

HYPERBOREUS

STUDIA CLASSICA

ναυσι δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰών κεν εὖροις
ἐς Ἑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν

(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29–30)

EDITORES

NINA ALMAZOVA SOFIA EGOROVA
DENIS KEYER ALEXANDER VERLINSKY

PETROPOLI

Vol. 31 2025 Fasc. 2

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA PETROPOLITANA

HYPERBOREUS: Классическая филология и история

Выходит два раза в год

Редакция: Н. А. Алмазова, А. Л. Верлинский (отв. ред. выпуска),
С. К. Егорова, Д. В. Кейер
Редакционный совет: Михаэль фон Альбрехт, А. К. Гаврилов,
Пэт Истерлинг, Вальтер Лапини, Карло Лукарини,
Дуглас Олсон, Д. В. Панченко, Штефан Ребених,
Юрген Хаммерштедт
Адрес редакции: 197198, С.-Петербург, ул. Красного Курсанта, д. 6/9
Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana (HYPERBOREUS)
E-mail: hyperbicl@gmail.com
bibliotheca-classica.org/hyperboreus

HYPERBOREUS: Studia Classica

HYPERBOREUS wurde im Jahre 1994 durch die Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana gegründet. Die Zeitschrift erscheint in zwei Halbjahresschriften.

Herausgeber: Nina Almazova, Sofia Egorova,
Denis Keyer, Alexander Verlinsky (verantw.)
Wissenschaftlicher Beirat: Michael von Albrecht, P. E. Easterling, Alexander Gavrilov,
Jürgen Hammerstädt, Walter Lapini, Carlo M. Lucarini,
Douglas Olson, Dmitri Panchenko, Stephan Rebenich
Alle für die Redaktion bestimmten Manuskripte und Einsendungen sind zu richten an:
Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana (HYPERBOREUS)
ul. Krasnogo Kursanta 6/9
197198 St. Petersburg, Russia
E-mail: hyperbicl@gmail.com
bibliotheca-classica.org/hyperboreus

Die Publikationssprachen im HYPERBOREUS sind Russisch, Englisch, Französisch, Deutsch, Italienisch und Lateinisch; den Beiträgen wird jeweils eine Zusammenfassung auf Englisch und Russisch hinzugefügt.

Online veröffentlicht bei

BERN OPEN PUBLISHING
Universitätsbibliothek Bern
Hochschulstrasse 6 CH-3012 Bern
bop@unibe.ch

Diese Open-Access-Publikation steht unter der Lizenz
Creative Commons Namensnennung 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0).
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

© 2026 Verfasserinnen und Verfasser der Beiträge

Wissenschaftliche Redaktion und Begutachtung:
BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA PETROPOLITANA

ISSN 0949-2615 (Druckausgabe)

ISSN 3042-8386 (Online-Ausgabe)

CONSPECTUS

А. И. ЗАЙЦЕВ	
Древнейшее место культа Эдипа	197
[Alexander Zaicev, The Oldest Location of Oedipus' Cult]	
ZOIA BARZAKH	
Sophocles <i>OT</i> 809: The Response of the Defense	203
WALTER LAPINI	
Note ad alcuni scoli ad Aristofane	
(<i>Ach.</i> 794; <i>Eq.</i> 478b, 781b, 1034b; <i>Nub.</i> 144c, 421d, 450b. α, 1017;	
<i>Lys.</i> arg. I; <i>Ran.</i> 775a; <i>Plut.</i> 550c)	219
ANTON V. KOROLENKOV	
On Some Triumphs in the Epoch of Civil Wars	
in the Roman Republic	234
PHILIP BOSERUP-LEMIRE	
A Critical Note on Servius' <i>Commentary</i> on Verg. <i>Aen.</i> 6. 1–2	249
DENIS KEYER	
<i>Certum est dare lintea retro</i> : Juvenal 3. 205; 5. 141, 143–144;	
6. 195, 197–198 Reconsidered	252

ARCHAEOLOGICA ET EPIGRAPHICA

NATALIA PAVLICHENKO, VIKTOR VAKHONEEV	
New Funerary Lead Urns with Inscriptions from the Necropolis	
of Tauric Chersonesos	281
NATALIA PAVLICHENKO	
Marble Plaques in Tombstones from the Southern Suburb	
of Tauric Chersonesos	315
Keywords	342

Статьи сопровождаются резюме на русском и английском языке
Summary in Russian and English

А. И. Зайцев

ДРЕВНЕЙШЕЕ МЕСТО КУЛЬТА ЭДИПА*

Характерной особенностью древнегреческих героев является то обстоятельство, что многие герои, будучи адресатами специфического для греческой религии героического культа, оказались в то же время действующими лицами героического эпоса, а затем и других произведений литературы, опиравшихся на эпос. В ряде случаев приходится иметь дело и с вторичным возникновением героического культа, адресованного популярному персонажу эпоса. В этих условиях изучение мест и форм культа является важнейшим элементом исследования при попытке реконструировать историю мифов о том или ином герое.

Естественно, так обстоит дело и для мифов об Эдипе. Как известно, наибольшее распространение в Греции и греко-римском мире получила та форма мифа об Эдипе, которую закрепил и, в известной степени, сделал канонической в своих трагедиях Софокл: нужно помнить, в частности, что и «Финикиянки» и не дошедшие до нас трагедии Еврипида, разрабатывавшие миф об Эдипе, были написаны и поставлены до софокловского «Эдипа в Колоне», так что за Софоклом осталось как бы последнее слово.

Однако в важнейшем пункте – вопросе о месте смерти Эдипа – Еврипид и Софокл едины. В «Финикиянках» (1703–1707) Эдип говорит о том, что, согласно предсказанию Аполлона, он вскоре закончит свой жизненный путь в Колоне – предместье Афин, а Софокл подробно описывает его кончину в Колоне.

* Текст доклада 1971 г. из архива А. И. Зайцева (1926–2000) относится к неосуществленному замыслу большой работы, посвященной мифу об Эдипе и культу этого героя. К проблематике статьи, публикуемой в нашей редакции, примыкают работы А. И. Зайцева разных лет об Этеоне-Скафле в Беотии, древнейшем, как он доказывал, месте героического культа Эдипа (см.: Зайцев 2003, 146–148, 362–380). – *Прим. ред.*

Во времена Павсания в Колоне находился ἥρῳον Эдипа (Paus. I, 30, 4), однако едва ли он был древним. В финале «Эдипа в Колоне» Исмена говорит об исчезновении Эдипа (1732): ἄταφος ἔπιτνε δίχα τε παντός. И далее Софокл дает диалог Антигоны и Тесея (1757–1763, пер. Ф. Ф. Зелинского):

- А. О, дозволю нам взглянуть на могилу отца!
 Т. Я не властен, родные, ее указать.
 А. Что ты молвишь, державный владыка Афин?
 Т. Ваш отец наказал: не давать никому
 Ни коснуться стопой заповедной земли,
 Ни нарушить приветом святой тишины,
 Что страдальца могилу навеки блюдет.

Такие выражения были бы абсолютно неуместны на сцене в театре в Афинах, если бы героон, который видел Павсаний, уже существовал во времена Софокла: героон ставился на месте действительного или предполагаемого погребения героя. Он был сооружен, очевидно, после Софокла, руководствуясь, видимо, указанием Софокла, что Эдип исчез недалеко от памятника дружбы Тесея и Пирифоя; Павсаний упоминает герооны Эдипа и Тесея и Пирифоя рядом.¹

С другой стороны, в «Илиаде» упоминаются надгробные игры по Эдипу в Фивах (XXIII, 679–681), который, по «Одиссее», царствовал в Фивах и после самоубийства матери (XI, 271–280). Однако наши источники ничего не говорят о культе Эдипа в Фивах, а их довольно много, и они разнообразны, так что, если бы в историческую эпоху в Фивах показывали почитаемую могилу Эдипа, мы бы об этом что-либо слышали. Перед нами отнюдь не редкое расхождение свидетельств гомеровских поэм и послегомеровской практики героических культов.

К тому же у нас есть сведения о почитании Эдипа в совсем другом месте в Беотии. А именно, в схолиях к «Эдипу в Колоне» Софокла (ad v. 91) сохранилась цитата из Лисимаха Александрийского, который в сочинении о фиванских древностях, ссылаясь на некоего не известного нам Аридзела, утверждал, что

¹ К проблеме культа Эдипа в Колоне см. Kearns 1989, 50–53; 189; 208–210. – *Прим. ред.*

Эдип был похоронен в святилище Деметры в Этеоне. Этот Этеон упоминается в гомеровском «Каталоге кораблей» как город Беотии вслед за Сколом (в том же стихе II, 497). Источники послегомеровского времени упоминают Скол как полис т. н. Парасопиды – области вдоль по течению реки Асопа, расположенной в восточной части Беотии вдоль Киферона – горной цепи на границе с Аттикой и Мегаридой.² К той же Парасопиде относится «География» Страбона (IX, 2, 24, р. 408 С) и Этеон, заявляя, правда, при этом, что он был позднее переименован в Скафлы (Σκάφλαι: это чтение рукописное, напрасно измененное Ксиландром на Σκάρφη, что сохранялось до сих пор во всех изданиях Страбона, но опровергается этниконом Σκαφλικά в надписи IV в. SEG XV, 1958, № 161).³

Как справедливо указывает Джованнини,⁴ весьма вероятно, что в действительности имела место не акция переименования, а жители Скафлы, стремившиеся, как и жители других греческих городов, доказать древность своего полиса, отождествили его с гомеровским Этеоном, но, повторяю, это не меняет дела. Скол, древний Этеон и новая Скафла находились рядом, в небольшой даже по греческим меркам области у подножия Киферона.

Этеон назван у Гомера πολύκνημος (древний вариант πολύκρημος). Очевидно, положение Скафлы отвечало этой характеристике, как это подтверждает и Аполлодор, цитируемый Страбоном (VIII, 3, 6).

По-видимому, и заявление Лисимаха–Аридзела, что могила Эдипа находилась в святилище Деметры, основано, в конечном счете, на аутопсии. Я думаю, что это святилище Деметры – то же самое святилище Деметры и Коры, которое упоминает, рассказывая о разрушенном в его время Сколе, Павсаний (IX, 4, 4), ибо в условиях запустения топографические сведения Павсания были, естественно, приблизительными, а существование двух святилищ Деметры по соседству невероятно – жрецы их просто не прокормились бы от приношений.

² См. Burg 1944, 21 Anm. 1; Visser 1997, 254. – Прим. ред.

³ Чтение Σκάφλαι принято в издании Ш. Радта: Radt 2004, 54, см. Radt 2008, 48–49. – Прим. ред.

⁴ Giovannini 1969, 13. [Джованнини считал правильным название города Σκάφαι, следуя *Hell. Oxyrh.* XVII, 3. – Прим. ред.]

То, что почитаемая могила Эдипа демонстрировалась в таком глухом месте, говорит за ее большую древность. Жрецы святилища и жители Этеона-Скафлы не могли рассчитывать, так сказать, притянуть к себе культ Эдипа из какого-то другого места, скажем, из Фив или Колона. Естественнее всего думать, что именно в Этеоне-Скафле этот культ был исконным.

Однако у нас есть, как мне кажется, и прямое свидетельство того, что могила Эдипа в Скафле не была результатом широко практиковавшейся в эллинистическую эпоху реставрации подлинных и фабрикация псевдоархаических культов, обрядов, празднеств.

