the three-wave image is available, or so I shall now go on to argue.

None of us is likely ever to forget how on 26 December 2004 an earthquake in the Indian Ocean triggered a tsunami, a massive wave which horrifyingly devastated entire coastlines and drowned some hundreds of thousands of people. Press reports of eye-witness accounts again and again spoke of a sequence of *three* waves, of which – as in Plato's image – some said that the third was the biggest and deadliest. Nor is this pattern unique to the 2004 tsunami, for reports of many past occurrences of the same natural phenomenon confirm that the three-wave sequence is, if not an invariable, at any rate a typical pattern. A tsunami is strictly speaking not a single wave but a series of waves, coming at intervals of between ten and forty-five minutes, with three waves a commonly reported total. Thus, to pick some prominent examples, the 1755 Lisbon earthquake was followed by a tsunami consisting of three waves,⁴ the tsunami that devastated the north-western coast of Papua New Guinea on July 17 1998 was constituted by three waves, and the Alaskan tsunami of 17 November 2003 was likewise reported as a three-wave sequence.

Equally, there can be no doubt that the seismically active eastern Mediterranean region experienced tsunamis in the classical period, as it has continued to do in modern times.⁵ The tsunami that hit the Cycladic island of

² Admittedly Ovid's implication (*Tr.* I. 2. 49) that every *tenth* wave is the biggest is ultimately just as open to disproof, but it is at least less obviously contradicted by experience.

³ See further, note 16 below.

⁴ Cf.: J. T. Kozak, Ch. D. James, "Historical Depictions of the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake", paper published at <http://nisee.berkeley.edu/lisbon/> by the National Information Service for Earthquake Engineering.

⁵ A. G. Galanopoulos, "Tsunamis observed on the coasts of Greece from antiquity to present time", *Annali de Geofisica* XIII (1960) 369–386. Cf. the catalogue compiled by Demetrius Callatianus and reproduced at Strabo I. 3. 20. 1–31, and, among other descriptions of tsunamis, Thucydides III. 89. 2–5 (an event of 426 BC). Further modern studies bearing on this theme include W. Capelle, "Erdbebenforschung",

Amorgos as recently as 1956, triggered by an earthquake measuring 7.7 on the Richter Scale, was 25 metres high and killed 56 people.

There is, incidentally, an additional respect in which Greek tsunamis, including the recent Amorgos one, are sometimes reported in terms of three waves, namely three simultaneous waves heading off in three different directions from the epicentre.⁶ This phenomenon may have contributed further to the currency of the ‘triple wave’ locution. It was, it seems, overdetermined that the word τρικυμία should be associated with the tsunami, regardless of how complete or defective speakers’ knowledge was of the precise phenomena involved.

Probably the most celebrated ancient Greek tsunami is the one that destroyed the town of Helike on the Gulf of Corinth in 373 BC. Two years before the Battle of Leuctra, Strabo tells us, Helike was deluged by a huge wave following upon an earthquake.⁷ The catastrophe, he adds, was attributed to the wrath of Poseidon.

This attribution to Poseidon was a natural enough assumption to make about the god who was after all by tradition both the ‘earth-shaker’ and the controller of the sea. That dual role itself makes a great deal more sense if we suppose that the earthquake-tsunami link was present all along in the Greek consciousness. And there is evidence to confirm this. Thucydides, for example, maintains that the dependence of tsunamis on preceding earthquakes must be an invariable causal link, but does not even hint that the link as such is his own discovery.⁸ And Aristotle (*EN* III. 7, 1115 b 27) uses a proverbial

RE Suppl. IV (1924) 348; G. A. Papadopoulos, “Tsunamis in the East Mediterranean: A Catalogue for the Area of Greece and Adjacent Seas” (2001), paper published at <http://www.gein.noa.gr/services/tsunami.htm>; D. Dominey-Howes, “Documentary and geological records of tsunamis in the Aegean Sea region of Greece and their potential value to risk assessment and disaster management”, *Natural Hazards* 25 (2002) 195–224. For the historical significance of Greek tsunamis cf. also: R. Bittlestone, J. Diggle, J. Underhill, *Odysseus Unbound: the Search for Homer’s Ithaca* (Cambridge 2005) esp. pp. 489 ff.

⁶ Cf. Strab. I. 3. 20. 14–17 (κῦμά τε ἔξαρθέν τριχῆ τὸ μὲν πρὸς Τάρφην ἐνεχθῆναι καὶ Θρόνιον, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Θερμοπύλας, ἄλλο δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἕως τοῦ Φωκικοῦ Δαφνοῦντος, which incidentally mirrors the way in which a tsunami is often spoken of in the same breath as *a* wave and *three* waves); also the later Greek tsunamis described by Galanopoulos (n. 5) 378 (the Leucas tsunami of 1869) and 380 (the Amorgos tsunami of 1956).

⁷ Strab. VIII. 7. 1. 55–2. 4; 7. 2. 20–37; cf. Diod. Sic. XV. 48, Paus. VII. 24. 12. 1–10.

⁸ Thuc. III. 89. 5, αἴτιον δ’ ἔγωγε νομίζω τοῦ τοιοῦτου, ἧ ἰσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμός ἐγένετο, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐξαπίνης πάλιν ἐπισπωμένην βιαιότερον τὴν ἐπὶ κλυσιν ποιεῖν· ἄνευ δὲ σεισμοῦ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ

expression for entirely fearless people such as the Celts: 'they fear neither earthquake nor waves'. Clearly a reference here to ordinary waves would be utterly anticlimactic after the preceding mention of an earthquake. The expression must be referring to a single phenomenon: an earthquake along with the ensuing tsunami waves.⁹ Finally, in Plato's *Timaeus* (25 c–d) the destruction and submersion of Atlantis was the result of 'enormous earthquakes and floods' – perhaps a further allusion to the tsunami phenomenon. Even if more the stuff of fantasy than of history, this would once more confirm the presence of the earthquake-tsunami link in the Greek consciousness.

The date of Helike's inundation, 373, is likely to be extremely close to that of Plato's composition of the *Republic*, and, if it preceded it, might in principle have inspired his use of the metaphor, enabling him to appeal to his audience's live memories of the cataclysm. But there are reasons to doubt such a conjecture.

For one thing, not only does none of our surviving references to the Helike disaster mention a triple wave-structure in connection with it (which in itself would be unremarkable), but, worse, a recently discovered epigram of Posidippus explicitly speaks of Helike as being destroyed 'by one wave'.¹⁰ This is not in itself conclusive evidence, because the same expression, 'one wave', might easily have been used of the 2005 tsunami, despite its additionally reported triple structure; but it does suggest at the very least that popular perceptions of the Helike wave did not pay sufficient attention to the number of component waves – if indeed there were more than one – to make Plato's 'three waves' a likely allusion to it.

Secondly, Plato's *Euthydemus*, which for stylometric reasons I take to predate the *Republic* by a significant number of years,¹¹ at 293 a uses the

τὸ τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι. A contrasting view is that of Aristotle, *Meteor.* II. 8, 368 a 34–b 12, who likewise recognizes the phenomenon of coincident earthquake and tsunami, referring to the Helike disaster in particular, but takes them both to share a single cause, namely wind.

⁹ In a parallel passage of the *Eudemian Ethics* (1229 b 27–29) Aristotle adds that the Celts make armed attacks on these waves – again, not just any waves but, as he makes specific, highly dangerous ones.

¹⁰ ἐνὶ κύματι πάισας, Posidippus 20. 1, in: C. Austin and G. Bastianini, *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia* (Milan 2002).

¹¹ See: C. H. Kahn, "On Platonic chronology", in: J. Annas and C. Rowe (ed.), *New Perspectives on Plato, Modern and Ancient* (Cambridge, Mass. – London 2002) 93–127 for well-reasoned acceptance of a basic stylometric division of Plato's dialogues into three groups, according to which the *Republic* is in the small transitional group leading on to the final group of six late dialogues, while the *Euthydemus* stands among

term *τρικυμία* in a context where it is easy to assume an oblique forward reference to the *Republic*'s third wave. Socrates' self-confessed philosophical *τρικυμία* there lies in the danger of vacuity in explaining what could possibly serve as the 'good' which rulers' knowledge enables them to confer on others: if the good is itself knowledge, then the only good that their knowledge can confer is... that knowledge itself! It is presumably no coincidence that the *Republic*'s third wave is stirred up by the proposal of *philosopher* rulers, whose knowledge will have an external object, the Forms, or more specifically the Form of the Good, thus breaking out of the vicious circle that Plato's earlier Socrates was unable to resolve.¹² This would suggest that the *Republic*'s metaphor was foreseen some years ahead, and was therefore not a direct borrowing from hot news.

Thirdly and finally, there is no need to insist that, for Plato's metaphor to be understood, an event such as the Helike catastrophe had to be fresh in the minds of his contemporary readers. The phenomenon, including its typical three-wave structure, had almost certainly long been well known. We in fact possess, or so it seems to me, an eloquent description of it dating from 428 BC. It occurs in the very passage of Euripides' *Hippolytus* on which Barrett, as quoted above, was commenting. The messenger is describing the monstrous bull sent by Poseidon, which has emerged from the sea and so terrified Hippolytus' horses as to precipitate his death. Before the monster itself emerges, we get a description (1198–1214) which seems to me designed to evoke the familiar sequence of a massive earthquake followed by a tsunami:

As we entered the deserted region, where there is a headland jutting beyond this land in the direction of the Saronic sea, from it a noise in the ground like the thunder of Zeus send forth its deep roar, terrifying to hear. ... And looking towards the sea-lashed headland we saw an awesome wave (*κύμα*). It was riveted to the sky, so that my eyes were blocked from seeing the coast of Skiron, and it hid the isthmus and the rock of Asclepius. Next, swelling up and foaming all around with much froth, it advanced with a sea-driven blast towards the shore where Hippolytus' four-horse chariot was. And along with the actual surf and triple wave (*τρικυμία*, 1213), the wave (*κύμα*) sent forth a bull, a savage monster...¹³

the stylometrically undifferentiated great bulk of the dialogues preceding those two final phases.

¹² I owe the link between the two passages to Myles Burnyeat, although he may disagree about whether the allusion to the *Republic* is prospective, as I take it, or retrospective.

¹³ ἀὐτῷ δὲ σὺν κλύδωνι καὶ τρικυμία
κύμ' ἐξέθηκε ταύρον, ἄγριον τέρας.

The opening description of a terrifying noise from the ground suggests a massive earthquake. True, a natural earthquake will normally involve at most a low rumbling noise from the ground, hardly the thunderous one described here, and in open countryside it will normally generate less secondary noise than in a city. Still, the degree of exaggeration is no more than one expects when a prodigious event is being evoked in poetic discourse. And, correspondingly, it is likely that the frightening character of earthquake noise had already been exaggerated in the popular consciousness. Thus Aristotle (*Meteor.* 368 a 24) reports that earthquakes “emit all kinds of noises, so that sometimes, as the tellers of marvels put it, the earth seems to bellow”.

Euripides' sequence, then, is that of an earthquake followed by a giant wave. This is already enough to mark the event from the start as a tsunami – a not insignificant detail which as far as I am aware has passed unnoticed in modern discussions of the passage. In the light of that identification, the inclusion of *τρικυμία* may well be significant too. It must at first seem odd, if not incoherent, that a single wave (*κῶμα*) is here described as incorporating a triple wave (*τρικυμία*).¹⁴ But that very oddity reflects the typical talk of tsunamis.¹⁵ Much as the Pope wears a crown which consists of three crowns, so too a tsunami is regularly spoken of as a giant wave (singular), yet also as constituted by a series of (typically three) waves. Although Aeschylus' ‘three-taloned’¹⁶ wave may convey this slightly more elegantly, the very oddity of Euripides' language in the last lines tends to confirm that locutions inspired by the tsunami phenomenon are showing through in his description.

With the bull's emergence, we leave behind the realm of natural phenomena and enter that of the fantastical. But the lesson down to this point seems clear. The natural phenomenon of the tsunami, an earthquake followed by a towering wave which is itself further analysable as a triple one, was well enough known to be drawn upon by Euripides in setting a suitably menacing scene for a supernatural epiphany.

¹⁴ G. O. Hutchinson, *Aeschylus, Septem Contra Thebas* (Oxford 1985) ad 758, discussing *κῶμα* ... *τρίχαιλον* (see above), takes *κῶμα* not as a count noun designating a single wave, but as ‘swell’. That same interpretation, if adopted, would lessen the oddity of Euripides' words, but not suffice to remove it.

¹⁵ Cf. n. 6 above.

¹⁶ Editors since Paley have seen Aeschylus' *κῶμα* ... *τρίχαιλον* as a picturesque variant on *τρικυμία*. If they are right the expression, by interpreting *τρικυμία* in terms of three ‘talons’, helps confirm my proposal that the ‘three’ in it was understood as indicating the wave's triple structure, not merely its size.

If I am right, both the three-wave phenomenon and the association with earthquakes were familiar enough features of the tsunami to occur in a description of a prodigious event such as we find in the *Hippolytus*. Another widely reported feature of the 2004 tsunami was that before the first wave arrived the sea drew back, leaving large stretches of the sea-bed exposed, complete with floundering fish. This too is a regular feature of tsunamis, described briefly by Thucydides (III. 89. 5) and in graphic detail by Ammianus Marcellinus (26. 10. 15–19) with regard to the great tsunami of 365 AD, to whose aftermath he had been an eye-witness.¹⁷ Does it occur elsewhere in ancient descriptions of the same phenomenon? Conceivably it does. In a passage I have already cited, Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes* 758–761, the chorus speaks figuratively of a giant wave hitting the ‘stern’ of the city: “It is like a sea that brings a wave of evils: one wave falling, but it pushes up another, a three-taloned one, which seethes around the very stern of the city...”¹⁸ Since the city is represented as a ship, hit by a wave while at sea or at anchor, there is no direct appeal here to the phenomenon of a tsunami deluging a city, in the way that Helike was later to be deluged. But the very specific detail of one wave going down, only to push up a subsequent huge triple wave, sounds once again as if it could preserve and embody, however imprecisely, the folk memory of past tsunamis.¹⁹

These passages – more especially the Euripidean one – suggest that the salient features of a tsunami were sufficiently imprinted on the ancient Greek consciousness to be invoked allusively in poetic discourse. Even if, understandably in view of the phenomenon’s relative rarity, a variable degree of precision is evident in the allusions to it, the tsunami’s anatomy may nevertheless seem, at the very least, to have bulked larger in the minds of classical Greeks than it did in those of the modern western public prior to the 2004 catastrophe.

Returning now to the *Republic*, we can see the advantages of taking the references there too to be designed to evoke a tsunami.

¹⁷ See the detailed study by G. Kelly, “Ammianus and the great tsunami”, *Journal of Roman Studies* 94 (2004) 141–167.

¹⁸ κακῶν δ’ ὅσπερ θάλασσα κῶμ’ ἄγει,
τὸ μὲν πίτνον, ἄλλο δ’ ἀείρει
τρίχαιλον, ὃ καὶ περὶ πρύμναν πόλεως καχλάζει.

¹⁹ The *prima facie* plausible alternative would seem to be a wave breaking on the beach and flowing back under the next breaker. But this relatively banal reading is discouraged by the further information that the wave thus pushed up buffets a ship, presumably not a beached one.

The first two waves, 457 b 7 – d 3

‘So concerning the law about women, when we stipulate that our male and female guards should pursue all their activities in common, let’s talk of this as one wave (κῶμα), so to speak, that we have escaped, with the result that we haven’t been altogether drowned in a deluge (κατακλύζειν, 457 b 8–9) and that the thesis is somehow self-consistent as to the feasibility and utility of what it says?’

‘Quite so’, he said. ‘It’s no small wave you’re escaping’.

‘You’ll say it’s no *big* wave when you take a look at the next one’.

‘Tell me, then’, he said, ‘and let me take a look’.

‘This law’, I said, ‘and the others that went before lead to the following one’.

‘Which?’

‘That all these women should belong in common to all these men, and that none should cohabit privately. And that they should have their children in common, so that parents don’t know who are their children and children don’t know who are their parents’.

The third wave, 472 a 3–7, 473 c 2 – d 6

‘...I barely escaped from the two waves, and now you’re urging upon me the biggest and most difficult of the triple wave (τρικυμία). When you see and hear it, you will entirely forgive me and see that it was after all reasonable of me to be hesitant and nervous about voicing so unbelievable a thesis and seeking to examine it’.

[.....]

‘I’ve reached what we compared to the biggest wave (κῶμα)’, I said. ‘And it is going to be stated, even if it is destined, like a laughing wave, to drown us in a deluge (κατακλύζειν) of mockery and unbelievability. Consider what I am about to say’.

‘Say it’, he replied.

‘Unless’, I said, ‘either philosophers become kings in the cities, or those who are now called kings and rulers become, to a sufficient degree, authentic philosophers ... there is no respite from trouble for the cities, Glaucon, or, I think, for the human race’.

The three proposals in question are radical reforms, calculated to obliterate certain existing socio-political structures. Socrates’ fear is that his own agenda will be washed away *with* these, in a deluge of outraged incredulity. Although in English usage the word ‘deluge’ can be deployed hyperbolically to describe something as mild as a downpour of rain, the Greek verb κατακλύζειν, which occurs in both the above passages, is the proper word for singling out the action of genuinely catastrophic floods –

natural ‘cataclysms’, in fact. The easy assumption that Plato is envisaging ordinary waves on the beach²⁰ has hidden from view his actually rather pronounced allusions to the tsunami phenomenon. It should by now I hope be clear that Plato’s Socrates in fact sees his radical restructuring of society as facing a veritable tsunami of resistance. So cataclysmic is this tsunami’s third and final wave, popular abhorrence at the proposal of philosopher kings, that unless adequate counter-measures are put in place it threatens to submerge and drown Plato’s entire political agenda in a deluge of disbelief.²¹

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В известном пассаже из “Государства” Платона Сократ сравнивает три своих наиболее радикальных политических проекта и предполагаемую возмущенную реакцию на них с тремя волнами (τρικυμία). Самой большой и опасной должна оказаться третья “волна” – предложение, что править должны философы. Автор предполагает, что Сократ имеет в виду цунами – явление, неоднократно происходившее в Эгеиде в историческую эпоху. Хотя о цунами говорят как об одной гигантской волне, в сущности это последовательность волн, чаще всего три, и в греческой трагедии можно найти свидетельства того, что о тройной структуре цунами было известно.

²⁰ Or, for a variant, cf. J. Adam, *The Republic of Plato* (Cambridge 1902) I 274, ‘waves through which the argument must swim in safety’.

²¹ My thanks to Guido Bastianini, Robert Bittlestone, Peter Brown, James Diggle, Stephen Instone, Dmitri Panchenko, Giles Pearson, Souren Takhtajan and Alexander Verlinsky for helpful comments and suggestions.

БОСПОРСКИЙ ВОИН АПОЛЛОНИЙ И ЕГО ПОЭТ (КБН 119)

II

5. Конъектуры к *ΜΟΥΝΟΥ* (стк. 12)

Перейдем теперь к филологически гораздо более острому вопросу. Текст стк. 12 сл., начиная с первого издания, читают следующим образом: <v>ῶν οὐ κελαϊνὸς οἴκοις, ἥρώων δὲ σε / ἔξουσι σηκοί. Чтение <v>ῶν οὐ – поправка Латышева, которую издатели принимали и тогда, когда чувствовали некоторые сомнения в ее правильности.¹⁰⁴ Ведь в начале стк. 12, как отчетливо видно на фотографии, на месте издательской вульгаты <v>ῶν οὐ камень дает *ΜΟΥΝΟΥ*.

К этому обстоятельству надлежит отнестись внимательнее. В самом деле, ясно, что в стк. 12–13 надгробного стихотворения слова ἥρώων σηκοί косвенно, а частица δὲ логически призваны *исключать* мысль о “мрачном доме” (κελαϊνὸς οἴκοις) как будущей обители отважного воина Аполлония. Поэтому после выделения необходимого по смыслу отрицания ΟΥ из второй части *ΜΟΥΝΟΥ* остается *ΜΟΥΝ*, которое озадачивает: выводить *ΜΟΥΝ* из гипотетического *ΝΥΝ* палеографически не слишком правдоподобно. Что касается смысловой стороны, то *v̄v̄* можно признать удовлетворительным, так как оно действительно встречается в концовках эпитафий, когда в прощальном тексте по требованиям жанра приходится признать, что *отныне* как новопреставленные, так и осиротевшие перешли в иное состояние.¹⁰⁵ Это подтверждается, в частности, наличием *v̄v̄* в стк. 15, где оно употреблено, впрочем, в самом обычном своем значении ‘сейчас, в настоящий момент’, а не в смысле ἄλλο τὸ ῶν *v̄v̄*, как требовал бы контекст стк. 12 слл.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Так, В. Пек печатает текст Латышева (*GVI Peek 1471*), а в аппарате – в осторожной форме – предлагает применительно к занимающему нас месту свои варианты: <οὐκ>οὐν в начале строки или <χ>θ<ὠ>v οὐ κελαϊνο<ί>ς οἴκοις. Второе предложение по-своему остроумно, но не удовлетворительно уже в палеографическом отношении.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *v̄v̄* δέ (*GVI Peek 1443, 3*), καὶ *v̄v̄* (*ibid.*, 809, 6) etc.

¹⁰⁶ *v̄v̄* cum fut., правда, изредка встречается, vid. s. v. *v̄v̄*: Gu. Dindorf. *Lexicon Aeschyleum* (Lipsiae 1873) 230; F. Ellendt. *Lexicon Sophocleum*, ed. altera emendata a

Кроме того, два $\nu\nu$ поблизости одно от другого выглядят не слишком правдоподобно. Ведь появление несомненного $\nu\nu$ (в стк. 15) через три стиха после $\nu\nu$ гадательного (в стк. 12) *стилистически* отнюдь не украшало бы концовку стихотворения, которое хоть и не производит впечатления высокой художественности, однако отвечает известному литературному уровню. Поправка не убедительна и палеографически: трудно представить себе, чтобы первый знак предполагаемого в оригинале NYN резчик передал двумя знаками вышедшего из под его резца MOYN . Напротив, правдоподобный случай восстановления $\nu\nu$ из начертания HYN находим в *КБН* 1057, 5.

Также и в текстологическом ракурсе поправка предлагает признавать замену тривиальных $\nu\nu$ $\omicron\delta$ на загадочное в столь ясном контексте $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\omicron$. В этой текстологической ситуации естественно предположение, следы которого сохранились в экземпляре *КБН*, принадлежавшем Н. В. Шебалину: последний, не отвергая исправления $\nu\nu$, взвешивал, не возникло ли написание MOYNOY оттого, что на ремесленника повлияло $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\omicron$ из стк. 9.¹⁰⁷ Непонятно, однако, почему бы взгляд мастера поднялся намного (на три строки) выше, где нет к тому же элементов, которые сбивали бы своим сходством; кроме того, трудно себе представить, чтобы резчик не видел разительной необходимости отрицания при словах $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\delta\varsigma$ $\omicron\kappa\omicron\{\iota\}\varsigma$,¹⁰⁸ и переиначил бы $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\omicron$ из стк. 9 на другую падежную форму ($\mu\omicron\nu\nu\omicron$) единственно для того, чтобы вступить в войну с каким бы то ни было смыслом. Между тем мы видели, что грамматически пугающие написания в *CIRB* 119 как раз предполагают у мастера заботу о том, чтобы текст эпитафии был воспроизведен доброкачественно в отношении орфографии, хотя последняя не была сильной стороной того или тех, кто занимался этим стихотворением на разных этапах работы с ним.

Отметим, наконец, и то, что в текстах того же жанра, когда в протаксисе употреблено $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \epsilon\iota$ (постановка этих слов в начале стихотвор-

Н. Genthe (Berolini 1872) 475; однако значение ‘отныне’ (нем. ‘nunmehr’) выражается скорее через $\tau\omicron$ ($\tau\alpha$) $\nu\nu\nu$, $\nu\nu\nu$ $\delta\eta$, ($\nu\nu\nu$) $\eta\delta\eta$ (*K.-G.* II, 121).

¹⁰⁷ Как видно из маргиналии Шебалина (ср. прим. 40 в первой части настоящей работы), он в ту пору подбирал по *КБН* примеры “атомарности” внимания резчиков.

¹⁰⁸ Иногда авторы надгробных стихов допускают, что герой вступает в невеселую обитель смерти (смерть как царство тьмы: *GVI Peek* 662, 699, 964, 1576, 1694), где, однако, ему уделяется некое почетное место (*ibid.*, 1969, 13 sq.; 1108); чаще переход умершего в царство тьмы стараются все-таки отвести на задний план (*ibid.*, 970, 1297 и т. д.).

ной строки типична), в аподосисе при глаголе в индикативе редки временные определители и, в частности, не видно $\nu\hat{\nu}$.¹⁰⁹ В целом, поэтому, ясно, что широко принятая конъектура NYN вместо MOYN мыслима, но мало правдоподобна; также и другие догадки относительно MOYNOY в стк. 12 не убеждают, так как вступают в противоречие с общей физиономией документа.

Поэтому попробуем еще раз обдумать текст с чтением MOYNOY, как он представлен в надписи. Ведь помимо сильных сторон консервативной позиции вообще, в пользу такого решения говорит не только необходимое присутствие OY ($\omicron\hat{\nu}$) перед $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \omicron\hat{\iota}\kappa\omicron\{\iota\}$, но и уместность OYN (частицы $\omicron\hat{\nu}$) именно на том месте, где соответствующая последовательность букв из начала стк. 12 отлично вписывается в контекст всей эпитафии.

Действительно, аттическое $\omicron\hat{\nu}$ (в остальных диалектах $\hat{\omega}\hat{\nu}$) часто появляется в заключительной части греческих эпитафий, где появление этой частицы провоцируется самой природой жанра – ведь речь идет о подведении *итога* человеческой жизни. Для примера из боспорских же надписей назовем *CIRB* 121: $\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\delta\hat{\omega}\nu \omicron\hat{\nu}$, Ἐκαταίε (начало третьего стиха в эпитафии из четырех стихов); ср. сочетания вроде $\nu\hat{\nu} \omicron\hat{\nu}$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \omicron\hat{\nu}$, $\pi\hat{\omega}\varsigma \omicron\hat{\nu}$, $\tau\iota\varsigma \omicron\hat{\nu}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\grave{\alpha}\nu \omicron\hat{\nu} \tau\iota\varsigma$ и т. п. И если в *CIRB* 119 переход к заключительной части ознаменован уже $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \epsilon\hat{\iota}$ в стк. 10, которое резюмирует вводную часть эпитафии (кому и как приключилась смерть), то $\omicron\hat{\nu}$ в стк. 12 вводило бы желательный катартический противовес печальному событию в виде уверенности в загробном воздаянии герою.

Кроме того, второе место после начального слова в своей синтагме есть нечто типичное для $\omicron\hat{\nu}$, которое дальше от начала синтагмы оказывается только в том случае, если к начальному слову (или группе) тесно примыкает другая частица (или две), что дает сочетания типа $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma \tau' \text{ (или } \gamma') \grave{\alpha}\nu \omicron\hat{\nu}$, $\acute{\omicron}\phi\rho\alpha \mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu \omicron\hat{\nu}$, $\tau\hat{o} \delta' \omicron\hat{\nu}$, $\mu\acute{\eta}\delta' / \mu\acute{\eta}\tau' \omicron\hat{\nu}$, $\mu\acute{\eta}\delta' \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\omicron\hat{\nu}$ и т. п. Таким образом, как синтаксическая, так и (жанрово обусловленная) смысловая сторона делает наличие $\omicron\hat{\nu}$ в стк. 12 в высшей степени правдоподобным. Перед естественным по контексту OYN, за которым следует необходимое по смыслу OY, непременно – по требованию греческого синтаксиса – должно стоять какое-нибудь слово, от-

¹⁰⁹ Ср. *AG* VII, 344 b; 419; XI, 309; XII, 253; XVI, 387; *IG* IX, 1 (2), 314, 8 sq. Только в *AG* VII, 397 за $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \epsilon\hat{\iota}$ следует $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota \kappa\epsilon\hat{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota$, но и это менее неловко, чем с $\nu\hat{\nu}$.

крывающее синтагму. Поэтому знак М перед ΟΥΝ в стк. 12 в высшей степени уместен, если, конечно, он способен представлять какое-нибудь греческое слово.

6. Контракция μῆ οὖν

В этой ситуации соблазнительно предположить, что ΜΟΥΝ восходит к сочетанию μῆ οὖν, графически передавая красис двух гласных, которые в итоге давали бы односложное образование μῶν. Как показывает *TLG*,¹¹⁰ словосочетание μῆ οὖν (часто в слегка расширенной форме μῆτ' οὖν, μῆδ' (ὅτι)οὖν, μῆποτ' οὖν, μῆ γοὖν, ср. τοιγαροῦν, εἰ / ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν и др.) богато представлено у греческих авторов: с этими вариациями по *TLG* и “Электронному Тезаурусу документальных текстов” (*Greek Documentary Texts PHI #7*) обнаруживается по меньшей мере несколько десятков случаев.

Сочетание μῆ οὖν встречается, таким образом, весьма часто. О синтаксисе и смысле стк. 12 сл. будем говорить ниже, а пока посмотрим, засвидетельствовано ли слитное произношение этого сочетания в форме слитного написания или в форме требований стихового размера. Мне известны два свидетельства слитного произношения μῆ οὖν (отвлекаясь пока от обсуждаемого здесь); оба, к сожалению, не вполне надежны.¹¹¹

Во-первых, свидетельством можно считать мнение античных филологов, которые чаще всего признавали, что μῶν произошло из μῆ οὖν: так в текстологически плохо сохранившейся статье о μῶν у Гезихия,¹¹² у схолиаста Аристофана¹¹³ и в других позднеантичных лексиконах.¹¹⁴ Вы-

¹¹⁰ Автор признателен А. В. Карлину за помощь в освоении электронных инструментов лексикографического поиска, который был интенсивно использован в этой работе; еще в 1994 г. автор получил от В. Л. Берса (Йель) несколько советов по электронным поискам при исследовании греческого синтаксиса.

¹¹¹ Слитное μῶν в не очень хорошо сохранившемся папирусном отрывке (*TrGF II Snell, fr. adesp. 632, 27* [р. 197]) представляет собой нечто иное, поскольку начальный согласный в этом фрагменте восходит, судя по всему, к личному местоимению первого лица в вин. падеже: μῶν < με οὖν. Для нас это подтверждает, с одной стороны, привычность элизии гласного перед οὖν (ср. γοὖν, δ' οὖν), а с другой, показывает, что при контракции в сочетании μ(ῆ) οὖν возникала омонимия с μ(ε) οὖν, чего язык стремится, конечно, избегать.

¹¹² *Hesychii Lexicon*, M 2057: μῶν· μῆ <οὖν>. οὐ δῆ. ἄρα.

¹¹³ *Schol. in Arsph. Plut.* 271: μῶν· μῆ οὖν.

¹¹⁴ *Etym. Gud.* (M p. 402, 8), *Etym. Magn.* p. 596, 25–26 Gaisford) и др. в более пространной форме сообщают, кажется, то же самое.

сказывание античного грамматика происходит от желания указать этимологию $\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$,¹¹⁵ но косвенно указывает на то, что произношение $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ в один слог представлялось античным грамматикам вполне естественным.¹¹⁶ Но если за $\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$, которое специализировалось как вопросительная частица, нередко следует $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ или $\mu\eta$,¹¹⁷ то отсюда видно, что $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ как часть слитного $\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$ обычным носителем языка уже не осознавалась, так что в приведенной этимологии $\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$ мы имеем дело скорее с кабинетной реконструкцией. Отсюда, иначе говоря, еще не видно, до какой степени привычно было делать элизия также и в сочетании $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$, тем более что у Аполлония Дискола в рассуждении об ударении в двухсложной частице $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu$ находим и примеры с $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ (Apoll. Dysc. *De conjunct. GG* II, 1, p. 258, 7 sqq. Schneider): $\phi\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\ \mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$; $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\rho\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon$, $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \delta\iota\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$. Приводя эти примеры, грамматик, пожалуй, исходит из того, что в прозаической речи сочетание $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ нормальным образом произносится в два слога.

Второе соображение, которое могло бы помочь нам уяснить, имела ли практика слияния $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$, – метрическое, что особенно важно ввиду нашей задачи – выявить, происходила ли контракция в произношении этих частиц в стихах.

Сперва назову случай, когда такое слияние, по всей видимости, не имелось в виду автором. Это стих из Heliod. *Alchem.* v. 95: $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \rho\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\upsilon\omega\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$.¹¹⁸ Приведенный стих читается, только если предположить, что красиса внутри занимающего нас сочетания не было; по окружающим стихам видно, что гиагов автор не боится (ср. ст. 9, 168 и др.).

Другой случай, когда приходится взвешивать, имела ли место контракция с элизией первого гласного, представлен в следующих стихах, принадлежащих то ли Еврипиду (Stob. *Flor.* IV, 44, 4, vol. V, p. 958, 10 Hense = Eur. *fr.* 174 N² = *fr.* 174 Kannicht), то ли, как полагал П. Добри, с

¹¹⁵ P. Chantraine, *DELG*, s. v. $\omicron\upsilon\nu$: известный своим скепсисом этимолог не отрицает правоты своих античных предшественников; то же у Фриска, *GEW*, s. v.

¹¹⁶ Относительно $\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$ в смысловом отношении см. ниже стр. 231–232.

¹¹⁷ Сочетание $\mu\hat{\omega}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ (нередко с последующим $\omicron\upsilon$) ex. gr.: Aesch. *Choe.* 177. Eur. *Andr.* 82; Arsph. *Plut.* 845, Plat. *Soph.* 250 e 1, 268 c 8; $\mu\hat{\omega}\nu\ \mu\eta$: Plat. *Phaed.* 84 c 6; *Resp.* 505 c 6 и др.

¹¹⁸ По-видимому, неоплатонический автор, писавший в начале VIII в. (H. Hunger. *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantinern* II [München 1978] 280, с лит.); $\rho\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ передает, надо думать, $\rho\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$.