Ф. Ф. Зелинский разработал метод реконструкции утраченных версий мифов, используя т. н. рудиментарные мотивы в греческой трагедии.⁵ Так, действующие лица нередко высказывают не исполняющиеся планы, пожелания, опасения, которые не вытекают из развития действия данной трагедии, а восходят к сюжетам трагедий – предшественниц данной.

Этот метод привел к важным, убедительным результатам, и мы можем применить его и в нашем случае.

Тиресий намекает на возвращение Эдипа на Киферон (*Oed. R.* 415–423, пер. Ф. Ф. Зелинского):⁶

И час придет – двойным разя ударом,
И за отца, и за родную мать,
Тебя изгонит из земли фиванской
Железною стопой проклятья дух,
И вместо света тьма тебя покроет.
Где не найдешь ты гавани стенаньям?
Где не ответит крикам Киферон,
Когда поймешь, что к свадьбе в этом доме
С добром ты плыл, но не к добру приплыл..?

В незавершенной трагедии Сенеки, носящей название «Финикиянки», в самой первой сцене Эдип ищет смерти на Кифероне. Он говорит ведущей его Антигоне (пер. С. А. Ошерова):

⁵ Зелинский 1912, 9–15; Zieliński 1925, 1–132 (*Liber primus. De locis tragoediae Graecae rudimentalibus*). – Прим. ред.

⁶ Ср. Kraggerud 1991, 47–49.

Дай слепоте вести меня
Туда, где склоны ввысь вознес стремнистые
Мой Киферон... (11–13)

Есть и мое в тех чашах место, вновь меня
Оно зовет настойчиво; спешу туда.
Уверенно туда без провожатого
Дойду. Зачем к себе вернуться медлю я?
Дай смерть мне, Киферон, дай в том убежище,
Где должен был я сгинуть во младенчестве,
Погибнуть старцем. (27–33)

В трагедии «Эдип-царь» претерпевший катастрофу слепой Эдип говорит Креонту, что он никогда не сможет жить в Фивах и деме (1451–1454, пер. Ф. Ф. Зелинского):

ἀλλ' ἔα με ναίειν ὄρεσιν, ἔνθα κλήζεται
οὐμὸς Κιθαίων οὗτος, ὃν μήτηρ τέ μοι
πατήρ τ' ἐθέσθην ζῶντε κύριον τάφον,
ἴν' ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἳ μ' ἀπολλύτην, θάνω.

Отправь меня в пустыню,
Где главу возвысил
Мой Киферон. Законною могилой
Он от отца и матери мне дан:
Пусть волю их исполнит смерть моя.

Фр.-Г. Шомартен предполагает, что именно эти слова Софокла послужили отправным пунктом для Сенеки в его «Финикиянках».⁷

А. И. Зайцев

Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет

Библиография

- А. И. Зайцев. *Избранные статьи* (СПб. 2003).
Ф. Ф. Зелинский. Рудиментарные мотивы в греческой трагедии // *ПРО-ПЕΜΠΗΡΙΑ: Сборник статей, изданный Одесским обществом истории и древностей в честь почетного члена Э. Р. фон Штерна* (Одесса 1912) 9–15.
V. Burr. *Neon Katalogos. Untersuchungen zum homerische Schiffskatalog* (Leipzig 1944).

⁷ Chaumartin 1996.

- F.-R. Chaumartin (éd., trad.). *Sénèque. Tragédies I* (Paris 1996).
- A. Giovannini. *Étude historique sur les origines du Catalogue des vaisseaux* (Berne 1969).
- E. Kearns. *The Heroes of Attica*. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, suppl. 57 (London 1989).
- E. Kraggerud. Oedipus Rex 420–421. *Symbolae Osloenses* 66 (1991) 47–49.
- S. Radt. *Strabons Geographika 3: Buch IX–XIII* (Göttingen 2004).
- S. Radt. *Strabons Geographika 7: Buch IX–XIII. Kommentar* (Göttingen 2008).
- E. Visser. *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1997).
- Th. Zielinski. *Tragodumenon libri tres* (Cracoviae 1925).

Alexander Zaicev, The Oldest Location of Oedipus' Cult

Although Pausanias (1. 30. 4) mentions a heroon of Oedipus in Colonus, it follows from the final scene of Soph. *OC* (1732, 1757–1763) that in Attica of Sophocles' times, his burial site was considered unknown and there was no heroon erected over his grave. Despite the numerous sources we possess, there is no evidence of Oedipus' cult in Thebes in historical times. However, there is a testimony (*sch. Soph. OC* 91) that Oedipus was buried in the sanctuary of Demeter in the Boeotian town of Eteon, identified with Scaphlae, at the foot of the Cithaeron. The inhabitants of such a secluded place could hardly claim the authenticity of this burial if it were challenged in Thebes or Colonus. This is an argument for supposing that the cult of Oedipus originated precisely in Eteon-Scaphlae. This is further supported by the hints in Soph. *OR*. (421; 1451–1454) and Sen. *Phoen.* (13; 31) that Oedipus was destined to die on Cithaeron, if we apply Th. Zielinski's method of reconstructing lost mythic versions from rudimentary motifs in tragedy.

Хотя Павсаний (I, 30, 4) упоминает героон Эдипа в Колоне, из заключительной сцены Soph. *OC* (1732, 1757–1763) следует, что во времена Софокла в Аттике место его погребения считалось неизвестным и, соответственно, героон над ним возведен не был. В Фивах культ Эдипа не засвидетельствован в историческую эпоху, несмотря на многочисленность наших источников. Однако есть сведения (*sch. Soph. OC* 91), что Эдип был похоронен в святилище Деметры в беотийском городе Этеоне, который отождествляют со Скафлой у подножия Киферона. Жители столь глухого места не могли бы настаивать на подлинности захоронения, если бы ее оспаривали в Фивах или в Колоне. Это аргумент в пользу предположения, что именно в Этеоне-Скафле культ Эдипа был исконным. К тому же выводу можно прийти, если, применяя разработанный Ф. Ф. Зелинским метод реконструкции утраченных версий мифов по рудиментарным мотивам в трагедии, обратить внимание, что в «Царе Эдипе» Софокла (421; 1451–1454) и в «Финикиянках» Сенеки (13; 31) есть намеки, что Эдипу суждено умереть на Кифероне.

Zoia Barzakh

SOPHOCLES *OT* 809: THE RESPONSE OF THE DEFENSE*

This paper is intended as a response to the expert opinion on the question of the guilt of Oedipus in killing Laius, recently published in *Hermes* by N. Almazova.¹ Here the expert concludes that “Oedipus is guilty of killing in excess of self-defense”.²

At the original trial, which took place on the stage of the Athenian Theatre of Dionysus more than twenty-five centuries ago, the defendant stood no chance: almost all procedural roles – including that of the ἄρχων βασιλεύς overseeing the trial, the injured party (διώκων) represented by the closest relative of the victim, the accused (φεύγων), the judge, and the executioner – were concentrated in a single pair of hands, and in those of a person who, by the very nature of things, could not have been impartial. To compensate for this miscarriage of justice, I hereby assume the duties of an advocate for the defendant and, in what follows, respond to the conclusion of the expert who sided with the prosecutor.³

* I express a gratitude for the anonymous reviewers of *Hyperboreus* for their profound and thought-provoking comments which helped me a lot in preparing this article for the publication.

¹ Almazova 2025, 159–170.

² Almazova 2025, 168.

³ B. Manuwald, in his commentary to the tragedy (2012, 40–42), answering the article of Harris (2010), where the author also states that Oedipus was, according to the Athenian law, guilty of homicide, questions the very relevance of such “juridical” approach to the tragedy – namely, the applicability of legal norms to the situation described in it. However, both the frequent use of legal terminology and procedural details of Athenian homicide trial in this particular tragedy (on which see esp. Knox 1957, 19–20, 80–81, and 95–97) and the testimonies about relevance of the law court practices for the understanding of Greek tragedy in general collected by Harris (2010, 129–130) speak for such approach.

Even the prosecution does not deny that, according to the description given in *OT* 802–813, it was Laius and his party who started the fight. Our sources give us the description of two cases – one real and one fictitious – tried before Athenian court, in which the defense maintained that the deceased was the initial aggressor. Surprisingly, in none of these cases does the defense insist that the life and health of the killer was in immediate danger and that he had to defend himself to avoid it. However, even in such situations, the defense based its argument on the mere fact that the initial physical aggression was that of the deceased and, evidently, could reasonably expect this to be enough for the killer to be absolved by the jury.

A real case of this kind is that of a certain Euaenus, reported by Demosthenes in the speech *Against Meidias* (Dem. 21. 71–76).⁴ Here, the defendant killed the victim during a private banquet in response to a slap in the face. According to Demosthenes, he was convicted by a majority of one vote (21. 75):

ἀκούω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔγωγε μιᾷ μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ, καὶ ταῦτ' οὔτε κλαύσαντ' οὔτε δεηθέντα τῶν δικαστῶν οὐδενός, οὔτε φιλάνθρωπον οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγ' οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ποιήσαντα. θῶμεν τοίνυν οὕτωςί, τοὺς μὲν καταγόντας αὐτοῦ μὴ ὅτι ἡμίνατο, διὰ τοῦτο καταψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὥστε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, τοὺς δ' ἀπογόντας καὶ ταύτην τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τιμωρίας τῷ γε τὸ σῶμ' ὑβρισμένῳ δεδωκέναι.

In fact, according to what I personally hear, he was convicted by a single vote, and this happened without him shedding any tears or begging any of the judges or doing anything at all, large or small, to make the judges sympathetic to him. So let us draw the following conclusion: on the one hand, the judges who decided against him voted to convict not because he struck back but because he struck back in such a way that he actually killed him; on the other, those who voted to acquit allowed an extreme amount of retaliation to a man who was the victim of physical indignity.⁵

⁴ Harris 2010, 136 states that “the story of Oedipus’ killing of Laius bears a strong resemblance in certain regards to Euaion’s murder of Boeotus”.

⁵ Transl. Harris 2008, 113.

The expert cites this case as proof that “Athenian law did not guarantee the right to defend oneself by any means against anyone who struck the first blow”.⁶ However, Euaenus did not defend himself, but rather, he avenged himself. As far as we can judge from Demosthenes’ report, the defense in this case did not seek to establish that the defendant faced an immediate threat to life or limb; on the contrary, the defense’s position was that the slap in the face constituted such an unbearable offense that it justified the use of deadly force.

It is certainly true that this case “shows that the Athenian court did not consider provocation as automatic ground for acquittal”.⁷ However, it also shows that even a simple provocation, without threat to life, could serve as grounds for acquittal – otherwise, nearly half of the judges would not have voted to acquit a murderer in a case that clearly did not involve such danger.

Note that the context of Demosthenes’ speech points in the same direction: the case is introduced not to show that simple revenge cannot serve as grounds for the acquittal of a killer, but, on the contrary, to demonstrate that a bodily insult such as a blow to the face can constitute sufficient provocation even for a murderous attack, and that in such a case, the killer deserves understanding, if not pardon.⁸ Demosthenes accuses Meidias of assault and battery: the accused slapped the orator in the face during a public festival, at which the latter was serving as a *choregos*. The accuser aptly refers to the case of Euaenus for a dual purpose: to show how serious an insult a slap in the face is, and to contrast his own self-restraint and commitment to legal procedure with the impulsive reaction of Euaenus. The logic of Demosthenes’ argument is as follows: Boeotus slapped Euaenus in the face during a private banquet, when the insulted party was not engaged in official duties, after which Euaenus killed the offender and was convicted by the margin of a single vote. The insult I suffered was far greater: I was slapped in the face in public, while performing an official duty. Therefore, I could have killed Meidias on the spot

⁶ Almazova 2025, 159–160 with n. 5.

⁷ Harris 2016, 212. I am grateful for the anonymous reviewer of *Hyperboreus* for drawing my attention to this article.

⁸ In my analysis of the case of Euaenus in the speech of Demosthenes, I follow Cairns 2015, 651–652.

and would probably have been acquitted. Instead, I chose to prosecute him through legal channels – what a responsible citizen I am!

This is clearly an *a fortiori* argument and, as has already been shown by A. Sommerstein, it can likewise be employed by the defence in the case of Oedipus.⁹

The second, fictitious, homicide case in which, according to the defence, it was the deceased who initiated the fight, is the situation presented in Antiphon's *Third Tetralogy*. Here, too, the incident took place during a private banquet, where, according to the defence, a drunken fellow attacked the defendant and was eventually killed by him (or rather, suffered physical injuries that eventually led to his death, for which, according to the defence, the physician's incompetence in treating him was at least partly responsible). Analysis of this case shows that, according to M. Gagarin, "the fact that the victim started the fight could bolster someone's defence on the charge of intentional homicide but did not necessarily make the killing lawful". However, here again the wrongdoing in question is not a killing in self-defence in the strict sense of the term, but a killing following provocation, as the defence never claims that the life or health of the defendant was in any danger during the fight. Instead, from the opening of his first speech, the defendant bases his position on the assertion that "it is just" (δίκαιον) to use greater force against one who initiates the fight (Antiph. 4. 2. 2):

οἶμαι μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὔτε δίκαια τούτους οὔθ' ὅσια δρᾶν
ἐγκαλοῦντας ἐμοί. τὸν γὰρ ἄρξαντα τῆς πληγῆς, εἰ μὲν σιδήρω
ἢ λίθῳ ἢ ξύλῳ ἡμυνάμην αὐτόν, ἠδίκουν μὲν οὐδ' οὕτως – οὐ
γὰρ ταῦτ' ἀλλὰ μείζονα καὶ πλείονα δίκαιοι οἱ ἄρχοντες ἀντι-
πάσχειν εἰσὶν – ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τυπτόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ταῖς χερσὶν
ἄπερ ἔπασχον ἀντιδρῶν, πότερα ἠδίκουν;

Note that this statement directly contradicts the principle of adequate and sufficient self-defence and could not have been made

⁹ Sommerstein 2010, 221 n. 29: Euaenus kills the drunk fellow on the spot for slapping him in the face, and "Demosthenes /.../, who tells the story, clearly expects his jury to sympathize with Euaion. Much more would they have sympathized with a man who had been subjected to a murderous assault by the leader of a party of five men on a lonely country road".

if this principle were applicable in the Athenian homicide court. It is unclear whether the statement contains a quotation from an actual legal provision;¹⁰ however, in the following speech (Antiph. 4. 3. 2) the plaintiff explicitly refers to a provision according to which the one who initiated the fight (ἄρξας τῆς πληγῆς) is responsible (αἴτιος) for the outcome under the law (κατὰ τὸν νόμον).¹¹ In what follows, the plaintiff does not deny the existence of such a law, but argues that it was the defendant, rather than the deceased, who initiated the fight.¹² In the final speech, the friends of the defendant – who by this time had gone into exile – refer to the same provision as a universally written law (γέγραπται, 4. 4. 7):

τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἄρξαντι πανταχοῦ μεγάλα ἐπιτίμια ἐπίκειται, τῷ δὲ ἀμυνομένῳ οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἐπιτίμιον γέγραπται.¹³

In this tetralogy, as in the previous one, a separate and well-known problem is posed by the repeated statement that the law prohibits killing “either justly or unjustly” (4. 2. 3: ὁ νόμος εἴργων μήτε δικαίως μήτε ἀδίκως ἀποκτείνειν, cf. 3. 2. 9, 3. 3. 7, 4. 4. 8).¹⁴ However, this “law” is in evident contradiction, not only with the principle of legitimate self-defense or retribution, but also with Attic homicide law in general, since that law establishes a separate jurisdiction – the Delphinion court – specifically for cases in which the defense maintained that the homicide had indeed taken place but was nevertheless justifiable under the circumstances (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57. 3: ἐὰν δ’ ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν τις ὁμολογῇ, φῆ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους).

¹⁰ Carawan 1998, 302 suggests that both the provision about the use of greater force against one who struck the first blow and the exact wording of the speech, mentioning “sword, stone or stick” were directly borrowed from Dracon’s law about homicide.

¹¹ Gagarin 1978 a, 115.

¹² Cf. Gagarin 1998, 166 ad 4. 2. 1 ἄρχων... χειρῶν ἀδίκων: “The point might be decisive, if it were clear that the victim struck the first blow and the defendant was acting solely in self-defense, but it is not”.

¹³ Gagarin 1978 a, 115 n. 20. Cf. Gagarin 1998, 172 ad loc.: “the reference to a written penalty (γέγραπται) indicates that A. has in mind the written laws of all Greek cities”.

¹⁴ I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of the article for drawing my attention to this problem.

Both Aristotle (*loc. cit.*) and Demosthenes (23. 53) provide a full list of such cases, including attempted sexual violence against a female relative, accidental killing during athletic competitions, and the killing of a fellow soldier in wartime after mistaking him for an enemy. Therefore, the “law” mentioned by Antiphon cannot have been part of the written Athenian penal code. This point has long been acknowledged by scholars, who have addressed the problem in different ways. Dittenberger¹⁵ uses it as proof that the laws cited in Antiphon’s tetralogies are as fictitious as the cases discussed in them, and therefore that the tetralogies should be excluded from the corpus of sources for Attic legislation. Gagarin argues that this prohibition is not, strictly speaking, a law at all, but a moral rather than a legal injunction, deployed for rhetorical purposes,¹⁶ while Carawan lists this provision among the arguments for a later date of the tetralogies and for their non-Antiphontean origin.¹⁷

In his later commentary on Antiphon’s *Tetralogies*, Gagarin suggests understanding δικάίως as “intentional” and ἀδίκως as “unintentional”;¹⁸ however, he fails to support this proposal with examples of comparable uses of these adverbs (or adjectives derived from the same root) in other sources. As a result, he is forced to assume an idiosyncratic usage of this otherwise common root in these passages of Antiphon, an assumption that seems highly problematic.

Therefore, we may assume that, according to the practice of the Athenian homicide courts, in cases where the victim had initiated the fight, this could constitute grounds for the acquittal of the killer, even if his life or health was not in immediate danger, and the killing was, strictly speaking, retaliatory rather than defensive.¹⁹

¹⁵ Dittenberger 1896, 271–277.

¹⁶ Gagarin 1978 b, 291–306.

¹⁷ Carawan 1993, 254–268.

¹⁸ Gagarin 1997, 151.

¹⁹ The question of whether we possess the exact formulation of this principle in the form of statutory provision is more complicated than it may seem at the first glance. Our main primary source on Draco’s homicide law is *IG*³104, the severely damaged stela dated from the end of the 5th century (for the history of its restorations and publications, see Harris–Canevaro 2023, 2). The restoration ἐὰν ἄρχον]τα χειρῶν ἀ[δίκων κτείνῃ for its lines 33–35 was proposed by Köhler in 1867 and since then accepted almost unanimously (see e. g. Roberts–Gardiner 1905, 67; Gagarin 1981, 61–62). However, E. Harris has lately doubted this

When we look closely at the detailed description of the encounter at the crossroads in *OT* 802–813, we see that Sophocles persistently stresses that the initial aggression was that of Laius and his attendants. As P. Finglass aptly observes in his commentary, “the fatal encounter is highly factual reportage, with no explicit attempt by Oedipus to justify his homicide”.²⁰ Yet, as J. Bremmer notes, “it would have been easy for the poet to add a line or two and make Oedipus the aggressor, as Euripides did in *Phoen.* 41–44. But Sophocles preferred to show an Oedipus who, being attacked (vv. 802–805) on a lonely mountain pass, defends himself against an unprovoked assault”.²¹

The first aggression was that of the τροχηλάτης: the expressions πρὸς βίαν ἤλαυνέτην in v. 805 and τὸν ἐκτρέποντα in v. 806 can only denote physical assault. As J. March puts it in her recent commentary, “Oedipus makes it clear that the driver was the aggressor and that he himself struck back in retaliation”.²² Note that Oedipus’ words ὄχου παραστείχοντα in v. 809 can only mean that, after a violent but brief exchange with the τροχηλάτης, Oedipus eventually gave way to the procession – as opposed to the description in Euripides *Phoen.* 40–41, where Oedipus, μέγα φρονῶν, refuses to give way until his feet are wounded by the horses’ hooves.

Everything could have ended with a brief exchange of blows – and perhaps some inurbane words – with the τροχηλάτης, were it not for Laius’ unprovoked attack.²³ “We note that Laius does not merely strike out of retaliatory anger, but watched and waited, and then

restoration, referring to the autopsy of the stone by R. Pitt in November 2016 and arguing that the restoration is mistakenly based on the literarily sources, all of which are relevant for the law about assault (αικείας), not the law about homicide (Harris 2016, 203–216). In his recent republication of the inscription (Harris–Canevaro 2023, 50–52) Harris refers to the relevant portion of the text as follows: “after l. 29, we can read only a few letters at the beginnings and the ends of the lines, as far as l. 58”. We cannot argue against the autopsy and agree that the most of the texts containing the expression ἄρχων χειρῶν ἀδίκων deal with the non-lethal violence; however, this is not the case with the third tetralogy of Antiphon, and we cannot see why, according to Harris 2016, 213, here, too, “the defendant is *clearly* relying on the law about assault” (italics mine).

²⁰ Finglass 2018, 409.

²¹ Bremer 1989, 156.

²² March 2020, 244.

²³ To my knowledge, this detail was paid attention to only by Gregory 1995, 144.

struck with malice aforethought”, as J. March aptly remarks again.²⁴ He waited (τηρήσας,²⁵ v. 808) until Oedipus passed the carriage²⁶ and then struck at the precise moment when the blow was most dangerous and could even have been fatal.

Indeed, a closer examination of the scene shows that Oedipus’ aggression was not merely retaliatory, but self-defensive.²⁷ The expert’s main argument is that “(t)he extent to which he (scil. Oedipus – Z. B.) was in danger depends on the weapon used by Laius to strike his blow”.²⁸ This weapon, διπλᾶ κέντρα (v. 809), according to the expert, could have been either a whip or a goad.

Before turning to the crucial question – whether the weapon used by Laius was a whip or a goad – we should note that, even if it was a whip, Oedipus could reasonably have believed that his life was in danger. Indeed, P. Finglass translates κέντρα as “a whip”,²⁹ but nevertheless concludes that “Oedipus could have expected to be acquitted by an Athenian court, at least, on the ground of self-defense when his life was in danger”: he was attacked twice, the second time by the leader of a group of five men. Moreover, even a whip itself, if that is indeed what it was, could have proved to be a deadly weapon. It was used to strike bulls and horses, and its blows must therefore have penetrated thick hides; this implies that such a blow could be fatal when used on a human being. Indeed, in the prologue of *Ajax*, the protagonist, in a state of divinely sent frenzy, kills bulls with this

²⁴ March 2020, 244.