которым по существу готов был согласиться и А. Наук, – Менандру¹¹⁹ (cf. Menandr. fr. dub. 1084 Kock = CAF III, 263):

μη οὖν θέλε λυπεῖν σαυτὸν εἰδῶς ὅτι
πολλάκι τὸ λυποῦν ὕστερον χαρὰν ἄγει.

1 θέλε SMA ἔθελε Grotius; εἰδῶς SMA <ἐξ>εἰδῶς Herrmann; an <εὐ>
εἰδῶς legendum?

Атрибуция для нашего рассмотрения, по счастью, безразлична,¹²⁰ так как нам не важно, имеем ли мы дело со свидетельством V в., IV в. до н. э. или даже более позднего времени; существеннее то, что стих в этой форме неметричен. Поэтому А. Наук, за которым последовал ряд издателей, читал: μη οὖν <ἐ>θέλε λυπεῖν σαυτὸν <ἐξ>εἰδῶς, ὅτι..., где сочетание μη οὖν надлежало читать в один слог, так что мы получали бы искомую параллель.¹²¹ Возможны, однако, и другие варианты, которых много, так как перед εἰδῶς поправка необходима, а с θέλε и σαυτὸν возможны варианты <ἐ>θέλε и σ<ε>αυτὸν resp., например: μη οὖν θέλε λυπεῖν σ<ε>αυτὸν <ἐξ>εἰδῶς¹²² (или, напр. <εὐ> εἰδῶς)¹²³ ὅτι..., так что стих, используя названные вариации, можно читать с элизией μή, а можно без нее, так что получился бы анапест вместо второго ямба первой диподии. Правда, анапест в таком месте стиха почти невероятен у Еврипида,¹²⁴ зато он весьма вероятен у Менандра.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Несмотря на сомнения А. Наука в принадлежности фрагмента Еврипиду, в его *Dictionis tragicæ Index* (Petropoli 1892) 497, s. v. οὖν (*ibid.* s. v. μή) этот стих приводится, причем с поправками, понуждающими к чтению μη οὖν в один слог.

¹²⁰ Этот фрагмент подробно разбирается в работе: L. Inglese. Euripide, fr. 174 N² // *Bollettino classico* III. 19 (1998) 69–81 (автора интересует реконструкция Еврипидовой *Антигоны*, и это, пожалуй, способствовало тому, чтобы дорожить атрибуцией фрагмента Еврипиду).

¹²¹ Метрически такое чтение применительно к первой диподии имеет, конечно, множество параллелей как у Еврипида, так и у Менандра; также и расположение λυπεῖν в последнем слоге первой диподии и в первом второй характерно для этого глагола в ямбических триметрах, ср. Eur. *Hel.* 589; Men. 4, 194 (9), cf. *Monost.* 3 и др. комические писатели по индексу Г. Якоби (H. Jacobi. *Comicæ dictionis Index*, s. v. λυπέω).

¹²² Можно было бы думать и об <εὐ> εἰδῶς, cf. AG XVI, 27, 1 (популярный афоризм).

¹²³ Inglese. *Op. cit.*, 73 n. 19.

¹²⁴ Это в свое время отмечал Гуго Гроций, считавший, что μη οὖν в разбираемых триметрах давало благодаря красису один слог; он поправлял стих так, чтобы он годился Еврипиду; Inglese (*op. cit.*, 71 n. 150) цитирует голландского гуманиста: “... quia versus est tragicus, in quo anapaestum sede secunda vix reperias”.

¹²⁵ Анапест в первом ямбе у Еврипида встречается нередко, чаще в именах собственных (Eur. *Hel.* 5, 10, 21, 29, 30, 60 etc.); зато в просмотренных нами с этой

Иначе говоря, вероятно, что фрагмент восходит к Менандру, и правдоподобно, хотя и не обязательно, что читалось $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ с контракцией; по крайней мере, с Науком трудно не согласиться: какая-то разновидность синизесы правдоподобнее, чем гиаг, тем более что сочетание $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$, видимо, воспринималось как прозаизм, почему его и избегали в поэзии. Произнесение $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ в один слог, ни разу вполне надежно здесь не засвидетельствованное, можно все-таки признать более правдоподобным в разобранном только что случае.

В целом, поэтические тексты свидетельствуют о том, что $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$, то подвергаясь контракции, то обходясь без нее, не зря чрезвычайно редко встречалось в поэзии на фоне интенсивного использования в прозе и в деловой речи: ¹²⁶ в первом случае получалась бы нежелательная омонимия с сочетанием $\mu(\epsilon)\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$; ¹²⁷ во втором – неприемлемый в метрической речи гиаг. ¹²⁸ В прозе контракция скорее всего происходила: бытовая речь склонна к различным проявлениям синалефы, и если у нас складывается противоположное ощущение, то это следствие консерватизма и нормализаторских тенденций в орфографии.

Как раз поэтому, наверное, сочетания типа $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ в речи видоизменялись так, чтобы можно было обойтись без гиага и без смысловой неясности, например, разбив чреватое синалефой сочетание той или иной частицей вроде $\mu\eta\tau'\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\mu\eta\delta'\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\mu\eta\ \gamma\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\mu\eta\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ и т. п.: язык любит краткость, но готов иногда отказаться и от нее ради внятности. В таких группах элизия перед $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ постоянно практикуется как в прозаических, так и в поэтических текстах – элизия в этой ситуации

точки зрения ямбических триметрах из *Елены* Еврипида (стт. 1–1000) и из Менандра *Угрюмца*, или, лучше сказать, *Бирюка* (стт. 1–200), анапест второго ямба в первой диподии у Еврипида не встречается ни разу, а у Менандра, напротив, – на каждом шагу (*Dysc.* 5, 9, 31, 32, 37, 42, 47 etc.), притом совсем не только в собственных именах и приблизительно вдвое чаще, чем разрешение долгого в два кратких. Не удивительно, что Р. Каннихт (*TrGF* V, 1, fr. 174), ориентируясь на Науку, приводит фрагмент в числе относящихся к Еврипидовой *Антигоне*, но в принадлежности стихов Еврипиду не верит.

¹²⁶ Особенно часто $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ выступает в сочетании с *coniunct. aor.*, например, с глаголом $\rho\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$: $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \rho\omicron\iota\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta\varsigma$ (примеры по электронным индексам исчисляются сотнями).

¹²⁷ Пример с элизией $\mu(\epsilon)\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ см. выше прим. 111. Вот пример, когда $\mu\eta$ и $\mu\epsilon$ оказались по соседству – элизии, как обычно, подвергается местоимение: *Aesch. Suppl.* 380; *Eur. fr.* 255 $\mu\eta\ \mu'\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ et sim.

¹²⁸ В стихах гиаг (за считанными исключениями) был под запретом: F. Blass. *Die Attische Beredsamkeit* II³ (Leipzig 1892) 139 ff., 458 ff.; Schwyzer *GrGr* I, 399–406.

была столь стойкой, что она почти лексикализовалась и пробила в графику. Все это делает весьма правдоподобной контракцию (элизию, или афезу первого гласного) μή οὖν, в результате которой получалось односложное μοῦν.

Для нашего рассмотрения важно, что после μή различные слова, начинавшиеся с гласного, очень настойчиво подвергались синалефе, что очень неохотно, кажется, передавалось орфографией античных и средневековых текстов.¹²⁹ Издания нового времени охотно передают синалефу μή в форме, именуемой *prodelisio*, когда выпавшим оказывается начальный гласный второго слова (*elisis inversa*), а μή оставлено в неприкосновенности: так удается между прочим избежать омонимии с μ', которое привычно ассоциируется с μ(ε). Так в стихе *AG XII, 73* (вторая часть пентаметра): μή ὑποδέχεσθε, νέοι, или известная синалефа в *Arsph. Thesm. 536*, где μή ἡμεῖς произносится в два, а не три слога; или, еще интереснее, *ibid. 476* μή ἄλλην λέγω, где издатели печатают требуемое метром μάλλην.¹³⁰ Поучительно чтение на камне, воспроизведенное у Диттенбергера: μήλοστῶμεν. Вообще получается так, что метр требует произнесения в один слог на стыке гласных при μή, между тем как по смыслу отрицание, как справедливо отметил В. Диндорф, склоняет к полному воспроизведению, отсюда понятно предпочтение, отдаваемое издателями в подобной ситуации афезе: μή ἴκδως (*Aesch. Suppl. 337*), μή ἴς < μή εἰς (*Septem 208*) и т. п.

Вот и сочетания μή οὐ(κ) (сдвоенное отрицание), которое в фонетическом плане столь близко к занимающему нас μή οὖν, обычно произносится в один слог,¹³¹ что засвидетельствовано массой метрических

¹²⁹ Вопрос о том, как представлены в орфографической практике различные виды синалефы (элизия и афеза в частности), заслуживает специального изучения, ибо следовало бы поверить средневековую рукописную традицию документально сохраненными текстами, ср. Kühner – Blass I, 232 (элизия), 241 (афеза); В. Диндорф в *Lex. Aesch.*, s. v. μή, после рассуждения о различных формах синалефы отмечает: quae omnia in *M* plene sunt scripta.

¹³⁰ Простая элизия первого гласного или афеза второго в получающемся зиянии не без оснований представляется сомнительной на фоне более сложных процессов при красисе; об этих процессах см. Schwyzer *GrGr I*, 401, 1; множество важных наблюдений и соображений у Эллендта – Генте (*Lex. Soph.*, p. 448) в специальном разделе: Passio vocalis μή sequentis.

¹³¹ Произношение в один слог сочетания подтверждается множеством примеров из аттического театра (*Aesch. Prom. 627*; *Soph. OR 283, 1065, 1232*; *OC 566*; *Ant. 97, 544, 936* etc.; *Arsph. Ach. 319*). Примеры – как в ямбах, так и в анапестах – нетрудно умножить, опираясь на грамматики (К. Krüger. *Griechische Sprachlehre*.

примеров из аттической драмы и давно отмечено исследователями, наблюдавшими за графикой рукописей при передаче слияния (красиса) $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon$, как и вообще в случаях, когда непосредственно вслед за $\mu\eta$ следовал гласный. И хотя контракция $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon$ с произнесением этого сочетания в один слог была нормой в поэтических текстах, на письме это отражалось непоследовательно, как можно наблюдать по эпиграфически засвидетельствованным текстам или солидным аппаратам критических изданий.¹³²

7. Передача контракции в метрических надписях

Возвращаясь к минимальной засвидетельствованности контракции в группе $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$, не следует забывать, что в наших индексах к авторам, включая *TLG*, отвергнутые издательским узусом разночтения и, тем более, орфографические варианты отмечаются лишь sporadически; ведь даже в критических изданиях греческих текстов *orthographica*, по понятным причинам, редко выносятся в критический аппарат; обычно это оправдано, но перед нами случай, когда было бы интересно проследить, как $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ на деле представлено в рукописной традиции.¹³³ Вопрос: отражать или нет процессы контракции на письме – особенно остро стоял в отношении метрических текстов, где от этого зависело, насколько легко и правильно читающий поймет метр.

Как известно, греческий узус (тут, конечно, неоценим именно эпиграфический материал) в метрических текстах воспроизводил подлежащие контракции места на стыке гласных двояко: либо выписывая вступающие во взаимодействие слова в полной их форме, либо, наобо-

5. Aufl. von W. Pökel [Leipzig 1875] 67, 12, Anm. 4) или словари к авторам; Ф. Эллендт в *Lexicon Sophocleum*, s. v. $\mu\eta$ прямо утверждает: “ $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon$ pronuntiando coalescere certum sit”; E. Handley (ed.). *The Dyskolos of Menander* (Cambridge 1965) ad v. 152: “The scansion $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon$ by synizesis is normal, and common to Comedy and Tragedy”. Результатом могло быть $\mu\omicron\upsilon$, $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ или собственно синизеса $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ (cf. Schwyzer *GrGr* I, 401).

¹³² Выборка из Eur. *Hel.* (Alt) и Menand. *Dysc.* (Handley) показывает, что орфографически при соседстве $\mu\eta$ со словами, начинающимися с гласного, греки предпочитали отрицательную частицу выписывать полностью, вопреки произношению, требуемому метром, т. е. предоставлять читателю самому выбрать тип синалефы.

¹³³ В текстологическом отношении *TLG* не может и не берется спорить со старинными учеными словарями греческого языка, в особенности со словарями к отдельным авторам. Ср., к примеру, уже упоминавшиеся и основанные на знании рукописной традиции Софокла данные Ф. Эллендта (прим. 130).

рот, отражая на письме итог требуемых метрикой и дозволяемых просодией фонетических адаптаций. В первом случае слова легко узнаваемы, но понимание просодии и приложение к тексту метрической схемы предоставлены искушенности читателя; во втором – облегчено метрическое восприятие стихов, зато требуется мысленная реконструкция исходных форм. Хронологически или жанрово оба эти способа записи метрических текстов приурочить трудно. В эпиграфически засвидетельствованных метрических текстах представлены обе системы; скажем сразу, что метрическая, более снисходительная к тем, кто незнаком с тайнами версификации, с древнейших времен встречается определенно чаще.¹³⁴

Иногда говорят, что среди аттических стихотворных надписей запись *contra metrum* характерна скорее для текстов общественного назначения,¹³⁵ а записи *secundum metrum* – для частных.¹³⁶ Это, пожалуй, справедливо, чему угадывается и причина: ведь всегда найдется кто-нибудь, кто правильно и сам, и для других прочтет как следует какой-нибудь общественно значимый текст, между тем как в частных стихотворных надписях, какие для многих составлялись на заказ, приходится считаться с недостаточным навыком метрической рецитации. Только этот или подобный *Sitz im Leben* способен объяснить, почему смешение обеих систем в пределах одного текста встречается так редко – по всей видимости и автор, и резчик отчетливо сознавали, что надо держаться либо одного, либо другого.

Пантикапейский материал – около четырех десятков метрических текстов – это подтверждает: обычно какая-нибудь из систем выдержки-

¹³⁴ См.: *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculorum VIII–V a. Chr. n.* Ed. P. A. Hansen, I (Berolini – Novi Eboraci 1983); из первых ста метрических текстов *secundum metrum* записаны более 20 текстов при всего 5 *contra metrum* (4, II, 1; 14, 2; 32, 1 с неметрическим написанием ἐλέθεκε{ν} θανό<ν>τοι-; 42, I, 2; 46, 1); смешение систем наблюдается в 13, 4: τὰὐτ' ἀποδύραμενοι рядом с νῆσθε ἐπί.

¹³⁵ Торжественная посвяtitельная надпись *CIRB* 113 с выписанным полностью στήσε, хотя произносится στήσ', – пример того, что *scriptio plena* участвовала в создании атмосферы торжественности. Труднее истолковать выбивающееся из общей картины всего памятника полное (несмотря на метрически требуемый красис) написание καὶ οὐ в *CIRB* 130, стк. 10, ср. ниже прим. 139.

¹³⁶ L. Thraette. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I (Berlin – New York 1980) 418, 427 ff., 434; II, 746–748 (поправки). По наблюдениям этого автора оба – полное или, наоборот, адаптированное к метру – написания встречаются вперемежку; при этом дается та дифференциация обеих разновидностей записи по частным или общественным надписям, какая кажется правдоподобной, более того – объяснимой.

вается (скорее сочинителем, чем резчиком, ибо именно первый отчетливо понимал соотношение орфографии и метрики). Не альтернативно, а собственно хаотично, вперемежку в одном тексте, обе системы используются очень редко: например, в стихотворных эпитафиях *CIRB* 113–148 метрический способ написания находит себе выражение в 17 эпитафиях (114, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 131, 132, 133, 136,¹³⁷ 137, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148), а полное воспроизведение любой словоформы, или написание *contra metrum* – в четырех (113, 118, 134, 139¹³⁸); при этом только в № 130 есть соединение обеих систем (*secundum metrum*: l. 5, 11, 12, 15 bis, 21, 23; но *contra metrum*: l. 10), что тут же, кажется, находит себе объяснение, если принять, что не просто обширная, но очевидным образом составная надпись на надгробии Феофилы восходит к своеобразному агону поэтов, так что отдельные тексты, хоть и собраны вместе, воспроизводят ту манеру передачи на письме метрического текста, какая была привычна для разных авторов.¹³⁹

В нашей надписи (отвлекаясь пока от анализируемого случая с *MOYN*) фонетические процессы на стыке гласных приходилось воспроизводить четырежды, и всякий раз стыки переданы не через *scriptio plena*, или *contra metrum*, а применительно к *результату* фонетического взаимодействия (способ записи стихов *secundum metrum* можно назвать *scriptio compendiaria*): таковы элизии δ' в стк. 5 и 7; в стк. 10 элизия конечного гласного в ἀλλ', а в стк. 13 красис: Ὠπολλώνιε.¹⁴⁰ И напротив: признаков противоположной системы в *CIRB* 119 нет – орфо-

¹³⁷ Занятный случай в *CIRB* 136, где резчик не только воспроизвел элизию в стк. 7, но и в стк. 3 – видно, по привычке часто писать этот союз *secundum metrum* – лишил те гласного там, где последний был метрически необходим, а в оригинале самим сочинителем текста был, наверное, выписан полностью.

¹³⁸ В стк. 8 написание неметрическое, а если убрать μ', попавшее в стк. 9 из предыдущего стиха по ошибке (см. *Hyperboreus* 5 [1999]: 1, 93), то и в стк. 9 будет καὶ ἐκ без передачи синалефы на письме.

¹³⁹ А. И. Доватур (Проводы Феофилы [*CIRB* 130] // *Этюды по античной истории и культуре Северного Причерноморья* [СПб. 1992] 12–20) обосновывает тезис о едином авторстве обширного текстового сопровождения *CIRB* 130. Если приведенное только что наблюдение противоречит такому решению, оно никак не может поставить точку в этом вряд ли до конца разрешимом вопросе; мыслимо и примирение обоих представлений: отдельные части стихотворной композиции писали разные поэты, а потом кто-то один расположил отдельные вещи так, что они образовали подобие целого.

¹⁴⁰ О типах контракции см.: Schwyzer *GrGr* I, S. 401 ff. Krüger. *Op. cit.*, § 13. 7. Anm. 10, S. 36 (*о средствах против гуата*).

графия этой надписи носит, таким образом, последовательно фонетически-результатирующий, или “метрический”, характер, что сильно поддерживает толкование ΜΟΥΝ в начале стк. 12 как μὸῦν, происходящего из μ(ῆ) οῦν – ведь естественно же допустить, что мы имеем дело с пятым случаем прямого отражения контракции на письме в пределах текста, характеризуемого именно этой манерой.

В целом: помимо консервативной позиции – особенно уместной, когда мы имеем дело с документально засвидетельствованным текстом, – есть немало оснований полагать, что ΜΟΥΝΟΥ в стк. 12 отражает именно то, что имелось в виду как автором стихотворения, так и резчиком, а написание μῆ οῦν в один слог в нашем тексте не только правдоподобно, но и вероятно.

8. Нексальное μῆ в стк. 12–13?

От формы и способа чтения обратимся к интерпретации деталей синтаксиса и смысла предполагаемого мною образования из μ(ῆ) οῦν и (заслуженно) общепризнанного οὐ, стоящих, как кажется, за ΜΟΥΝΟΥ из стк. 12 эпитафии Аполлония. Синтаксическое положение и смысловую уместность οῦν мы уже отмечали. Действительно, ἄλλ’ εἰ из стк. 10 давало знак, что дело идет к последним выводам,¹⁴¹ а οῦν (в континуативно-следственном значении)¹⁴² указывает на то, что следует из перечисленных достоинств Аполлония:¹⁴³ темное пребывание в Аиде ему, *выходит*, не грозит, ибо он заслужил право жить вечно среди героев.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Во множестве эпиграмматических текстов (не только в эпитафиях) ἄλλ’ εἰ готовит к тому, что дело идет к завершительной пуанте: *AG VII*, 397, 3 sqq.; 419, 7 sq.; *XI*, 309, 6 sq. etc.

¹⁴² E. des Places. *Etudes sur quelques particules de liaison chez Platon* (Paris 1929) 3–220: все восемь главок первой части труда посвящены οῦν и его сочетаниям с другими частицами; континуативный смысл οῦν Де Плас передает франц. ‘cela étant’.

¹⁴³ J. D. Denniston. *GP²* 419 ff., 422 f. (οὐκοῦν ... γέ как отрицательная форма к γοῦν), 430 ff.

¹⁴⁴ ἦρωες в разбираемом тексте находится где-то посредине своего смыслового развития: к полубогам *приравниваются* исполненные мужества воины. Обстоятельно рассматривается этот вопрос в работе: П. Д. Диатроптов. *Культ героев в античном северном Причерноморье* (М. 2001) 58 слл., где автор учитывает и разбираемую здесь эпитафию, привлекая в качестве параллели *CIRB* 1057. Что касается “геройских роц” (ср. *GVI Peek* 1157, 9 sqq.), то представление это не в последнюю очередь опирается, по-видимому, как раз на обсаженные (земными!) деревьями участки, служившие культу героев.

Какой глагол и в какой форме мыслится при οὐ κελαϊνὸς οἶκος в стк. 12? В старом ли толковании (с исправлением текста), или в том, какое предлагается здесь, глагол для начальной части аподосиса приходится извлекать из второй его части через зевгму из сказуемого ἔξουσι. Проще всего домысливается ἔξει: ¹⁴⁵ зевгмы этого рода настолько естественны в литературной речи, что могут даже не восприниматься читателями как особый, заслуживающий внимания элемент. ¹⁴⁶ Охватив фразу в целом, имеющий литературный навык читатель без труда постигает то, что автор передал зевгматически: οὐ κελαϊνὸς οἶκος <ἔξει σε>, ἠρώων δέ σε ἔξουσι σηκοί.

Итак, объяснению подлежит аподосис (стк. 12–13) начатого в стк. 10 условного периода: ἀλλ' εἰ ..., μ(ῆ) οὖν οὐ κελαϊνὸς οἶκο(ι)ς <ἔξει σε>, ἠρώων δέ σε / ἔξουσι σηκοί. Как было уже сказано, нет никаких сомнений относительно характера отрицания οὐ в стк. 12 – оно не может в качестве “общего” (nexal) ¹⁴⁷ отрицания относиться к ἔξουσι, ибо это давало бы неприемлемый смысл. Напротив, ясно, что оно должно отрицать κελαϊνὸς οἶκος, выступая в смысле “частного” (special) отрицания. Для открывающего аподосис μῆ в стк. 12 отсюда проистекают две возможности: (а) μῆ выступает в утвердительном или вопросительном предложении в качестве нексального союзного слова, относящегося к аподосису в целом (до σηκοί), при том *не* взаимодействуя с οὐ; или (б) “плеонастическое” μῆ образует с последующим οὐ некое целое, распространяя свое смысловое влияние только на первый колон аподосиса (до οἶκος) и разве что слегка модифицируя “специальное” отрицание οὐ.

¹⁴⁵ Презенс ἔχει или даже конъюнктив ἔχη также мыслимы, но менее правдоподобны, ибо предполагают большее интеллектуальное усилие со стороны читающего надпись.

¹⁴⁶ Зевгма встречается и в эпиграфических текстах, в частности боспорских. А. Коцевалов. *Syntaxis inscriptionum antiquarum coloniarum Graecarum orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* (= Eus Suppl. XII, Leopoli 1935) 7: de numero singulari et plurali (о старинных формулах ателий) *IPE* I 20, 21, 23: πάντων χρημάτων, ὧν ἄν αὐτὸς εἰσάγηι ἢ παῖδες etc.); *IPE* II 370, 1: Ἦδε(ί)η κείμαι, θυγάτηρ τε (Phanagor. V a. Chr.); *SIG³* 826 C 12 sqq.: οὐδὲ δῶρα δέξομαι οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγώ, οὔτε ἄλλος ἐμοί... (scil. δέξεται); cf. *ibid*: p. 2; *K – G*. I, 42 (Anm. 2). О зевгме как высоколитературном – иногда – приеме ср. ниже 191.

¹⁴⁷ А. С. Moorhouse. *Studies in the Greek Negatives* (Cardiff 1959) passim. Мурхаус следует Есперсену в различении нексального и специального отрицаний (nexal / special negative); прямо о μῆ οὐ: idem. *The Construction with μῆ οὐ* // *CQ* 34 (1940) 70–77. О трудном случае употребления “сдвоенного” отрицания писал Хертер (H. Herter. *Negationspleonasmus* // *RhM* 92 [1943] 174–176).

Разберем первую возможность, когда μή выступало бы как связующее слово для обеих частей аподосиса. Представим себе, что союзная частица (Verbindungspartikel)¹⁴⁸ μή нексально относится к целому, т. е. к ἔξουσι в первую очередь,¹⁴⁹ между тем как κελαινὸς οἶκος имеет при себе лишь частное οὐ. Такое положение вещей можно выразить, мысленно переставив первую часть аподосиса после второй: ἥρων σ' ἔξουσι σηκοί, κελαινὸς δ' οἶκος οὐ. Сочетание μή οὐν в начале предложения весьма употребительно – электронный *TLG* дает более пяти сотен случаев такого употребления. Чаще всего за μή οὐν следовал конъюнктив¹⁵⁰ или императив,¹⁵¹ которые вместе покрывают около половины всех засвидетельствованных случаев употребления этого сочетания. Особенно популярно μή οὐν с *coni.* в написанных обыденным языком папирусных текстах в смысле (отрицательного) пожелания или требования, например, в формулах: μή οὐν ἀμελήσης / ἄλλως ποιήσης / ποίει, т. е. “не премини (сделать); действуй так (не иначе!)”.¹⁵² Изредка употребляются номинальные предложения с μή οὐν, где глагол в *imper.* или *coni.* примысливается (М. Anton. 4, 50: Μὴ οὐν ὡς πράγμα); время от времени встречаются употребления этого сочетания также при инфинитиве, причастии, *adiect. verb.*

Иногда μή *prohibitivum* / *deliberativum* может выступать и с индикативом.¹⁵³ Кроме того, конъюнктив при μή в первом колоне в стк. 12 можно было бы получить, восполнив таковой из ἔξουσι, *scil.:* μ(ῆ) οὐν οὐ κελαινὸς οἶκος <ἔχη / σχῆ σε>,¹⁵⁴ ἥρων δέ¹⁵⁵ σε ἔξουσι σηκοί. Это несколько труднее, чем вычитать из ἔξουσι *fut. ind.* <ἔξει>, и примерно столь же затратно, как вычитывание формы *ind. praes.* <ἔχει>.

¹⁴⁸ К – G. II, 391.

¹⁴⁹ Мурхаус (Moorhouse. *Studies...* [прим. 147] 5 f.), подытоживает наблюдения своих предшественников по этому вопросу в общем виде так: “There is a sort of tug of war for possession of the negative, between the predicate (verb) and single elements in the sentence (nouns); and usually the verb wins”.

¹⁵⁰ μή οὐν с. *coni.*: Plat. *Theaet.* 169 с 2; *Euthd.* 272 с 5; Demosth. *Or.* 14, 38, 1.

¹⁵¹ μή οὐν с. *imper.*: Aeschin. *Tim.* 124, 10; 193, 1; Aeschin. *De fals. leg.* 145, 13 Blass или название сочинения Иоанна Златоуста (Ioann. Chrysost. Μὴ οὐν φοβοῦ, ὅταν πλουτήση ἄνθρωπος – *MPG* 55, 499 sq.).

¹⁵² Формула μή οὐν ἄλλως ποιήσης встречается начиная с Платона до позднего времени; очень в ходу она в египетских папирусах (Mauser. *GrPP* II, 548).

¹⁵³ Любопытно, что даже при μή после *verba timendi*, как показывает Гудвин (W. W. Goodwin. *Syntax* [New York 1965 = 1889] p. 132 [§ 367]), бывают случаи употребления индикатива.

¹⁵⁴ Можно было бы представить себе и ἐχέτω νιν vel sim.

¹⁵⁵ См. Denniston. *GP*, 167–168 (§ 3), ср. Коцевалов (прим. 146) 124 (§ 113, 1).

Главное возражение против того, чтобы видеть в стк. 12–13 μή (οὖν), употребленное применительно к аподосису в целом, – и смысловое, и грамматическое: μή с. conī. обычно употребляется со вторым лицом в запретительном значении (μή prohibivum), которое здесь неуместно, ибо о запретах или приказах силам смерти говорить не приходится. Что касается раздумий по этому поводу (μή deliberativum), то фраза: “Если ты пал как герой..., то не черная обитель <тебя примет>, а примут, *надо думать* (μή с. conī.), геройские рощи”, – бросая тень сомнения на будущее благополучие покойного, усиливала бы и без того тяжкое впечатление от смерти, смягчению которого призваны служить надгробные стихи; ¹⁵⁶ по требованиям жанра под конец требуется убежденность в том, что после смерти все будет обстоять необыкновенно хорошо. Таким образом, в применении к *apodosisu* в целом (стк. 12–13) μή deliberativum не устраивает по смыслу.

9. Вопрос, вводимый μή οὖν с. ind.?

Продолжая анализ возможностей истолкования стк. 12 сл., заметим, что μή (иногда с последующим οὖ) с. ind. встречается в начале вопросительных предложений, где μή выступает прежде всего как вопросительное слово, близкое по функции к ἄρα, ἤ и др. Иначе говоря, μή с ἔξουσι в стк. 13 формально могло бы вводить вопрос.¹⁵⁷

У Платона μή interrogativum с. ind. встречается, по подсчету Хэри, 24 раза; ¹⁵⁸ засвидетельствованы у него и вопросы, вводимые со-

¹⁵⁶ Роль утешителя трудна и в жизни, и в литературе по этой самой причине: верит или нет, он обязан уверять в лучшем. Обширный материал греческих эпитафий – “народных” или литературных – подтверждает это редкостью “отчаянных” эпитафий, о которых см.: R. Lattimore. *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana 1962) 74–78 (“Greek Epitaphs Denying Belief in Immortality”). А что утешать(ся) жизнью в “лучшем мире” могут и люди, способные или даже склонные сомневаться в его существовании, на примере Цицерона показал А. И. Доватур в упомянутой выше статье, посвященной *CIRB* 130 [выше прим. 139, 20–27].

¹⁵⁷ Этому специально посвящена статья: J. E. Harry. Indicative questions with μή and ἄρα μή // *Studies in honor of B. L. Gildersleeve* (Baltimore 1902) 427–434, которая полезна, несмотря на то, что отыскание свидетельств теперь при наличии электронного *TLG* стало гораздо легче.

¹⁵⁸ Ф. Аст в своем лексиконе (*Ast. Lex. Platonicum* II, 334) передает вопросительное μή через лат. num? numquid?, а по-немецки ‘doch nicht’ (в настороженных вопросах, предвосхищающих несогласие), но и просто как ‘wohl, etwa’, т. е. в смысле осторожного упреждения согласия. Ср.: K.-G. II, 221, 525 (cf. *ibid.* I, 224 f.), чему вполне следует Schwyzler *GrGr* II, 629.

четанием μή οὖν.¹⁵⁹ Рассмотрим последнюю разновидность, например, *Resp.* 480 а 6–12: Μή οὖν τι ¹⁶⁰ πλημμελήσομεν φιλοδόξους καλοῦντες αὐτοὺς μάλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους; καὶ ἄρα ἡμῖν σφόδρα χαλεπανοῦσιν ἂν οὕτω λέγωμεν; – Οὐκ, ἂν γέ μοι πείθωνται, ἔφη· τῷ γὰρ ἀληθεῖ χαλεπαίνειν οὐ θέμις. – “Так мы, может, ошибемся, назвав их скорее мнительными, чем мудрствующими? А они, верно, сильно рассердятся, если мы так выразимся? – Меня спросили бы, – я бы сказал им, <что> нет, раз уж не следует обижаться на правду”. Спрашивающий считает, что действие, обозначенное глаголом после μή, может быть ошибкой, хотя это и не имеет места в настоящем случае; при этом он, скорее всего, не исключает, что собеседник разделит его мнение (ср. чуть ниже вопрос такого же типа и даже с тем же глаголом, вводимый через μῶν).

Иронический вопрос с индикативом при вопросительном сочетании μή οὖν встречаем и у Эпиктета (IV, 12, 9): Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἤρεσα τῷ δεῖνι. Μή οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐμὸν ἐστὶν ἔργον, μή τι ἐμὸν κρίμα; Οὐ. Τί οὖν ἔτι μοι μέλει; Здесь предвосхищается (стоическое) несогласие с тем, что (иронически) формулируется в вопросе: что бы ни происходило в душе другого, это для стоика не может быть “моим делом”. Подобные вопросы есть у Диона Хризостома (напр., *Orat.* 14, 8) или у Лукиана (к примеру, *Dial. meretr.* 5, 4). Их распространенность подтверждается приведенной выше выдержкой из Аполлония Дискола,¹⁶¹ высказывание которого показывает, что вопросы, вводимые сочетанием μή οὖν, были распространены в разговорной речи в его время – во II в. н. э.¹⁶²

У Ксенофонта такой вопрос засвидетельствован однажды, в смысле очень близком к аттицизму μῶν, к которому аттический классик прибегать, видно, не желает (*Mem.* IV, 2, 12, 16–18 Marchant): Μή οὖν,

¹⁵⁹ Сочетание это выступает у греческих авторов иногда и в расширенном виде, к примеру: μή τι γοῦν, Aelian. *NA* 38, 4; 70, 10; *VH* 145, 27 (W. Schmid. *Atticismus* III, 69, 338 resp.); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VIII, 9, 28, 7: μή τι οὖν οὐ κατὰ ... λέγεται ταῦτα.

¹⁶⁰ Отметим и то, что показывает положение τι в этом пассаже: когда бы μή οὖν не составляли единства, неопределенная частица стояла бы скорее после μή.

¹⁶¹ См. цитату из Аполлония, приведенную на с. 219.

¹⁶² Вопросы, вводимые μή, носили, как считал Хэрри (выше прим. 157), разговорный характер, особенно в сочетании ἄρα μή; ср.: idem. *Créon et son fils.* ἄρα μή (*Soph. Ant.* 632) // *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* (Année et tome) XIV (1940) 5–10 (выражаю признательность Д. В. Кейеру, в этом, как и в ряде других случаев, помогшему разыскать малодоступные исследования).

ἔφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος, οὐ δύναμαι¹⁶³ ἐγὼ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔργα ἐξηγήσασθαι; καὶ νῆ Δί' ἔγωγε τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας· – “Чтобы я не мог рассказать, в чем дела правды, когда уж несправедные могу!” (риторический вопрос здесь близок к недоуменно-возмущенному восклицанию). μὴ οὖν οὐ и здесь указывает на ожидаемое несогласие собеседника с οὐ δύναμαι.

Заметно, что эта (псевдо)вопросительная формула со времен Платона участвует в создании диалогически-интеллектуальной интонации после того как великий писатель воспроизвел в этом моменте черту сократических бесед; то, что Ксенофонт сам так не говорит, зато прибегает к этому типу вопроса, рассказывая о Сократе, подтверждает догадку о ключевой роли Сократа в распространении этого способа выражения.

Очень близка к μὴ οὖν не только по происхождению, но и по характеру вводимых ею сократически стилизованных вопросов частица μῶν,¹⁶⁴ сферой вопросов – в отличие от μὴ οὖν – и ограниченная. Глагол в будущем времени при этих частицах равно выражал ожидание, что действие его места иметь *не* будет; если же при глаголе стоит οὐ, то, наоборот, *будет*.¹⁶⁵ В этом смысле поучителен явно синонимический уже приводившемуся выше вопрос у Платона (*Soph.* 244 b 3–5): ταῦτα δὴ λέγοντές τε καὶ ἀξιοῦντες..., μῶν, ὦ παῖ, τὶ πλημμελήσομεν; – “Нкιστά γε. – “Мы что же, ошибемся?.. Ничуть.”). Другое дело, что μὴ οὖν употребляется не только в вопросах и даже, как мы видели, в основном не в них, так что сходство частиц в целом не полное, не смотря на их историческую близость.

Впоследствии это использование философических псевдо-вопросов (*Scheinfragen*) было подхвачено учителями философии, потом риториками, демонстрирующими суверенный интеллектуализм. И неудивительно, что эпиграмматисты (*AG IX*, 19, 7; *LV*, 22, 1; *LVIII*, 1, 7) высмеивают вопросы, вводимые μὴ οὖν, μῶν или даже μῶν οὖν, как манерный гиператтицизм, притом один из самых назойливых (*AG XI*, 157, 1): Ὠγαθὲ καὶ μῶν οὖν καὶ ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν, ὦ τῶν etc. Когда

¹⁶³ В этом пассаже Ксенофонта некоторые издатели (например, Г. Зауппе) принимают, впрочем, конъюнктив, также представленный в рукописной традиции этого пассажа.

¹⁶⁴ Moeris, p. 242: μῶν Ἀττικὸς, μὴ ἄρα Ἑλληνικός.

¹⁶⁵ *K.-G.* II, 525: ‘doch nicht etwa? doch wohl nicht?’; P. Chantraine, *DELG.* s. v. οὖν (III, 837): οὐκοῦν – ‘n’est ce pas?’, μῶν – ‘est-ce que par hasard?’ (последнее близко по смыслу к ἄρα μή...;) и т. п.

Лукиан заставляет ритора в приступе рвоты изрыгать гиператтицизмы, μὼν оказывается первым, от чего ему приходится освободиться – печальная повесть про последствия перенасыщения аттицизмами (*Lexiph.* 21, cf. 3; 12).

Пора, однако, вернуться к эпитафии Аполлония. Признав вопросительное μὴ (οὖν) в начале стк. 12, ничто не мешало бы нам поставить (вернее – мыслить) вопросительный знак в стк. 13 после ἡρώων σηκοί.¹⁶⁶ И все-таки, дело решается отрицательно, когда учтем смысловую сторону: при предположении, что аподосис в целом построен как вопрос, вводимый μὴ οὖν, получалось бы следующее: “... разве не черный дом, а геройские рощи получают тебя?”. Это немыслимо в эпитафии и как раз обратно тому, ради чего ее затеяли; чтобы получить приемлемый смысл, необходимо было бы еще одно нексальное отрицание: μὴ οὖν (или μὼν) ... <οὐ> ἕξουσί σε ἡρώων σηκοί, κελαινὸς δ' οἴκοις οὐ; Только это обеспечило бы нужный смысл “...так разве не получают тебя геройские рощи, а не обиталище мрака?”, но, как видим, текст этого не дает.

10. “Плеонастическое” μὴ οὐ в первом колоне аподосиса

Таким образом, конструкция с μὴ, обнимающим весь аподосис (стк. 12–13 до σηκοί), либо вводит через μὴ *deliberativum* не в меру осторожное суждение в главном пункте эпитафии (гарантии новой блаженной жизни покойного), либо ставит вопрос, имеющий отрицательную валентность, а значит – подвергает сомнению будущность героя. В обоих случаях смысл неудовлетворителен.

Обратим, однако, внимание на строение фразы; двухчленное строение, похожее на то, что находим в стк. 12–13, нетрудно обнаружить в хороших греческих текстах, напр. *AG VII*, 579, 5–6: τοῦτον ἔγωγε / ἄγριον οὐ καλέω, τὸν δὲ φύσει θάνατον. Как по мысли, так и по форме примечательна структура: *AG Append.* 2, 286, 13 sq.: Τοίνυν οὐ τύμβου κατὰ γῆς, μακάρων δὲ λέλογχα / χώρον καὶ τὰ θεῶν δώματα χρυσοπαγῆ. Противопоставление и вместе с тем тесное переплетение двух частей предложения хорошо видно в следующем высказывании Платона (*Apol.* 39 a): ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἦ χαλεπόν, ὧ ἄνδρες, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ χαλεπώτερον πονηρίαν. Сходное находим в пас-

¹⁶⁶ В нашей надписи очевидно отсутствие какой бы то ни было интерпункции. Об истории знаков препинания в греческих надписях: W. Larfeld. *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik II*, 2 (Leipzig 1902) 565 ff.

саже (Plat. *Apol.* 24 b 8–с 1): Σωκράτη φησὶν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς τε νέους διαφθείροντα καὶ θεοὺς οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις νομίζει οὐ νομίζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δαμόνια καὶνὰ, cf. *ibid.* 27 b 5–8 etc.

Как известно, μὴ οὐ нередко оказываются рядом, и могло создаваться впечатление, что отрицание этим либо отрицается, либо усиливается. Однако это иллюзия: солидные грамматики с полным основанием объясняют, что сочетание μὴ οὐ cum inf., part., adi. выполняют различные функции: οὐ отрицает, а “плеонастическое”¹⁶⁷ μὴ, не переверачивая высказывания (да и вообще являясь не столько отрицанием, сколько соединительной частицей), всего лишь указывает на то, что в предшествующей части фразы имелось прямое или виртуальное отрицание¹⁶⁸ (ср. синтаксические условия, при которых появляется лат. *quin*). Формула μήποτε οὖν οὐκ у Симпликия, где μήποτε близко к ‘пожалуй’; ‘возможно’,¹⁶⁹ позволяет видеть, что и простое μὴ (даже и в более раннее время), скорее всего, не было чем-то усиливающим отрицание οὐ или, напротив, вообще нефункциональным, а играло в разбираемом сочетании свою собственную синтактико-семантическую роль.

Другое дело, что стоящие рядом μὴ οὐ богато засвидетельствованы, притом и в метрических текстах, где они (как мы уже видели в связи с вопросом о контракции μὴ со словами, начинающимися с гласного) благодаря синизесе¹⁷⁰ произносятся в один слог и воспринимаются, надо полагать, как единый речевой элемент; их фонетическое объединение нередко подчеркнуто тем, что они образуют синтагму, субстантивированную с помощью артикля: τὸ μὴ οὐ.¹⁷¹ Впрочем, то же

¹⁶⁷ В английской терминологии ‘redundant’: Smyth – Messing, p. 622.

¹⁶⁸ μὴ οὐ после отрицания: Smyth – Messing p. 622f., § 2739–2743; Goodwin, p. 326–328, § 815–820.

¹⁶⁹ Simp. *In Cael.* p. 587, 12–16: μήποτε οὖν οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τῆς Φιλίας ταῦτα λέγει γενέσθαι ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ὡς ἐνόμισεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ τότε, ὅτε οὐπω τὸ Νεῖκος πᾶν ἐξέστηκεν ἐπ’ ἔσχατα τέρματα κύκλου, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τ’ ἐνέμμενε μελέων, τὰ δὲ τ’ ἐξεβεβήκει. Конечно, μήποτε уже особое слово, близкое к ‘может быть’, ‘скорее’, однако оно показывает, в каком смысловом направлении развивалось изучаемое нами употребление μὴ.

¹⁷⁰ Синизеса μὴ οὐ при таком употреблении, напр.: Eur. *Andr.* 626: οὕτως ἔδεισας μὴ οὐ κακὴν δάμαρτ’ ἔχης; AG XII, 154: μὴ οὐχὶ φιλεῖν πρόφασιν и др.

¹⁷¹ Субстантивированное τὸ μὴ οὐ с. inf., ex. gr.: Aesch. *Eum.* 914–915: οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ / τῆνδ’ ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμᾶν πόλιν; cf. Eur. *fr.* 1064 N², Kannicht (τὸ μὴ οὐ ... νέμειν); Plat. *Leg.* 891 a 5–7 (τὸ μὴ οὐ βοηθεῖν). μὴ οὐ с. part.: Soph. *OT* 11–13; с. adiect.: Eur. *fr.* 1068; с. adverb.: Aesch. *Prom.* 627 etc.

самое обстоятельство показывает и другое: несмотря на то, что у греческих писателей встречаются даже и смелые тмесисы,¹⁷² не видно, чтобы $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon$ cum inf., part., adi. когда-нибудь в таком тмесисе оказывались – иначе говоря, непосредственное следование $\mu\eta$ и $\omicron\upsilon$ друг за другом является не второстепенным, а основополагающим признаком конструкции. А в таком случае, она не применима к разбираемому пассажию. Не применимы и употребленные на пару $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon$, появляющиеся после *verba timendi*,¹⁷³ по той причине, что в разбираемых строках эпитафии таких нет.

Примеры с вопросительными $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon$ не редкость. Возьмем Платона (*Meno* 89 c 5): $\mu\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \omega\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon$; – “Может быть, не хорошо мы об этом уговорились?”. $\omicron\upsilon$ здесь скорее “специальное”, между тем как вопрос, вводимый $\mu\eta$, предполагает необходимость не согласиться с этим $\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$. Нечто между вопросом и догадкой ($\omicron\upsilon$ частное, $\mu\eta$ общее) встречаем у Эпиктета (III, 2, 13): $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\mu\epsilon\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$. $\mu\eta\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\ \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$, $\omicron\tau\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\ \tau\eta\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\alpha\iota\acute{\rho}\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\omicron\alpha\iota\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\alpha$...; cf. *ibid.* IV, 5, 8 и др.

А что если – в отличие от уже разобранных первоначально вариантов, где обсуждалось $\mu\eta$ deliberativum в применении к аподосису в целом (с $\mu\eta$ до σηκοί), – перед нами другая разновидность конструкции с делиберативным $\mu\eta$? Иначе говоря, предположим, что во втором колоне, вводимом через $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ¹⁷⁴ и определенно противопоставленном первому, альтернатива загробной судьбы Аполлония решается совершенно положительным образом: он *будет* в рощах героев, между тем как

¹⁷² Тмесис случается в рамках сдвоенного (усиленного) отрицания $\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\eta$ (*Soph. Trach.* 623): $\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\iota\ \mu\eta$. Бывают яркие тмесисы с $\omicron\upsilon\nu$: *AG XII*, 226, 3: $\eta\ \mu\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\nu$ (cf. *AG Appendix* 3, 95, 8); *FD II coll.* 5: $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \tau\omega\nu\ \text{Λογγίνου καθεστώτων}$; *Sardis VII. I.* 1, 11: $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\alpha\sigma\omega\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \tau\omega\nu\ \kappa\omega\mu\omega\nu$ или $\tau\omicron\ \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$. Cf. *Denniston, GP²* 429 f: $\omicron\upsilon\nu$, разделяющее приставку и глагол, имеется, напр., у *Epich. fr.* 124; *fr.* 35, 6; *Hdt. I*, 194 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\ \omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\zeta\alpha\nu$ и проч.

¹⁷³ После *verba timendi* напр.: *Il. I*, 566: $\mu\ \nu\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\omega\sigma\iota\nu\ \omicron\sigma\omicron\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\omega$ (иронический испуг относительно благополучия собеседника); *Apoll. Rhod. Arg.* III, 479–483: $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\ \mu\ \pi\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\ \eta\ \tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\ \mu\ \tau\eta\rho$. Сходно с этим у Платона (*Parm.* 136 d 5): $\text{Αὐτοῦ} \dots \delta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\ \text{Παρμενίδου} \mu\eta\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\ \phi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\ \eta\ \delta\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$.

¹⁷⁴ Примеры похожего употребления $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ после отрицания в первой части дает Деннистон (*Denniston. GP²*, 165–168): *Hom. Od.* IX, 145; *Aesch. Suppl.* 1026; *Prom.* 1075; *Soph. Philoct.* 334; *Hdt. V*, 11, 2; 198; *Thuc. I*, 5 etc. Деннистон отмечает, что опущение $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, которое предшествовало бы $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, чаще случается в стихах, чем в прозе, и что особенно часто такое происходит как раз при наличии отрицания.

рассудительная сила частицы μή распространялась бы только на *пер- вый* колон аподосиса в стк. 12.

Для оценки этого допущения в высшей степени любопытен пассаж из Аристотеля, позволяющий, мне кажется, наложив на него разбираемые нами строки, почти воочию увидеть, с какой конструкцией мы имеем дело и какой смысл вероятнее всего имели стк. 12 сл. эпитафии Аполлония (Aristot. *Polit.* 1263 a 40–1263 b):¹⁷⁵ ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀμύθητον ὅσον διαφέρει τὸ νομίζειν ἰδίον τι. μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάτην τὴν πρὸς (1263 b) αὐτὸν αὐτὸς ἔξει φιλίαν ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' ἔστι τοῦτο φυσικόν.¹⁷⁶

Про это употребление Бониц, охарактеризовав сперва сочетание μή ... οὐ после *verba timendi*, говорит так: *inde non praegresso verbo, unde interrogatio suspensa sit, μή с. ind. dubitanter et modestius affirmantis est.*¹⁷⁷ Иначе говоря, μή ... οὐ с. ind. вводит не столько сомнение, сколько преподносимое в форме не доскональной уверенности, а потому интеллектуально-вежливое, утверждение. Собственно говоря, нас не страшило бы требование видеть здесь μή ... οὐ с *coni.*, потому что зевгма позволяла бы нам сделать и это, как она может позволит нам извлечь из ἔξουσι не только fut., но, если бы понадобилось, и *praes.*,— однако fut. ind. <ἔξει> в ст. 12 добывается всего легче и в этом смысле имеет за себя чуть более вероятия (нельзя, пожалуй, исключать, что разные носители языка могли решать для себя подобный вопрос в рамках допустимых вариантов). То, что μή οὐν (*Resp.* 480 a 6–12) стояло при fut. ind., позволяет нам остановиться на чтении, которое сохранял Бониц в процитированном пассаже Аристотеля.

Что касается редкости подобных употреблений, то, не являясь уникальными, они отражают манеру речи, не являющуюся, по всей видимости, вполне расхожей. И не зря именно Аристотель дает нам

¹⁷⁵ Индекс Боница (р. 464, *recta col. sub fin.*) дает даже и несколько примеров схожей структуры μή ... οὐ, что исключает какое-либо сомнение в надежности особенно существенного для нас пассажа: *Eth. Nic.* X, 1, 1172^a33, 2, 1173^a23, 10, 1179^b23, *Eth. Eud.* I, 8, 1217^b24.

¹⁷⁶ W. L. Newman (ed.). *The Politics of Aristotle* II (Oxford 1887) 251 *ad loc.* (оспаривая мнение, по которому следовало бы исправлять ind. ἔχει на *coni.* ἔχη по аналогии с *Pol.* 1291 a 9; *EN* X, 2, 1172 b 36, 10; 1172 b 24, Ньюмэн ссылается на *EN* X, 1, 1172 a 34; 2, 1173 a 23).— Здесь, как и в ряде других мест, автор благодарен редакции за плодотворную дискуссию и полезные советы.

¹⁷⁷ H. Bonitz. *Index Aristotelicus* (Berolini 1870) 464; ср. Smyth – Messing, 404 § 1801: μή οὐ с *coni.* выражает осторожное отрицание (a doubtful negation).

наиболее близкий образчик для того высказывания, которое со временем стало оборотом развитого литературного языка, включающего интеллигентную или даже интеллигентскую речь. В разбираемом Doppelsatz в первой его половине содержится полуутверждение-полувопрос, а вернее, утверждение в слегка вопрошающей форме, – турнюр в стиле высоколобой беседы на философские темы.

Теперь разбираемый период в центре эпитафии Аполлония по праву обретает следующий перевод: “Но раз веретено Мойр закрутило тебя, павшего под жестокими копьями варваров, уж, *верно*, не черный дом, – тебя примут рощи героев”.

Допускает ли автор эпитафии сомнение в том, что Аполлоний не будет поглощен подземным мраком? Да, в первом колоне, по форме, в качестве своего рода интеллектуального *façon de parler*, на миг допускается подобие сомнения¹⁷⁸ в будущей жизни погибшего (тем более что власть мрачной обители над покойным слишком очевидна), но делается это лишь для того, чтобы тут же объявить полную уверенность в бессмертии героя.

11. Литературная оценка эпитафии

Таким образом, представляется, что предлагаемое памятником написание ΜΟΥΝΟΥ можно, а значит – и нужно осмыслить как μούν οὐ, тем более что документальная традиция оказывается и стилистически богаче, чем текст, построенный на основе ученой догадки. Расставаясь с поправкой Латышева и обобщая наши наблюдения в перспективе истории науки, отметим, что, работая с *CIRB* 119, можно было убедиться и в великих заслугах и достижениях Латышева (удачный перевод гапакса ῥομβίσας), и в его промахах: неудачный перевод выражения ἀστένακτος, выбор формы ῥομβέω для стоящего за ῥομβίσας глагола, и, наконец, неволью замедлившая толкование идея о том, что с ΜΟΥΝΟΥ надо справляться через конъектуру. Примечательно и то, что часть правильных решений (толкование ἀστένακτος в активном смысле и предпочтительное в словообразовательно-семантическом плане ῥομβίζω), принятых в международной науке с самого начала изучения этого текста, оказалась у нас принесена в жертву научному влиянию первоиздателя, притом не в смысле критического внимания,

¹⁷⁸ Ср. *AG Appendix* 2, 617, 4: ἀλλ' εἰ γ' ἐν φθιμένοισι τις αἴσθησις, ... ἔχοις.

а в духе автоматического следования, когда авторитет не будит мысль, а ее усыпляет.

В последний раз бросая взгляд на текст ради обобщения сказанного выше, вспомним упрек В. Кренерта,¹⁷⁹ отмечавшего однообразную правильность, как бы школьную старательность этого текста, в особенности применительно к метрике, где бросается в глаза правильная цезура в каждом стихе и монотонное совпадение метрических и синтаксических отрезков – колонов и строк.¹⁸⁰ Но так ли уж однообразно ритмическое структурирование смысла в *CIRB* 119 и так ли посредствен автор эпитафии Аполлонию?

Представляется, что некоторая оригинальность надгробия в метрическом отношении начинается с того, что ямбический триметр в боспорских надгробных эпитаграммах, как и вообще в Северном Причерноморье, на фоне преобладания элегического дистиха встречается относительно редко. Параллелей на Боспоре мало: эпитафия уроженца Амастриды Гелиодора (№ 134, *scriptio plena*), в отношении которой издатели склоняются к датировке I в. н. э.; эпитафия купца Хрестиона, сына Асиатика (*CIRB* 142, *secundum metrum*), относимая к тому же времени, что и предыдущая; есть ямбическое стихотворение и в цикле на смерть девушки Феофилы (*CIRB* 130, стк. 7–10).¹⁸¹ Эти параллели показывают, что было бы неосторожно утверждать, что в ямбах эпитафии Аполлония действительно заложены те маршевые, воинственные обертоны, которые в них слышатся. Не являясь особенно изысканным,¹⁸² такой выбор метра выдает скорее нежелание идти в ногу с большинством.

Об исполнении стелы в смысле работы резчика мы уже говорили. Форма стелы отличная; композиция декора, рельефа, текстового поля тешит глаз. Кто изображен на рельефе? Отец погибшего – старший Аполлоний – с рабом или с малолетним внуком? Или это сам погибший в сопровождении слуги-оруженосца? Но где тогда атрибуты воинственности и откуда какая-то старообразность облика? По крайней мере грустью и одиночеством веет от этого изображения – вот уж действительно: πάντα συνφορᾶς γέμει. Словом, рельеф, нуждающийся в

¹⁷⁹ См. прим. 5 первой части работы.

¹⁸⁰ Grönert (прим. 5) 142: эпитафия Аполлония посредственна, в отличие от боспорских ямбических надгробий (*CIRB* 134 и 142).

¹⁸¹ Доватур (прим. 139) 17.

¹⁸² На первые двести стихотворений по сборнику Пека ямбами написаны следующие (*GVI Peek*): 63, 65, 66, 74, 144, 185, 187.

искусствоведческой интерпретации, по-своему тоже обращает на себя внимание.

Надо, конечно, признать, что стихотворение выполнено в эклектичном стиле. Ионизмы (μοῦνος, Μοιρέων) соседствуют с аттицизмом οὔν; вариант δακρούις был несколько менее в ходу, чем δάκρυσι, но при выборе сказалось, как водится, просодическое удобство. Иначе говоря, перед нами скорее поэтический язык с его богатством (в частности, диалектных) вариантов, чем какой-либо строгий стиль. В начальных строках (при правильном понимании ἀστένακτος) видно несложное, но риторически эффектное, ибо энергичное, противопоставление. Прилагательное в выражении μοῦνος κανόν употреблено в засвидетельствованном с классического времени смысле 'единственный в своем роде, unicus'. Что касается κανόν, то возможна, хоть и не обязательна, ассоциация с пряděнем и(ли) тканьем,¹⁸³ что хорошо подходило бы к образам стк. 10.¹⁸⁴

Есть в том же пассаже и нечто, похожее на enallage: действия Мойр перенесены на их веретено, к тому же последнее (если правильно данное в первой части работы объяснение ἐρόμβισεν) обрывает не нить жизни Аполлония, а прямо *ego самого* (σε), благодаря чему образный ряд оказывается вдруг нарушен, и сквозь покров поэтического языка вдруг – и болезненно – проступает сама горестная действительность. При этом неживое, κλωστήρ, представлено так, словно оно живое,¹⁸⁵ а часть – тот же κλωστήρ – выступает как целое, а именно как Мойра с ее веретеном и роковой пряжей на нем. Наконец, выражение βάζις (от βάζω, в духе лат. fama) звучало, как показывают параллели, имеющиеся в аттической трагедии,¹⁸⁶ скорее приподнято: автор и здесь подобрал слово в тон всему стихотворению;¹⁸⁷ при этом вряд ли без воли сочинителя явил-

¹⁸³ Слово хорошо изучено: Н. Oppel. *Κανόν. Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes und seiner lateinischen Entsprechungen (Regula-Norma)* (Leipzig 1937 = *Philologus, Suppl.* XXX, 4) 5–7.

¹⁸⁴ См. уже цит. выше труд Блюмнера (Blümner [прим. 70] I², 148–150). То же сравнение, притом рядом с ἀλλ' εἰ, см. в акарнанской надписи II в. до н. э., in: *IG IX*, 1 (2), 314, 5: κοῦρον, ἀμωμήτου σφροσύνης κανόνα – в обоих случаях покойный представлен как κανόν.

¹⁸⁵ Приравнивание человека к его судьбе вообще естественно, а для поэта к тому же подготовлено стк. 9, где ἐκλάσθης κανόν уже совершает примечательный скачок в этом направлении.

¹⁸⁶ Aesch. *Agam.* 10, Soph. *Trach.* 87, *Aiex* 494, Eur. *Hel.* 224, 351 etc.

¹⁸⁷ Особенно любопытна параллель к βάζις из *Epigr. Gr.* 982, 2 Kaibel.

ся ассонанс βάξις / χάρις. Таким образом, не только метр правилен, но и слог показывает навык автора в пользовании поэтическим языком.

Синтаксис *CIRB* 119 не так уж однообразен, хоть и правда, что синтаксическая ткань нашего текста может производить – тут приходится согласиться с Кренертом – несколько докучливое впечатление.¹⁸⁸ И все-таки, нельзя не признать того, что в стихотворении применены даже и яркие синтактико-стилистические приемы. Выразительна серия с *asyndeta* в стк. 7 сл.¹⁸⁹ Если θουρία<ι> χερί действительно (как я старался показать) примыкает к ἔδραμες, это, на фоне нормальной препозиции несогласованного определения (ἠρώων... σῆκοί) в стк. 13, довольно смелый гипербат. Зевгма, которая признается и в литературной речи, встречаясь в таковом качестве также и в надписях,¹⁹⁰ в более сложных своих формах служит и вовсе высоколитературным приемом.¹⁹¹ Между тем даже при старой интерпретации с исправлением в стк. 12 без зевгмы, опирающейся на форму ἔξουσι, никак не обойтись. Наконец, “заступ” (*enjambement*) в стк. 13 – безусловно украшение, прорывающее ту ритмическую монотонность, на которую сетовали строгие литературные судьи.

Что касается ст. 12 сл., то они не зря вызывали затруднение – этому пассажи по авторскому замыслу присуща некоторая осложненность, так как в этом высказывании поэт пользуется ресурсами метрики, грамматики и литературного языка вполне свободно и на собственный лад. Лексически ρομβίζω, может быть, и случайно гапак; но ведь неслучайно же оно – редкость! Ритмически несомненно резкая смена: за рублеными колонами стк. 7–8 следует, начиная

¹⁸⁸ Высказывая свое наблюдение, Кренерт (прим. 5, 186) верно признал исключением стк. 12 сл.

¹⁸⁹ Коцевалов (прим. 33) 129: *asyndeta* (с примерами).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 121 (110). Коцевалов приводит *IPE* I 30, 8 ἐπ[α]νέσαι Ἑλλα(νικον), ὅτι εὔνοον [ἐαυτὸν καὶ πρόθυμον παρέχει τ]ῶι δήμ[ωι], отсылая также и к *IPE* 352, 52; впрочем, преимущество отнесения τ]ῶι δήμ[ωι] к первому прилагательному по сравнению со вторым (к тому же восстановленным) почти неощутимо. Конечно, речь здесь о легких зевгмах (H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* [Stuttgart 31990] 348) вроде Aesch. *Eum.* 140 или Thuc. VI, 79, 1 vel sim.

¹⁹¹ Без зевгмы как поэтического приема нельзя себе представить римскую поэзию, так как эта фигура служит одним из средств создавать “римскую краткость”. Прозрачный случай Hor. *Epist.* I, 2, 69: quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem, testa diu; нарочито трудными зевгмами знаменит Проперций.

со стк. 10, периодизированное строение с зевгмой в стк. 12–13. Наконец, небольшой, но хорошо структурированный условный период содержит высказывание, подающее утверждение в философски-выдержанной, интеллектуально отточенной форме: недаром образчики $\mu(\eta) \omicron\upsilon\upsilon \omicron\upsilon$ засвидетельствованы в философской речи. Беря все вместе: при своей краткости, структура стк. 10–13 довольно сложна, так что говорить о трафаретности никак не приходится.

Иначе говоря, в противовес сумбурной орфографии литературный язык стихотворения, как и общий облик памятника, правилен и даже богат. Если уж говорить о литературных недостатках эпитафии, это будет репертуарность мотивов и традиционность дикции, что, впрочем, не удивительно в столь надежно востребованном жанре как эпитафия, не случайно ограниченном жесткими смысловыми и композиционными требованиями. И все-таки в стихотворении есть цельность, достоинство, порядок, словом, литературный уровень. Родные не напрасно обратились к служителю Муз: в строках, показывающих понимание стоящих перед автором задач, сохранен силуэт достойного человека. $\text{Χαίρε, ὠπολλώνιε.}^{192}$

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[2. Teil]

Als einziger irreführender Fehler beim Abschreiben des Textes *CIRB* 119 durch den Steinmetzen stünde die überlieferte Schreibung ΜΟΥΝΟΥ in der Z. 12 der Inschrift (bzw. V. 10 des Gedichts) anstatt des durch eine Konjektur Latyschevs eingeführten $\text{v}\upsilon\upsilon \omicron\upsilon$. Trotz einer großen Akzeptanz bei den Herausgebern scheint dieser Vorschlag weder paläographisch noch stilistisch gelungen. Die überlieferte Lesung ΜΟΥΝΟΥ deutet der Vf. vielmehr als $\mu\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (Ergebnis einer Verschmelzung von $\mu\eta \omicron\upsilon\upsilon$) $\omicron\upsilon$. Nach der Überprüfung verschiedener Möglichkeiten wird vorgeschlagen, $\mu\eta$ neben der Spezial-Negation $\omicron\upsilon$ als (mehr oder weniger) pleonastische Verbindungspartikel im Rahmen des ersten Kolons der Z. 12 (also nicht im Apodosis-Satz Z. 12–13 als Ganzes) anzusehen. Die mit diesem $\mu\eta \omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ eingeleitete Aussage – genau in der Art

¹⁹² Эту работу, начатую еще в конце 80-х годов в ходе комментирования метрических надписей Боспорского корпуса, я мог дорабатывать – в особенности много привлекая TLG – в академически спокойной обстановке NIAS (Wassenaar).

der aristotelischen Sentenz über die Natürlichkeit der Liebe zu sich selber (*Pol.* II 5. 1263 a 41 sqq.: μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάτην τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτὸς ἔξει φιλίαν ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' ἔστι τοῦτο φυσικόν) – beinhaltet vorsichtig bejahenden, also einen intellektuell höflichen, Sinn. Dass <ἔξει> in der Z.12 – zeugmatisch – aus dem nachfolgenden ἔξουσι aus der Z. 13 ermittelt werden musste, gilt sowieso. μ(ἢ) οἶν οὐ κελαινὸς οἶκος, ἡρώων δέ σε ἔξουσι σηκοί heisst dann: “Das schwarze Haus doch wohl nicht – dich werden die Haine der Heroen haben”.

Die poetischen bzw. rhetorischen Mittel rekapitulierend verfißt der Vf. die Ansicht, dass das Gedicht literarisch sorgfältiger und stilistisch origineller ausgearbeitet ist, als es zunächst scheinen mag. Die im ersten Teil des Aufsatzes durchgeführte Analyse des Hapax ῥομβίζω sowie die Ermittlung der Form der vorsichtigen Behauptung im ersten Kolon der Z. 12, die aus der Sprache der Intellektuellen stammt, verdeutlichen an sich, dass die Sprache des Gedichts anspruchsvoll genug gestaltet ist.

MARCUS AGRIPPA THEOS SOTER

Jochen Bleicken in memoriam

Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa is a well-known figure from the time the Roman Republic was transformed into a monarchical state. A relatively rich and varied tradition reflects his personality, his achievements and his family. Meyer Reinhold's biography of the 1930s was recently followed by that of J.-M. Roddaz.¹ Agrippa is primarily known as Octavian's best general and most important aide on his way to become *princeps*. Augustus, as the ruler henceforth was called, accepted him as his son-in-law and as a member of the family. His sons, adopted by Augustus, were geared to become his successors. Augustus invested their father with extraordinary powers and made him an almost equal partner in his regiment. The late Jochen Bleicken has recently evaluated Agrippa's standing within the new order as Augustus' most loyal servant.²

When Agrippa was given, in 18 BC, for the eastern half of the empire, higher authority than any governor of a province had, he reached the climax of his career and kept this elevated position until his death in 12 BC. In the course of these years he was, in his realm, the recipient of numerous honors, many of which so extravagant that honors of that kind were soon no longer tolerated for any man except the emperor.³ In several cities Agrippa was venerated as "benefactor and savior", εὐεργέτης καὶ σωτήρ, so in Athens,⁴ by

¹ M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa. A Biography*, Diss. (Columbia University 1933); J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (Paris 1984). See also: R. Hanslik, "M. Vipsanius Agrippa", *RE IX A 1* (1961) 1226–1275.

² J. Bleicken, *Augustus. Eine Biographie* (Berlin 1998) 626–630.

³ See: J.-L. Ferrary, "Honneurs culturels décernés à des magistrates romains", in: *Actes de Xe Congrès international d'épigraphie Grecque et Latine, Nîmes 1992* (Paris 1997) 216–218 with previous bibliography. Ferrary does not list Agrippa. In Cyprus a month was named *Agrippeios* during Agrippa's lifetime (M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* [München – Leipzig 1999] 242). A festival *Agrippeia* (and *new Agrippeia*) was celebrated on Kos (*Sylloge*³ 1065₁₃ and M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos* [Rome 1993] EV 218 which is part of the same stone).

⁴ *ID* 1593, found at Delos, but emanating (as Delos belonged to the Athenian state) from the Areopagus and the city of Athens. The name of Agrippa's father is there misstated as Marcus (instead of Lucius), not noticed by Roddaz (n. 1) 27.

the (still independent) Lycian Confederacy⁵ and in the Lycian city of Myra.⁶ He was even called “Savior God”, Θεὸς Σωτήρ, in several dedications found in Mytilene on the island of Lesbos. These, it must be added, were posthumous honors.⁷ But Agrippa was still alive when the city of Mytilene erected a statue of his and inscribed it “To the Savior God of the city, Marcus Agrippa, the benefactor and founder”.⁸ This must mean that he was the recipient of a cult. A cult that included Augustus, his grandson Gaius Caesar and Agrippa is attested, apparently in 6/5 BC, in Samos, where these three jointly had a priest.⁹ It seems clear that in this cult Agrippa was the minor partner not only of Augustus (as he was in Myra, see note 6), but also of his own son – because the son had a blood relation to the *gens Iulia*. It has also been observed that Agrippa was rarely honored alone,¹⁰ but nearly always in conjunction with other members of the imperial family: Augustus, Augustus’ daughter Iulia,¹¹ or his own sons Gaius and Lucius.

A new piece of evidence testifying to a cult for Agrippa will be presented here. It was found long ago at Larisa in Thessaly, but there is no record of where and when. The stone entered the collection of the city’s Museum with the number 311 and was registered by N. I. Giannopoulos, the *epimelete* of Volos at the time, when he drew up the inventory of the Museum’s inscriptions in 1932. This inventory contains the numbers 1 to 500. Giannopoulos describes the piece as a small rectangular base of white stone. He gives the following measurements: 28 cm high, 27 cm wide and 36 cm thick. In September of 1966, when I was working for a few weeks at the Museum in Larisa, I had a chance of reviewing the Inventory and made a note of this entry. The stone itself, however, could not be found and I suspected that it may not have survived the Second World War.

⁵ A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII (Paris 1981) 45, no. 23: Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα τοῦ ἔθνους Λυκίων τὸ κοινόν. A more modest honor at Xanthos (*ibid.*, no. 24): [Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν Ξανθίων ὁ δῆμος.

⁶ *IGR* III 719. Another likely case from Patara in Lycia: H. Engelmann, “Marcus Agrippa in Patara (*SEG* 44, 1208)”, *ZPE* 146 (2004) 129.

⁷ Roddaz (n. 1) 445.

⁸ *IG* XII 2. 203: Ὁ δάμος Θεὸν Σωτήρα τὰς πόλιος Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν, τὸν εὐεργέταν καὶ κτίσταν.

⁹ P. Herrmann, “Die Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos”, *AM* 75 (1960 [1962]) 68–183, on p. 72, no. 1 B_{20–23}, now *IG* XII 6, no. 7_{51–54}.

¹⁰ Roddaz (n. 1) 448. Agrippa alone is, however, the recipient of the honors at Mytilene (n. 8).

¹¹ C. Habicht, “Iulia Kalliteknos”, *MH* 53 (1996) 156–159.

Some time ago, however, while compiling an inventory of some 25 000 squeezes of Greek inscriptions preserved at the Institute for Advanced Study, I found a squeeze of that stone, marked only with the word “Larisa” and the number “311”. There is no record when and by whom the squeeze was made, but it was probably in the 1930s, when Benjamin D. Meritt secured from the Director of the Institute special funds to build up a collection of squeezes. After I had found the squeeze of the Agrippa inscription, I wrote earlier this year to the Ephoros in charge, Dr. Athanasios Tziafalias and asked for his permission to publish it. In his amiable response he not only granted permission, but also informed me that the piece still existed at the Museum and kindly offered to send me photos and other information. He did so in a letter of April and it is a pleasure to record here my profound gratitude to him.

Dr. Tziafalias confirmed that there are no details about the stone’s origin and chronology. He said that it is of grey marble, broken below, but with *anathyrosis* on the other three sides, and that the back was left rough. He also records the following measurements: Height 0,245; Length 0,265; Width 0,290 m. The letters are between 0,015 and 0,030 high. The text, in three very short lines, is well preserved (Fig. 1) and reads:

Μάρκῳ Ἀγρίπ-
πῳ Θεῶι Σω-
τῆρι vac.



Fig. 1

Although the stone is broken below, the text ended probably with line 3. From the dative case one would assume this to be a dedication to Agrippa, but if that were the case, the omission of the dedicant, whether a community or an individual, would be very strange. The same goes for the inscriptions from Mytilene for Agrippa. This omission makes me think that these are, in fact, not dedications, but small altars of the “Savior God”. Altars usually give the name of the god or the goddess in the genitive case, as do the numerous altars for Arsinoe *Philadelphos*, whose text is always just Ἄρσινότης Φιλαδέλφου and which are found throughout the Ptolemaic realm. These have been fully discussed by Louis Robert.¹² Taking this study as a starting point, I have once identified a small object of marble, found at Syracuse in Sicily, with the inscription Διὸς Σωτῆρος Ἰέρωνος (Zeus Savior Hieron) as a domestic altar for king Hiero II of Syracuse. I added a few similar cases to the material already collected by Robert.¹³ Numerous cases of this kind from Athens and other places in the Greek provinces of the Roman Empire are known in particular for Augustus and Hadrian. Those for Augustus have been collected and discussed by Anna Benjamin and Antony Raubitschek,¹⁴ those for Hadrian by Anna Benjamin.¹⁵ The typical form is for Augustus Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, that is to say, the form in the genitive case, appropriate for altars. For Hadrian, however, it is the form in the dative case: Σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστη αὐτοκράτορι Ἀδριανῶ, or something very similar. Benjamin and Raubitschek have commented as follows: “There exists, however, a large group of dedications, mainly, though perhaps not exclusively, altars which have the name of the emperor (or of another person) in the dative case, indicating, as in the case of dedications to gods, that the monument is set up to the emperor”.¹⁶ I would like to agree with them that there is no substantial difference between those im-

¹² L. Robert, “Sur un décret d’Ilion et sur un papyrus concernant des cultes royaux”, *American Studies in Papyrology* I (1966): *Essays in honor of C. Bradford Welles* 175–211 (OMS VII 599–635), especially 202–210. More than twenty altars of this type are known. After the study of Robert was published, at least eight others became known, five from Cyprus, one each from Eretria, Minoa on Amorgos and Kaunos.

¹³ Ch. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte* (Munich 2¹⁹⁷⁰) 259–262.

¹⁴ A. Benjamin, A. Raubitschek, “Arae Augusti”, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 65–85.

¹⁵ A. Benjamin, “The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian’s Panhellenic Program”, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 57–86. She lists no fewer than 94 pieces for Athens and 28 for Pergamon.

¹⁶ Benjamin and Raubitschek (n. 14) 67.

perial monuments, whether the inscriptions are written in the genitive or in the dative case.

It is not clear why Agrippa was honored at Larisa (or Thessaly in general) in this way. There is, however, no need to look for any specific service that he may have done to the city, since such a modest altar could well have been set up by an individual who had personal reasons to see and to venerate Agrippa as his “Savior God”.

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В дополнение к нескольким уже известным эпиграфическим памятникам, свидетельствующим о культе М. Випсания Агриппы как бога-спасителя, публикуется надпись из Ларисы, которая, очевидно, была высечена на небольшом посвященном ему алтарю.

QUINTILIAN ON THE ΚΛΙΣΙΣ ΧΡΕΙΑΣ

A visit to the class of the *grammaticus**

According to Quintilian,¹ the task of the *grammaticus* or secondary school teacher is twofold: the instruction of the principles of correct speech and the interpretation of literary texts. After dealing with both topics in 1. 4–7 and 1. 8 of his *Institutio Oratoria*, he adds in 1. 9 *quaedam dicendi primordia* (“certain elementary rules of speaking”) to the teaching load of the grammarian. This includes the most basic exercises of what later rhetorical tradition termed *progymnasmata*: a series of preliminary compositional exercises in rhetoric, arranged in order of increasing difficulty and intended to prepare students for declamation. Several Greek manuals containing such preparatory material have been preserved: Aelius Theon (1st cent. AD); (ps.-)Hermogenes (2nd–4th cent. AD); Aphthonius (4th cent. AD); Nicolaus (5th cent. AD). They define and classify – with some variations in the number, sequence or names of the exercises involved – the following *progymnasmata*: fable (μῦθος), narrative or narration (διήγημα / διήγησις), anecdote (χρεία), maxim (γνώμη), refutation (ἀνασκευή), confirmation (κατασκευή), topic or commonplace (τόπος; κοινὸς τόπος), encomium (ἐγκώμιον), in-

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¹ Unless otherwise stated, for Quintilian the English translation by Russell is used: Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education*. Ed. and transl. by D. A. Russell (Cambridge, Mass.– London 2001). For the texts of Theon, (ps.-)Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus the English translation by Kennedy is used: G. A. Kennedy (ed.), *Progymnasmata. Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*. Writings from the Greco-Roman World 10 (Atlanta 2003).

The following editions are referred to by sigla only:

F = *Nicolai Progymnasmata*, ed. I. Felten, *Rhetores Graeci XI* (Lipsiae 1913);

P = Aelius Théon, *Progymnasmata*, texte établi et trad. par M. Patillon (Paris 1997);

R = *Hermogenis opera*, ed. H. Rabe. *Rhetores Graeci VI* (Lipsiae 1913);

Sp = *Rhetores Graeci II*, ex recognitione L. Spengel (Frankfurt/Main 1966 [1854]);

GL = *Grammatici Latini*, ex recensione H. Keilii (Lipsiae 1855–1880).

vective (ψόγος), comparison (σύγκρισις), characterization or personification (ἔθοποιία; προσωποποιία), description (ἔκφρασις), (defence or refutation of a) proposition (θέσις) and (introduction of a) law (νόμος).

In the Roman school system most of these exercises, though actually belonging to the domain of rhetoric, seem to have gradually shifted to the domain of the *grammaticus*.² Quintilian, unsatisfied with the intrusion of the grammarians into the teaching subjects of their superior colleagues, reacts against this evolution and proposes a neat division between the two stages, which leaves only the most elementary initial rhetorical exercises to the grammar school:³ fable (*fabella*, 1. 9, § 2), paraphrase (*paraphrasis*, §§ 2–3), maxim (*sententia*, § 3), anecdote (*chria*, §§ 3–5), “saying to which a reason is appended” (*aetiologia*) or description of character (*ethologia*, § 3, cf. infra p. 249), and short narrative based on the poets (*narratiuncula*, § 6, cf. infra p. 249).⁴ Unfortunately, his presentation of the content of these basic rhetorical exercises is often so brief⁵ that it causes several problems of interpretation to modern scholars.

Two major problematic passages concern the exercises (1) *aetiologia/ethologia* and (2) *narratiuncula*. In view of the arguments put forward later on in this paper, we provide here a short *status quaestionis*:

² A. Wouters (“The κλίσις χρείας: between the grammarian and the rhetorician” [forthcoming]) points out that in the Greek education system of the 1st–2nd century AD all these *progymnasmata*, except for – at least after Theon – the declension of a χρεῖα (cf. infra), still belonged to the domain of the *rhetor*. Cf. also: R. Webb, “The *Progymnasmata* as Practice”, in: Y. L. Too (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001) 296–297. As Quintilian (1. 9. 6) observes, *Graeci magis operum suorum et onera et modum norunt* (“the Greek [rhetoricians] know the burdens and the limits of their work better”).

³ Cf. also: T. Viljamaa, “From Grammar to Rhetoric. First Exercises in Composition According to Quintilian, *Inst.* 1, 9”, *Arctos* 22 (1988) 182–184.

⁴ Two of these *primordia dicendi* are not listed in the extant Greek manuals: the paraphrase and the *aetiologia* or *ethologia*. The passages in which both exercises occur, however, cause some problems of textual criticism and interpretation. For problems related to the former exercise, cf., e. g.: E. N. O’Neil, “Discussion of Preliminary Exercises of *Marcus Fabius Quintilianus*. Introduction, Translation and Comments”, in: R. F. Hock, E. N. O’Neil (eds.), *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. I. The Progymnasmata, Texts and Translations 27* (Atlanta 1986) 119–120, and Viljamaa (n. 3) 187–189.

⁵ Quintilian is conscious of this, as he says at the beginning of 1. 10: *Haec de grammaticae, quam brevissime potui, non ut omnia dicerem sectatus, quod infinitum erat, sed ut maxime necessaria* (“I have been as concise as possible in this discussion of *grammaticae*, making no attempt to mention everything – that would have been an endless task – but selecting the most essential points”).

(1) Do we have to accept in § 3 the reading *aetiologia*⁶ or *ethologia*⁷? Although only *aetiologia* has manuscript authority, many editors of Quintilian prefer – probably wrongly – *ethologia*, introduced as an emendation by Raphaël Regius in 1493. Secondly, what is the meaning of both terms? *Ethologia*, which is only attested indisputably in Seneca (*Epist.* 95. 65) and Charisius (GL I, 284. 12; 4th cent. AD), possibly refers to a succinct description of the conduct and morals of a virtuous or vicious character.⁸ *Aetiologia* as a rhetorical *schema* or figure occurs several times in grammatical and rhetorical writers⁹ to indicate the addition of a reason or rationale (αἰτία) to a statement. Quintilian too mentions this term in his discussion of the figures of speech (9. 3. 93): *Quod vero schema est ad propositum subiecta ratio, quod Rutilius αἰτιολογίαν vocat?* (“And what sort of Figure is this ‘reason added to a proposition’ which Rutilius [i. e. the 1st century AD rhetorician Rutilius Lupus in his *Schem. dian. et lex.*, 2. 19] calls *aitiologia*?”). As a school exercise besides *sententia* and *chria*, *aetiologia* has probably the same or in any case a similar content: a saying to which a reason or cause is appended.

(2) What is the position of the *narratiuncula* within the framework of the *primordia dicendi* and how does it relate to the *narratio* in 2. 4, one of the *progymnasmata* to be dealt with by the rhetor? In 1. 9. 6 Quintilian gives the following information about this exercise: *narratiunculas a poetis celebratas notitiae causa, non eloquentiae tractandas puto* (“short narratives found in the poets should, in my view, be taught for general knowledge, not for developing eloquence”). In 2. 4. 2, after distinguishing three types of narratives (sc. fable or purely fictional story [*fabula*], plot or fictional story with the appearance of truth [*argumentum*], and history or story of real events [*historia*]), he adds: *grammaticis autem poeticas dedimus: apud rhetorem initium sit historica, tanto robustior quanto verior* (“we have given poetical Narratives to the *grammatici*; the rhetor should begin with historical ones, which are more grown-up because they are more real”). This passage makes it very probable that *narratiunculas a poetis celebratas* refer to short *narrationes* of the first two types, borrowed from poems and tragedies or comedies.¹⁰ But what then is the content of the *narratiuncula*-exercise? According to Colson¹¹ the information provided by Quintilian on this point is to be interpreted as

⁶ Cf., e. g.: R. P. Robinson, “*Ethologia* or *Aetiologia* in Suetonius *De Grammaticis* c. 4, and Quintilian i. 9”, *CPh* 15 (1920) 370–379; F. H. Colson, “Quintilian I. 9 and the ‘Chria’ in Ancient Education”, *CR* 35 (1921) 152 and id., *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae liber I*. Ed. with introduction and commentary (Cambridge 1924) 117–119; J. Cousin, *Etudes sur Quintilien. I. Contribution à la recherche des sources de l’Institution Oratoire*. PhD. (Paris 1935) 81 n. 6; S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome. From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (London 1977) 258; O’Neil (n. 4) 122–128; I. H. Henderson, “Quintilian and the *Progymnasmata*”, *Antike und Abendland* 37 (1991) 96–98; P xiii.

⁷ Cf., e. g.: G. L. Spalding (ed.), *M. Fabius Quintilianus De Institutione Oratoria libri duodecim I* (Hildesheim 1969 [1798]) 206–207; Viljamaa (n. 3) 193–200; R. Granatelli, “M. Fabio Quintiliano Institutio oratoria II 1–10: struttura e problemi interpretativi”, *Rhetorica* 13 (1995): 2, 138 and 144–145; Russell (n. 1) 210–211 n. 4.

⁸ Viljamaa (n. 3) 197–200.

⁹ Cf.: Robinson (n. 6) 372–373; O’Neil (n. 4) 125; H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Stuttgart 1990) 430–431, §§ 867–871.

¹⁰ Cf., e. g.: O’Neil (n. 4) 128–129.

¹¹ Colson (n. 6 [1924]) 121.

follows: “‘Narratio’ is only to be employed in the grammatical schools as a test of knowledge and to familiarise them with the stories and not as a regular progymnasma”. In addition he states that, since at the level of the rhetor students should start working with historical texts to improve their compositional skills, narrative composition based on mythological or literary fiction seems to have been considered unsuitable for both schools by Quintilian. Viljamaa¹² in our opinion rightly rejects this interpretation. In his view the words *narratiunculas ... puto* indicate that Quintilian thinks short poetic narratives should be practised in grammar school, but only in the form of simple reproductions, without any rhetorical embellishment including, for example, amplification or refutation. Quintilian thus divides the διήγημα or *narratio* between two different educational levels. This is especially emphasized by Henderson.¹³

The present article, underpinning a suggestion made by Wouters in a forthcoming article,¹⁴ intends to contribute to the elucidation of another problematic passage.

I. DEFINING THE PROBLEM

The passage in question concerns the preliminary rhetorical exercise called *chria* (χρεία) (1. 9. 5):

In his omnibus (sc. chriis) et declinatio per eosdem ducitur casus et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est.

As the following translations illustrate, this sentence has hitherto been interpreted in different ways:

All these instances are couched in the same grammatical form and deeds no less than sayings may be presented for treatment (Butler).¹⁵

In all these (sc. *chriae*), too, declension is done in the same cases, and the method is the same for both action-*chreiai* and sayings-*chreiai* (O’Neil).¹⁶

En todas estas clases de crías la digresión tiene lugar en las mismas formas de declamación y existe fundamento tanto para los hechos como para los dichos (Ortega Carmona).¹⁷

All these (sc. *chriae*) can be declined through the same range of cases, and the principle applies to *Chriae* based on actions as well as those based on words (Russell).¹⁸

¹² Viljamaa (n. 3) 190; cf. Bonner (n. 6) 260–261.

¹³ Henderson (n. 6) 92 and 94.

¹⁴ Cf. supra n. 2.

¹⁵ *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, with an English transl. by H. E. Butler I (London – Cambridge, Mass. 1963 [1920]).

¹⁶ O’Neil (n. 4) 134.

¹⁷ Quintiliano de Calahorra. *Sobre la formación del orador. Edición bilingüe: latín-español*. Trad. y com. de A. Ortega Carmona I (Salamanca 1997).

¹⁸ Russell (n. 1).

The meaning of the first part of the sentence (*in his ... casus*) is clear. As far as we know, Butler in 1920 and Ortega Carmona in 1997 were the only ones who failed¹⁹ to see that Quintilian is alluding here plainly to the exercise called κλίσις χρείας ('declension of a *chria*' [cf. *infra* II. 3]).²⁰

The second part of the sentence, however, causes difficulties. More specifically, it is the meaning of the word *ratio* that troubles modern scholars. Having a broad semantic field and being used by Quintilian himself in different meanings, this word has given rise to several interpretations. If we look at the translations presented above, the term is understood as *treatment, method, foundation, or principle*, the second being further explained by O'Neil as the method of adding several introductory formulas to *chriae* in order to make their declension possible.²¹ A more complete and detailed list of the meanings proposed so far will be given below, followed by a discussion of both our own interpretation and that of other scholars. But it may be useful first to offer a general outline of the nature of the *chria*-exercise.²²

II. THE XPEIA

1. definition

To begin with, what is a *chria*? Quintilian, assuming that his readers were familiar with this kind of anecdote,²³ does not explain the term, but the

¹⁹ The former explicitly indicates this in an additional note to his translation ([n. 15] 158, n. 1): "the sense is not clear: it appears to refer to the stereotyped form in which the *chria* was couched". Why the latter gives *declinatio* and *casus* the meaning of 'digression' and 'forms of declamation' respectively, remains, however, unclear. Is he alluding here vaguely to the elaboration of a *chria* (cf. *infra* II. 5)? Cf. Rahn (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus. *Ausbildung des Redners. Zwölf Bücher*. Hrsg. und übers. von H. Rahn [Darmstadt 1972]), who translates *casus* in a similar way, viz. 'Deklamationsformen'.

²⁰ Spalding already ([n. 7] 208, *ad* 'declinatio – ducitur') linked the passage involved to this kind of exercise.

²¹ O'Neil (n. 4) 135 (cf. *infra* II. 3).

²² For a more detailed description of this school exercise, cf.: Bonner (n. 6) 256–260; Hock, O'Neil (n. 4); *idd.*, *The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric. Classroom Exercises*, Writings from the Greco-Roman World 2 (Atlanta 2002); Lausberg (n. 9) 536–540; Wouters (n. 2).

²³ For the origin and popularity of the *chria*, cf., e. g.: R. F. Hock, "General Introduction to Volume I", in: Hock, O'Neil (n. 4) 3–9. The *chria* was used not only in an educational context: as a literary form it had existed long before it was introduced into the classroom (*ibid.*, 3).

extant Greek progymnasmatic manuals or *Progymnasmata* all offer a definition. Theon for example defines *χρεία* as follows:

Χρεία ἐστὶ σύντομος ἀπόφασις ἢ πράξις μετ' εὐστοχίας ἀναφερομένη εἰς τι ὀρισμένον πρόσωπον ἢ ἀναλογοῦν πρόσωπον (96. 19–21 P).

A *chreia* is a brief saying or action making a point,²⁴ attributed to some specified person or something corresponding to a person.²⁵

A specific feature of the *χρεία* that is included by (ps.-)Hermogenes (6. 5–6 R) and Nicolaus (19. 9 F) in their definitions is its usefulness for life, which is in fact also implied by the term itself,²⁶ although, as Theon and (ps.-)Hermogenes indicate, a *χρεία* can also be ἄχρηστος.²⁷ To quote only one example of a 'useful' *χρεία* among the 68 *χρεῖαι* catalogued by Hock and O'Neil:²⁸

Ἴσοκράτης ἔφησε τῆς παιδείας τὴν μὲν ρίζαν εἶναι πικράν, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν γλυκύν.

Isocrates said that education's root is bitter, its fruit is sweet (Hock, O'Neil).

²⁴ See on the contrary Hock ([n. 23] 25), who accepts that εὐστοχία refers to the aptness in the correspondence between the saying (or action) and the character ("aptly attributed to some specified person").

²⁵ For a plausible interpretation of ἀναλογοῦν πρόσωπον, cf. P 133 n. 120: "Ce que Théon désigne comme 'l'équivalent d'un personnage' correspond probablement à ce qu'Hermogène [...] appelle la personne indéfinie (ἀόριστον πρόσωπον) et dont il donne comme exemple l'indéfini τις".

²⁶ Cf. Aphthonius (23. 3–4 Sp): *χρειώδης δὲ οὖσα προσαγορεύεται χρεία* ("it is called *chreia* because it is useful"). See also Theon (97. 7–10 P) and Nicolaus (20. 1–5 F). That this exercise is called after the current meaning of *χρεία* ('usefulness') as the progymnasmatic authors state, is probably not correct (Colson [n. 6 (1921)] 150): *χρεία* can also mean 'an apposite remark'. Viljamaa ([n. 3] 191) combines the two meanings in his explanation of the term: "Evidently it was named the *chreia* by reason of its suitability for apposite descriptions as well as because of its usefulness for moral and rhetorical teaching."

²⁷ (Ps.-)Hermogenes (6. 5–6 R) says that the *χρεία* is "generally" useful, implying that it does not always have to bear this mark. Theon (96. 29–30 P) remarks that a *chreia* sometimes contains a pleasantry or wit not useful for life. Nicolaus (21. 1–18 F) on the contrary notices that a *χρεία* can be both witty and useful at the same time (cf.: B. L. Mack, E. N. O'Neil, "The *Chreia* Discussion of *Hermogenes of Tarsus*. Introduction, Translation and Comments", in: Hock, O'Neil [n. 4] 179 n. 3). In any case, as Colson observes ([n. 6 (1921)] 150), not all *χρεῖαι* handed down to us can be regarded as useful for life. The reason why they are generally considered to be useful, is probably the fact that in earlier times they were mostly used in a philosophical context (*ibid.*, 150).

²⁸ Hock, O'Neil (n. 4) 297–345, sc. no. 43.

2. classification

The *chriae* are grouped into three classes by the progymnasmatic textbooks: λογικαί, πρακτικαί and μικταὶ χρεῖαι, which cover (1) χρεῖαι involving a speech or saying (λόγος, or ἀπόφασις in the *chria*-definition of Theon), (2) an action (πρᾶξις), and (3) a mixture of both. The Isocrates-*chria* quoted above belongs to the first type. As an example of a πρακτικὴ χρεία Quintilian mentions (1.9.5):

Crates, cum indoctum puerum vidisset, paedagogum eius percussit.

When Crates saw an ill-educated boy, he beat his *paedagogus*.

Quintilian is apparently familiar with the distinction made by the progymnasmatic tradition between sayings- and action-*chriae*: the actions (*facta*) and words (*dicta*) mentioned in the second part of his statement about the *chria*-exercise, viz. *et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est*, refer to πρακτικαί and λογικαί χρεῖαι respectively.²⁹ However, he nowhere mentions the third class of mixed *chriae*. To find an illustration of this category, we have to return to the *Progymnasmata*. Nicolaus gives the following example (20.16–17 F):

Λάκων ἐρωτηθείς, ποῦ τὰ τεῖχη τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀνατείνας τὸ δόρυ ἔφη ἐνταῦθα.

When a Laconian was asked where the walls of Sparta were, holding up his spear (action!), he said, ‘There’ (saying!).³⁰

²⁹ Another passage which indicates Quintilian’s familiarity with both classes of *chriae* is the following (1.9.5): *etiam in ipsorum factis esse chrian putant* (“a *Chria* may also, it is thought, consist only of the subject’s action”). After having enumerated several types of sayings-*chriae*, Quintilian with these words, which immediately precede the Crates-*chria* quoted above, turns to the second class of πρακτικαὶ χρεῖαι (cf. also infra n. 34). For *ipsorum*, referring either to the personae of the preceding types of *chriae* or to the preceding types themselves, cf.: Spalding (n. 7) 208, *ad* ‘ipsorum factis’; Colson (n. 6 [1924]) 120; O’Neil (n. 4) 131–132; Henderson (n. 6) 95.

³⁰ We must make a distinction, however, between Theon’s concept of a mixed χρεία and that of the other progymnasmatic authors. According to the former (99.5–7 P), the protagonist of a μικτὴ χρεία only acts, the saying being implied in the question or circumstance which brings about the action. For the latter (Herm. 6.12–14 R; Aphth. 23.10–13 Sp; Nic. 20.15–17 F) the persona of a mixed *chria* produces both an action and a saying (cf. Hock [n. 23] 27–28). Since one of Theon’s examples to illustrate the mixed *chria* is the same as that given by Nicolaus (99.10–12 P), it is helpful to quote it here too, in order to mark the difference in concept: Λάκων ἐρομένου τινὸς αὐτὸν ποῦ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς γῆς ἔχουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔδειξε τὸ δόρυ (“A Laco-

This threefold division of *chriai* into λογικά, πρακτικά and μικτά χρεῖαι contains several subdivisions. By far the most detailed classification is transmitted by Theon (97. 11–99. 12 P).³¹ He subdivides the sayings-*chriai* further into ἀποφαντικά (*declarative*), ἀποκριτικά (*responsive*) and διπλά (*double*) χρεῖαι,³² and, in turn, the first two of these categories into several subclasses. In addition he is the only progymnastic author who makes a distinction between ἐνεργητικά (*active*) and παθητικά (*passive*) action-*chriai*, viz. *chriai* describing an act (like the example of Crates above), and *chriai* indicating something experienced.³³

Quintilian too lists different types of *chriai*,³⁴ but, partly due to its concision, scholars have difficulties to bring his discussion of *chriai* into line

nian, when someone asked him where the Lacedaimonians set the limits of their land [saying], showed his spear [action]”). The other progymnastic authors would have placed this example in the category of πρακτικά χρεῖαι, as the Laconian does not say anything, but only shows his spear.

³¹ Aphthonius (23. 4–5 Sp) only mentions the principal division. (Ps.-)Hermogenes (7. 7–9 R) and Nicolaus (22. 21–23. 5 F) merely allude to a few subdivisions (cf. Hock [n. 23] 27).

³² Ἀποφαντικά χρεῖαι include statements which are made voluntarily by the speaker (“Diogenes used to say...”) or which are based on what the speaker sees, related to a certain circumstance (“Diogenes, while seeing..., said”). Ἀποκριτικά χρεῖαι are χρεῖαι which are made in response to a question (“Diogenes, when asked..., said”). Διπλά χρεῖαι consist of two statements, made by two different persons (“Alexander said... and Diogenes replied...”).

³³ E. g., Theon 99. 2–4 P: Διδύμων ὁ ἀύλητῆς ἀλοὺς ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐκρεμάσθη (“Didymon the flute player, taken in adultery, was hung by his name”); for the meaning of this *chria*, cf.: D. N. Sedley, “Pythagoras the Grammar Teacher (PBrLibrAddMs 37 516, 1)”, in: *Papiri Filosofici. Miscellanea di Studi*. II (Firenze 1998) 177–181 (= Sedley 1998a) and id., “Pythagoras the Grammar Teacher and Didymon the Adulterer”, *Hyperboreus* 4 (1998): 1, 132–136 (= Sedley 1998b).

³⁴ 1. 9. 4–5: *Chriarum plura genera traduntur: unum simile sententiae, quod est positum in voce simplici: ‘dixit ille’ aut ‘dicere solebat’; alterum quod est in respondendo: ‘interrogatus ille’, vel ‘cum hoc ei dictum esset, respondit’; tertium huic non dissimile: ‘cum quis dixisset aliquid’ vel ‘fecisset’. Etiam in ipsorum factis esse chrian putant, ut: ‘Crates, cum indoctum puerum vidisset, paedagogum eius percussit’, et aliud paene par ei, quod tamen eodem nomine appellare non audent, sed dicunt χρεῖωδες, ut: ‘Milo, quem vitulum adsueverat ferre, taurum ferebat’* (“As to *Chriai*, there are several sorts of these; one is akin to Aphorism and rests on a simple statement: ‘he said’ or ‘he used to say’; another includes an answer: ‘being asked’ or ‘when this was said to him, he answered’. There is a third type, much the same: ‘when someone said’ – or ‘did’ – ‘something’. A *Chria* may also, it is thought, consist only of the subject’s action: ‘When Crates saw an ill-educated boy, he beat his *paedagogus*’. A very similar example – which they do not venture to call a *Chria*

with the progymnasmatic tradition. While Schissel³⁵ has stressed the likeness of Quintilian's classification system to that of Theon, O'Neil³⁶ and Henderson³⁷ – though each from a different point of view³⁸ – emphasize its independence from the *Progymnasmata*. It is not our intention, however, to investigate this matter more fully here.

3. the κλίσις χρείας: content

In ancient rhetorical education³⁹ *chriae* were used in different ways to train the compositional skills and speech abilities of the students. Theon mentions a series of eight exercises on the χρεία (101. 3–6 P):

Γυμνάζονται δὲ κατὰ τὰς χρείας τῇ ἀπαγγελίᾳ τῇ κλίσει τῇ ἐπιφωνήσει τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ, ἐπεκτείνομεν τε καὶ συστέλλομεν τὴν χρείαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀνασκευάζομεν καὶ κατασκευάζομεν.

Chreias are practiced by restatement, grammatical inflection, comment, and contradiction, and we expand and compress the chreia, and in addition (at a later stage in study) we refute and confirm.

but say it is 'of the Chria type' – is 'Milo carried a grown bull which he had been used to carry as a calf'").

³⁵ O. Schissel, "Die Einteilung der Chrie bei Quintilian", *Hermes* 68 (1933) 245–248. Colson's commentary (n. 6 [1924] 119–120, *passim*) is marked by a similar approach.

³⁶ O'Neil (n. 4) 129–134.

³⁷ Henderson (n. 6) 95–96.

³⁸ According to O'Neil, Quintilian merely lists some types of *chriae* without a sense of precision, due to the fact that the classification of the *chria* had not yet been given a set form in the 1st century AD and that he was apparently unaware of Theon's elaborate classification system. In Henderson's opinion (p. 95), on the other hand, Quintilian's classification is a useful and coherent system, structured around a criterion of division other than that of Theon.

³⁹ At the level of the γραμματοδιδάσκαλος or primary school teacher, *chriae* served as reading and writing exercises, providing pupils at the same time with a "minimal cultural package" (cf.: R. Criboire, *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* [Princeton 2001] 178) and with some moral values (cf.: T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* [Cambridge 1998] 120–151 [ch. 4: *Maxims and morals*]). Cf. for example schoolbook *P. Bour.* 1 (4th cent. AD), which contains, besides other elementary school exercises, five *chriae* attributed to Diogenes [ed. pr.: P. Jouguet, P. Perdrizet, "Le Papyrus Bouriant n° 1. Un cahier d'écolier grec d'Égypte", *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* 6 (1906) 148–161; cf. also: R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) n° 393; R. F. Hock, "Cynics and Rhetoric", in: S. E. Porter (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B. C.–A. D. 400* (Boston–Leiden 2001 [1997]) 764–765 and Hock, O'Neil (n. 22) 5–12]. For a survey of elementary *chria*-exercises

He then proceeds to describe each of these exercises step by step, paying by far most attention to the κλίσις χρείας (101. 10–103. 2 P). As we have seen above, this is the exercise which Quintilian refers to in his discussion of the *chria*:

in his omnibus et declinatio per eosdem ducitur casus.

all these (sc. *chriae*) can be declined through the same range of cases.

The κλίσις or *declinatio* of a *chria* consists of inflecting the persona (πρόσωπον) of the saying or action through all the cases (*per eosdem ducitur casus*) and numbers.⁴⁰ To make such an inflexion possible, one has always to adapt the rest of the sentence grammatically by inserting a fixed set of introductory phrases or *formulae* into the *chria*, which vary from case to case and sometimes also from *chria*-type to *chria*-type. Theon provides a detailed picture of this. After noticing that the nominative presents no difficulties, since *chriae* are normally cited in that case, he starts with the genitive (101. 30–102. 13 P):

Τὴν δὲ γενικὴν πῶσιν οὕτω κλινοῦμεν· ἐὰν μὲν λογικὴ ἢ ἡ χρεία, προσθήσομεν αὐτῇ· “τὸ ῥηθὲν μνήμης ἔτυχεν”, ἢ “λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται εἰπόντος” ...