²⁵ It is true that, as noted by the anonymous reviewer of this article, the basic meaning of τηρέω is “to see, to watch”, not “to wait”. However, part. aor. τηρήσας with acc. cum part. always means “watch for, wait for” or even “seize an opportunity when” (LSJ s. v. τηρέω II. 2). Jebb (ad loc.) cites as a parallel Dem. 53. 17 τηρήσας με ἀνιόντα ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὄψῃ περὶ τὰς λιθοτομίας, “lay in wait for me near the stone quarries, as I was coming back from the Peiraeus”. Cf. Thuc. 8. 108. 4–5 τηρήσας ἀριστοποιουμένους, “waiting until they were at their midday meal”; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 2. 3. 5 τηρήσας τοὺς Λάκωνας διαβεβλημένους διὰ Πausανίαν, “...who seized the opportunity when the Lacedaemonians were discredited because of Pausanias”; Phlegon, *De mirab.* 4. 2. 3.

²⁶ On the syntax and textology of the passage see below.

²⁷ Pace Harris 2010, 135–139, who concludes that Oedipus’ aggression was retaliatory, not defensive.

²⁸ Almazova 2025, 162.

²⁹ Finglass 2018, 417.

very weapon, which proves *a fortiori* that for a human being this instrument posed a real danger.

However, κέντρα in v. 809 is, in likelihood, a goad rather than a whip. The expert concludes that “during the encounter at the crossroads Laius used a whip and did not try to kill the passer-by”.³⁰ Nevertheless, she admits that “(t)he general meaning of the word κέντρον is ‘any sharp point’ (LSJ s. v.)”.³¹ Indeed, the primary and most widespread meaning given by LSJ is “horse-goad” (LSJ s. v. κέντρον, A1). From this derive the metaphorical meanings such as “incentive” or “torture”. The word can also denote the “point of a spear”, the “sting of a bee”, or the “quills of a porcupine”, but it very rarely, if ever, refers to anything flexible.

It is true that, when the context allows – or even requires it – the word κέντρον can refer to a driver’s implement in a general sense. This is, as noted by the expert,³² the case in the tragic fragment quoted by Hesychius (Soph. fr. dub. 1140 Radt = fr. 802 Pearson), where the oars are likened to ῥηκτηρίοις κέντροισιν. Here, it is not important for the proper understanding of the simile which specific driver’s implement is meant – a goad or a whip. The similarity lies, as the expert observes, “down to function rather than form: the waves are likened to the horses and the oars to the instrument with which the driver beats them”. This broader sense – “the driver’s implement” – can also be assumed in two of the three Homeric passages cited by the expert.³³ In one of them (*Il.* 23. 384–390), κέντρον is used with negation: in v. 384 Apollo knocks the whip (μάστιγα) out of Diomedes’ hand, and his horses continue running ἄνευ κέντροιο (v. 387), until Athena returns the whip (μάστιγα, v. 390) to Diomedes. Here, it is clear from the context that the implement in question is a whip, and ἄνευ κέντροιο can safely be understood in the broader sense of “without being urged on by a driver”.

The situation with the compositum κεντρηνεκίας in *Il.* 5. 752 = 8. 396 is similar: the reader already knows that the implement Hera uses to urge on her horses is a μάστιξ (*Il.* 5. 748 = 8. 392), and the epithet can therefore be understood as “being urged on by the driver”.

³⁰ Almazova 2025, 168.

³¹ Almazova 2025, 162.

³² Almazova 2025, 163 with n. 28.

³³ Almazova 2025, 162.

It is worth noting that in neither of these cases is κέντρον used on its own, but rather either with a negation or as part of a compositum. In both instances, the context makes clear which driver's implement the reader is meant to imagine, and κέντρον or its derivatives can thus be employed in a wider sense.

In our passage, however, the reader or spectator is given no indication beyond the word κέντρον itself as to which implement was used, and it is therefore natural to understand the term in its primary sense, namely as “a goad”. In the third example cited by the expert, the instrument in Antilochus' hand is first called κέντρον (*Il.* 23. 430) and later ἰμάσθλη (23. 582). However, more than 150 verses separate these references, and both poet and audience may well have lost track of which implement was originally specified. The Homeric poems contain many such minor – and sometimes more substantial – contradictions, whether in the number of delegates sent on the mission to Achilles (*Il.* 9), the weather on the day of Odysseus' vengeance against the suitors (*Od.* 20. 114, cf. 104), or the presence or absence of the gods on Olympus at the time of Achilles' quarrel with Agamemnon (*Il.* 1. 423–435, cf. 222).³⁴

The expert admits that “the direction of the blow indicated by μέσον κάρα might speak in favor of a goad: it is easier to strike an exact blow to the center of the head with a sharp object than with a whip, especially a double whip”.³⁵ However, she accepts the emendation ὄχον for the manuscript reading ὄχου and construes the modifier μέσον as governed by it. The resulting sense is “watched me pass the center of the carriage”. It is, however, uncertain if any emendation is required in the first place. Already Erfurdt, in his edition, noted that “nihil, si quid video, in vulgata est, quod iure possit displicere”. He punctuates vv. 807–808 as καὶ μ' ὁ πρέσβυς, ὡς ὄρᾳ, / ὄχου, παραστείχοντα τηρήσας... and translates as follows: “Senex, inquit, simul ac vidit (verberari a me aurigam), e curru, observans illud ipsum temporis momentum, quo praeteribam, ferit me”.³⁶

³⁴ On the small inconsistencies and contradictions in Homer, see: Scott 1921, 137–144; Murray 1924, 243; Kirk 1983, 76, 97; Zaicev 1990 [А. И. Зайцев, “Древнегреческий героический эпос и ‘Илиада’ Гомера”, in: Гомер, *Илиада*], 405–406; Janko 1998, 7–8; Reese 2005, 50–56.

³⁵ Almazova 2025, 164.

³⁶ Erfurdt 1827, 236–237.

Similarly, Jebb in his edition translates vv. 807–809 as “from the chariot – having watched for the moment when I was passing – he came down upon me, full on my head (μέσον κάρα, accusative of the part affected), with a double goad”, and comments that “the genitive ὄχου marks the point from which the action sets on”.³⁷ The genitive as a “whence” case – that is, a genitive of separation denoting the point of departure of a movement – is used by Sophocles with remarkable freedom. Jebb (*ad loc.*) cites as a parallel *OT* 152 (lyr.) Πυθῶνος ... ἔβας. To this we may add *OT* 97–98 (χώρας ... ἐλαύνειν), 142–143 (βάρθρων ... ἴστασθε), 229 (γῆς δ' ἄπεισιν), 431 (οἴκων τῶνδ' ... ἄπει), 1004 (λαβοῖς ἐμοῦ), *Phil.* 613 (ἄγοιντο νήσου τῆσδ'), 1003 (πέτρας ... πεσῶν), and *OC* 1024 (χώρας φυγόντες τῆσδ'). In his exhaustive analysis of the uses of the genitive case in Sophocles, T. Goodell lists all instances of the “genitive of separation (including under that term departure, deprivation, failure, and the like)” in the tragedian’s works; his catalogue includes no fewer than 252 examples. Goodell concludes that “the freedom with which this genitive of separation is used with all sorts of words and expressions denoting removal, issue, deprivation, distinction, [and] separation is surprising. Apparently Sophocles felt free to indicate these relations by the genitive with almost any word... Accordingly, where the only objection to an MS reading is the presence of an ablative genitive of separation, that reading should without hesitation be retained”.³⁸ This conclusion is fully applicable to the present case.

A. Moorhouse points out that, if we accept the manuscript reading ὄχου, we obtain two genitives depending on καθίκετο, ὄχου and μοῦ, which, according to Moorhouse, is “very awkward”.³⁹ However, there is nothing inherently awkward about two genitives depending on a single verb. For instance, the verb τυγχάνω can govern a double genitive: a genitive of the thing obtained, and a genitive of the person from whom it is obtained⁴⁰ (e. g. *Soph. Phil.* 1315 ὦν δέ σου τυχεῖν ἐπίεμαι, *Xen. Anab.* 5. 7. 33 οὗ δὲ δὴ πάντων οἰόμεθα τεύξεσθαι ἐπαίνου). Similarly, two genitives – one denoting a person and the other a thing – can depend on the verb ἀκούω⁴¹ (e. g. *Dem.* 18. 9 τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούη μου).

³⁷ Jebb 1883, 152 ad v. 808.

³⁸ Goodell 1884, 16–21, 24.

³⁹ Moorhouse 1982, 66.

⁴⁰ LSJ, s. v. τυγχάνω II. 2 C; Smyth 1956, 322 § 1351.

⁴¹ Smyth 1956, 323 § 1362.

Thus, with μέσον κάρα construed together as an accusative of the part affected, we must assume that Laius struck Oedipus on the middle of the head, which would be almost impossible to accomplish with a whip – especially a double whip – but relatively easy with a goad.

The expert's crucial argument concerns the epithet διπλᾶ modifying κέντρα: she assumes that the use of a double whip is well attested both in vase painting and in literature, whereas a double goad is mentioned only once by Nonnus and once by John Chrysostom, in both cases metaphorically, to denote a double disaster.⁴² However, διπλᾶ κέντρα can mean either “a double goad” or “two goads”,⁴³ and there is at least one vase painting from the classical period in which a charioteer is depicted holding two goads.

I refer to an Attic black-figure oinochoe of the fifth century BC, preserved in the collection of antiquities at Oundle School in Northamptonshire (fig. 1). In the only publication and description



Fig. 1. Attic black-figured oinochoe. Reprinted from Arafat 2005–2006, 125, with the permission from Oundle School in Northamptonshire, UK.

⁴² Almazova 2025, 167.

⁴³ LSJ s. v. διπλόος A III, Almazova 2025, 158 with n. 56.

of this vase known to me, the author notes that the “charioteer ... holds two goads and reins”.⁴⁴ The reason Sophocles equips Laius with two goads is obvious: a blow delivered with two goads is twice as harmful and dangerous as one delivered with a single goad. Thus, even through this seemingly minor detail, Sophocles emphasizes that Oedipus was acting in legitimate self-defence.

Thus, we may conclude that the killing of Laius is depicted by Sophocles as an act of self-defence. This interpretation is consistent with *Oedipus at Colonus*, where Oedipus repeatedly claims that during the fatal encounter at the crossroads, he acted in self-defence (*OC* 271, 992–994). The expert argues that claims about *OT* cannot be supported by reference to *OC*, since “the latter tragedy was staged much later, and it is unlikely that the audience would have remembered Oedipus’ account from *OT* in detail”.⁴⁵ However, a close analysis of the later tragedy shows that the poet assumed that at least part of his audience possessed detailed knowledge of the earlier one.⁴⁶ It suffices to mention the almost verbatim quotations in *OC* 787–788 (cf. *OT* 370–371) and *OC* 806 (cf. *OT* 545), as well as the careful elaboration of the vocabulary and imagery of the earlier tragedy in *OC* 1130–1136 (cf. *OT* 1413–1415).

Of course, Sophocles could not have expected all – or even the majority – of the spectators to remember the earlier tragedy in detail. But he surely expected some of them to do so. On this point, I follow M. Revermann, who has proposed the notion of a “stratification of competence”.⁴⁷ According to Revermann, the original audience of ancient Greek drama was multi-layered with respect to its ability to understand and appreciate the full range of the poets’ theatrical devices, including intertextual references. The drama was intelligible and meaningful even to those at the lowest level of competence, while for spectators at higher levels, such references generated additional layers of meaning. Accordingly, since at least part of the audience was expected to remember details of the earlier tragedy, the poet was most likely careful to avoid direct contradictions.

⁴⁴ Arafat 2005–2006, 125.

⁴⁵ Almazova 2025, 161. Similarly, Harris 2010, 137–138.