Ἀρμόττει δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ μὲν “λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται” πάσαις ταῖς λογικαῖς χρεῖαις, πλὴν τῆς καθ’ ἐκούσιον ἀπόφασιν· ταύτη γὰρ “τὸ ῥηθὲν μνήμης ἔτυχεν”. Ἐὰν δὲ πρακτικὴ ἢ χρεία, εἰ μὲν παθητικὴ εἴη, προσθετέον· “τὸ συμβὰν μνήμης ἔτυχεν”. Εἰ δὲ ἐνεργητικὴ “τὸ πραχθὲν μνήμης ἔτυχεν”, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μικτοῦ.

preserved on papyrus, cf. Criboire (1996); Hock (2001) 765 n. 69 (only *chriae* of Diogenes); Hock, O’Neil (n. 22) 1–49.

⁴⁰ We may wonder why Quintilian says nothing about the possibility to inflect *chriae* through the different numbers. Does he avoid the term *numeros* (*per eosdem ... casus et numeros*) consciously to react against this – at least from our point of view – absurd practice to decline proper names through dual and plural (cf. *infra*, our [partial] transcription of a Pythagoras-*chria*)? In the same way Nicolaus seems to have some problems with inflecting a χρεία about Pittacus of Mytilene in dual and plural (18. 23–19. 1 F): εἰ ἐνδέχοιτο τυχὸν διὰ μελέτην δευτέρῳ Πιττακῶ ἢ καὶ πλείοσιν ἀνατιθέναι τὸν λόγον (“if it is possible for the sake of practice perhaps to attribute the statement to two or more Pittacuses”). The Latin grammarian Diomedes (4th cent. AD) in his general presentation of the exercise also remains silent about the number (GL I, 310. 2: *chriarum exercitatio in casus sic variatur* [“the exercise with *chriae* is transformed as follows in the various cases”]), but nevertheless gives an illustration of a *chria*-declension through singular and plural (cf. also *infra*).

We practice the genitive as follows. If the *chreia* is a saying, we shall add to it that “The saying has become memorable”, or “The story is remembered of X saying...” ...

“The story is remembered” well fits all *chreias* about a saying except for a volunteered⁴¹ statement; for that use “The saying of X... has become memorable”.

If the *chreia* describes an action, and if that is passive, one should add, “The experience of X... has become memorable”; if it is active, “The action of X... has become memorable”, and similarly in the case of a mixed *chreia*.

In the dative, he continues, one must add to all types of *chreiae* “ἔδοξεν” (“it seemed best”), “ἐφάνη” (“it appeared best”), “ἐπῆλθεν” (“it occurred”), “παρέστη” (“it came to mind”) or another similar *formula*, except for the passive action-*chreia*, to which the phrase “συνέβη” (“it happened”) has to be attached. For the accusative, on the other hand, the *formulae* “φασί” (“they say”) or “λέγεται” (“it is said”) are generally used. Finally, about the vocative case, Theon says the following (102. 34 – 103. 1 P):

Ἡ δὲ κλητικὴ σαφὴς ἐστὶ ποιησόμεθα γὰρ τὸν λόγον πρὸς τι παρὸν ἡμῖν πρόσωπον, ἐφ’ ὃ ἡ χρεία ἀναφέρεται, οἷον “Διόγενες Κυνικὲ φιλόσοφε, ἰδὼν ...”.

The vocative is clear; for we address the remark to the person to whom the *chreia* is attributed as though present with us; for example, “O Diogenes, Cynic philosopher, on seeing ...”.

A concrete application of all these rules, coming directly from an educational context, is offered by the schoolbook *BM Add. MS 37 516*.⁴² This wooden tablet, edited by F. G. Kenyon⁴³ and dated to the 3rd – 4th century AD,⁴⁴ contains on one side a complete declension through all cases and numbers – the dual included – of a *chreia* about Pythagoras. We present here by way of illustration only a few lines of the transcription:⁴⁵

⁴¹ I. e. a statement made voluntarily by the speaker, not arising from a specific circumstance. The Isocrates-*chreia* quoted above (p. 252) belongs to this type.

⁴² = Criatore (n. 39 [1996]) no. 364. Cf. also no. 3868 in the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (LDAB) of W. Clarysse and no. 370 in the *Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri* (CPP) of M. Huys. For two other schoolbooks which illustrate the κλίσις χρείας, cf. infra III. 3.

⁴³ F. G. Kenyon, “Two Greek School-Tablets”, *JHS* 29 (1909) 29–30.

⁴⁴ Kenyon dates the hand of the schoolbook to the 3rd century AD, but according to G. Bastianini and M. Manfredi, as Sedley remarks (n. 33 [1998a] 167 n. 1 and [1998b] 122 n. 1), it is at least a century younger.

⁴⁵ For a complete transcription, see now Hock, O’Neil (n. 22) 62–66 and Wouters (n. 2). For the meaning of the *chreia*, cf. the studies of Sedley mentioned in note 33. This

Singular:

- 1 ὁ Πυθαγόρας φιλόσοφος ἀποβάς καὶ γράμματα διδάσκων συν-
εβούλευν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμόνων ἀπέχεσθαι
2 τοῦ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσόφου ἀποβάντες καὶ γράμματα διδάσκ-
οντος λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται συμβουλευόντος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθη-
ταῖς ἐναιμόνων ἀπ[έ]χεσθ[αι]
...

Plural:

- 12 καὶ πληθυντικῶς
...
15 τοῖς Πυθαγόραις φιλοσόφοις ἀποβάσι καὶ γράμματα διδασκ-
όντοις ἔδοξεν συμβουλεύσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ⁴⁶ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμόνων
ἀπέχεσθαι
16 τοὺς Πυθαγόρας φιλοσόφους ἀπο[βάν]τας καὶ γράμματα
διδάσκοντάς φασιν συμβουλεύσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμόνων
ἀπέχεσθαι
...
1.2 ἀποβάντες: *l.* ἀποβάντος
συμβουλευόντος: *l.* συμβουλεύοντος
1.15 ἀποβάσι: *corr. ex* ἀποβάντοις
1.15 διδασκόντοις: *l.* διδάσκουσι
1.15 and 16 συμβουλεύσαι: *l.* συμβουλεύσαι

1 Pythagoras the philosopher, when he had abandoned (philosophy) and was teaching grammar, used to advise his pupils to abstain from (the word) ἐνάιμονες.

2 The saying is remembered of the philosopher Pythagoras, when he had abandoned (philosophy) and was teaching grammar, as advising his own pupils to abstain from (the word) ἐνάιμονες.

...

12 And in the plural:

...

15 It seemed good to the Pythagoras philosophers, when they ...

16 They say that the Pythagoras philosophers, when they ...

...

author very convincingly unmasked the *chria* as a grammarian's joke: the comic anecdote is that the philosopher Pythagoras at a certain moment changed his profession and as a grammarian taught his students to avoid the term ἐνάιμονες for "blooded creatures" and to use ἐνάιμοι instead. Our translation is based on his interpretation.

⁴⁶ In the dual and plural each time the singular form ἑαυτοῦ is used incorrectly.

For a corresponding example in the Latin tradition, we can refer to Diomedes (GL I, 310. 1–29).⁴⁷ This grammarian (4th cent. AD) inflects, besides mentioning several types of *chriae*, the following *chria* in the two numbers – the dual, of course, does not exist in Latin – and in the different cases, the ablative included (compare with the Isocrates-χρεία above):

Marcus Porcius Cato dixit litterarum radices amaras esse, fructus iocundiores.

Marcus Porcius Cato said that the roots of education are bitter, but its fruits sweet.

He also presents the declension of an action-*chria* about Diogenes, but this time only in the singular:

Diogenes Cynicus philosophus in die accensa lucerna quaerebat hominem.

Diogenes the Cynic philosopher used to seek a man by day with a lighted lamp.⁴⁸

4. the κλίσις χρείας: grammatical or rhetorical exercise?

The κλίσις χρείας, though described in detail by Theon, is not mentioned in the rhetorical manuals of (ps.-)Hermogenes and Aphthonius. Together with the fact that the school tablet mentioned above comes from the class of a grammarian,⁴⁹ this seems to indicate that soon after Theon (1st cent. AD) in Greek education the *chria*-declension, by nature a grammatical exercise, became part of the curriculum of the *grammaticus*.⁵⁰

Nicolaus, to be sure, discusses the κλίσις χρείας-exercise again a few centuries later, but, as Hock and O’Neil remark,⁵¹ some comments in his

⁴⁷ Cf. also Hock, O’Neil (n. 22) 67–73.

⁴⁸ Hock, O’Neil’s translation, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ The other side of the schoolbook, written in the same hand, contains a partial inflection paradigm (optative and participles) of the verb νικάω in all tenses. Morphological exercises like this clearly belonged to the domain of the *grammaticus*. For other school texts containing conjugations or declensions, cf. the catalogue of Criore (n. 39 [1996], *ad* ‘grammatical exercises’). For a discussion of (a few of) these exercises, cf.: A. Wouters, “La grammaire grecque dans l’école antique, d’après les papyrus”, in: L. Basset – F. Biville (eds.), *Actes du XXXI^e Congrès International de l’A. P. L. A. E. S. (Universités Lumière-Lyon 2 et Jean Moulin-Lyon 3. Lyon 5, 6 et 7 juin 1998)* (Lyon 1999) 58–61; Morgan (n. 39) 152–189 (ch. 5: *Grammar and the power of language*), and Criore (n. 39 [2001]) 214–215.

⁵⁰ Cf.: A. Brinkmann, “Aus dem antiken Schulunterricht”, *RhM* 65 (1910) 153–155; Wouters (n. 2).

⁵¹ Hock, O’Neil (n. 22) 54.

Progymnasmata point to the same evolution. After mentioning one group of authors who, in the series of *progymnasmata*, accorded to the *χρεία* the first rather than the third place (like [ps.-]Hermogenes, Aphthonius and himself), he continues (18. 1–6 F):

Ἴτεροι δὲ τάξαντες αὐτὴν πρώτην οὐ τὴν νῦν ταύτην αὐτῇ διαίρεσιν ἀποδεδώκασιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατὰ πάσας τὰς πτώσεις καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς προφορὰν μόνην ἐνόμισαν τοῖς νέοις <ἄρτι> τῶν ποιητῶν ἀφισταμένοις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἰοῦσιν ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λόγου μελέτην καὶ ἐχρῶντο αὐτῇ οὕτως ...

Those others (i. e. former progymnastic authors whose manuals have not been handed down to us⁵²) who made it the first exercise have not accorded it the same divisions as is done now (i. e. the *ἐργασία*-exercise, subdivided into several steps, for which see *infra* II. 5), but thought recitation (of a *chreia*) in all cases and numbers alone was enough for young men who were just proceeding from the study of the poets and coming to the study of rhetoric to practice declamation of political speech, and they used it in this way ...

Then, *exempli gratia*, a *χρεία*, attributed to the famous Pittacus of Mitylene, is declined in the singular. Nicolaus thus introduces the *κλίσις χρείας* while referring to a situation in the past and contrasting it with the contemporary division, from which it has been excluded (cf. *infra* II. 5). His discussion therefore does not refute the transition of the declension exercise to the grammar school, which we assume.

In the Latin tradition, a similar evolution, confirmed by the testimony of the grammarian Diomedes, took place, probably a little earlier. Consistent with Quintilian's attribution of the *declinatio chriae* to the domain of the *grammaticus*, Suetonius at the beginning of the 2nd century AD seems to suggest that already before his time exercises like the declension of a *chria* had passed gradually to the secondary school (*De gramm. et rhet.* 25. 4):

Nam et dicta praeclare per omnes figuras <versare>⁵³ ... consuerant ... donec sensim haec exoluerunt ...

⁵² Cf.: L. L. Grabbe, R. F. Hock, "The Chreia Discussion of *Nicolaus of Myra*. Introduction, Translation and Comments", in: Hock, O'Neil (n. 4) 240–241.

⁵³ R. A. Kaster (*Studies on the Text of Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, American Classical Studies 28 [Atlanta 1992] 111; C. Suetonius Tranquillus *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*. Ed. with a transl., introd., and comm. by R. A. Kaster [Oxford 1995] 30–31 and 280–281), following Colson (n. 6 [1924] 120, *ad* 'declinatio... ca-

praeclare: *l. praeclara*, as accepted by Colson.⁵⁴

They (i. e. teachers of rhetoric) would vary the grammatical constructions of notable sayings in all possible ways ... In the long these practices (i. e. the κλίσις χρείας together with all the other exercises listed before by Suetonius) gradually passed out of use (i. e. in the school of the rhetor)...⁵⁵

5. elaboration of a χρεία

A second difference between Theon and the later progymnasmatic authors – Nicolaus this time included – concerns the χρεία-exercises as a whole. While the former treats eight separate exercises (cf. supra II. 3), the latter present only one exercise, consisting of the elaboration (ἐργασία) of a *chria* according to a fixed pattern of several steps (κεφάλαια). Aphthonius for example distinguishes the following headings for working out a *chria* (23.14–17 Sp):

- (1) praising the persona of the *chria*
- (2) paraphrasing the *chria*-sentence

sus'), in our opinion rightly assumes that Suetonius is alluding here to the κλίσις χρείας. Vacher too in her edition (Suétone. *Grammairiens et rhéteurs*, texte établi et trad. par M.-C. Vacher [Paris 1993]) connects this passage with the *chria*-declension. Unlike Kaster she bases herself on the reading of the archetype (*dicta praeclare per omnes figuras, per casus ... exponere*), which includes also the words *per casus*. Consequently she interprets the text somewhat differently: while Kaster gives *figura* the meaning of 'posture' or 'grammatical construction', Vacher attributes to it the meaning of 'rhetorical figure', linking only the words *per casus* ("through the different cases") to the κλίσις χρείας and considering the transposition of a *chria* into the different rhetorical figures as a variant of this exercise ("Une variante de cet exercice consistait à faire passer chries et sentences non plus par tous les cas (*per casus*), mais par toutes les figures rhétoriques (*per omnes figuras*)" [*ibid.*, 209 n. 18]). In our opinion this interpretation of *per omnes figuras* does not make much sense: which preliminary exercise could Suetonius have in mind here? In addition, as Kaster observes ([1992] 111–114 and [1995] 280), the text of the archetype is probably corrupt because of its irregular syntactical construction. The words *per casus* must very probably be considered a gloss on *per omnes figuras*: "to cause a *dictum* to pass through all the cases is to display it in its various grammatical constructions, or 'postures'" (*ibid.* [1992] 113). As does Varro in his *De ling. Lat.* 9. 52, Suetonius uses the term *figura* with the meaning of "morphological variation of a noun" or "case-form" (as opposed to *casus* = "case-use") (cf.: D. J. Taylor, *Declinatio. A Study of the Linguistic Theory of Marcus Terentius Varro*, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. III: Studies in the History of Linguistics 2 [Amsterdam 1974] 87).

⁵⁴ Colson (n. 6 [1924]) 120, *ad* 'declinatio...casus'.

⁵⁵ Kaster's translation (n. 53 [1995]). In our view Kaster (*ibid.*, 279–280) rightly argues that the words *donec ... exoluerunt* do not mean that the *chria*-declension and all

- (3) formulating the rationale or justification (αἰτία) of the *chria*
- (4) arguing the *chria* from the opposite
- (5) inserting a comparison or analogy from a different sphere
- (6) illustrating the *chria* with an example
- (7) adding a testimony of an ancient author
- (8) writing down a brief epilogue

As this division makes clear, the ἐργασία of a χρεία took the form of a brief composition or essay, intended to teach pupils to introduce, narrate, argue and conclude a particular subject, in preparation of their further rhetorical studies.⁵⁶

III. THE MEANING OF *RATIO*?

Now that we have a clear idea of the nature of the *chria*-exercise, let us return to the puzzling meaning of the word *ratio* in *Inst. Or.* 1. 9. 5.

1. earlier views

First of all we will have a look at the different interpretations which modern scholars have proposed. In general we can divide their suggestions into two groups.

i. *ratio* = a general term

The first group considers *ratio* to be a general term, not a specific grammatical metaterm. Robinson⁵⁷ for example takes it to have a broad meaning comparable to that of *ratio* in 1. 9. 3: *quorum omnium similis est ratio*,

the other exercises involved had ceased to exist, but rather that they had left the domain of the rhetor to become part of the grammarian's lessons.

⁵⁶ Cf.: Hock, O'Neil (n. 22) 89. For a presentation of the different ἐργασία χρείας-exercises that literary sources have handed down to us, cf.: *ibid.*, 98–359. As far as we know, no (school) papyri containing the elaboration of a χρεία have been preserved. The only χρεία-papyrus which is known to us besides the elementary reading and writing exercises mentioned in note 39, and the three grammatical school papyri presented in this paper (cf. supra II. 3 and infra III. 3), is *PSI I. 85* (ed. pr.: T. Lodi, "Appunti di retorica", in: *Papiri greci e latini I* [Firenze 1912] 157–158; cf. also Hock, O'Neil [n. 22] 94–97 and G. Bastianini, "PSI 85 e la definizione di 'chreia'", in: M. S. Funghi [ed.], *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico II* [Firenze 2004] 249–263). This papyrus, dated to the 3rd century AD, contains a short series of questions and answers about the definition and the etymology of the χρεία. It is not certain that it derives from a school context. In any case, Cribiore (n. 39 [1996]) and Morgan ([n. 39] 286–287) do not include *PSI I. 85* in their list of (rhetorical) school texts.

⁵⁷ Robinson (n. 6) 378, n. 1.

forma diversa – “all (sc. the exercises *sententia*, *chria* and *ethologia/aetiology*, cf. supra p. 249) have the same purpose, but differ in form” (our emphasis).⁵⁸ Although rather vague, the translations by (1) Cousin,⁵⁹ (2) Butler (cf. already supra p. 250) and (3) Ortega Carmona (cf. already supra p. 250) seem to go along the same lines:

(1) Pour tous ces exemples, on fait passer la déclinaison par les mêmes cas, et l'on traite de faits autant que de paroles (our emphasis).

(2) All these instances are couched in the same grammatical form and deeds no less than sayings may be presented for treatment (our emphasis).

(3) En todas estas clases de crías la digresión tiene lugar en las mismas formas de declamación y existe fundamento tanto para los hechos como para los dichos (our emphasis).

ii. *ratio* = a technical term

According to the second group of scholars, *ratio* has a technical meaning.

a. *ratio* = αἰτία

After Spalding's note,⁶⁰ Colson⁶¹ was the first to propose a technical meaning of the word here: he regards *ratio* as the Latin equivalent of the Greek technical term αἰτία, which indicates a *chria*-exercise consisting in giving the ‘reason’ of the *chria* involved (cf. supra II. 5):⁶² “and the words ‘et tam ... ratio est’ mean that the ‘practical’ *Chria* is just as susceptible of the αἰτία treatment as the ‘logical’”.⁶³

⁵⁸ *Ratio* in this sentence is mostly assigned a broad meaning (cf., e. g.: Colson [n. 6 (1924)] 119, *ad* ‘ratio’; Russell [n. 1] 211). Henderson ([n. 6] 88), however, does not exclude the possibility that it has a technical meaning, referring to the ἐργασία of a *chria* (cf. infra ii. b).

⁵⁹ Quintilien. *Institution Oratoire*, texte établi et trad. par J. Cousin (Paris 1975).

⁶⁰ Spalding (n. 7) 209, *ad* ‘ratio est’.

⁶¹ Colson (n. 6 [1921]) 153; cf. also (n. 6 [1924]) 121, *ad* ‘et ... ratio est’.

⁶² (Ps.-)Hermogenes (7. 18–20 R) for example gives the following αἰτία for the Isocrates-χρεία quoted above: τὰ γὰρ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ πόνων φιλεῖ κατορθοῦσθαι, κατορθωθέντα δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν φέρει (“for the greatest things are wont to succeed through toil, and when successful bring pleasure”).

⁶³ Colson (n. 6 [1921]) 153. See also the translations of:

(1) Rahn (n. 19): “bei allen diesen Arten findet die Abwandlung (= ‘inflection’?) in denselben Deklamationsformen statt, und es wird ebenso für Handlungen wie für Aussprüche eine Begründung gegeben” (our emphasis),

(2) Bornecque (Quintilien. *Institution Oratoire*, texte revu et trad. avec introd. et notes par H. Bornecque [Paris 1954]): “dans tous ces exemples, on emploie les mêmes

b. *ratio* = ἐργασία

Secondly, as Henderson⁶⁴ suggests, Quintilian may use (the word) *ratio* to refer to a system involving a whole series of *chria*-exercises, one of which is the αἰτία. In this case *ratio* is to be equated with the Greek term ἐργασία, referring to the elaboration of a *chria*-exercise according to several headings or steps (cf. supra II. 5).⁶⁵

c. *ratio* = *ratio declinationis*

Thirdly, instead of referring, as in the previous two technical interpretations, to another *chria*-exercise, *ratio* can reveal an aspect of the κλίσις χρείας itself. In this context the translation by Russell (cf. already supra p. 250) must probably be placed, since he seems to interpret *ratio* as *ratio [declinationis] per eosdem casus* ('declension principle⁶⁶ through the same cases'), i. e. as the system underlying the first part of the sentence:

cas imposés de la déclinaison et l'on y donne l'explication aussi bien d'actions que de mots" (our emphasis), and

(3) Lana (I. Lana, *Quintiliano, il "sublime" e gli "esercizi preparatori" di Elio Teone. Ricerca sulle fonti greche di Quintiliano e sull'autore "del sublime"* [Torino 1951] 130): "le chrie si possono declinare secondo i vari casi e devono contenere la spiegazione sia di detti sia di fatti" (description, no translation; our emphasis).

They all assign to *ratio* the meaning of 'explanation' or 'reason' and thus seem to share Colson's opinion, but we cannot exclude that their translations have a broader meaning than the technical αἰτία has, and that we should therefore put them in the first category.

⁶⁴ Henderson ([n. 6] 88) lists several possible interpretations of the term *ratio*, including that of Colson above and that of O'Neil below. Although he does not explicitly adopt a particular interpretation, he seems to have a preference for the two technical meanings which we have elucidated so far.

⁶⁵ The foundations of the ἐργασία must have been worked out quite early by Greek rhetoricians, as in Latin a similar standard exercise, consisting of 7 steps and by way of illustration applied to the elaboration of a *sententia*, already appears in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4. 43. 56–44. 58), a rhetorical manual dating from the 1st century BC, based on earlier Greek sources (cf. Bonner [n. 6] 259; Mack, O'Neil [n. 27] 162; for more information concerning the historical development of the ἐργασία, cf. Hock, O'Neil [n. 22] 84–90). Consequently it is quite likely that Quintilian was familiar with this elaboration-exercise.

⁶⁶ For *ratio* referring to the system of declension or conjugation, cf., e. g.: Varro, *De ling. Lat.* 8. 6: *Qua enim ratione in uno vocabulo declinare didiceris, in infinito numero nominum uti possis* ("for that system by which you learned to decline one word, you can use for a countless number of nouns" [Taylor's translation, (n. 53) 35; cf. also 62, note to p. 35 and 119, ad 'ratio']).

All these can be declined through the same range of cases, and the principle applies to *Chriae* based on actions as well as those based on words⁶⁷ (our emphasis).

d. *ratio* = system of introductory formulas

But there is still another possibility, which seems more likely to us. As Theon illustrates in his progymnastic manual (cf. supra II. 3), the κλίσις χρείας-exercise is not only supported by the inflectional principle, but also requires the systematic application of various phrases in order to inflect the name of the person to whom the saying or action is attributed through the five – six in Latin – different cases. Thus, *ratio* could also refer to the system or method of using specific introductory formulas in order to inflect a given *chria*.

This interpretation, as we have seen above (p. 251), has been suggested by O’Neil in 1986:⁶⁸ “the key word (i. e. of the passage involved) is, of course, *ratio* which refers to the method by which someone can introduce a *chreia* so that each oblique case follows logically and syntactically”. Although we think it to be the correct one, O’Neil’s interpretation of the passage *et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est* as a whole, however, is less felicitous. Therefore, before offering our arguments in favour of his interpretation of *ratio*, which until now has not received the attention it deserves,⁶⁹ we must briefly discuss his interpretation of the passage.

2. O’Neil’s interpretation

After observing that Theon lists several introductory formulas of which some are for sayings-*chriae*, some for action-*chriae* (cf. supra II. 3), O’Neil suddenly remarks (p. 135): “Quintilian, whether or not he was familiar with such complicated exercises (i. e. the use of different introductory phrases for different types of *chriae*), here advocates a simple approach: treat every *chreia* alike and merely decline it without introducing complication”. Con-

⁶⁷ Viljamaa ([n. 3] 192), although it is not clear which meaning he exactly assigns to *ratio*, apparently also takes the second part of the sentence as still belonging to the information on the *declinatio chriae* given by Quintilian.

⁶⁸ O’Neil (n. 4) 135.

⁶⁹ As far as we know, O’Neil’s suggestion is only referred to by Henderson in 1991 (cf. supra n. 64). As we have seen, it has not been adopted in the recent Quintilian-editions of Ortega Carmona (n. 17) and Russell (n. 1). Another reason why we considered it useful to take up O’Neil’s interpretation again, is the fact that, unlike O’Neil himself, we substantiate his reading with the literary as well as papyrological sources about the κλίσις χρείας available now.

forming to this view, he offers the following translation, already quoted above:

In all these (sc. *chriae*), too, declension is done in the same cases, and the method (i. e. of inserting introductory formulas) is the same for both action-chreiai and sayings-chreiai (our emphasis).

Further on, in his rendition of Quintilian 1. 9 in its entirety, he translates the sentence as follows (p. 149):

In all these types (i. e. of *chriae*), too, declension is done for both action-chriae and sayings-chriae.

This translation, as one can see, is only a brief rendering of the corresponding Latin words. It does not even include the specific meaning of *ratio*. Together with the remark and first translation quoted above, this fact makes it clear that in O’Neil’s opinion Quintilian, unlike Theon, makes no distinction between the introductory phrases for λογικαί *chriae* and for πρακτικαί *chriae*.

The reason why O’Neil here assigns to Quintilian a simple approach, remains unclear, although he seems to be guided by his interpretation of the first part of the sentence, where according to him things are simplified in a similar way.⁷⁰ However, in our opinion there is no particular reason to interpret Quintilian’s comment in this way. Since it is generally assumed that Theon, who, as O’Neil himself remarks, distinguishes λογικαί *formulae* from πρακτικαί *formulae*,⁷¹ lived in the 1st century AD, it is quite probable

⁷⁰ O’Neil states (p. 135) that Quintilian, since for each type of *chria* the declension through the different cases is the same, “is saying simply that the sense of the chreia in these manipulations makes no difference; form is the primary concern”. We agree that the words *per eosdem ducitur casus* indeed seem to indicate that some cases are not more appropriate for sayings-*chriae* than for action-*chriae* and *vice versa*. Cf. also Spalding (n. 7) 208, *ad* ‘declinatio – ducitur’: “*per eosdem sic intellige, ut non activae chriae ullus magis proprius casus dicatur esse, quam ceterarum*”. On the other hand we think that O’Neil goes too far in his interpretation when he assumes that for Quintilian the meaning of the declined *chriae* is not important at all.

⁷¹ The distinction between the two types of *formulae* is also represented in the examples of *declinatio chriarum* – one of a verbal *chria* and one of a gestural *chria* – which Diomedes offers us in the later Latin grammatical tradition (GL I, 310. 1–29; cf. supra II. 3): the verbal *chria* contains the *formulae* ‘*dictum fertur*’ (‘the statement is reported’) and ‘*dictum accepimus*’ (‘we have received the statement’) in the genitive and ablative respectively, while in the gestural *chria* the *formulae* ‘*memoria fertur*’ (‘the memory is reported’) and ‘*memoriae traditum est*’ (‘to memory has been handed down’) appear in both cases respectively. Compare with Theon’s list of introductory

that Quintilian (ca 30–ca 100 AD), whose *Institutio Oratoria* shows a great familiarity with education in the Greek world, knew these formulaic differences.⁷² But would he in this case have simplified things? In some other passages on the early training of boys, he seems to advocate what O’Neil calls a “sink or swim philosophy”.⁷³ Why should we, then, make things more difficult by assuming that Quintilian abolishes the border between verbal and gestural introductory phrases in order to simplify for the pupils of the grammar school the κλίσις χρείας-exercise? In particular making a distinction between the two types of *formulae* may have formed an additional didactic tool for teaching varieties in syntactical constructions.⁷⁴

3. our interpretation

Taking all this into account, we propose the following translation:

In all these (types of *chriae*) inflection is done in the same cases, and there is a (specific formula-)system for the (*chriae* based on) actions, as well as one for the (*chriae* based on) words.

Now that we have corrected O’Neil’s interpretation of the words *tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est*, how can the meaning, that we propose for *ratio*, be defended? Although the earlier suggestions mentioned above are not a priori implausible, certain elements favour our interpretation.

phrases above. This author distinguishes λογικάί from πρακτικάί formulas in the genitive and dative.

⁷² According to Lana ([n. 63] 150) Quintilian utilized Theon for the composition of his *Institutio Oratoria*, a conclusion based on a comparative study of both of their works (pp. 113–150).

⁷³ O’Neil (n. 4) 120–122: this philosophy, also discernible in for example 1. 1. 30, implies confronting pupils from the beginning with more difficult exercises instead of postponing them, i. e. “throwing the young student into deep water and forcing him to swim” (p. 120).

⁷⁴ Cf. Colson (n. 6 [1924] 120), according to whom the *chria*-declension with its varying introductory *formulae* through the different cases had possibly some value in teaching these syntactic variations, besides solely drilling in the inflections. Cf. also Bonner ([n. 6] 257) and Kaster (n. 53 [1995] 279), who consider the (declension of a) *chria* to be an exercise aiming at developing variety of expression. Cf. Patillon ([n. 1] p. LVI), who regards the χρεία as a preparatory exercise for the instruction of the ‘modes de l’énoncé’ or speech acts, including, e. g., the assertive and optative modes. Theon, indeed, distinguishes various manners of expressing a *chria* (99. 14–19 P), e. g., as a gnomic saying (assertive mode, including a straightforward statement) or as a wish (optative mode).

First of all we can put forward a stylistic argument. After having spent about ten lines on the enumeration of different types of *chriai*, Quintilian speaks almost in one breath, in hardly two lines, about the possibility to inflect all these types through the different cases and about the existence of a *ratio* for verbal as well as gestural *chriai*. Since he moreover connects the two comments with repeated *et*, is it then not at least plausible that he is alluding here twice to the same exercise, i. e. the declension of a *chria*?

A second argument is suggested by archeological findings. Besides a κλίσις χρείας-exercise about Pythagoras (cf. supra II. 3), the desert of Egypt has handed down to us two grammatical school texts of the 3rd century AD⁷⁵ each containing a list of *formulae* for the inflection of a sayings-*chria*.⁷⁶ We transcribe here for illustration one of these two lists (viz. tablet 5b of *BM Add. MS 37 533*), of which the vocative of the dual and the complete plural have disappeared:

320 ὀρθή εἶπεν
 321 γενική λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται εἰπόντος
 322 δοτική ἔδοξεν εἰπεῖν
 323 αἰτιατική φασὶν εἰπεῖν
 324 κλητική σύ ποτε εἶπας
 325 καὶ δυικῶς
 326 ὀρθή εἰπάτην
 327 γενική λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται εἰπόντων
 328 δοτική ἔδοξεν εἰπεῖν
 329 αἰτιατική φασὶν εἰπεῖν

320 Nominative: He said
 321 Genitive: The saying is recalled of the one saying
 322 Dative: It seemed best (to him) to say
 323 Accusative: They say that (he) said
 324 Vocative: You once said
 325 And in the dual
 326 Nominative: The two said
 327 Genitive: The saying is recalled of the two saying

⁷⁵ The exercises are part of two schoolbooks composed of several wooden tablets, viz. *BM Add. MS 37 533* (ed. pr.: Kenyon [n. 43] 32–39 = Crihiore [n. 39 (1996)] no. 385; cf. also LDAB no. 5315 and CPP no. 278 [cf. supra n. 42]) and *Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3019 (ed. pr.: P. J. Parsons, “A School-Book from the Sayce Collection”, *ZPE* 6 [1970] 133–149 = Crihiore [n. 39 (1996)] no. 388; cf. also LDAB no. 2418 and CPP no. 255 [cf. supra n. 42]). Given the nature of the materials they contain and the handwritings they represent (together with other characteristics typical of schoolpapyri; cf. Crihiore [n. 39 (1996)]), these notebooks were used in the class of the grammar teacher.

⁷⁶ For more detailed information, cf. Hock, O’Neil (n. 22) 56–61; Wouters (n. 2).

328 Dative: It seemed best (to the two) to say

329 Accusative: They say that (the two) said⁷⁷

Both direct sources, giving a concrete insight into the daily practice of ancient education, show that familiarizing pupils with the introductory phrases of a *chria* was part of the curriculum of the *grammaticus*.⁷⁸ In all probability there existed even a standard method to teach systematically the rules for the κλίσις χρείας in the class of the grammarian, since the *formulae* in the two exercises, forming a selection from those listed by Theon, are identical and coincide with those used in the declension of the *chria* about Pythagoras.⁷⁹ In any case, there is a good chance that Quintilian had similar school exercises in mind when he wrote *in his omnibus ... ratio est*, its first part alluding to exercises like the Pythagoras-χρεία, and its last part to lists of *formulae* comparable to the two models which have been preserved.

4. further discussion of the earlier views

What about the existing interpretations?

i. In our opinion there is little chance that *ratio* has the general, non-technical meaning of ‘purport’ or ‘treatment’. In this case the sense of the word group concerned would not only be vague in contrast with the rest of Quintilian’s discussion of the *chria*-exercise, but also somewhat redundant, since Quintilian clarifies already in his enumeration of different types of *chriae* that there are verbal as well as gestural *chriae* (cf. supra n. 29).

ii. a More can be said in favour of Colson’s rendering. His suggestion to equate *ratio* to the Greek technical term αἰτία is largely based on his interpretation of the words *subiectis dictorum rationibus* in the sentence (1.9.3):

⁷⁷ Hock, O’Neil (n. 22).

⁷⁸ The school texts involved, it is true, contain only Greek grammar. However, since generally speaking (literate) education was organized in a similar way in Greek and Roman culture throughout antiquity (cf., e. g.: H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l’éducation dans l’antiquité* [Paris 61965] 356–373; Morgan [n. 39] 44–47), we can use them for expanding our knowledge of Roman grammatical instruction too. In fact, Quintilian himself at the beginning of his discussion on grammatical education remarks that the method of teaching Latin and Greek is the same (1.4.1): *Nec refert de Graeco an de Latino loquar, quamquam Graecum esse priorem placet: utrique eadem via est* (“what I say applies indifferently to the Greek teacher and to the Latin, though I prefer the Greek to come first. Both use the same methods”).

⁷⁹ Except for the fact that the verbal forms of λέγειν have been replaced by the corresponding verbal forms of συμβουλεύειν.

Sententiae quoque et chriae et aetiologiae (?) subiectis dictorum rationibus apud grammaticos scribantur ...

Maxims, etc. (i. e. *chriae* and ‘aetiologies’ [cf. supra p. 249]), are suitable exercises for the middle school, including a statement of the reasons (αἰτίαι) for them.⁸⁰

According to this author, writing out a preliminary exercise of one of the three types mentioned – the *chria* included – also comprises for students giving its reason or foundation.⁸¹ We can ask ourselves, however, if pupils attending the lessons of the *grammaticus* were already able or expected to add these αἰτίαι themselves to the exercises. Russell, who does not agree with Colson on this point, translates the *ablativus absolutus* as “so long as the arguments are supplied”, and states in an explanatory note that “at this stage, the pupils will not be able to develop the arguments for themselves”.⁸² If we follow this reasoning, it may seem slightly peculiar that Quintilian, after mentioning a grammatical exercise (sc. the *declinatio chriae*) which the students have to do themselves, refers to a task (sc. expressing the reason of a verbal or gestural *chria*) which has in fact already been done by the teacher. But even if we assume with Colson that *a discipulis* is the implied agent of *rationibus subiectis*, it is in our opinion still difficult to explain why Quintilian refers twice, at the beginning and at the end of the passage involved, to the αἰτίαι-exercise. The second time indeed *factorum* is added to *ratio*, but would Quintilian have inserted this repetition just because of the existence of both sayings-*chriae* and action-*chriae*?⁸³ Would he not

⁸⁰ Colson’s translation, (n. 6 [1921]) 151.

⁸¹ Cf. Colson (n. 6 [1921]) 151–152; id. (n. 6 [1924]) 119, *ad* ‘subiectis dictorum rationibus’ and 121, *ad* ‘et ... ratio est’.

⁸² Russell (n. 1) 211. Cf. also, concerning the *aetiologia*-exercise (cf. supra p. 249), Bonner (n. 6) 258: “Probably, then, this was an easy saying-exercise ...; for here the author himself supplied the ‘explanation’, which, in subsequent treatments, the boy might have to find for himself”, and especially the additional note (n. 64): “Colson’s contention that the *pupil* always supplied the reason is dubious”.

⁸³ Compare with Robinson (n. 6) 378: “Doubtless Quintilian would have been more accurate had he said *subiectis dictorum factorumque rationibus*, just as in l. 13 he says *et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est*” (our emphasis). This author, however, unlike Colson, interprets *ratio* twice in a different way (378 n. 1): while equating, like Colson, *rationibus* with *causis* (αἰτίαι), he attributes to the second *ratio*, as we have already seen above, a broader meaning (‘purport’). Moreover, in his opinion the words *subiectis dictorum rationibus* refer to *aetiologiae* alone. If this interpretation, adopted by O’Neil [(n. 4) 125; contra: Viljamaa [n. 3] 195), is correct, there is probably even less chance that there is a connection between the two *ratio*’s, as Colson supposes.

have considered this observation – viz. as there are gestural *chriae*, there are also *rationes factorum* – too logical to be stated explicitly to his reader, who is elsewhere supposed to be familiar with the only briefly described preliminary exercises?

ii. b As for Henderson’s suggestion to regard *ratio* as the Latin counterpart of the Greek ἐργασία, we can, though now more emphatically, pose the initial question from the discussion above: were pupils of the grammarian’s class already supposed to elaborate a *chria* according to its different κεφάλαια (cf. supra II. 5)? In our opinion this more complex exercise belonged rather to the domain of the rhetor.⁸⁴ Furthermore, even if Quintilian had assigned it a place in chapter 1. 9, it would not be quite clear why he should compress such an extensive exercise into one single polysemic word.⁸⁵

ii. c Finally, to the remaining interpretation of Russell, who apparently regards *ratio* as *ratio declinationis*, we can object that the words *et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est* would in this case be superfluous: since Quintilian, as we have seen above (in notes 29 and 34), already distinguishes, in his enumeration of different *chriae*-types, λογικαί from πρακτικαί χρεῖαι and since he makes it clear with the words *in his omnibus ... casus*, which immediately follow this list, that all these *chriae*, whether describing a saying or an action, are declined without any difference through the same cases (*per eosdem casus*, cf. supra n. 70), what then is the use of mentioning once again that the declension principle applies to *dicta* as well as to *facta*?

Henderson⁸⁶ uses this last argument of redundancy with respect to O’Neil’s – and hence also our – interpretation of *ratio*. Although he confines himself at first sight in his article to the rendering of about three possible suggestions to elucidate the word concerned, he seems to prefer either Colson’s interpretation or his own (cf. already supra n. 64) when he assumes that O’Neil’s suggestion makes the word group *et tam ... ratio est* largely

⁸⁴ We agree with Colson on this point ([n. 6 (1921)] 152): “*Apud rhetora*, the elaborate treatment of Aphthonius may be used. *Apud grammaticum*, the *ratio* (in casu giving the αἰτία [cf. supra ii. a]) is as much as the pupils can manage”.

⁸⁵ Quintilian possibly would have used in this case the term *operatio*, like Priscian (5th – 6th cent. AD) in his Latin translation of (ps.-)Hermogenes’ progymnastic manual (GL III, 432. 10), or the term *tractatio* or *expolitio*, adopted by the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* within the framework of an elaboration-exercise consisting of 7 headings (4. 43. 56 – 44. 58; cf. supra n. 65; Mack, O’Neil [n. 27] 161; Lausberg [n. 9] 418 – 419, § 842; Hock, O’Neil [n. 22] 86 – 88).

⁸⁶ Henderson (n. 6) 88.

redundant.⁸⁷ In the light of what we have said about the *declinatio chriae*, however, it is clear that there is no reason to agree with Henderson on this point. Both Theon's discussion of the κλίσις χρείας and the school exercises mentioned above confirm that knowledge of the different *formulae* is essential for inflecting *chriae* (correctly) through the five or six cases. It is only logical, then, that Quintilian, after uttering the possibility to transpose a *chria* into the different cases, refers explicitly for pedagogical concerns to the introductory phrases, which are needed to bring the inflection exercise to a favourable conclusion. Furthermore Henderson (p. 88) adds to O'Neil's interpretation the comment that it "conforms Quintilian's view to that rejected by Nicolaus" (18. 1–6 F; cf. *supra*), i. e. that *chriae* should only be inflected, without combining this grammatical exercise with other more rhetorical ones such as writing out the αἰτία. In other words, he links the meaning of *ratio* to the question of whether or not *declinatio* is the only exercise prescribed by Quintilian for the *chria*. In our opinion this remark is not totally correct either. When *ratio* is understood the way we do, Quintilian, it is true, possibly⁸⁸ considers κλίσις the only exercise to be dealt with by the grammarian, but in the second book of his *Institutio Oratoria*, as Henderson himself notices (p. 98), he mentions the term *chria* once again, this time in the context of rhetorical education (2. 4. 26). In this passage Quintilian speaks about what he himself in his boyhood experienced as a useful and amusing exercise, which consisted in inquiring into questions like "Why is Venus portrayed as armed at Sparta?" and "Why was Cupid believed to be a winged boy armed with arrows and torch?". Subsequently he concludes:

quod genus *chriae* videri potest.⁸⁹

This exercise may seem to be a kind of *chria* (our translation).

⁸⁷ Cf. also *ibid.*, 88: "It is just possible that Quintilian held this last view, that *chria* (sic) receive only grammatical variation. More likely, he agreed with Theon's view that *declinatio* should be combined with more properly pro-gymnastic, pre-rhetorical elaborations".

⁸⁸ If the agent of *subiectis dictorum rationibus* is not a *discipulis* or if the *ablativus absolutus* only belongs to *aetiologiae* (cf. *supra*). Otherwise Quintilian would also include for the *chria* the αἰτία-exercise in the teaching packet of the grammarian.

⁸⁹ These words have troubled more than one scholar. While Radermacher (*M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae libri XII*, ed. L. Radermacher. Add. et corr. coll. et adi. V. Buchheit [Leipzig 1959 (¹1907)]) considers them a gloss that has to be removed from the text, Volkmann (R. Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer in systematischer Übersicht* [Hildesheim 1963 (²1885)] 35 n. 1) substitutes the reading *chriae* for *thesis* (for the *progygnasma* θέσις cf. *supra*). We agree, however, with

It is clear that Quintilian here has another aspect of the *chria* in mind than its inflectional manipulation. Maybe he is thinking of the αἰτία-exercise, since answering to one of the questions above (*cur?*) also implies giving a reason.⁹⁰ Anyway, as this passage indicates, Quintilian does not seem to be familiar only with the *declinatio chriae*. While reserving this grammatical exercise in particular for the class of the *grammaticus*, he probably assigns the more rhetorical *chria*-exercises to the higher level of the *retor*. Since his main interest is to define clearly the tasks of the grammarian and those of the orator on the domain of the *progymnasmata*, it is not impossible that he divides the *chria* between the teaching packet of the grammar school and that of the oratory school. In fact this is also his way of treating the *narratio*-exercise, as we have seen above (p. 249–250).

It is exactly because of this practical concern of making a neat distinction between two levels of schooling, that *Inst. Or.* 1. 9 together with 2. 4 is an interesting addition to the theoretical definitions and classifications of the progymnastic manuals.⁹¹ As Henderson⁹² acknowledges, Quintilian's discussion in 1. 9 is not simply what O'Neil⁹³ calls "little more than an historical curiosity", but "an early, self-consciously critical approach to progymnastic practice from a point-of-view which is not just that of the literary *Progymnasmata*". Our intention was to unveil one point of this important testimony. We hope that in this way we have not only contributed to a correct understanding of *ratio* in 1. 9. 5, but also reconfirmed Quintilian's importance as a source for both the Greek and the Latin school system.

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Winterbottom (M. Winterbottom, "Some Problems in Quintilian Book Two", *Philologus* 108 [1964] 121), who argues that the text is sound as it stands (cf. also Granatelli [n. 7] 147).

⁹⁰ Compare with Colson (n. 6 [1924]) 118–119; D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (New York 1957) 187–188; Winterbottom (n. 89) 121; O'Neil (n. 4) 125–126 and M. Alexandre Júnior, "Importância da *cria* na cultura helenística", *Euphrosyne* 17 (1989) 48. Cf. also Russell (n. 1) 210 n. 4 and 293 n. 18: "because it involves discussing and justifying an authoritative opinion" (our emphasis).

⁹¹ Cf. Henderson (n. 6) 88.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 89.

⁹³ O'Neil (n. 4) 138.

Квинтилиан (*Inst. or.* 1, 9) добавляет к курсу обучения у грамматика элементарные упражнения, которые позднейшая риторическая традиция именует *προϋμνάσματα*: задания возрастающей сложности для подготовки к произнесению речей. Хотя эти упражнения фактически относятся к курсу ратора, в Риме большинство из них, по-видимому, постепенно перешло в ведение грамматика. Однако Квинтилиан возражает против этой практики и рекомендует для грамматической школы только простейшие начальные риторические упражнения. Встающая перед ним при этом практическая задача: провести ясную границу между двумя стадиями обучения – делает *Inst. or.* 1, 9 (вместе с 2, 4, где представлены *προϋμνάσματα*, относящиеся к курсу ратора) интересным дополнением к теоретическим определениям и классификациям упражнений для начинающих в греческих учебниках Теона, (псевдо-)Гермогена, Афтония и Николая. К сожалению, обзор упражнений у Квинтилиана часто настолько краток, что его интерпретация вызывает сложности. В статье предлагается толкование одного из таких неясных пассажей, посвященных упражнению под названием *chria* (1, 9, 5): *in his omnibus (sc. chriis) et declinatio per eosdem ducitur casus et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est*. Первая часть *in his ... casus* явно относится к склонению хрии по падежам (*κλίσις χρείας*). Но как следует понимать *ratio* во второй части предложения? Ранее предлагались несколько интерпретаций. Авторы статьи считают, что это слово означает систему или метод использования нескольких вводных фраз для склонения хрии. В поддержку этой версии можно привести не только литературные источники, но и некоторые школьные папирусы, показывающие, что заучивание вводных формул и применение их при склонении хрии входило в курс обучения у грамматика.

AD LAUDATIONEM FUNEBREM IN PANTICAPAEO REPERTAM OBSERVATIONES QUaedam

In fasciculo secundo “Commentariorum Historiae Antiquae”,¹ qui nuperrime in lucem prodiit, titulus Graecus in Panticapaeo repertus non tam profundae antiquitatis typis exaratus est,² qui laudationem viri cuiusdam continet olim a Yu. G. Vinogradov viro doctissimo ac rei epigraphicae peritissimo ante aliquot annos acerbissime morte abrepto promulgatam,³ nunc a S. A. Shestakov, qui eius spiritus rectoris officio fungitur, denuo exhibitam.⁴ Quem titulum rossice vertit ac commentario historico locupletissimo instruxit S. Yu. Saprykin, locis nonnullis ex coniectura restituitis.⁵ Nam hunc lapidem se diu pertractavisse primum ineditum phototypice expressum a Yu. G. Vinogradov sibi monstratum, deinde ob oculos habitum ex verbis ipsius patet.⁶

Lapis temporis inclementia vel hominum incuria mutilatus utpote dextra in parte inde a summo vertice usque ad imum fractus 47 versus continet ita tamen, ut inferiores partes integriores remanserint. Dubium non est, quin viri nomen in superiore lapidis parte perierit.

Ad textum restituendum primas curas easque maximas Yu. G. Vinogradov posuisse ex duabus commentationibus in fasciculo eodem datis plane patet, quarum una a S. A. Shestakov, altera a S. Yu. Saprykin conscripta est. Quae is ad priores curas propria manu addiderit, ex opusculo eius colligi potest.

¹ Ю. Г. Виноградов, С. А. Шестаков, “Laudatio funebris из Пантикапея” (Yu. G. Vinogradov, S. A. Shestakov, “Laudatio funebris in Panticapaeo reperta”), *ВДИ* 2005: 2, 42–44.

² Quantum ad aetatem inscriptionis pertinet, Sauromatae I Bosporani temporibus, qui per annos 93–123 post Ch. n. regnavit, incisam esse ex editorum verbis patet (p. 42).

³ Yu. G. Vinogradov, “Greek Epigraphy of the North Black Sea Coast, the Caucasus and Central Asia”, *ACSS* I (1994): 1, 73–74.

⁴ Vide adnotationem primam.

⁵ С. Ю. Сапрыкин, “Энкомий из Пантикапея и положение Боспорского царства в конце I – начале II в. н. э.” (S. Yu. Saprykin, “Laudatio funebris in Panticapaeo reperta atque status ac condicionum regni Bosporani quales saeculo primo post Christum natum deficiente ac secundo saeculo ineunte fuerint disquisitio”), *ВДИ* 2005: 2, 45–81.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

Titulus a triumviris doctis sanatus ac explicatus vix quidem propter vastam deformationem in integrum restitui, nonnullis autem in locis plenior reddi posse videtur. Quam ob rem retineri non potui, quin manum ad rem communem applicarem ac stipem permodestam in medium conferrem, quamvis abiecta omni spe, fore unquam, ut tituli, quae primitus fuerit, forma refingi queat. Restat, ut de textus forma ac scriptoris genere dicendi dicamus. Nam inscriptio narrationem rerum gestarum satis argute expositam, artis rhetoricae instrumentis expolitam atque limatam exhibet et eiusmodi ornamentis, qui vulgo loci communes nuncupantur, redundat, sermonis tamen vitis minime caret, quippe auctor, dum aevi melioris rerum scriptores magnopere imitari gestit, nimis audacter vela dat non satis vento secundo nedum adverso uti sciens; ex quo fit, ut turgidus ac lutulentus nonnunquam fluat. Nam dum genus dicendi sublime ac magnificum reddere vult, quod saepius in eiusmodi rebus usu venire solet, subobscurus fit. Quae cum ita sint, ad titulum veniamus ac versusum ordine asservato singula perstringamus.

In versu secundo, ubi vocula una altera eaque mutila legitur, editores [ἀπὸ τῶν ἰ]ππέων ἐλείφ[θη] restituunt. At in loco ἀπό praepositionis ὑπό multo usitator potius quadrat, nisi quod sunt, qui voculam exquisitiorem πρὸς, quae sane sermonis poetici est requirant. Qua exempli gratia Aeschylus in Eumenidibus v. 279 et alibi elegantissime utitur. Sed hoc minimi momenti esse nec loci sensum mutare posse confitendum est.

Versus secundus in calce ac versus tertius sic ab editoribus legitur: κα-
τακόπτ]ων τὴν παρά[τ]αξιν κτλ. quod Sergio Saprykin (cuius opusculi paginam 49 fac videas) minime placet, qui Isocratis praecipue loco fretus, qui locus, cuique *LSJ* s. v. παράταξις inspicenti obvius statim occurrit, verbi ποιεῖν part. praes. in nominativo positum substituendum putat. Isocratis autem verba haec sunt: αὐτοὶ γὰρ πολὺ μείζω καὶ δεινότεραν ἐποίησαντο παράταξιν τῆς πρὸς Γίγαντας αὐτοῖς γενομένης κτλ. (X, 53) i. e. “nam ipsi (dei) pugnam (apud Ilionem) multo acriorem ac maiorem commiserunt ea, quae iis cum Gigantibus pugnata erat”, unde luce clarius patet non de acie extruenda, sed de proelio commitendo hoc loco agi. Nam παράταξις vocula de utraque re poni posse quis est, qui nesciat. Itaque hic Isocratis locus ad interpretationem Saprykianam minime facit. Qua de re ad priorem lectionem, quae mihi quidem verisimilior videtur, revertendum esse puto, nisi quod sunt, qui [διακόπτ]ων fortasse malint.

In versibus 11–13 legimus:

- 11 τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα τῶν ἔργω[ν ἐμφανιζόμενα μὲν δημαγω-]
- 12 γεῖ τοὺς πλησίον, οὐχ ὁρώμενα δὲ βασαν[ίζε]ι ...]
- 13 ὀφθῆναι Καίσαρι τηλικούτος, ἡλίκος ἦκο[υσ]μένος ἦν κτλ.]

Quod ad δημαγωγ]γεῑ τοὺς πλησίον circumscriptionem attinet, nihil habeo, cur detrectem. Attamen ψυχ]αγωγ]γεῑ, quod verbum item cum accusativo iungitur, non minus ad hunc locum quadrare mihi videtur, cum vim ac sensum ad se alliciendi non minorem habeat satisque frequentetur. Ad hoc δημαγωγ]γεῑν verbum ibi plerumque poni solet, ubi de plebe vel populo agitando agitur, ψυχ]αγωγ]γεῑν autem non tam stricte usurpatur. Quo verbo rerum scriptores, qui post Alexandri Magni mortem floruerunt, in quibus praecipue Polybius putandus est, non invito animo utuntur. Nam historicus Megalopolitanus, nisi me operis eius amor fallit, in hoc genere dicendi satis frequens invenitur.⁷

Infinitivus ὀφθ]η̄ναι, qui in initio versus 13 nobis occurrit, ὡς vel ὥστε prae se fortasse requirit. Ex quo fit: οὐχ ὀρώμενα δὲ βασαν]ίζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον (crassa Minerva conicimus) ὥστε οὗτος] 13 ὀφθ]η̄ναι Καίσαρι τηλικούτος, ἡλικός ἤκο]υσμένος ἦν]: id est “Ea autem, quae visa non sunt, ita tamen virtutes viri probant, ut is a Caesare talis cognitus sit, qualis fando auditus erat”. Nam si vir ille victoriam reportatam ipse, praesente Caesare, ostendisset atque declaravisset, adeo minore merito ac studio minoribusque periculis laboribusque exhaustis animum principis allidere benevolentiamque sibi conciliare potuisset seque virum gloria dignum maximisque laudibus ornandum facilius Caesari persuasisset. Is autem etiam e longinquo talis et visus est et creditus. Nam testes oculatos ad credendum saepe proniores ac propensiores esse, non ita vero, qui absunt, inter omnes constat. Quo maiore virtute praeditus esse debet, cuius res gestae rumoribus famaue solum, quae ad Caesaris aures pervenit, allatae pro veris accipiantur! Ita fortasse et rei grammaticae satisfacere et sententiam planiorem efficere possimus.

In versibus 16–18 sic verba nectuntur:

- 16 τυχ]άνονται δ' αὐτῶ κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησο]ν συνήνησαν? βασιλεῖς οἱ]
 17 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλανῶν συναχ]ίαν ἤκοντες ο[ὗς αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἐλπ]ί-]
 18 δων ὑπέστρεψεν κτλ.

Praemonendus sit lector indicia interrogatoria et hic et aliubi ab editoribus posita esse.

Ita enim locus ab editoribus restitutus est, ubi circumscriptio ο[ὗς αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἐλπ]ί]δων ὑπέστρεψεν nonnihil suspicionis movet. Nam constructio ὑποστρέφειν τινὰ ἀπὸ τινος, quae sensum spe aliquem deiciendi hic habere vult, lexicis potissimis non probatur, in quibus loci laudati vim ac

⁷ Quod verbum ψυχ]αγωγ]γεῑν apud Polybium legentibus occurrere sexies decies ex *TLG* patet.

sensum aliquem vel aliquid vertendi, ubi verbum activum transitive ponitur, vel revertendi, ubi intransitive. Itaque si hoc loco verbum transitive usurpatur, ii, qui ad societatem cum Alanis pangendam venerunt, putandi sunt, sin vero intransitive positum mavis, de eo ipso domum regresso cogitare licet. Syllaba vocis ultima -δων, quae verbum praecedit, nihil obstat, quin participii aoristi activi in nominativo positi exitum facere possit, ἰδὼν vel προιδὼν exempli gratia, veluti si auctor dixisset: τὰ μέλλοντα προιδὼν ὑπέστρεψε i. e. eis, quae de huius rei eventu expectari potuerant, provisus domum revertit. Quid autem *omikron* littera hic sibi velit, dixerit quispiam. Numquid ad hoc solum idoneum est, ut ex se οὖς producat? Si nobis ex coniectura agere licet pro οὖς αὐτός, οὗτος in unum vocabulum colligatis crassa Minerva scribere malimus ita, ut fiat: ο[ὗτος δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα προιδ-] δὼν ὑπέστρεψεν –“is autem, cum futura prospexisset, domum revertit” ad exercitum scilicet conscribendum ac ad bellum comparandum. Quae sententia ex sequentibus bene comprobatur, ubi in versu 18 legitur: ἔτι δ' αὐτῶ συνάγον[τι δύναμιν κτλ.] –“cum etiam in exercitu conscribendo occupatus esset etc.” Itaque auctor in hanc sententiam locutus est: “Itaque is (cui titulus dedicatus est), cum, qui ad Alanos missi erant, legati se ei obvios dedissent, omnibus, quae futura essent, provisus, ne tempus frustra in colloquio tereret, domum ad exercitum conscribendum properavit”. Si litterarum numerus considerandus est, vix duarum et viginti litterarum spatium egressi sumus, qui numerus in ceteris versibus huius tabulae partis ab editoribus restitutis regnat.

Porro nobis progredientibus versus 18–20 occurrunt, in quibus sic legimus:

18 δων ὑπέστρεψεν ἔτι δ' αὐτῶ συνάγον[τι δύναμιν καὶ ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρα-]
 19 τευομένῳ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων πίστ[εις θεῶν καὶ τὰ ὄρκια? λαβεῖν]
 20 συνήτησεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέγας ἥρωσ ἐσπ[οῦδασεν]

Animadvertenda est copulatio verbi συναντῶν cum infinitivo, quippe quae iunctio nusquam reperiatur, si lexicis fides habenda est, neque ipso graecitatis usu comprobetur. Revera enim haec circumscriptio immane quantum cum re grammatica discreparet. Nam infinitivus non de συναντῶν verbo, sed de συμβαίνειν pendere et potest et solet. Causam vero, propter quam editores errore ducti sunt, ab eo potissimum repetendam puto, quod verbum utrumque eundi et conveniendi vim habet, sed eorum συμβαίνειν solum infinitivum vel acc. c. inf. poscit. Itaque συναντῶν hoc loco haud impersonaliter positum putandum est, sed subiectum quoddam cum hoc verbo artissime coniunctum subauditur. Itaque huius rei ratio hoc modo explicari potest: ei Scythis bellum inferenti nuntium quemdam obvium se dedisse, qui fides ac iusiuranda secum ferret. Ne levissima quidem dubitatio

relinquitur quin assentiare infinitivum λαβεῖν hunc locum sine controversia recipere non posse.

Inter verba πίστεις et θεῶν particulam τε inserendam esse puto, ut copulatio πίστεις τε θεῶν καὶ τὰ ὄρκια artius procedat.

Si porro progrediamur, verbum ἐσπ[οῦδασεν] in versu vicessimo nos in deliberationes coniciat. Nam verba sic posita sunt:

20 ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέγας ἥρωσ ἐσπ[οῦδασεν]

21 δ' αὐτὸν λαμπρὰ τύχη βασιλέωσ τῶ[ν?]

Apud verbum σπουδάζειν accusativus rei vel circumscriptio περί τι aut ἐπί τι requiritur. Quanto facilius ratio explicari potest, si pro σπουδάζειν verbo σπεύδειν proponamus ita tamen, ut infinitivus verbi nuntiandi vel gratulandi de eo pendeat, cui λαμπρὰ τύχη βασιλέωσ satis respondere videtur.

Quid vocula ἤ[συσμα] sibi velit, quae sub fine versus 42 invenitur, prorsus nescio ac de eo a viris doctis velim edoceri. Nam lexica omnia, quae mihi praesto sunt, hoc vocabulum ignorant. Hoc errore mero accedissee puto, quippe persuadere mihi non possum, quin editores nescio quid vocabulum commentaticium excogitare voluerint; quae res prorsus fidem excedit.

Hariolor utrum ἥδυσμα, ἥδος, ἥδονήν an ἡγητῆρα vel ἡγητήν scribendum sit, quod sequentibus <...> καὶ πᾶσι περισπούδαστον η[...]
43 τῆσ βασιλείασ quodammodo respondeat.⁸

Ceterum haud infitior totius loci sententiam vocem quamdam requirere, quae suffulcendi vel defendendi notionem reddat.

Itaque si quid utilitatis ad rem communem adferre potui, officio proprio satisfecisse mihi videor.

Andreas Tischow

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В статье предлагается ряд поправок к публикации надгробной надписи из Пантикапея, осуществленной Ю. Г. Виноградовым и С. А. Шестаковым (см. выше прим. 1) и дополненной С. Ю. Сапрыкиным (см. выше прим. 5).

⁸ Quod editores τῆσ βασιλείασ (sic!) scripserunt, non ipsorum, sed officinae typographicae erroribus adscribo, quos aliquot a me cognitos silentio praeterii.

THE RAINBOW IN CLAUDIAN'S *DE RAPTU PROSERPINAЕ* II, 98–100*

The abduction of maidens picking flowers is a recurring motif of Greek and Roman poetry.¹ Among the most famous stories of the kind one may recall the rape of Europe in Moschus's poem of the same name (1, 63–71).² In the second book of the mythological epic *De raptu Proserpinae* Claudian describes a miraculous abundance of flowers which in a split second grew at the foot of Etna as a part of insidious scheme of Venus. The reader, of course, is aware of the fact that Proserpine will be abducted during her careless walk. In his grandiloquent manner the poet says that vegetation competes with precious jewellery on the shoulder-belts of Parthian kings (94–95), Assyrian dyes (95–96), peacock's feathers (97), and even the rainbow in brightness and diversity of colours (98–100):

Nec sic innumeros arcu mutante colores
Incipiens redimitur hiems, cum tramite flexo
Semita discretis interviret umida³ nimbis.

An unusual cause-effect relation in the passage might strike the modern reader: the rainbow foreruns foul weather (*hiems*). Irrespective of whether we are dealing with a popular attitude or with the particular qualities of the Mediterranean climate, an idea of the rainbow presaging the storm can be successively traced in antiquity. In his tragedy *Oedipus* Seneca calls the rainbow *imbrifer* (315)⁴ and observes that it “announces clouds” (*nuntiat nimbos* – 317). J.-L. Charlet⁵ points out some other examples of a preceding rainbow: Tibullus exhorts a lover not to lose precious time and to take a road in spite of heat and rain which is foreboded by the rainbow (1, 4, 41–44);⁶

* I am grateful to Alexander Gavrilov, Souren Takhtajan, Alexander Verlinsky and Vsevolod Zelchenko for valuable discussions.

¹ See, for example: *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Ed. by N. J. Richardson (Oxford 1974) 140.

² Some other parallels are: Stratonike (Hes. fr. 26, 18–23 Merkelbach – West), Helen (Eur. *Hel.* 243 ff.), Kreusa (Eur. *Ion* 887 ff.), etc.

³ *Semita ... umida* is a metaphor for the rainbow's curve.

⁴ Cf. also *imbrifer arcus* in Stat. *Theb.* 7, 427 and 9, 405.

⁵ Claudien, *Oeuvres*. Texte ét. et trad. par J.-L. Charlet. I (Paris 1991) 142 *ad loc.*

⁶ *Quamvis* <...> / *venturam anticipet imbrifer arcus aquam* (1, 4, 43–44).

Virgil mentions a rainbow among natural signs which are to assist a farmer in the prediction of bad weather (*Georg.* 1, 351–392). According to Virgil⁷ and some other testimonies,⁸ rainbow “drinks” water from the sea and thus functions as a pump. Seneca infuses rationalistic spirit into his discussion of the topic by stating that not every rainbow threatens a storm: the most dangerous one appears in the southern part of the sky, the one in the west produces a drizzle only, and, finally, the eastern rainbow promises fine weather (*Nat.* 1, 8, 8).

In his rainbow description Claudian makes use of a rather rare verb. In Latin poetry the word *intervirere* is attested in Statius' *Thebais* (IV, 98) and in the passage concerned.⁹ The pattern of the verb is similar to these of *interalbicare* and *internigrare*. The last of the foregoing words is also found in Statius' and Claudian's poetry only (*Stat. Theb.* VI, 336; *Claud. Carm. min.* 9, 14).¹⁰ On the face of it there should not be any problem with the interpretation of *intervirere*: it is likely to have a meaning ‘to green among’. According to *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, it stands for “inter alios colores virere, viridem nitere” (s. v.) – which is perfectly right for Statius' usage. The poet talks about a snake that crawled out to enjoy the spring sun and “laetisque minax interviret herbis” (*Theb.* IV, 98).

We shall attempt to find out whether the meaning ‘to green amid’ suits Claudian's text. M. Platnauer interprets the passage under discussion in such a way, his translation being the following: “Not thus do the many-changing hues of the rainbow span young winter's sky when in curved arch its rainy path *glows green* amid the parting clouds”.¹¹ J. Hall echoes him and remarks that “after mentioning the ‘innumeros ... colores’ of the rainbow (v. 98), the poet singles out the green element in the spectrum to do duty to all”.¹² J.-L. Charlet who is in charge of the latest coming out edition

⁷ <...> *et bibit ingens / arcus* (*Georg.* 1, 380–381).

⁸ *Purpureus pluvias cur bibit arcus aquas* (*Prop.* 3, 5, 32). *Auræ nubesque bibunt atque imbrifer arcus / pascitur* (*Stat. Theb.* 9, 405–406). Seneca cites Virgil and comments on *Georg.* 380–381: *Ut ait Vergilius noster: “et bibit ingens arcus”, cum adventat imber* (*Nat.* 1, 8, 8).

⁹ In Latin prose the word occurs only once in Solinus (52, 61). A poetic usage of *intervirere* after Claudian can be seen in Apollinaris Sidonius (*Carm.* 5, 39).

¹⁰ Claudian uses it in the form of *participium praesentis activi*.

¹¹ Claudian. With an English Transl. by M. Platnauer. I (London 1922 [1968]) *ad loc.*

¹² Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*. Ed. with an Intr. and Comm. by J. B. Hall (Cambridge 1969) 219.

of Claudian cites Hall's conception¹³ and translates *intervirere* as 'verdoyer entre'.¹⁴

In most cases when the rainbow is described it is referred to as multi-coloured. Virgil, for example, says that the goddess Iris comes down *per mille coloribus arcum* (*Aen.* 5, 609).¹⁵ If we look at some of the later texts, we can not lose sight of the cycle *Carmina duodecim sapientum* traditionally included into *Anthologia Latina*¹⁶ under different authors' names.¹⁷ According to A. Friedrich,¹⁸ *Carmina duodecim sapientum* date from the end of 3rd century. One of the twelve parts of this collection of poems is subtitled *De arcu caeli* and it deals with variations of rainbow theme. What kind of epithets are given to the rainbow? It is called *multicolor* (*Anthologia Latina* [Riese] 543, 2),¹⁹ *discolor* (*AL* 546, 1), its colours are determined as *varii* (*AL* 544, 3; 546, 3; 547 etc.) or *multi* (*AL* 552, 3), its splendour is called *colorificus* (*AL* 544, 2): so, as one can see, in all instances polychromy is stressed.

At the same time, there are some examples when one or several colours of the rainbow are picked out. Obviously, that was Hall's inclination towards the possibility of "a green rainbow". He gives several instances of a one-colour rainbow.²⁰ At the same time, as will readily be observed, all his examples have to do with so-called warm colours. In compliance with *ThLG* and *ThLL*, green colour can be used to depict the rainbow along with the others²¹ but it is never found by itself. Besides one more argument against a "green" rainbow can be given: when Claudian makes his compari-

¹³ Claudien (n. 4) 142.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁵ Compare another passage where Virgil also talks about the multicoloured rainbow goddess (*mille trahens varios <...> colores / devolat [sc. Iris] – Aen.* 4, 701–702).