⁴⁶ Seidensticker 1972, 255–274.

⁴⁷ Revermann 2006, 99–124.

That said, we should note that this interpretation lines up with Sophocles' general treatment of the Oedipus myth, in that he depicts the killing of Laius in a manner that leaves no doubt as to the hero's innocence. In this tragedy, Sophocles carefully suppresses or avoids every traditional motif that might lend any sense of justice – or even intelligibility – to the gods' cruel will. He eliminates the motif of hereditary guilt and renders the oracle given to Laius (*OT* 711–714) unconditional, in contrast to Aeschylus, who emphasizes that Laius could and should have avoided begetting a child, thereby making Laius' sinful disobedience the cause of the subsequent disasters.⁴⁸ In Sophocles' version, the ways of the gods remain entirely opaque. It is nonetheless understandable why, as the expert notes at the beginning of her article, “the extent of Oedipus' guilt in both the eyes of Sophocles and his audience and our contemporaries is an everlasting debate”,⁴⁹ however innocent the hero may appear, the cruel and inexplicable will of the gods implied by this innocence is unacceptable – and ultimately unbearable – to the human mind.

Zoia Barzakh

Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

zoia_barzakh@mail.ru

Bibliography

- N. Almazova, “Sophocles *OT* 809: An Insult or an Attempted Murder?” *Hermes* 20 (2025) 159–170.
- K. Arafat, “Antiquities in Oundle School”, *Archeological Report* 52 (2005–2006) 113–152.
- V. Bers, *Greek Poetic Syntax in the Classical Age* (New Haven – London 1981).
- J. M. Bremer, *Hamartia* (Amsterdam 1989).
- D. Cairns, “Revenge, Punishment, and Justice in Athenian Homicide Law”, *Journal of Value Inquiry* 49 (2015) 645–665.
- E. Carawan, “The Tetralogies and Athenian Homicide Trial”, *AJPh* 114 (1993) 235–270.
- E. Carawan, *Rhetoric and the Law of Draco* (Oxford 1998).
- W. Dittenberger, “Antiphons Tetralogien und das Attische Criminalrecht”, *Hermes* 31 (1896) 271–277.

⁴⁸ Finglass 2018, 391–392 ad 711–714.

⁴⁹ Almazova 2025, 159.

- G. Erfurdt (rec., notes), *Sophoclis Tragoediae Septem I* (Londini 1827).
- P. Finglass (ed., comm.), *Sophocles, Oedipus the King* (Cambridge 2018).
- M. Gagarin, “Self-Defense in Athenian Homicide Law”, *GRBS* 19 (1978 a) 111–120.
- M. Gagarin, “The Prohibition of Just and Unjust Homicide in Antiphon’s Tetralogies”, *GRBS* 19 (1978 b) 291–306.
- M. Gagarin, *Drakon and Early Athenian Homicide Law* (New Haven – London, 1981).
- M. Gagarin (ed., comm.), *Antiphon, The Speeches* (Cambridge 1998).
- T. Goodell, “The Genitive Case in Sophocles”, *TAPhA* 15 (1884) 5–35.
- J. Gregory, “The Encounter at the Crossroads at Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus*”, *JHS* 115 (1995) 141–146.
- Harris, E. (ed., transl.), *Demosthenes: Speeches 20–22* (Austin 2008).
- E. Harris, “Is Oedipus Guilty? Sophocles and the Athenian Homicide Law”, in: E. Harris et al. (eds.), *Law and Drama in Ancient Greece* (London 2010).
- E. Harris, “The Nature of Self-Defense in Draco’s Homicide Law: The Restoration of IG I³ 104”, *Hyperboreus* 22 (2016) 203–216.
- E. Harris, M. Canevaro, “Towards a New Text of Draco’s Law on Homicide”, *REG* 136 (2023) 1–52.
- R. Janko, “The Homeric Poems as Oral Dictated Texts”, *CQ* 48 (1998) 1–13.
- R. Jebb (tr., comm.), *Sophocles. The Plays and Fragments I. The Oedipus Tyrannus* (Cambridge 1883).
- G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary I* (Cambridge 1983).
- J. March (ed., comm.), *Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus* (Liverpool 2020).
- B. Manuwald (ed., comm.), *Sophocles, König Ödipus* (Berlin 2012).
- A. Moorhouse, *The Syntax of Sophocles* (Leiden 1982).
- G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Oxford 1924).
- S. Reece, “Homer’s Iliad and Odyssey: from Oral Performance to Written Text”, in: M. Amodio (ed.), *New Directions in Oral Theory* (Tempe 2005) 43–89.
- M. Revermann, “The Competence of Theater Audiences in Fifth- and Fourth-Century Athens”, *JHS* 126 (2006) 99–124.
- E. S. Roberts, E. A. Gardiner (eds.), *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy II* (Cambridge 1905).
- J. A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* (Berkeley 1921).
- B. Seidensticker, “Beziehungen Zwischen den Beiden Ödipusdramen des Sophokles”, *Hermes* 100 (1972) 255–274.
- A. Sommerstein, “‘They All Knew How It Was Going to End’: Tragedy, Myth, and the Spectator”, in: A. Sommerstein, *The Tangled Ways of Zeus* (Oxford 2010) 209–223.
- A. Sommerstein, “Sophocles and the Guilt of Oedipus”, *Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos* 21 (2011) 103–117.
- A. I. Zaicev, “Drevnegrecheskij geriocheskij epos i Iliada Homera” [“Ancient Greek Heroic Epos and Homer’s Iliad”], in: Gomer, *Iliada* (Leningrad 1990) 395–416.

This paper is aimed as an answer to the article about the guilt of Oedipus in killing Laius, recently published in *Hermes* by N. Almazova, where the author concludes that Oedipus is guilty of killing in excess of self-defense. The analysis of the sources on Athenian homicide law shows that the notion “the excess of self-defense” is alien to the Athenian juridical practice and that the killer could be acquitted if it was the killed who started the fight, even in the cases when the reaction exceeded the limits of necessary self-defense. On the other hand, the close look at the description of the scene at the crossroads in Soph. *OT* 800–813 shows that Sophocles presents Laius and his party as aggressors and Oedipus as defending his life. We interpret διπλᾶ κέντρα in v. 809 as “two goads” and illustrate the possibility of this interpretation by evidence from the vase painting.

Настоящая статья является ответом на недавно вышедшую в журнале *Hermes* статью Н. А. Алмазовой, где автор приходит к заключению, что в сцене убийства Лаия в трагедии Софокла “Царь Эдип” (ст. 800–813) герой изображен виновным в превышении необходимой самообороны. Анализ источников, касающихся афинского уголовного судопроизводства, показывает, что термин “превышение необходимой самообороны” применительно к этому судопроизводству является не вполне корректным и что в случае, если агрессия изначально исходила от убитого, убийца мог быть оправдан даже в том случае, если он превысил необходимую самооборону. В то же время, как показано в статье, в описании столкновения Лаия и Эдипа Софокл подчеркивает, что агрессорами являлись Лаий и его люди, а Эдип защищал свою жизнь. Διπλᾶ κέντρα в ст. 809 – орудие, которое было в руках у Лаия, – мы интерпретируем как “два стрела”; возможность такой интерпретации подтверждается вазовой живописью.

Walter Lapini

NOTE AD ALCUNI SCOLII AD ARISTOFANE
(*Ach.* 794; *Eq.* 478 b, 781 b, 1034 b; *Nub.* 144 c,
421 d, 450 b. α, 1017; *Lys.* arg. I; *Ran.* 775 a;
Plut. 550 c)*

Presento qui una serie di note su scolii aristofanei. Il titolo è preso pari pari da un articolo di Renzo Tosi del 2006. A Tosi rimando anche per i giusti *caveat* (ben noti, ma mai abbastanza ripetuti) in merito ai limiti dell'attività congetturale esercitata su testi di bassa autorialità,¹ tali da rendere talvolta impossibile, come scrisse A. E. Housman in una pagina famosa, «to say for certain where the badness of the author ends and the badness of the scribe begins».² In ogni caso, le *cruces* di cui mi occuperò in queste pagine sono, o almeno a me sembrano, *cruces* in senso corrente, non in senso erbsiano-fraenkeliano.³

1

Aristoph. *Ach.* 792 ss.: il Megarese cerca di vendere le sue scrofette a Diceopoli. Con questa qui, dice, potrai fare ad Afrodite un degno sacrificio. «Ma ad Afrodite – obietta Diceopoli – non si sacrificano scrofette». E il Megarese: «ad Afrodite non si sacrificano scrofette? Ma è la sola divinità a cui si possono sacrificare»:⁴ οὐ χοῖρος Ἀφροδίτῃ; μόνῃ γὰ δαιμόνων.

* Ringrazio Francesca Gazzano e Alessandro Parenti per la loro lettura al solito attenta e *insightful*. I testi saranno tratti dagli *Scholia in Aristophanem* groningani. Per gli apparati vale il principio *cuius textus eius apparatus*, salvo diversa indicazione.

¹ Tosi 2006: si vedano specialmente le pp. 178–179, con piccolo *status quaestionis*.

² Housman 1902, 339.

³ Fraenkel 1977, 70.

⁴ Trad. Lauriola 2008, 149, modificata.

Commento dello scolio al v. 794:

«μόνα γε δαιμόνων»· αὐτῇ μόνη μάλιστα ὁ χοῖρος θύεται, ὡς πρὸς |⁹ τὸ αἰδοῖον. REFLh (105. 8–9 Wilson).

8 αὐτῇ μόνη μάλιστα REG : μόνη μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν Lh

Si legga αὐτῇ μόνη <ῆ> μάλιστα ὁ χοῖρος θύεται, con opportuna esplicitazione delle alternative («o a lei sola o a lei più che a tutte»).⁵ Anche se ha capito, e non ci voleva molto, il doppio senso (ὡς πρὸς τὸ αἰδοῖον), lo scoliasta non ha rinunciato al piano della realtà, in cui Afrodite *non* è l'unico/a δαίμων a cui si possa offrire questo tipo di vittima.

2

Aristoph. *Eq.* 471 ss.: il Salsicciaio accusa il Paflagone di cospirare con gli Spartani. Il Paflagone risponde *paria paribus*, anzi *maiore*, insinuando che il Salsicciaio, sostenuto dai servi di casa, stia cospirando con i Persiani e con i Beoti. Lo scolio al v. 478 b spiega:

«ξυνόμνυτε»· συμπράττετε καὶ κοινολογεῖσθε. καλῶς δὲ τῆς |¹⁵ διαβολῆς † οὐκ ἀπατᾶται † {τῆς δι' αὐτῶν}, ξυνωμότας αὐτοὺς τῷ Περσῶν |¹⁶ βασιλεῖ γεγονέναι λέγων, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἔθος δείξει τοῦτο καὶ βεβαιώση ὅτι καὶ |¹⁷ μετὰ τοῦτο ξυνωμοσίαν πεποιήνται. VEGΘM (120. 14–17 Jones).

15 ἀπατᾶται VE : ἀπατᾶτε ΓΘ : primus damnavit Küster : ἀφίσταται Bekker : ἄπτεται vel ἀπαντᾷ Dindorf || {τῆς δι' αὐτῶν} dubitanter secluserit Jones : τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν Blaydes

Οὐκ ἀπατᾶται è chiaramente erroneo, ma le congetture di Bekker e Dindorf non convincono, né rendono ragione di τῆς δι' αὐτῶν, che

⁵ L'omissione, con o senza il *trigger* aplografico, è quasi di serie: cf. e. g. Theophr. *HP* 1. 9. 1 μάλιστα ἢ μόνα (Stackhouse) vs. μάλιστα μόνα; *De od.* 1 μάλιστα ἢ μόνη (Lapini 2011, 61–62) vs. μάλιστα μόνη; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 14. 1 μόνος ἢ μάλιστα (Reiske) vs. μόνος μάλιστα; Ath. 7. 104 (317 F = Theophr. fr. 365 B Fortenbaugh) μάλιστα ἢ μόνοις (Kaibel) vs. μάλιστα μόνος, ecc.

infatti Jones espunge *dubitanter* – così dice lui: in realtà non tanto *dubitanter*, visto che la cassatura è effettivamente eseguita.

Tutto va a posto se si legge *καλῶς δὲ τῆς διαβολῆς οὐχ ἡττᾶται τῆς δι' αὐτῶν*: «opportunamente il Paflagone non è da meno (i. e. è stata una scelta artisticamente opportuna da parte di Aristofane fare in modo che il Paflagone non sia da meno) della calunnia espressa per bocca dei suoi avversari». ⁶ Cioè reagisce con una *διαβολή* ancora più grossa.

Lessico simile nello sch. *Pax* 212 (40. 3 Holwerda) *ἀλλ' οὖν ἡττων ἢ διαβολῆ μάλιστα κτλ.* Qui le *διαβολαί* riguardano gli Spartani e gli Ateniesi, rimproverati, gli uni e gli altri, per aver respinto le trattative di pace ogni volta che ritenevano di avere il coltello dalla parte del manico.⁷

3

Sch. Aristoph. *Eq.* 781 b:

«ἐν Μαραθῶνι»: τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, εἰς ὃν ἐνὸρμησαν Δᾶτις καὶ |¹⁰ Ἀρτάβαζος, Μηδικοὶ σατράπαι, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου βασιλέως καταδουλώσασθαι |¹¹ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἔνθα συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Μιλτιάδου |¹² στρατηγούντος, μόνων Πλαταιέων συμμαχησάντων αὐτοῖς χιλίοις ἀνδράσι |¹³ καὶ οὕτω πληρωθέντος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως, τῆς Περσικῆς |¹⁴ καὶ † τοῖς Ἑλλησι τῆς ἐλευθερίας αἴτιοι κατέστησαν, μόνοι ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν |¹⁵ Ἑλλήνων τὸν πρῶτον τῶν Περσῶν διαφθείραντες. VEGOM (186. 9–15 Jones = Suid. δ 929 [II 85. 5–9 Adler]).

13 οὕτω codd. : οὕτω *dubitanter* Jones || 13–14 τῆς ... καὶ del. Dindorf : post Περσικῆς fort. addendum περιεγέγοντο || 14 καὶ ante 13 τῆς Περσικῆς transp. M || 14–15 ἐξ ... διαφθείραντες VEG³ M : om. GQ: fortasse posterius interpolata sunt; cum prioribus non bene cohaerere cum perspexisset Dindorf, στόλον post 15 Περσῶν addendum coniecit

⁶ Per questo senso di *διά* cf. LSJ s. v., III a.

⁷ Per formule di apprezzamento letterario del tipo *καλῶς δὲ* si vedano e. g. sch. *Eq.* 796 (192. 5–6 Jones) *προκαλοῦνται· εὐκαίρως* (Küster: *εὐχαρῶς* vel *εὐχερῶς* codd.) *δὲ τῶ «προκαλοῦνται» ἐχρήσατο*; sch. *Eq.* 800 a (193. 4 Jones) *πιθανῶς δέ*; sch. *Nub.* 304 a (75. 21 Holwerda) *εἰκότως δέ*; sch. *Aesch. Sept.* 361–362 Smith *εὐφυνῶς δέ*, ecc.

La pericope da *μόνοι* a *διαφθείραντες* non ha evidentemente senso, e il rimedio di Dindorf è forzato e inelegante. Correggerei τὸν πρῶτον in τὸν στρατόν. L'errore si sarà prodotto per il concomitare di due *misreadings* di minuscola: π per στ e ω per α.⁸

Un caso analogo si rileva in Jo. Fl. *AJ* 9. 167 οἱ τοῦ πλήθους πρωτεύοντες vs. οἱ τοῦ πλήθους στρατεύοντες (302. 19–20 Niese). Un altro ancora in un'annotazione posta sul margine superiore del f. 154 v del ms. Turonensis C 980 (contenente *excerpta* di Nicolao di Damasco) e recentemente rièdita da Annalisa Paradiso.⁹ L'annotazione è: ὁ γὰρ Κροῖσος, ὅτε πρωτεύσειν κατὰ Κύρου ἔμελλεν, ἐρωτήσαντι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα εἰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ περιέσται, εἶπε κτλ.; ma πρωτεύσειν sarà in realtà στρατεύσειν, come ben vide Müller.¹⁰ Un caso comparabile anche in Thuc. 2. 67. 1 Πρατόδαμος vs. Στρατόδημος.

Anche nella parte fra *δυνάμεως* e *τῆς ἐλευθερίας* qualcosa non va. Il Jones postula la caduta di un verbo dopo Περσικῆς, e suggerisce περιεγένοντο. Ma – sempre a titolo di *exempli gratia* – mi parrebbe preferibile ἐκράτησαν, meno lontano per suono e grafia da καὶ τοῖς, e quindi di più facile omissione.¹¹

⁸ Gli ἐπί–ἐστί (cf. Housman 1888, 319 = 1972, 15; Tucker 1901, 156; Jackson 1955, 118–119) e i πᾶς–στάς (Soph. *Ant.* 1156; Plat. *Tim.* 55 d 4; Diog. Laert. 6. 71) sono le prede favorite di στ–π e π–στ; ma si danno anche casi meno prevedibili: e. g. Diod. 13. 91. 2 στρατηγῶν vs. πατηγῶν; Suid. κ 2654 (208. 30 Adler) περιεσάναι vs. περιεπάται; Theophr. *De sud.* 10 ὕστερον (Lapini 2009, 344–345) vs. ὑπὲρ ὄν; Aesch. *Ag.* 1200 πόλιν (Lapini 2013, 118; 2016, 630) vs. στόμα. Per α–ω in Aristofane cf. *Ach.* 842 ὑποφωνῶν vs. ὑποφανῶν; *Lys.* 1020 ὄρα (Dobree) vs. ὄρῳ, ecc.; per gli scolii aristofanei cf. *Eq.* 84 b (31. 10 Jones) Περκώτην vs. Περκάτην; *Nub.* 2 b (7. 14 Holwerda) ἔλκετο χαίτας (citazione da *Il.* 10. 15) ἐλίσσετο καὶ τῷ; 363 b (92. 16 Holwerda) φανῆναι vs. φωνὴ καί; 627 b (139. 1 Holwerda) ὁ Σωκράτης (i. e. ὁ σω.) vs. ὄσα. Per altri *nonsense* assortiti cf. sch. Pind. *Nem.* 3. 147 (3. 62. 22 Drachmann) Μέγαρα vs. μέγωρα; Plat. *Resp.* 468 b 8 δεξιωθῆναι vs. δεξιαθῆναι, ecc. Cospirazione di στ–π e ω–α anche in Dionys. *Ixeut.* 2. 18 (35. 20 Garzya) ἐστῶσαι vs. αἰ πᾶσαι.

⁹ Paradiso 2017, 529.

¹⁰ Müller 1849, 407, nella nota al fr. 68.

¹¹ Per *δυνάμεως κρατεῖν* cf. Isocr. *Phil.* 112 τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἐκράτησεν; Dion. Hal. *AR* 8. 86. 6 ὑπάτου τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως ἢ βία κρατήσαντες, ecc.

4

Aristoph. *Eq.* 1034: il Paflagone è come un cane che entra in cucina di soppiatto e ruba il cibo. Così gli scolii:

Sch. *Eq.* 1034 a

(I) «νύκτωρ τὰς λοπάδας»· ὅτι τοὺς φόρους τῶν νήσων καὶ |⁶ τῶν πόλεων ἀφήρπαζεν. ὡς οἱ κύνες εἰς τὰ μαγειρεῖα εἰσιόντες περιλείχουσι |⁷ τὰς λοπάδας καὶ τὰς χύτρας, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κλέων, ἐάν τι τοῖς νησιώταις περιλειφθῆ, |⁸ καὶ τοῦτο λαμβάνει. VEGΘM

(II) |⁹ ἄλλως· ἔπαιξε πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἀρπάσαντές |¹⁰ τι εἰώθασιν εἰς τοὺς ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντας τόπους ἀναχωρήσαντες |¹¹ ἐμφορεῖσθαι. VEGΘ

Sch. *Eq.* 1034 b

|¹² «νύκτωρ» δὲ εἶπε διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρπάσαντάς τι κύνας εἰς τὴν ἡσυχίαν |¹³ †αὐτῶν† ἐμφορεῖσθαι. M (230. 5–13 Jones).

13 αὐτῶν corruptum, nisi forte ad τι spectat

La corruttela al r. 13 è evidente (che αὐτῶν dipenda da τι, come azzarda Jones in apparato, è direi da escludere). Un rimedio può essere <δι'> αὐτῶν, «da sé», *sua vi*, con la duplice idea del conquistato isolamento (si veda τοὺς ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντας τόπους della versione estesa al r. 10) e dell'autonoma predazione.¹²

¹² Per questo senso di διὰ cf. LSJ s. v., III, a: «of oneself, not by another's agency». Per il nesso «nutrirsi δι' αὐτοῦ (δι' αὐτῶν)» cf. e. g. [Aristot.] *Probl.* 897 b διὰ τί τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς δύνανται δι' αὐτῶν τρέφεσθαι μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν, τὰ δὲ οὐ; Theophr. *CP* 4. 13. 7 δύνатаί τινα δι' αὐτῶν ἔλκειν τροφήν ἄνευ τῶν ρίζῶν; Chrysipp. 724 SVF, ecc. Per l'andirivieni di ΔΙ(A) dopo N cf. e. g. Dion. Hal. *AR* 1. 78. 5 τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγορεύει vs. τῶν ἱερῶν διαγορεύει; Ael. *NA* 13. 11 ὁδὸν διανύσας vs. ὁδὸν ἀνύσας; Alciphro. *Epist.* 3. 24. 2 ἀπομεῖναν διέλαθεν vs. ἀπομεῖναν ἔλαθεν, ecc. I δι(ά) preposizionali cadono più di rado che nei composti verbali perché la loro caduta dà più facilmente luogo a insensatezze sintattiche.

5

Sch. Aristoph. *Nub.* 144 c:

δήμου δὲ ἦν ὁ Χαιρεφῶν Σφήττιος. τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Πυθία δοκεῖ τὸν ^{|10} περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους χρησμὸν εἰπεῖν· ^{|11} «σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης, ^{|12} ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτερος». RV ^{|13} τούτου Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Μόλων ἐν τῷ κατὰ φιλοσόφων ἐψεῦσθαί φησι τὴν Πυθίαν· ^{|14} τοὺς γὰρ πυθικοὺς χρησμοὺς ἑξαμέτρους εἶναι καὶ <ἀ>εῖ. ἔστι δὲ παρὰ ^{|15} κωμικῶ τινι· ^{|16} «†συγκεχωρίσθαι τῷ χρησμῷ δύναται†». ^{|17} ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι διὰ τριμέτρων πλείους εἰσι χρησμοί, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζῶ ^{|18} λόγῳ λεχθέντες τῇ Πυθίᾳ, δῆλον. V (41. 9–18 Holwerda).