¹⁶ *Anthologia Latina: Carmina in codicibus scripta*. Rec. A. Riese. II (Lipsiae 1870) 59–104. See also the latest separate edition of the text and abundant commentary in: A. Friedrich *Das Symposium der XII sapientes: Kommentar und Verfasserfrage*. (Texte und Kommentare. Hrsg. von S. Döpp, A. Köhnken, R. Scodel 22, Berlin – New York 2002).

¹⁷ Palladius, Asclepiadius, Eusthenius, Pompilianus, Maximinus, Vitalis, Basilius, Asmenius, Vomanus, Euphorbius, Iulianus, Hilasius.

¹⁸ Friedrich (n. 16) 507–508.

¹⁹ Numeration follows: A. Riese (Ed.). *Anthologia Latina* (n. 16).

²⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 4, 700 (*croceus*). Strictly speaking, those are the wings of Iris that are called 'saffron'; Prop. 3, 5, 32 (*purpureus*); Claud. *Carm. min.* 28, 4 (*rubens*).

²¹ Xenophan mentions green as one of the colours of the rainbow along with πορφύρεος and φοινίκεος (fr. 33, 2 Gentili – Prato). Seneca points out green together with sky blue and purple (*Nat.* 1, 3, 12).

son he has in view the polychromy of flowers – that of roses, irises and violets. Therefore green is hardly appropriate.

An inquiry into the manuscript tradition of *De raptu Proserpinae* reveals such variants as *internitet*²² and *intermicat*:²³ the rainbow shines amidst the clouds. The reading *internitet* was even accepted by L. Jeep in his edition of Claudian's poems.²⁴ In the present state of affairs, *interviret* should be undoubtedly given preference since it is *lectio difficilior*, being a borrowing from Statius' *Thebais*. At the same time, alternative versions found in the manuscripts might, possibly, contribute to the understanding of Claudian's text: the copyists put a stress on the rainbow's lustre rather than any specific colour.

As we have seen, the combinatory power of *intervirere* is rather weak, which makes it not an easy task to discuss the meaning of the word and to arrive at a reliable conclusion. At the same time I believe that one should take into consideration the quite customary usage of the words *viridis* and *virere* in order to designate freshness and brightness (in particular of colour). On this point one may compare *viridis* with *purpureus* that can be used to denote not so much a definite colour as its vitality and liveliness.²⁵ In much the same way the Russian adjective *румяный* is not a colour rendering only ('rudy-faced') but it points also to bloom and freshness.²⁶ Pliny the Elder e. g. uses the adjective *viridis* to describe the serenity of the sky after the rain (*NH* 17, 74). Another significant example of the figurative meaning of this word is illustrated by a newly found inscription from Colle Maiorana, adversed to Ianus in Latium dated to Hadrian's time:²⁷ settled peace is called *viridis*:

[I]ane Pater, qui templa deum caelesti cl[audis]
[cl]ausa tua reseras et reserata ser[as]
[accipe] vota novis haec quae tibi mando l[ibis]
[et fa]ciles aditus da Iovis ad s[...]

²² Cod. Antverpiensis XIV saec.; cod. Leidensis XIV saec.; cod. Cantabrigiensis Coll. Pet. XIII / XIV saec.

²³ Cod. Vaticanus Reginensis XV saec.; cod. Erlangensis XV saec.

²⁴ *Claudii Claudiani carmina*. Rec. L. Jeep. I–II (Lipsiae 1876–1879) *ad loc.*

²⁵ Consider, for example, *ver purpureum* (Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 10) or *purpureum* <...> *iubar* – of a “shining” appearance of the ruler (Mart. 8, 65, 4).

²⁶ Н. Б. Бахилина, *История цветообозначений в русском языке* [N. Bachilina, *The History of Colour Designation in Russian*] (Moscow 1975) 118.

²⁷ W. D. Lebeck, “Das neue Lateinische Ianus-Gedicht aus Colle Maiorana in Latium”, *ZPE* 150 (2004) 69–83.

[gente]m Romanam Latiumq[ue] ay[...]
[ad] **pacem** stabilitam et **viride[m]...**²⁸

To sum up, it seems to me that Claudian did not set himself the task of creating an uncommon and striking image of a green rainbow. We might conjecture that what Claudian had in mind was not the colour itself but its brightness and strength. As to the use of a rare word, it might be explained by the poet's wish to imitate Statius – a poet from whom Claudian borrows as often as from Vergil.²⁹

Olga Budaragina

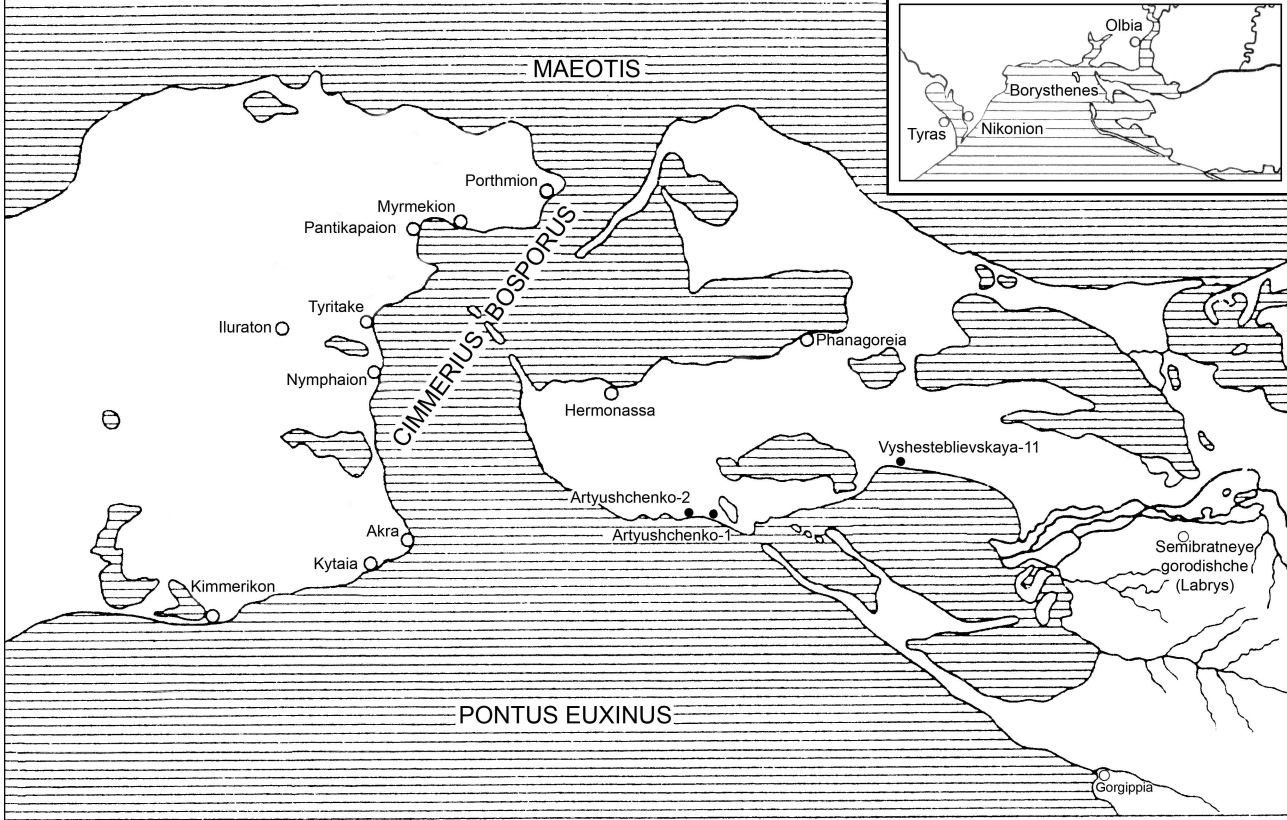
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В поэме “Похищение Прозерпины” (II, 98–100) Клавдий Клавдиан сравнивает яркость и пестроту оттенков цветов, в числе прочего, с радугой, которая, как пишет поэт, *interviret* среди облаков. Этот редкий глагол засвидетельствован в латинской литературе до Клавдиана дважды: у Стация в “Фиваиде” (IV, 98) и у Солина (52, 61). Подходит ли значение ‘зеленеть среди других цветов; блеснуть зеленым’, предлагаемое *ThLL* к данному месту? В латинской и древнегреческой поэзии радуга никогда не определяется зеленым цветом, взятым отдельно от других. С опорой на альтернативные рукописные чтения *internitet* и *intermicat* делается вывод о том, что в употреблении Клавдианом глагола *intervirere* важна не столько цветовая составляющая, сколько приставка глагола: радуга видна среди облаков. Поскольку *viridis* и *virere* часто используются для обозначения сильного свежего цвета, для Клавдиана, по-видимому, был важен не столько конкретный цветовой оттенок, сколько его яркость и интенсивность.

²⁸ Lebeck proposes to restore *revocet* or *faciat* (*Ibid.*, 80).

²⁹ Reminiscences from Virgil and Statius in Claudian take second place after adoptions from Ovid (for statistics see: C. Muellner, *De imaginibus similitudinibusque, quae in Claudiani carminibus inveniuntur* [Dissertationes philologicae Vindobonenses 4, Vindobonae 1893] 99–203).



ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE HERMITAGE EXPEDITION ON BEREZAN ISLAND IN 2005

Borysthenes, an ancient Greek settlement on the Island of Berezan in the estuary of the Dnieper and South Bug rivers, is one of the key sites in the classical archaeology of the northern Black Sea littoral. According to the evidence of Eusebius, the earliest Greek colony in the region was established in 647/646 BC by settlers from Miletus (though no cultural layers or structures dated to a period earlier than the last quarter of the 7th century BC have been ever uncovered within this territory).

The history of archaeological investigations of the settlement of Berezan goes back to the end of the 19th century. They began with excavations conducted by R. A. Prendel, member of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities. Afterwards, B. V. Farmakovskiy (1896), G. L. Skadovskiy (1900–1901), E. R. von Stern (1903–1909, 1913) and the latter's student M. F. Boltenko (1924, 1927–1931, 1946–1947) participated, among others, in the excavations at the settlement and its necropolis. Investigations on the island were resumed in 1960 by the Ukrainian archaeologist V. V. Lapin, who has worked for two decades at the Berezan settlement-site. After his death, the Ukrainian expedition was headed by S. N. Mazarati and V. V. Nazarov, and at present by V. V. Krutilov. From 1962, the Russian expedition of the State Hermitage Museum took part in the investigations on Berezan Island under the direction of K. S. Gorbunova, L. V. Kopeykina, Y. V. Domanskiy and S. L. Solovyov. These regular excavations, interrupted in the early 1990s, were then renewed in 1998 (by Y. V. Domanskiy and K. K. Marchenko, and since 2004 by D. Chistov).

Since the end of the 1990s and up to the most recent field season, the main object of our studies has been area "O" located in the eastern part of the island.

One of the most significant results of these excavations was the discovery of a number of structures related to metalworking, *viz.* the remains of two copper-smelting workshops. They were dated to the end of the 7th–first half of the 6th century BC and must have been intended for commodity production of copper. These finds allowed the researchers to put forward a new hypothesis on the main function of the earliest Greek ἀποικία in the northern Black Sea area as related to the production of raw metal.

In 2005, the archaeological expedition of the State Hermitage proceeded with the investigations in the eastern section of the classical-period settlement. During this field season, a square of approximately 270 sq. m in area was excavated. The main (and absolutely unexpected) result was revelation of the remains of a large complex of buildings in the southern part of excavation "O". Two successive building periods have been distinguished for these houses built from mixture of adobe and stone. The earliest phase, dated to the second half of the 6th century, corresponded to the remains of a rectangular room (Fig. 1.1), as well as to three stone foundations left from a later annexe or some neighbouring structure. All of the structural remains of that period belonged to buildings destroyed in a conflagration in the last quarter or the very end of the 6th century BC.

The room uncovered was of a considerable area (50 sq. m). The foundations of its western, eastern and northern walls were revealed. However, no remains of the southern wall have been traced. Inside the room, there was a hearth (Fig. 1.2) in the form of a rectangular pit measuring 1.10 × 0.80 m. The walls of the pit were plastered with a thick layer (2–3 cm) of baked clay. Inside the hearth, two portable adobe stoves were found *in situ*. Each was equipped with a pair of side handles in the form of massive lugs applied to the walls. One of the stoves was set on three legs, while the other had no legs but was installed instead on three flat stones so that free access of air was provided to the fire in the lower section of the stove.

Another household object of special interest was found north of the destroyed structure under its debris. This consisted of a small pit (no. 85) filled with a thick layer of brownish clay baked on the top by the fire. Its excavation revealed traces of a basket, probably woven from reed, imprinted on the walls of the pit and on some of the fragments of the clayey fills. It seems that this pit was intended for mixing clay mortar used for construction or household purposes.

The pottery found in the layers of fire and destruction was fairly numerous and diverse. Especially noteworthy are rich amounts of fikellura pottery including a fragmentary amphora of the Altenburg Painter (Fig. 2.1). Moreover, in the fills of one of the storage pits either synchronous to the fire or at least closed shortly before, a black-figured Chian beaker of the Comast Group was uncovered, its decoration including dancing comasts (Fig. 2.2) and a cockerel on the back side.

All of the structural remains of the two periods uncovered during the last season were arranged in the same way as those structures and a small patch of a paved street that had been excavated earlier to the south and east of this area. They all were oriented in the meridional direction with a slight

north-west deviation. It seems that it is exactly this orientation that the regular grid of streets followed throughout this area of settlement in the second half of the 6th – early 5th century BC.

In the northern section of the excavation of 2005, numerous structures of the earliest period of the Berezan settlement were uncovered: semi-dugouts and storage pits (Fig. 1.3). Semi-dugouts were small rounded structures (2.5–3.4 m in diameter) set 0.25–0.50 m into the bedrock. All of these except for one had a single posthole in the centre suggesting a simple hip-roof like that of a yurt. The walls of one of the structures were obviously constructed of wattle and clay as indicated by an encircling groove traced along the periphery of the pit and five holes for supporting posts dug along that groove.

These structures seem to have remained in use for a very short time-span. Finds of pottery from their fills allow us to date them to the second quarter and the middle of the 6th century BC. In the filling of one of the storage pits synchronous to the dugouts described above, three anchor rods were found. Two of them were made from local limestone, whereas the third (measuring 0.90 × 0.23 × 0.14 m) was carved from marble (Fig. 2.3).

Although during the excavations of 2005, no structures datable back to the last quarter of the 7th or beginning of the 6th century have been revealed, the amount of early pottery found in the occupation layers was fairly considerable. Noteworthy among these finds is an Ionian bird-bowl dated to the end of the 7th century BC (Fig. 2.4).

Dmitrij Chistov
The State Hermitage



Fig.1.1



Fig.1.2



Fig.1.3

Fig. 1.1. Remains of a rectangular structure (view from the South)

Fig. 1.2. Hearth with two stoves

Fig. 1.3. Round dug-outs (view from the North)



Fig. 2.1



Fig. 2.2



Fig. 2.3



Fig. 2.4

Fig. 2.1. Fragments of an amphora. Altenburg Painter

Fig. 2.2. Black-figured Chian chalice. Comast Group

Fig. 2.3. Anchor rod

Fig. 2.4. Ionian bird-bowl

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION OF THE STATE MUSEUM OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGION IN EASTERN CRIMEA

Since 1968, i. e. for almost 40 years, the archaeological expedition of the State Museum of the History of Religion has been carrying out excavations of the necropolis of Iluraton – one of the “small towns” of the European Bosphorus. During the last two decades, the expedition has been investigating simultaneously the necropolis of another Bosphoran city – that of Kytaiia (Kytaiion).

Iluraton (Ἰλουόρατον) is mentioned by Ptolemy (Ptol. *Geogr.* III, 6, 5). The hypothesis first proposed by V. F. Gaidukevich, that the townsite near the village of Ivanovka (the Tartar name is Djapar), 17 km to the southwest from Kerch, can be identified as Iluraton, has been confirmed by the results of recent excavations. The necropolis of Iluraton is situated on the same rocky plateau as the city itself.¹

The archaeological investigations of the Iluraton necropolis began as early as 1947, but only since 1968 have they been conducted systematically by the expedition of the State Museum of the History of Religion. During the first five field seasons (1968–1972) the excavations were headed by M. M. Kublanov. During twenty two successive archaeological campaigns from 1984 till 2005 they were taken over by V. A. Khrshanovskiy.² Throughout the entire period of investigations, about 220 archaeological objects (funerary complexes and ritual deposits) have been discovered and excavated at the necropolis of Iluraton.

Although the majority of burial complexes belong to the period of occupation of Iluraton (1st – end of the second third of the 3rd century AD), buri-

¹ As the Iluraton necropolis considered here is only the upper burial ground. The lower necropolis situated within the territory of the modern village of Ivanovka belongs most likely to some other settlement so far undiscovered on the lowlands.

² В. А. Хршановский, “Исследование некрополей Илурата и Китея в 2000 году” (V. A. Khrshanovskiy, “Excavation of the necropoleis of Iluraton and Kytaiia in 2000”), *Археологічні відкриття в Україні в 1999–2000 рр* (Киев 2001); idem, “Раскопки некрополей Илурата и Китея в 2003–2004 гг” (“Excavation of the necropoleis of Iluraton and Kytaiia in 2003–2004”), *Археологічні відкриття в Україні в 2003–2004 рр* (Киев 2005).

als were occasionally carried out on the Iluraton plateau until the 13th century AD.

The most surprising finds from this necropolis undoubtedly include a terracotta statue of a Greek goddess (Demeter or Aphrodite) of 62 cm in height. It is the largest of the terracottas found on the northern Black Sea littoral (Fig. 1).

In July 2005, the archaeological expedition of the State Museum of the History of Religion conducted its 27th campaign at the necropolis of Iluraton. Studies were concentrated at the northern and southern excavation areas. At the northern area, the excavation of ritual complex no. 214, discovered in 2003, was continued. The excavation was extended to the north and to the south, its total area covering 90 sq. m (15 × 6 m). The eastern and western borders of the complex were identified. Among the surface heap of stones, new traces of ritual activities were discovered here, e. g. numerous fragments of ornamented handmade pottery, flint flakes, a fragment of a stone axe, a limestone altar with a hole in the centre, and animal bones. Of great importance for dating the complex is a bronze coin of Kotis II (second quarter of the 2nd century AD). The nature of the complex may be finally clarified after the completion of its excavation, planned for the next campaign.

At the southern area, excavation of catacomb no. 215 cut out in the rock was completed: the dromos and slab cover of the entrance were uncovered as well as the south-western section of the burial chamber. In the latter two horse burials were found under a fragment of the vault. Near catacomb no. 216 another catacomb (no. 218) was discovered and excavated completely. Part of its vault and walls were collapsed. The catacomb was robbed sometime in antiquity. There is insufficient evidence to date it exactly, but its construction and location suggest that it was synchronous to the adjacent catacombs (nos. 215 and 216) thus dating from the mid-2nd century AD.

South of the dromos of burial vault no. 213, which is distinguished by its dimensions and a niche with a completely preserved semicircular arch (Fig. 2), investigation of the ritual deposit was continued. The materials found (fragments of amphorae, red-glazed pottery and glass vessels) date it summarily to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD.

Close to the northern wall of vault no. 213, another excavation was started with an area of 10 × 15 m. Here were found slab-constructed grave no. 219 robbed in antiquity and remains of the walls of large vault no. 220 built of limestone blocks laid without mortar. During the last campaign only its dromos and the southern part of the funeral chamber were uncovered. The length of the dromos was 4.5 m, its width 1–1.2 m; the

height of the completely preserved walls amounted to 2.5 m (Fig. 3). Judging by the fill of the burial chamber, the latter was reused for a second burial in the Late Classical or Early Mediaeval period. The vault itself (similarly to vault no. 213) on the basis of the rather scarce finds available so far is dated preliminarily to the 2nd – 3rd century AD.

The Bosphoran city of Kytaia (Κύταια, Κύται, Κύταιον) is situated a few kilometers west of the mouth of the Kerch Strait (Cimmerian Bosphorus) on the coast of the Black Sea. Kytaia is mentioned by a number of Classical authors (Ptol. *Geogr.* III, 6, 5; Ps.-Scyl. 68; Plin. *NH* IV, 68; Anon. *PPE*, 50; Steph. Byz. s. v. Κύται). After an inscription dedicated to the community of Kytaia (*CIRB* 942) was found in 1918, a town between capes Kyz-Aulsky and Takil was finally identified with Classical Kytaia. Contemporary investigations agree with this localization.

The necropolis of Kytaia begins in the immediate vicinity of the northern defensive wall of the city and extends over 2 km from north-east to north-west up to the mountain ridge. Recently, the western section of the Kytaia necropolis was discovered approximately 200 m to the west of the western city-wall.

The first excavations headed by Yu. Yu. Marti at the necropolis of Kytaia were carried out in 1928–1929 by the expedition of the Kerch Museum of Antiquities. In 1972, the Kerch Museum of History and Archaeology resumed excavations of the Kytaia necropolis. These investigations as well as excavations at the Kytaia city site were directed by E. A. Molev. During the works conducted by the expedition, 80 archeological objects have been investigated. Following E. A. Molev's suggestion, the expedition of the State Museum of the History of Religion directed by V. A. Khrshanovskiy began in 1989 systematical excavations of the necropolis, which are on-going. The total number of the objects uncovered at the necropolis amounts to 367.

The predominant burial mode, as has been recorded at the necropolis, was inhumation, but single cremations also have been found. The chronological range of the necropolis of Kytaia given by complete burial complexes is the 5th century BC – 5th century AD. The dates suggested by the aggregate of the finds run within a still wider chronological scale – from the late 6th century BC to the 6th century AD. The oldest materials dated to the late 6th – early 5th century BC include a fragmentary black-figured krater with a representation of Dionysus's head (Fig. 4).

At the central area of the Kytaia necropolis (Excavation XLIII), during the last campaign the excavation of a catacomb (no. 360) cut in the rock was completed; three child graves (nos. 364–366) and a burial (no. 367)

covered over by two anthropomorphous sculptures were excavated. In addition, examination of despoiled grave no. 361 cut in the rock was completed; in its north-eastern corner were found a human skull and bones of the right leg under the defense of a Sarmatian sword inserted upright into the earth on the north-west side (Fig. 5). The sword dates the burial probably to the mid-2nd – mid-3rd century AD.

At the area added on the east to the same excavation, fragments of a red-figured krater and a Chian amphora of the last quarter of the 5th century BC were found.

In north-north-east section of the necropolis, excavation of two recently robbed graves cut in the rock (nos. 362 and 363) was finished; the graves are dated probably to the Hellenistic period.

In the south-western (seaward) section of the necropolis, investigation of burial complex no. 344 was continued and its north-western corner uncovered. The finds have confirmed its previous dating to the late 3rd – early 4th century AD. Here investigations of a hidden external chamber of vault no. 206 and the ritual deposit to the west of its dromos were also continued. In the ash layer, positioned as it seems over the sacrificial pit, a buried horse skull and lower-limb bones were uncovered.

During the coming campaign we are planning to continue excavation of burial complex no. 344 and the ritual deposit near the vault no. 206.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

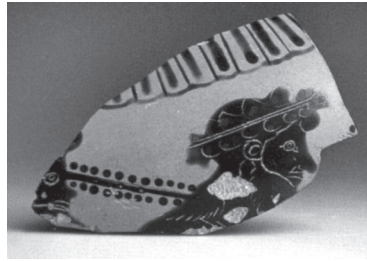


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

Fig. 1. Terracotta statue of a goddess. Necropolis of Iluraton

Fig. 2. Vault no. 213. Niche with semicircular arch. Necropolis of Iluraton

Fig. 3. Vault no. 220. Dromos. Necropolis of Iluraton

Fig. 4. Head of Dionysus. Fragment of a black-figured krater. Necropolis of Kytaia

Fig. 5. Burial with a Sarmatian sword. Necropolis of Kytaia

THE NYMPHAEUM ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION OF THE STATE HERMITAGE

Near the modern village of Eltigen (Geroyevskoye), 17 km south of the city of Kerch, one still can see the ruins of the ancient Bosporan city of Nymphaeum. Its site occupies a coastal plateau on Kerch Strait (Cimmerian Bosphorus); west of the plateau there are barrows and a flat necropolis. Vast fertile lands stretching as far as ancient Theodosia (modern Feodosia) and the presence of a good harbour once guaranteed to Nymphaeum the leading role in the grain trade.

The location of Nymphaeum, like that of most of the other Classical-period sites on the Black Sea, became known owing to ancient descriptions of its coasts written for navigators and travellers, as well as the works of geographers and historians of the Greek and Roman era.

Excavations at Nymphaeum were begun at the end of the 19th century. Since 1939 systematic excavations of the townsite were conducted by the Nymphaeum Archaeological Expedition of the State Hermitage under the direction of M. M. Khudyak in 1939–1958, V. M. Skudnova in 1960–1964, N. L. Grach in 1966–1990, O. Yu. Sokolova since 1990 until now.

In the course of these years, a number of sanctuaries, dwelling and public houses, defensive structures, pottery kilns, wineries and other structures of different periods of Nymphaeum's existence have been uncovered within the territory of the city. Excavations in the area of the necropolis were also conducted. Scholars have succeeded in reconstructing the general picture of Nymphaeum's life throughout almost a millennium of its occupation.

Among the most interesting discoveries of the recent decades is the monumental ensemble of an early Hellenistic sanctuary connected with the gods-protectors of navigation. In one of its rooms, plaster with polychrome paintings collapsed from the walls has been found. The surface of the plaster was covered with various inscriptions and pictures. Outstanding among the latter was a representation of a large warship. On its side, the name ΙΣΙΣ is written, i. e. that of the goddess Isis most venerated in Ptolemean Egypt. In the opinion of N. L. Grach¹ who was the first to study this representa-

¹ Of the numerous publications devoted to this find the most important are: Н. Л. Грач, "Открытие нового исторического источника в Нимфее (предваритель-

tion, it is the ambassadorial ship which belonged to the navy of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

West of the sanctuary, an assemblage of architectural parts was uncovered (Fig. 1). These belonged to a *propylaeum* (gala entrance to a sacred precinct) dated to the first half of the 4th century BC. Of particular note is the find of a facade block of the architrave which once bridged the interval between two columns. An inscription cut on the block informed that “Theopropides, son of Megakles, in the quality of the agonothete, dedicated this entrance to Dionysus under Leukon, the archon of Bosporus and Theodosia, and all Syndike, and of the Toretai, Dandarioi and Psessoï”. This inscription is one of the fairly rare monuments of the Bosporan epigraphy in terms of its good state of preservation and self-descriptiveness. Its most noteworthy feature is the mention of a new title of the Bosporan rulers.²

Since 2001 the expedition has been occupied with the task of removing a layer of refuse several metres thick brought from the nearby modern city. This layer covers the area south of the *propylaeum* and its clearing must enable us to elucidate the character and functions of the structures located here. During the field season of 2005, an area of about 350 sq. m has been excavated in this sector to the depth of 0.7 m. The most numerous finds (fragments of pottery from different manufacturing centres including items with stamps and graffiti, fragmentary tiles, spindle whorls and objects of metal or bone) from this area are dated to the time span from the second half of the 3rd to the early 2nd century BC.

ное сообщение)” (N. L. Grach, “Discovery of a New Historical Source in Nymphaeum [preliminary report]”, *VDI* 1984: 1, 81–88; N. Grač, “Das Neu entdecktes Fresco aus hellenistischer Zeit in Nymphaion bei Kertsch”, in: H. Franke (ed.), *Skythika* (Munich 1987) 46–65; O. Hockmann, “Naval and Other Graffiti from Nymphaion”, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia. An International Journal of Comparative Studies in History and Archaeology* V, 4 (Leiden – Boston – Köln 1999) 303–356; Ju. G. Vinogradov, “Der Staatsbesuch der ‘Isis’ im Bosporos”, *ibid.*, 271–302; L. P. Gagen, L. S. Gavrilenko, “The Study and Restoration of Antique Fresco from Nymphaeum (Northern Prichernomorje, 3rd cent. B. C.)”, *Fifth International restoree seminar I* (Budapest 1985) 159–163.

² О. Ю. Соколова, “Новая надпись из Нимфея (предварительное сообщение)” (O. Yu. Sokolova, “New Inscription from Nymphaeum [preliminary information]”), *Древности Боспора IV* (Moscow 2001) 368–376; О. Ю. Соколова, Н. А. Павличенко, “Новая посвятельная надпись из Нимфея” (O. Yu. Sokolova, N. A. Pavlichenko, “New Dedicatory Inscription from Nymphaeum”), *Hyperboreus* 8 (2002): 1, 99–121.

Investigations of the defensive system of Nymphaeum are another objective of the excavations. The works are conducted along the external facing of the third and the fourth curtains of the defensive wall. The fortifications investigated include a defensive tower. At present, its eastern section with an area of approximately 90 sq. m has been uncovered.

In connection with the studies conducted now it is of interest to compare the recently published “Plan of the Ruins near Cape Karaburun on the Land of Mr Guryev” by Paul Dubrux³ with the features observable at present on the surface, those readable on new topographic plans of the site and the structures uncovered during recent years.⁴

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³ И. В. Тункина, *Русская наука о классической древности юга России (XVIII – середина XIX в.)* [I. V. Tunkina, *Russian Studies of Classical Antiquity in Southern Russia (18th – mid. 19th cent.)*] (СПб. 2002) Fig. 52.

⁴ Studies to this effect are conducted within the frame of grant RFHS no. 04-01-000164a envisaging the preparation of newly found manuscripts by P. Dubrux for publication (project manager Irina V. Tunkina).



Fig. 1. Remains of the *propylaeum*

THE 2005 HERMITAGE EXPEDITION TO MYRMEKION

The ancient settlement-site of Myrmekion is situated on the northern coast of Kerch Bay near Cape Karantinny (Fig. 1). The site has been known to researchers since the first half of the 19th century, when it was mapped by P. Dubrux. Soon afterwards, its archaeological investigation began. In the second half of the 20th century the excavations were directed by V. F. Gaidukevich and, after some interruption, by Yu. A. Vinogradov (1982–1994, 1999). In 1999, the Myrmekion Expedition of the State Hermitage was established under the direction of A. M. Butyagin.

According to the results of the above-mentioned investigations the history of the site seems as follows. The first settlement near Cape Karantinny was founded at the around 675 BC. It was located in the eastern section of the site adjoining the cliff at the end of the cape on one side, and the bay into which a small river flowed, on the other. In the course of the 6th century BC the site was built up with dug-out dwellings. In the third quarter of the century the vulnerable areas of the acropolis were surrounded with a small fortification wall. At the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries BC the site grew larger and its area amounted to 5–6 hectares. It was built up completely with ground-based houses and the first cult complexes appeared during that period. In the second quarter of the 5th century BC the settlement was attacked by nomads and its area was reduced by at least a factor of four. The inhabited area was surrounded with a new fortification wall. The revival of the settlement began as early as the next quarter of the 5th century. In the course of the 4th century BC the area of the settlement attained its maximum of 7–8 hectares. In the end of that century it was encircled with a defensive wall with towers at intervals.

In the 3rd – 1st centuries BC Myrmekion was a densely built-up town with wineries and small sanctuaries. In addition, there may have been a larger temple near the cliff. In the middle of the 1st century BC the town was destroyed as a result of the stormy events of the post-Mithradates VI Eupator period. The revival of the town took place only in the new era. In Roman times Myrmekion consisted of a number of large estates with powerful fortifications. It is possible that the town was the residence of representatives of some aristocratic families of the Bosphorus Kingdom during that period. This is evidenced by the fact that in the 2nd century AD a circular rusticated tomb with a marble sarcophagus was built on the cliff of Cape Karantinny.

Life in the town ended in the beginning of the 4th century AD when it was abandoned by its inhabitants. In the 8th–9th centuries there was a Khazar settlement at the site. Myrmekion was reoccupied in the 13th–15th centuries when in the western part of the site a small settlement arose marked as Pondiko (from ancient “Pantikapaëum”) on Genoese maps. At first the settlement was not fortified, but later the cliff was surrounded by a wall and a ditch while the tomb mentioned above was used as a tower. A vast necropolis arose east of the settlement. After the settlement perished in fire, this territory had not been reoccupied until a port quarantine station was built here in the 19th century.

In 1999–2005 the excavations of the Myrmekion Expedition were focused on an examination of the territory adjoining the cliff of Cape Karantinny.¹ These excavations made it possible to clarify the topography of the area as well as some moments of the history of ancient and medieval Myrmekion. West of the cliff, investigation of the remains of a medieval dug-out house was continued, as well as of a number of Roman structures including one of round cross-section, and a rich house of the 4th century BC. The most interesting find so far has been a large ash layer in which, along with rich ceramic materials, a 2nd-century BC burial of a baby in a Rhodian amphora was uncovered as well as a hoard of 723 bronze coins of the second quarter of the 3rd century BC.² In 2005, immediately beneath the mound of ash, a chamber with an area of over 20 sq. m cut in the rock was discovered (Fig. 2). On three sides it was fenced by carefully trimmed flagstones. Most probably, it was a destroyed or unfinished tomb of one of the major representatives of Bosporan aristocracy.

On the eastern side of the acropolis, a 13th–15th-century Christian necropolis has been under excavation for several years. Over 70 burials, mostly of males, have been discovered. The graves were usually small slab tombs. Funerary offerings are very scarce. Under the medieval layers, partly

¹ The main results of the studies of 2002 are presented in: Y. A. Vinogradov, A. M. Butyagin, M. Y. Vakhtina, “Myrmekion – Porthmeus. Two small towns of Ancient Bosphorus”, in: D. V. Grammenos, E. K. Petropoulos (ed.), *Ancient Greek colonies in the Black Sea II* (Thessaloniki 2003) 803–840. The studies of 2005 are summarized in: A. M. Бутягин, Ю. А. Виноградов, “История и археология древнего Мирмекия” (A. M. Butyagin, Yu. A. Vinogradov, “History and archaeology of ancient Myrmekion”), *Мирмекий в свете новых археологических исследований. Каталог выставки* (СПб. 2006) 4–51.