14 καὶ ἀεὶ : conieci (cf. J. Denniston, *The Greek particles*, 318 fin.) : καὶ εἰ V : καὶ Ald. : εἰ καὶ (deleto δὲ) conī. Koster, qui post tibi supplere vult ὁ χρησμὸς

La citazione da Denniston riguarda καὶ ed è questa: «with temporal adverbs denoting length of time: Soph. *Ant.* 289 καὶ πάλαι (OC 1252; Tr. 87; Ph. 1218; Herod. 1. 45; Xen. *Oec.* 19. 17), Dem. *Olynth.* 1. 22 καὶ ἀεὶ».

Di questi esempi nessuno si adatta lontanamente al nostro. Nei vari καὶ πάλαι sofoclei, erodotei e senofontei il καὶ è epifrastico, non intensivo, mentre quello demostenico è semplice congiunzione: ταῦτα γὰρ ἄπιστα μὲν ἦν δήπου φύσει καὶ ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, «per natura e sempre». Invece nella ricostruzione di Holwerda il καὶ non collega alcunché, né può significare «anche». Quanto al rimedio di Koster, è un tirare a indovinare.

Leggerei τοὺς γὰρ πυθικοὺς χρησμοὺς ἑξαμέτρους εἶναι κρατεῖ: «l'opinione prevalente è che i responsi pitici siano in esametri».¹³

¹³ Κρατεῖ con soggettiva si ritrova in uno scolio recente al *Pluto*: 586 b (161. 1–2 Chantry) ἰστέον δὲ ὡς, εἰ καὶ κρατεῖ παρὰ τοῖς ἀπειροτέροις κότινον στέφανον εἶναι κτλ. L'aderenza al trådito sarebbe ancora maggiore se leggessimo κατέχει. Solo che con κατέχει il soggetto (λόγος, φάτις) non risulta potersi sottintendere.

6

Così Strepsiade in Aristoph. *Nub.* 420–423:

ἀλλ' εἵνεκά γε ψυχῆς στερραῶς δυσκολοκοίτου τε μερίμνης
καὶ φειδωλοῦ καὶ τρυσιβίου γαστρὸς καὶ θυμβρεπιδείπνου
ἀμέλει, θαρρῶν εἵνεκα τούτων κτλ.

E così gli scolii:

Sch. *Nub.* 421 c

«θυμβρεπιδείπνου»· V τὰς θύμβρας δυναμένης δειπνεῖν· ἔστι δὲ
|¹⁴ βοτάνης εἶδος. ἀφ' οὗ δηλοῖ ὅτι λάχανα μόνα τρώγουσιν
εὐτελεῖ. RV

Sch. *Nub.* 421 d

|¹⁵ «θυμβρεπιδείπνου»· †εὐτελοῦσης δείπνου†. E

Sch. *Nub.* 422 a

|¹⁶ «ἀμέλει»· ἀμελῶς ἔχε. E (102. 13–16 Holwerda).

15 εὐτελοῦσης δείπνου : εὐτελοῦς <οὔσ>ης δείπνου coni. Koster
: fort. εὐτελοῦς <οὐ μελοῦσ>ης δείπνου.

Θυμβρεπιδείπνος è colui che mangia frugalmente, che si accontenta di erba. Lo sch. 421 è corrotto, ma i *temptamina* di Koster e Holwerda sono brutti e nemmeno facili a capirsi. Il primo dovrebbe voler dire «che è di frugale pasto», con εὐτελοῦς δείπνου genitivo di qualità. Il secondo sarà «che non si cura di un pasto frugale», i. e., se il pasto è frugale, per lei va bene lo stesso, con dubbia costruzione personale di μέλειν. (L'infelice idea sarà venuta, immagino, dal seguente ἀμέλει.)

Si corregga εὐτελοῦσης δείπνου in εὐτελῶς δειπνούσης.¹⁴

¹⁴ Per il tipo di errore cf. e. g. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 314 χαρέντας ἐπιφανῆναι (Halbertsma) vs. φανέντας ἐπιχαρήναι; sch. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 658 c (43. 1–2 Regtuit) πυκνὴ σκηναί (Dindorf) vs. σκηνῆ πυκναί; Plat. *Leg.* 673 a 4 ἀρετὴν παιδείας vs. ἀρετῆς παιδείας; Eustrat. *In Aristot. EN* 1143 a (380. 16 Heylbut) ἀνατρέχουμεν λέγοντες vs. ἀνατρέχοντες λέγομεν. Due casi celebri: Eur.

7

Sch. *Nub.* 450 a

«κέντρων»· τουτέστι χαλεπὸς καὶ φρικτός, καθὸ καὶ τοὺς ἡνιόχους |¹⁰ κεντροτύπους καλοῦμεν τοὺς τοῖς κέντροις τοὺς ἵππους τύπτοντας. RV

Sch. *Nub.* 450 b. α

|¹¹ <†οὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων συνηθροισμένοι |¹² ἐπὶ τοιαῦτά τινα τοῖς |¹³ ὑποζυγίοις ῥιπτούμενα καλοῦνται |¹⁴ κέντρωνες†> (Ald.).

Sch. *Nub.* 450 b. β

|¹¹ <ὁ ἐκ πολλῶν συνερραμμένος. |¹² ἐπεὶ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις συρράπτοντες |¹³ καλοῦσι κέντρωνας· ὡσαύτως |¹⁴ καὶ λόγους ἐκ διαφόρων συνειλεγμένους |¹⁵ καὶ ἓνα σκοπὸν ἀπαρτίζοντας, |¹⁶ οἷά εἰσι τὰ Ὀμηρόκεντρα> (Suid. κ 1344 [III 95. 23–26 Adler]) (108. 9–16 Holwerda).

11–13 fort. leg. οἷον ἐκ <κεσ>τῶν <μ>αλλῶν συνηθροισμένος· ἐπεὶ τοιαῦτά τινα τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις <ἐπιρ>ριπτούμενα καλοῦνται κέντρωνες

Il greco ricostruito da Holwerda per la lezione dell'Aldina non è proponibile, neanche con un *fortasse*. Per correggere b. α, bisognerà rifarsi alla voce suidiana. Al posto di οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων συνηθροισμένοι leggerei fiduciosamente οἱ ἐκ πολλῶν συνηθροισμένοι.¹⁵ E muterei ῥιπτούμενα in ῥαπτόμενα.

8

Sch. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1016–1017: il Discorso Giusto illustra gli svantaggi dell'educazione moderna: «innanzitutto avrai un colorito pallido, spalle piccole ecc.»: πρῶτα μὲν ἕξεις | χροιάν ὠχράν, ὄμους μικροῦς κτλ.

Hel. 866 θεῖου τε σεμνόν (Hermann) vs. θεῖον δὲ σεμνοῦ; Aristot. *Metaph.* A 4. 985 b 9 τοῦ κενοῦ τὸ σῶμα (Schwegler) vs. τὸ κενὸν τοῦ σώματος (nonostante Gili 2025, 234).

¹⁵ Per il tipo di errore cf. Alex. Aphr. *De fato* 86. 15 (198. 7 Bruns) καίτοι πολλῶν ζῶων vs. καίτοι τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων.

Uno scolio recente annota: «χροιὰν ὠχράν»· διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν (123. 24 Dübner = 541. 3 Dindorf). Né Dindorf né Dübner hanno obiezioni, ma a me ἀταξίαν sembra sospetto. Certo, il pallore malsano può riguardare anche il cittadino che si sottrae al servizio militare, cioè che si rifiuta di farsi includere in una τάξις. Ma non è di opere marziali che si parla qui, bensì di fatiche all'aperto. Il colorito pallido e tutto il resto saranno effetti della sedentarietà. Si legga διὰ τὴν ἀπραξίαν.¹⁶

9

Aristoph. *Lys.* Arg. I:

Λυσιστράτη τις Ἀθήνησι τῶν πολιτίδων καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἔτι δὲ |³ καὶ Βοιωτίων γυναικῶν σύλλογον ἐποιήσατο, διαλλαγὰς μηχανωμένη τοῖς |⁴ Ἑλλησιν· ὁμόσαι δὲ ἀναπέεσσα μὴ πρότερον τοῖς ἀνδράσι συνουσιάζειν, πρὶν |⁵ ἂν πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλοις παύσωνται, τὰς μὲν †ἐξωπίους ἐμπριλάς† καταλιποῦσα |⁶ ὀπίσω † †, αὐτὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰς κατειληφείας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων |⁷ ἀπαντᾷ. RΓBar (1. 2–7 Hangard).

5 ἐξωπίους codd. : ἐξωτικὸς Bothe : ἐξω ἀπιόντας Dübner : ἐξω ἀφήσιν Stein : ἐξω<θεν> παρούσ<ας> Van Leeuwen : ἐξω ἀπιούσας Wilamowitz : ἐξωτικὰς Coulon : ἐξω<θεν> ἐπιούσ<ας> dubitantissime Holwerda || ἐμπριλάς codd. : ἐν πύλαις vel ἐμπεδὰς (mire) Bothe : ὁμήρους Stein : ὁμήρους τινὰς Van Leeuwen : εἰς πατρίδας Dübner : ὁμηρίδας Coulon || καταλιποῦσα Dindorf : καταλείπουσα R : καταλειπούσας Van Leeuwen 6 <ἀποπέμπει> ὀπίσω Van Leeuwen || αὐτὴ Stein : αὕτη codd.¹⁷

¹⁶ Innumerevoli i *similia*: per gli scolii aristofanei cf. *Eq.* 307 a (77. 12 Jones) τάγματα vs. πράγματα; *Ran.* 798 a (105. 18 Chantry) προσπράττωσι vs. προστάττωσι; inoltre Strab. 6. 3. 3 πρᾶξις vs. τάξις; Aristot. *Pol.* 1297 b 6 τάττειν vs. πράττειν; Galen. *De usu part.* 12. 8 (203. 19–20 Helmreich) διαπράττουσα vs. διατάττουσα.

¹⁷ A differenza degli altri, questo apparato è mio. Faccio notare che l'*inventor* di ὁμηρίδας non è Holwerda, come scrive Hangard, ma Coulon; che Van Leeuwen 1903, 3, non ha ὁμήρους καταλιπούσας, come pensa Wilson 2007, 3, ma ὁμήρους τινὰς καταλιπούσας. Nell'apparato di Perusino 2020, 14, l'unica variante commentata è καταλιποῦσα–καταλείπουσα. Henderson

Le correnti emendazioni alla *vox nihili* ἐμπριλάς muovono dal presupposto che l'autore intendesse rifarsi al v. 244, in cui Lisistrata, prima di recarsi sull'acropoli, chiede a Lampitò di lasciare in ostaggio alcune delle sue ragazze: τασδι δ' ὀμήρους κατάλιφ' ἤμῖν ἐνθάδε. Questa linea sembra trovare conferma nella corrispondenza καταλιπούσα–κατάλιφ'). Ma nell'*hypothesis* colei che lascia è Lisistrata, nel testo poetico è invece Lampitò.

Anche più violenti sono stati gli attacchi a ἐξωπίους, deformato in ἐξωτικός oppure ἐξωθεν παρούσας o infine ἐξωθεν ἐπιούσας. E non basta: affinché infatti la sintassi tenga, è necessario immaginare la caduta di un verbo (i più scelgono ἀποπέμπει) da mettere sul piano di ἀπαντᾷ. Ma è inutile commentare uno per uno questi *temptamina*, che ciascuno potrà, volendo, valutare da sé scorrendo l'apparato.