² A. M. Бутягин, “Клады античного Мирмекия” (A. M. Butyagin, “Hoards of Classical Myrmekion”), in: *Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа* 62 (СПб 2004) 86–91.

on the bedrock, a large 2nd – 3rd century estate was discovered. It consisted of a two-storey house with many chambers (Fig. 3), a number of subsidiary rooms and a monumental well faced with excellent masonry. During the construction of this estate various architectural details of some older public building (probably a temple) were used extensively. In 2003–2005, among the ruins of this estate as well as among blocks reused in construction of medieval tombs, five fragments of various inscriptions were found including a dedication to Demeter Thesmophoros, a fragment of a dedication mentioning Aspourgos, a fragment of a badly damaged unintelligible inscription and large fragments of two Roman tombstones – one with part of a relief preserved. In addition, several fragments of marble statues have been found during the last campaign. Still older than the estate itself was part of an architectural altar rebuilt in Roman times.

In the central section of the site, studies of a large late archaic structure were continued in 2001–2005. This was partially excavated by V. F. Gaidukevich in the 1960s. During recent excavations it has been revealed that this building erected in the end of the 6th century BC occupied an area of at least 500 sq. m that is unique for Bosphorus. The structure was probably a public building. In addition, investigation of part of the so-called “sanctuary of Demeter” was continued which was built here in the beginning of the 4th century BC. In the course of its excavation, a unique hoard of 99 electrum coins of Cyzicus was found in a bronze jug.³ The excavations in this area have allowed to define more exactly the chronology of the development of the town’s central part during the 6th – 4th centuries BC.

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³ See: *Мирмекийский клад. Каталог выставки* (СПб. 2004).



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Fig. 1. Acropolis of Myrmekion

Fig. 2. Structure discovered in 2005 in area "S"

Fig. 3. Estate of the 3rd century BC in area "T"

THE PORTHMION ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION OF THE INSTITUTE OF THE HISTORY OF MATERIAL CULTURE (IIMK RAS)

Porthmion belongs to the so-called ‘small Bosporan towns’. Information on a settlement with this name is provided by ancient written sources (Ps.-Arr., *Peripl. P. Eux.* 50, 56, 91; Steph. Byz., s. v. Πορθμία καὶ Πορθμίον) where it is described as a κώμη on the European side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, not far from Maiotis. It is quite obvious that the name is derived from the Greek πορθμός (‘crossing’). Indeed, both written and archaeological sources suggest that one of the traditional routes across the Kerch Strait ran close to the city, linking the Kuban region with the Crimea.

Traditionally, Porthmion is identified with the Classical-period site situated north-east of what is now the city of Kerch. The regular excavation of the city began in 1953 by the Bosporan Archaeological Expedition of LOIA, AS USSR (now IIMK RAS). From 1953 until 1985 the excavations were carried out under the leadership of E. G. Kastanajan, in 1986–1990 and from 2002 they have been headed by M. Ju. Vakhtina. Administratively this expedition is still a branch of the Bosporan Archaeological Expedition of the IIMK, formerly a fairly large one but now composed of just a few independent groups.

Porthmion is situated on a small plateau. The area of this plateau is 0.7 ha and it has actually determined the size of the Greek settlement during the whole period of its occupation. The excavations revealed that the city was fortified almost from its very foundation. The proximity to the traditional routes across the Cimmerian Bosphorus gave certain economic advantages but at the same time presented a source of potential danger.

Two periods – the Archaic and Late Hellenistic – have been fairly well studied during the years of excavations. To the first one belong the remains uncovered at the eastern excavated area. These include unique fortifications built by the first colonists. In 1986, the foundations of the Archaic eastern defensive wall of Porthmion were discovered. The wall was constructed from large limestone blocks along the NE-SW axis of the plateau. The maximum height of the preserved socle amounted to 1.2 m with a length of 2.8 m and a thickness of 1.0–1.1 m. Judging by the debris uncovered, the upper part of the wall was constructed from mud bricks. The

southern end of the wall was built up against a natural outcrop of rock, and here the structure formed a zigzag line resembling in outline a “bastion”. The southern line of the Archaic defences is rather poorly preserved, although it is clearly identifiable throughout the entire excavated area (approximately 25 m long). Those fortifications are related to the earliest period of the town and are dated probably to the second half of the 6th century BC. Inside the Archaic walls on the eastern slope of the rocky plateau, traces of a Late Archaic “terraced” building were uncovered.¹ Excavations in recent years (2002–2005) have been concentrated mainly within that area.

By the end of the 6th century BC, Porthmion must have suffered a catastrophe since traces of fire have been recorded over the entire area where any Archaic remains were discovered. The pottery from the level of destruction included a fragment of a black-figured lekythos of the late 6th century BC with a representation of an armed Scythian holding two horses (Fig. 1). From the area connected with the early fortifications and Late Archaic houses comes a fragment of the base of an Attic black-glazed bowl (Fig. 2) of the early 5th century BC with the graffito [---] Ξ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩ[...].²

In the second half of the 3rd century BC the settlement was completely rebuilt. During those activities, structures of the Classical period were almost completely destroyed. Therefore we do not know much about the town of the late 5th–4th century BC although numerous materials from the ruined buildings belong to that period (Fig. 3).

Late Hellenistic Porthmion was a small fortress.³ New fortifications were erected simultaneously with the houses. The remains of the monumental northern and southern defensive walls and the northwest tower have been uncovered. The walls were built of large stone blocks on a stone base. The present height of the wall is over 2.5 m high with a width of up to 2 m. The rectangular northwest tower measured 9.97 × 9 m. It had an inner room of 26 sq. m. Here, a stone pavement containing a canine burial was discovered near the northern wall. The entrance to the city was revealed in its western wall. The Hellenistic town consisted of eight rectangular blocks

¹ M. Ju. Vachtina, “Archaic Buildings of Porthmion”, in: P. G. Bilde (ed.), *The Cauldron of Ariantas*, Black Sea Studies 1 (Aarhus 2003) 35–54.

² С. Р. Тохтасев, “Посвятительное граффито из Порфмия” (S. R. Tokhtas'uev, “Dedicatory Graffito from Porthmion”), in: *Древнее Причерноморье. Краткие сообщения Одесского Археологического Общества* (Одесса 1993) 74–75.

³ E. G. Kastanajan, “Porthmion”, *Centre d'archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences. Études et Travaux XIII* (Warsaw 1983) 162–168.

built along the E-W axis. The blocks were measuring on the average 63×11 m divided from each other by three longitudinal streets and one side street. The main longitudinal street, which divided the area of the city into two parts – the northern and southern – was 1.5–1.7 m wide. The Hellenistic houses had one or more rooms and yards. The living rooms had an area of 15–20 sq. m, occasionally even 35 sq. m, that of the yards was up to 50 sq. m. The walls of the houses were built of limestone or shellrock, the roofs covered with Bosphoran or Sinopean tiles. The Late Hellenistic town had an estimated population of c. 400.

On the outskirts of Porthmion, the remains of small Hellenistic rural houses have been traced. In 1988, the remains of a similar rural house occupied in 3rd – 2nd century BC were uncovered.

During the recent years (2003–2005) the archaeological investigations of the settlement were concentrated on the remains of the Archaic fortifications and dwelling complexes.

In 2003, excavations of the Porthmion necropolis situated on the plain west of the town began. An area with plain graves of the 4th century BC has been identified; in 2004, two Late Hellenistic grave crypts were unearthed.

Porthmion was left by its inhabitants soon after mid. 1st century BC. The fort remained abandoned and has never been restored since.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

- Fig. 1. Fragment of an Attic black-figured lekythos
- Fig. 2. Fragment of the base of an Attic black-glazed bowl
- Fig. 3. Fragment of a clay figurine

EXCAVATIONS OF THE SETTLEMENTS ARTYUSHCHENKO-2 AND VYSHESTEBLIEVSKAYA-11 BY THE TAMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL GROUP

In July-August, 2005, the Taman Group of the Bosphorus Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of the History of Material Culture RAS (IIMK RAS) continued its explorations in the south of the Taman Peninsula.¹ In 1998–2000, the Group was directed by Evgeniy Ya. Rogov; since 2001 it has been headed by Sergey V. Kashaev.

As in previous years, the studies were conducted at two rural settlements of the Classical period which were named Artyushchenko-2 and Vyshesteblievskaya-11 (Temryuk Region of the Krasnodar Kray). The field directors were M. S. Pavlova and A. S. Tsin'ko.

The site of Artyushchenko-2 was discovered during archaeological surveys in 1997. It is situated 3 km south-east of the village of Artyushchenko and about 15 km south-east of what is now the *stanitsa* (Cossack village) of Taman on the site of ancient Hermonassa. In antiquity, our settlement probably formed part of the rural lands of the latter city.

The site under consideration is situated on a high precipitous Black Sea cliff which is in the process of intensive erosion. Therefore, considerable areas of the cultural layer are annually eroded away from the main shore, slipping down the slope and being washed away by the sea. Aside from these natural damages, the settlement and its necropolis are frequently disturbed by robbers' excavations.

Since 1998 an area of more than 600 sq. m has been excavated at this settlement where household pits with material dating from the 5th – 3rd centuries BC have been explored. Among the finds of pottery, fragmentary amphorae from Chios, Lesbos, Thasos, Mende, Heraclea, Sinope and Rhodes have been recovered.

¹ С. В. Кашаев, “Таманский отряд Боспорской экспедиции ИИМК РАН (1998–2004 гг.)” (S. V. Kashaev, “The Taman Group of the Bosphorus Expedition of the Institute of Material Culture RAS [1998–2004]”), *Проблемы изучения античной археологии Северного Причерноморья. Материалы научной конференции, посвященной 100-летию со дня рождения В. Ф. Гайдукевича* (СПб. 2005) 64–70.

In 2002, east of the settlement of Artyushchenko-2, its necropolis was discovered, and in the subsequent season the group started its excavation.

The flat graves of the necropolis have no above ground structures and are in no way distinguishable on the present-day surface. Necropoleis of this type are very difficult to expose, and as a rule they are disclosed only by chance disturbance – e. g. in the course of construction or demolition works. This was the case with the cemetery under consideration. The graves were discovered after one of the burials had been disturbed by severe landslips.

In 2003–2004 an area of 165 sq. m with graves dated to the 5th century BC was excavated at the necropolis. A total of 13 graves have been discovered. Of these, eight burials have been excavated (nos. 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13), while the remaining five (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8) have been totally demolished by abrasion. Some of the male graves contained iron weapons: swords-*acinaces* and spearheads.

In female graves bronze mirrors and rings, spiral pendants, pyxides, beads and bronze needles were found. Glass flasks and amphoriskoi of Phoenician manufacture served as toilet vessels.

In 2005 the rescue excavations were continued at the necropolis over an area of 320 sq. metres. The layers were excavated to a depth of 1.6 m. During the excavations, 12 burials of different periods were uncovered (nos. 14–25).

The graves were dug into the loam of the bedrock, the contours of the grave pits being rarely discernible above the level of the skeletons. The deceased were laid into the graves supine, the arms parallel to the body. The corpses were poorly preserved. The pottery of the grave offerings was concentrated either at the legs or along the body on the left of the deceased.

In burials no. 19 and no. 23 no grave offerings were found. They are dated probably to the Roman period, as well as grave no. 22 where a small iron knife and an awl were uncovered. Burial no. 14 was partly disturbed by the abrasion. The arrangement of the bones suggests that the grave was robbed in antiquity. The main ‘loot’ of the robbers was probably the breast armour of the warrior here interred. Of the burial items preserved in this burial there was only a fragmentary iron sword dated tentatively to the 5th–7th century AD.

A series of burials (nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, and 20) may be dated to the first half of the 5th century BC. In burial no. 15, of the grave offerings there was only a fragment of a massive animal bone. In grave no. 16, the burial items comprised a jug and a bowl of red-ware, a lekythos, a bronze mirror, a bronze needle, an iron awl and a string of 40 beads. In grave no. 17 were

found a red-ware jug, a handmade bowl, a lekythos, a small bronze ring and a ceramic spindle-whorl. Burial no. 18 was probably a cenotaph. It was possible to distinguish the outlines of the grave pit in which a small jug and a cosmetic vessel – kalpis were found, but no skeleton. The toilet vessel suggests that the grave belonged to a female. It is the first cenotaph discovered at this necropolis. Grave no. 20 belonged to a girl of 5–7 years of age. Here were found a red-ware bowl and three silver and two gold beads. A tear-shaped pendant was attached to one of the gold beads.

Three of the graves (nos. 21, 24, 25) were collective, probably familial, burials in mudbrick tombs. They are dated to the late 5th – first half of the 4th century BC. Grave 21 contained the skeletons of a male and a female. Of the offerings there were a red-ware jug, a small plate, a ceramic spindle-whorl, an iron sword (*acinaces*) and an iron spearhead. In grave no. 24, the skeletons of a male and a female were uncovered. The grave offerings included a complete Chian amphora (Fig. 1), a red-ware jug, two bowls, a ceramic spindle-whorl, an iron sword and iron spearheads, a black-glazed kylix and black-glazed lekythos, four bronze finger-rings, a set of arrows with iron and bronze arrowheads, and an animal bone. Burial no. 25 held the skeletons of a male and a female and that of a child (girl?). The burial items included red-ware (a jug and a bowl), an iron sword, iron spears and a knife, three black-glazed lekythoi – one with a representation of a hare (Fig. 2), a skyphos, a small handmade pot, a set of iron and bronze arrows, and an animal bone.

The results of the studies of the necropolis have enabled us to define its approximate spacial limits and chronological frame. It has been established that the necropolis extends at least 200 m along the precipitous cliff. The material recovered from excavations of the settlement site of Artyushchenko-2 was of a humbler character as compared with the relatively rich finds from the necropolis. The most impressive are burials of the 5th century BC with miscellaneous burial items which enable us to form an impression of the life of the Asiatic Bosphorus of the period. The dates of the earliest of the excavated burials running from the beginning of the 5th century BC and the youngest ones of the 5th – 7th century AD suggest that the necropolis was functioning over the course of a millennium, though such a prolonged time interval must have had certain interruptions.

The second object of the excavations was the settlement of Vyshestebli-evskaya-11. It is situated on the north-western shore of the Kiziltash Liman (*liman* is a bay in a river delta), 3 km south-east of the stanitsa of Vyshesteblievka. In Greek and Roman times, the Kiziltash Liman did not exist, so

the settlement must have been situated in the delta of the Kuban River flowing into the Black Sea. Judging by the proximity of Phanagoria – the capital of the Asiatic Bosphorus, – the settlement under consideration belonged to its *χώρα*. Moreover, it was the first large settlement in the way of the seafarers coming to the delta of the Kuban River from the sea. Considering this geographic position, the site may have been functioning as an outpost at the southern approaches to Phanagoria.

In 1998, reconnaissance was carried out at the site and in the subsequent season its excavation was started.² The area excavated at the settlement site (Excavations nos. 1, 2, 3) has exceeded 800 sq. m; 15 building complexes and over 80 household pits of variable dates were investigated. On the basis of these dates, three major chronological phases of occupation of the site are distinguishable. The first phase is dated to the 5th – beginning of the 2nd centuries BC, the second one – to the Roman and early medieval periods (1st – 6th centuries AD), and the third phase was of medieval date with finds characteristic of the Saltovo-Mayatskaya culture of the 8th – 10th centuries.

The main goal of the excavations of 2005 was to check the supposition that there was a street (or road) here continuing Street-1 discovered in 2004. The area excavated amounted to 225 sq. m, thus making the total excavated area of Excavation R1 equal to 690 sq. m.

Within the newly added area, six household pits of the Roman period (nos. 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48), two pits of the early medieval period (nos. 45 and 47), four building complexes (SK-10, 12, 13, 14), Well no. 2, Hearth-1, and part of Street no. 1 have been excavated.

The area of Street no. 1 was one of the most important objects investigated in Excavation R1. It was possible to trace this structure for an additional 10 metres, its total extension having amounted to 25 m with a width of 3.5–4.0 m. The street is oriented from SE to NW, running along the fortress from the settlement's edge to its centre. All of the building complexes (or SKs) excavated in 2004–2005 (nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) were ranged along Street-1 on both its sides presenting a regular and easily predictable layout. The street was paved by a layer of compact clay with inclusions of numerous fragments of pottery of the second half of the 5th century BC (Fig. 3).

² Е. Я. Рогов, С. В. Кашаев, Й. Форназир, “Керамический комплекс из хозяйственных ям поселения Вышестеблиевская-11 на юге Таманского полуострова” (E. Ya. Rogov, S. V. Kashaev, J. Fornasier, “Ceramic Assemblage from Household Pits at the Settlement of Vyshesteblievskaya-11 on the South of the Taman Peninsula”), *Боспорские исследования VIII* (Симферополь – Керчь 2005) 177–217.

Street (Road) no. 1 was, presumably, built in the first half or the end of the 5th century BC. Later it was reconstructed and used for a fairly long time (probably with certain interruptions) for its direct purpose. The building complexes were ranged along the street with their entrances facing it. Different layouts have been discovered in many ancient cities, but this is a new and very poorly studied phenomenon among rural sites on the Taman Peninsula.

Earlier, in the course of the excavation at the settlement, a series of Judaic limestone gravestones, possibly of the late Classical or early medieval periods, were found. On the front side of the slabs there were representations of a seven-branched candelabrum (menorah) as well as a stylized palm branch (lulab) and a blasting horn (shofar). Seven such gravestones were found e. g. at the building complex SK-6.

On the floor of SK-13 were found a half of a round millstone and a Judaic gravestone, lying the front side down, with representations of a menorah, a shofar and a lulab (Fig. 4).

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Fig. 1. Chian amphora. Artyushchenko-2. Necropolis, burial 24

Fig. 2. Black-glazed lekythos. Artyushchenko-2. Necropolis, burial 25

Fig. 3. Fragment of a protome of Heracles. Vyshesteblievskaya-11. Excavation 1

Fig. 4. Judaic gravestone. Vyshesteblievskaya-11. Excavation 1, building complex SK-13

EXCAVATIONS AT THE CLASSICAL-PERIOD SETTLEMENT OF ARTYUSHCHENKO I (BUGAZSKOYE) ON THE TAMAN PENINSULA

Excavations at the Greek-period settlement of Artyushchenko I (Bugazskoye) on the Taman Peninsula, approximately 15 km south of the Cossack village of Taman, were started by the Bosporan Expedition of the Institute of the History of Material Culture (IIMK), RAS, in 1998 and are on-going. The most important results in terms of the studies of classical antiquities have been yielded by area II. Here it was possible to distinguish reliably three periods of occupation at the site.

1. During the Archaic period (last third of the 6th – first third of the 5th century BC) there was a seasonal settlement at the site. The latter was probably part of the rural surroundings of Hermonassa. It seems that the agriculturalists – mostly natives of the barbarian tribes from the region of the Kuban River – visited the site only during the seasons of field works. Finds of charred grains of cereals suggest that they sowed here mainly naked wheat (*Triticum aestivum* s. l.) and six-rowed barley (*Hordeum vulgare*).

2. After a prolonged interruption, occupation of Artyushchenko I was resumed about the mid-4th century BC and continued probably for a fairly short period. There are grounds for supposing that at that phase the settlement was also of a seasonable character and possibly barbarian in terms of its population.

3. A stationary settlement existed at the site only in the second half of the 3rd – first half of the 2nd century BC. Some peculiarities of the material culture of the site (small amounts of handmade pottery, the presence of Bosporan coins, terracotta figurines etc.) suggest that it were mostly the Greeks who lived here during that period. This phase was connected with the functioning of a workshop for dressing iron ore and producing iron. Found during the excavations were an area for storing iron ore, the foundations of stone “tables” on which the ore was ground and washed out, drains for disposing of used water, pits for keeping charcoal, hundreds of iron blooms, etc.

The workshop described was related to a series of cult installations in which, or near which, finds of terracotta figurines were concentrated. One such deposit contained three female protomes (Fig. 1.1) and a fragment of a black-glazed relief vessel with a representation of a “musician” (Fig. 1.2).

The musical instrument he is holding in his hand is not clearly identifiable, but at any rate it is clear that it does not resemble “Pan’s flute”.

Another set composed of six statuettes was uncovered in one of the larger pits. Here were found a female protome (Fig. 1.3) and a female figurine, standing, with the head severed (Fig. 1.4). Fairly interesting are statuettes of a rider (Fig. 2.1) and of a woman sitting with a lyre in her hands (Fig. 2.2). Still of more interest is a figurine of an actor holding a comic mask in his left hand (Fig. 2.3), as well as a draped figurine of a woman pressing some object (probably a spindle) to her throat (Fig. 2.4).

In 2005, the excavations of area II were continued. The northern edge of the settlement was investigated. Among the results was the discovery of the remains of two semi-dugout houses of the Archaic period. In one of these, again, charred cereal grains were recovered close to an adobe hearth. Furthermore, a pit synchronous to the semi-dugouts was excavated nearby where a fairly interesting assemblage of handmade pottery was found. The pottery was manufactured without the use of a potter’s wheel – according to the traditions of the local population of the Kuban region. The finds confirm the conclusion cited above that during the period from the last third of the 6th to the first third of the 5th century BC the site was occupied by a temporary (seasonal) settlement populated mainly by natives of agricultural tribes from the Kuban River.

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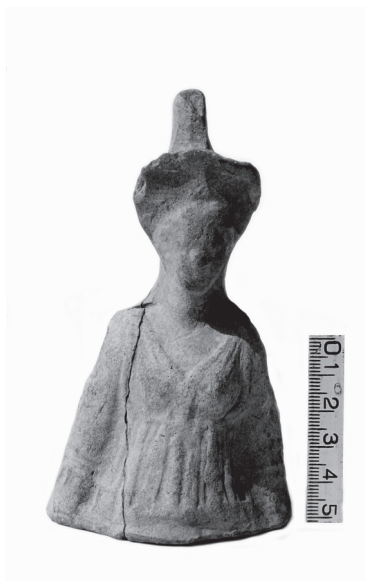


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Fig. 1, 3, 4. Terracotta statuettes

Fig. 2. Fragment of a vessel with a relief decoration



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

Fig. 5-8. Terracotta statuettes

THE TOWNSITE OF SEMIBRATNEYE (LABRYS): RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS OF 2001–2005

The site of Semibratneye (Labrys) is located 28 km northeast of what is now the city of Anapa (ancient Gorgippia) in the valley of the Lower Kuban River. The settlement is of about 9 hectares, facing onto the river with its broader northern section about 360 m long (Fig. 1). The southern part of the site is rectangular, measuring about 180 × 150 m. The archaeological exploration of the site has a long history. The first small excavation was conducted here in 1878 by Vladimir G. Tizengauzen, who had previously excavated the famous so-called Semibratniye (*Seven Brothers*) barrows where kings of the Sindoi were buried. He was the first to describe the ancient ruins located 3 km from those barrows.¹ The second phase of the investigations of the fortified settlement comprised the fieldworks of Nikita Anfimov in 1938–1940, 1949–1952 and 1954–1955 (in the northern and northeastern sections of the site).² The total thickness of the cultural layers of the late 6th century BC – 1st century AD (four building periods) amounted to 3.3 m. Anfimov dated the earliest layer to about the end of the 6th – beginning of the 4th century BC. Defensive walls of the 5th – 4th century BC with rectangular towers up to 2 m high belonged to the same building period. The oldest layer was separated from the level dated to the 2nd quarter – end of the 4th century BC by a layer of fire and destruction. The latter probably were related with the warfare in the land of the Sindoi after which this territory was incorporated into the Bosporan kingdom. Later the city was devastated again in the end of the 4th century BC and its earliest fortifications were finally destroyed. The third building phase is dated to the end of the 4th – first half of the 3rd century BC while the final urban building period spanned the second half of the 3rd – late 1st century BC. With that final period, a new fortress constructed in the mid-3rd century BC was connected. Only in the northern area of the site, also the remains of

¹ *ОАК за 1878–1879 гг.* (СПб. 1881) VIII–IX.

² Н. В. Анфимов, “Новые данные к истории Азиатского Боспора” (N. V. Anfimov, “New Evidence on the History of the Asiatic Bosporus”), *СА* 1941: 7, 258–267; idem, “Раскопки Семибратнего городища” (“Excavations of the Semibratneye Townsite”), *КСИИМК* 1951: 37, 238–244; idem, “Исследования Семибратнего городища” (“Investigations of the Semibratneye Townsite”), *КСИИМК* 1953: 51, 99–111.

small and poor dwellings of the 1st century AD have been discovered. Owing to a recently found dedicatory inscription of the Bosporan king Leukonos I (389/88–349/48 BC) the name of the city may possibly be reconstructed as *Λάβρυς. The inscription tells of Leukonos' victory over Oktamasades, who attempted to dethrone his father Hekataios, the king of Sindoi (cf. Polyaen. 8, 55).³

In 2001, the excavations at the site were resumed under the direction of the author of this paper. At present, the results of five field seasons are available for discussion. The building remains of the Hellenistic period were investigated first. In the northern section of the site, the foundation of a round tower (over 5 m in diameter) was uncovered near the eastern corner of the fortress of the 3rd–1st century BC.⁴ The stone masonry of the tower laid with the use of lime mortar was preserved up to a height of 0.64 m with a thickness of 0.8 m. The studies of this structure lead us to the conclusion that the local architects were quite familiar with the advances in Greek fortification. Judging by coin finds, the lower chronological limit of the last fortification period is c. the mid-3rd century BC when construction of defences was being carried out throughout the entire territory of the Bosphorus. Perhaps the defensive system of Labrys had survived until King Polemon's military activities in the Asiatic Bosphorus at the end of the 1st century BC. At least, the fact that of 45 coins found in 2001–2005 fourteen are dated to the 1st century BC attests to a vibrant urban life during that period.⁵ The latest of the coins is dated to the period of the rule of Mithridates VIII (39/40–44/45 AD).⁶

³ Т. В. Блаватская, “Посвящение Левкона I” (T. V. Blavatskaya, “Dedication of Leukonos I”), *РА* 1993: 2, 34–48; С. Р. Тохтасев, “К чтению и интерпретации почитательной надписи Левкона I с Семибратнего городища” (S. R. Tokhtas'ev, “Reading and Interpretation of the Dedicatory Inscription of Leukonos I from the Townsite of Semibratneye”), *Hyperboreus* 4 (1998): 2, 286–302; Ю. Г. Виноградов, “Левкон, Гекатей, Октамасад и Горгипп” (Yu. G. Vinogradov, “Leukon, Hecataeus, Oktamasades and Gorgippos”), *ВДИ* 2002: 3, 3–22; В. П. Яйленко, “Вотив Левкона I из Лабриса” (V. P. Yaylenko, “The Votive of Leukonos I from Labrys”), *ДБ* 2004: 7, 425–445.

⁴ В. А. Горончаровский, “Новые данные о Семибратнем городище на Кубани” (V. A. Goroncharovski, “New Evidence on the Semibratneye Townsite”), *Боспор Киммерийский. Понт и варварский мир в период античности и средневековья* (Керчь 2002) 65–67.

⁵ В. А. Горончаровский, “Проблемы хронологии Семибратнего городища” (V. A. Goroncharovski, “Problems of the Chronology of the Townsite of Semibratneye”), *Боспорский феномен: проблемы хронологии и датировки памятников*. Ч. 2 (СПб. 2004) 59.

⁶ Анфимов (п. 2) 26.

In the southern area of the city, the remains of a *temenos* of the first half of the 3rd century BC have also been discovered. Part of the external wall of this sacred precinct, uncovered to a length of almost 18 m, consisted of massive limestone blocks ranged in a line. In that section of the wall, a gateway over 3 m wide was found. In a small yard nearby there was a two-stepped limestone altar (Fig. 2). The upper slab of the altar measured 1 × 1 m. On the west, the altar had an additional small step.⁷ Besides a terracotta mask, fairly noteworthy among the finds from this building complex is a trade weight (419.18 g) of the Euboic-Attic standard with the grafito “M” (abbreviation of $\mu\nu\hat{\omega}$).

Researches of the recent three years have shown that the occupation of this urban area began in the second quarter of the 5th century BC.⁸ It was related to the construction here of the defensive wall. The fortifications of that period included a rectangular gate tower preserved to the height of up to 0.94 m and an adjoining stone staircase about 2 m wide and 5.4 m long in its base. The preserved four steps of the latter were inclined at an angle of 30°, suggesting that it gave onto the top platform of the tower at a height of about 3.5 m. The walls of the tower were 0.85 m thick with a three-layered structure: two faces laid of blocks set with their uneven sides inwards and a filling layer of rammed clay and rubble between them. The internal room of the tower was probably intended for housing the permanent guards of the city’s entrance rather than for any defensive purposes. The long-term presence of a few persons here is suggested by the remains of a hearth (0.6 × 0.55 m) with layers of ash and food remains uncovered in the south-western corner of the tower.

A similar defensive structure with a gate tower and a staircase is known only in the Thracian city of Pistiros founded by the Greeks in the second quarter of the 5th century BC. It is situated on a flat bank of the Maritsa River more than 300 km inland from the sea.⁹ J. Bouzek, who compared the

⁷ Cf. a huge three-stepped altar discovered by V. Tizengauzen: *OAK за 1878–1879 г.* (СПб. 1881) IX.

⁸ Горончаровский (п. 6) 58.

⁹ M. Domaradzki, “An Interim Report on Archaeological Investigations at Vetren-Pistiros, 1988–1994”, *Pistiros I. Excavations and Studies* (Prague 1996) 18–19, Fig. 1. 4; 1. 8; 2. 2; Я. Г. Бузек, “Эмпории во Фракии, их значение в системе этнокультурных отношений и их параллели в других странах периферии греческого мира” (J. G. Bouzek, “Emporia in Thracia, Their Significance in the System of Ethno-Cultural Interactions, and Their Parallels in Other Countries at the Periphery of the Greek World”), *Международные отношения в бассейне Черного моря в древности и средние века* (Ростов-на-Дону 2003) 16–18.

fortifications of Pistiros with various defensive structures in northern Greece, came to the conclusion that the former resemble mostly the city walls of Thasos. The impulse for sending a party of settlers deep into a barbarous territory may have resulted in the defeat of the revolt against Athens by the inhabitants of the island in 465 BC.¹⁰ The erection of similar fortification structures during the same chronological interval in a Greek city in the land of the Sindoi can hardly be accidental. There are grounds to suppose that either a Thasian architect took part in building of Labrys or that there were some colonists from Thasian possessions on the Thracian coast seized by the Athenians.¹¹ In any case, the composition of finds from the early layer,—numerous fragments of black-glazed ware (up to 18% of the total ceramic assemblage not counting the amphorae) and a number of graffiti composed of 1–5 letters (including two with so-called trade marks)—suggests that at this stage the city existed as a Greek centre in Sindica.¹² Probably, Labrys was founded by the Greeks according to a special agreement as a result of peaceful contacts with the Sindoi.

The earliest fortifications in the northern and southern areas of the city survived only for a short while until they were destroyed during military activities at the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century BC. A thick layer containing ashes, charcoal and sling stones is related to those events. In addition, a lentiform lead sling shot (weighing 55.6 g) was found here.¹³ After Labrys and the Sindian lands had been included into the structure of the Bosporan Kingdom, new fortifications (preserved now to a height of about 1.6 m) were built using the previous defensive walls as foundations (Fig. 3). The link between the two building periods is expressed by the turn of the defensive wall at the place where presumably there was a gate. In the area in front of the latter on the city's side, any

¹⁰ J. Bouzek, "The Position of the Pistiros Fortifications in the Development of the Ancient Poliorcetics and Stonecutting Techniques", *Pistiros I. Excavations and Studies* (Prague 1996) 44.

¹¹ Compare: П. Балабанов, "Крепостного строителство в древна Тракия" (P. Balabanov, "Fortification building in ancient Thracia"), *Крепостното строителство на Българските земи* (София 2000) 35.

¹² V. Goroncharovskii, "Study of the Semibratnee city site (Labris)", *Black Sea Area in the Hellenistic World System* (Tbilisi 2005) 77–78.

¹³ In this connection note the following information on ten lead sling shots without figures nor inscriptions found by chance at the Semibratneye townsite: Д. А. Скобелев, "К вопросу о находках снарядов пращи на юго-западе Краснодарского края" (D. A. Skobelev, "On the Problem of the Finds of Sling Shots from the South-West of Krasnodar Kray"), *Parabellum* 2003: 4, 102.

building remains were absent. The only exception was the foundation of a wall (1.28 m wide) which was attached to the defences in the 2nd quarter of the 4th century BC *i. e.* soon after the construction of the latter. The wall was located near the entrance to the tower, so its purpose may have been to narrow the approach to the gate from the city's side.¹⁴ Close nearby there was a pit with fragments of Heracleian amphorae. These included several examples with early stamps with the names of Διονυσίο[υ], Κερκίν[ου] and Δαμοφό[νου] dated to 375–365 BC.¹⁵ The absence of dwelling houses within the area adjoining the defensive wall testifies to an adherence to principles of the fortification according to which it was necessary to reserve an empty space (Philo, *Parasceuastica et polir.* 10).

The defensive system of Labrys was destroyed again at the end of the 4th century BC. Judging by the three-stepped stone staircase leading to the level above which the fortifications were destroyed, the southern part of the city remained undefended during the following period.

Future archaeological studies of Labrys undoubtedly promise to yield essentially new information on the early stage of Graeco-Sindian relations and the subsequent development of this region.

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¹⁴ A similar situation was revealed during excavations of the defensive wall of the 4th century BC in Ampurias: E. Samarti-Grego, “J. Trilla. Nuevos datos la historia y topografía de las murallas de Emporion”, *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 (1992) 102 Fig. 1.

¹⁵ С. Ю. Монахов, *Греческие амфоры в Причерноморье* [S. Yu. Monakhov, “Greek Amphorae in the Black Sea Area”] (Саратов 1999) 253, 307.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Fig. 1. Two-stepped altar at the *temenos* (view from the South)

Fig. 2. Remains of the fortification structures in the southern section of the townsite (view from the West), 5th–4th cent. BC