«Quamquam terrent vestigia», come ebbe a dire Johan Heiberg a proposito di un passo non meno intricato di questo,¹⁸ proporrei di mutare ἐμπριλάς in παρεμπολᾷ: «intrufola (in città) alcune donne non viste, lasciandole dietro di sé, e lei stessa con le compagne si reca ecc.». L'ipotesiografo avrà avuto in mente i vv. 452 ss., in cui Lisistrata svela – al probulo che a quanto pare non lo sa né se lo aspetta – la presenza in città di quattro λόχοι di donne in assetto di guerra, apparentemente diverse sia dalle vecchie che hanno occupato l'acropoli sia dalle οἰκεῖαι del seguito di Lisistrata. Anche ai vv. 352–353 si parla di un ἐσμὸς γυναικῶν non previsto, che dà man forte alle occupanti. Dopodiché queste ultime aggiungono: «vi sembriamo tante? Eppure non vedete che una piccola parte di noi». Come sono arrivati lì quei λόχοι? Poiché Aristofane non lo spiega, l'ipotesiografo lo fa per lui, con la più naturale delle deduzioni: Lisistrata li ha segretamente introdotti con l'ordine di prendere posizione e intervenire al bisogno. Questo schema può non corrispondere – e anzi certo non corrisponde – a una realtà scenica, ma senza dubbio soddisfa a un'aspettativa, a un'esigenza di razionalizzazione.

1987, 1, stampa τὰς μὲν ἐξωτικούς ἐν πύλαις ὀμήρους καταλιπούσας ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω, senza diacritici per ἀποπέμπει; inoltre non si rende conto che ἐν πύλαις e ὀμήρους sono correzioni *alternative* di ἐμπριλάς, infatti parla di ὀμήρους come *aggiunta* («add. G. Stein»). Con lui Totaro, in Mastromarco–Totaro 2006, 70–71 («integrazione»). Stein 1891, 1 attribuisce εἰς πατρίδας al Wilamowitz, ma Dübner 1842, 497 era arrivato prima.

¹⁸ Heiberg 1898–1899, 66.

Παρεμπολᾶν è un verbo raro, che però, teste Polluce, fu usato almeno una volta in un contesto comico, e con un senso non distante dal nostro. Si tratta di παρημπολημένον (Poll. 3. 56), spiegato come ἀποφύλιον, τὸν φυλὴν μὴ ἔχοντα, «intrufolato, abusivo» (fr. adesp. 771 KA). Il verbo ricorre anche in Eur. *Med.* 990 γάμους παρεμπολῶντος ἀλλοίους †πόσει†, «when a husband smuggles in <to the household> another marriage / sexual liaison» (Mastronarde 2002, 318). Del resto la *nuance* di inganno, contrabbando, contraffazione, o comunque di traffico, abile operazione, è presente anche in ἐμπολᾶν (LSJ II. 2),¹⁹ ἀπεμπολᾶν (LSJ), διεμπολᾶν (LSJ 2). L'uso di vocaboli ricercati non stupisce nelle *hypotheses*, spesso influenzate dallo stile dei testi che riassumono. Non so – nessuno sa – se il mio παρεμπολᾶ risolva il problema. In ogni caso, mi pare che apra una *ratio corrigendi* alternativa e più economica (se non altro perché riduce i *loci vulnerosi* da due a uno).

Infine – non che importi granché, ma è comunque un fatto da segnalare – la lezione παρεμπολᾶ rende inutile, anzi nociva la correzione di καταλείπουσα in καταλιποῦσα. Lisistrata intrufola le donne proprio in questo modo: lasciandole nelle retrovie.

10

Così Aristoph. *Ran.* 771–776 descrive gli effetti dell'arrivo di Euripide nell'aldilà:

ὄτε δὴ κατῆλθ' Εὐριπίδης, ἐπεδείκνυτο
 τοῖς λωποδύταις καὶ τοῖσι βαλλαντιοτόμοις
 καὶ τοῖσι πατραλοΐαισι καὶ τοιχωρύχοις,
 ὅπερ ἔστ' ἐν Ἄιδου πλῆθος, οἱ δ' ἀκροώμενοι
 τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν καὶ λυγισμῶν καὶ στροφῶν
 ὑπερεμάνησαν κἀνόμισαν σοφώτατον. 775

E così lo scolio al v. 775 a:

«τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν <... καὶ στροφῶν>»: παρίστησιν αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ
 † τοὺς λόγους †σαπρόν†. VMEΘBarb(Ald) (104. 3–4 Chantry).

4 †σαπρόν† : στραβόν fortasse legendum : σαθρόν Dobree.

¹⁹ A cui si aggiunga, più esplicito di tutti, lo sch. Soph. *Ant.* 1063 (176. 20 Xenis) ἐμπολήσων· ἐξαπατήσων (L^{s.1}).

I due *temptamina* (migliore quello di Dobree)²⁰ vanno nella direzione sbagliata. Lo scolio sembra infatti voler rilevare più l'oggettiva abilità di Euripide nei *logoi* che l'uso distorto che insegna a farne. Leggerei τὸ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἄκρον: «la sua inarrivabile bravura dialettica».²¹

11

Sch. rec. Aristoph. *Plut.* 550 c:

ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος ἦν Σικελίας |¹¹ τύραννος. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἀνὴρ χρηστός Ἀθηναῖος. ὁρῶν οὖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ |¹² πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα τυράννων, οὓς ἔστησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τυραννομένην, |¹³ φυλὴν [μίαν] καταλαβόν, λάθρα τοὺς τυράννους ἀπέκτεινεν. |¹⁴ ἤδετο οὖν παρὰ πάντων ὡς Ἀθηναίων εὐεργέτης *thPstr* (151. 10–14 Chantry).

File è la piazzaforte in cui i democratici di Trasibulo si attestarono prima di portare l'attacco direttamente ai Trenta. Il *μίαν* sarebbe stato aggiunto da qualcuno che intendeva φυλὴν nome comune, «tribù». L'intenzione che si attribuisce a questo *inscius* (Hemsterhuis ap. Dindorf 1838, 186) è quella di sostenere che Trasibulo prendesse con sé *una* tribù, quindi una piccola parte della cittadinanza; non *tutte* le tribù, non *tante*, ma una sola. Altra prova di *inscitia* sarebbe la precisazione λάθρα, che certo non si adatta all'uccisione dei Trenta.

A mio parere *μίαν* può essere la corruttela di βίᾱ. I Trenta non furono eliminati «segretamente», ma in campo aperto e sotto gli occhi di tutti. Però è vero che Trasibulo e i suoi arrivarono, per così

²⁰ Lo scambio postulato da Dobree è naturalmente facilissimo: cf. e. g. Aristoph. *Plut.* 813 σαπρούς vs. σαθρούς Par. Gr. 2820, Kuster (apparato di Wilson 2007, II, 309); *Paraphr. ant.* Lycophr. 398 (299. 3 Leone) σαθρόν vs. σαπρόν.

²¹ Per l'espressione cf. e. g. Ael. Arist. *In Capit.* 342. 8 Jebb ἄκρον ἐν λόγοις; Liban. *Or.* 62. 26 πρὸς ἄκρον λόγων ἀφικνεῖσθαι, eccetera. Per lo scambio κ/π e π/κ cf. *random* Andoc. *De myst.* 138 οὐκ ἐξῆν (Stephanus) vs. οὐ πεζῆν; Opp. *Cyn.* 1. 37 εὐκερδέα vs. εὐπερδέα; sch. Lycophr. 183 b (39. 15 Leone) Πύρρου vs. κύρρου; Meleag. *AP* 12. 137. 4 παιδοφιλεῖν (Huschke) vs. καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν, ecc.

dire, a fari spenti. All'inizio erano pochi, e solo *in eundo* divennero così numerosi da costituire una minaccia. Λάθρα può aver voluto sottolineare questo aspetto (un aspetto spesso ricordato nelle vicende della *kathodos* democratica: cf. e. g. Diod. 14. 33. 2 ἀπροσδοκῆτως). Il simmetrico βία²² può essere una deduzione: in che modo se non βία si conquista il borgo di una città in mani nemiche?

Walter Lapini
 Università di Genova (C)
 walter.lapini@unige.it

Bibliografia

- F. H. Bothe (ed.), *Aristophanis comoediae* III (Lipsiae 1829).
 M. Chantry (ed.), *Scholia in Thesmophoriazusas; Ranas; Ecclesiazusas et Plutum*, fasc. IV B, *continens scholia recentiora in Aristophanis Plutum* (Groningen 1996).
 M. Chantry (ed.), *Scholia in Thesmophoriazusas; Ranas; Ecclesiazusas et Plutum*, fasc. I A, *continens scholia vetera in Aristophanis Ranas* (Groningen 1999).
 V. Coulon (ed.), *Aristophane III: Les oiseaux; Lysistrata*, traduit par H. Van Daele (Paris 1928).
 J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford 1954).
 W. Dindorf (ed.), *Aristophanis comoediae* IV, II: *scholia Graeca ex codicibus aucta et emendata* (Oxonii 1838).
 F. Dübner (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem* (Parisiis 1842 [1877]).
 E. Fraenkel, *Due seminari romani di Eduard Fraenkel: Aiace e Filottete di Sofocle*, a cura di alcuni partecipanti, premessa di L. E. Rossi (Roma 1977).
 L. Gili, "Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, A 4, 985 b9: Comparative Logic and an Unnecessary Emendation", *Méthexis* 37 (2025) 226–235.

²² L'uso congiunto (oppositivo o complementare) di βία–λάθρα è comune: cf. Crit. fr. 25. 26–27 DK ἔργα μὴ πράσσειν βίᾳ, | λάθρα δ' ἔπρασσον; Aristoph. *Ran.* 1143–1144 βιαίως ἐκ γυναικειᾶς χερὸς | δόλοισι λαθραίοις; Plat. *Leg.* 846 a βίᾳ ἢ λάθρα, ecc. – Per l'errore cf. e. g. Aspas. In *Aristot. EN* 1110 a 4–8 (60. 8 Heylbut) βία vs. μία; Jo. Phil. In *Aristot. Phys.* 261 a 28 (902. 35 Vitelli) μίαν vs. βίαν; Porph. *De abst.* 2. 31. 2 μίασμα vs. βίασμα (ma qui la paleografia c'entra fino a un certo punto: la frase infatti è τὸ μίασμα τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις).

- J. Hangard (ed.), *Scholia in Vespas; Pacem; Aves et Lysistratam*, fasc. IV, *continens scholia in Aristophanis Lysistratam* (Groningen 1996).
- J. L. Heiberg, “De locis nonnullis Ranarum fabulae Aristophanis adnotatiunculae”, *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 7 (1898–1899) 60–67.
- D. Holwerda (ed.), *Scholia in Vespas; Pacem; Aves et Lysistratam*, fasc. II, *continens scholia vetera et recentiora in Aristophanis Pacem* (Groningen 1982).
- A. E. Housman, “On Certain Corruptions in the Persae of Aeschylus”, *AJPh* 9 (1888) 317–325 (= Housman 1972, I, 14–21).
- A. E. Housman, “Remarks on the *Culex*”, *CR* 16 (1902) 339–346 (= Housman 1972, II, 563–576).
- A. E. Housman, *The Classical Papers*, collected and edited by J. Diggle, F. R. D. Goodyear, I–II (Cambridge 1972).
- J. Jackson, *Marginalia scaenica* (Oxford 1955).
- D. M. Jones (ed.), *Prolegomena de comoedia; scholia in Aristophanis Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes*, fasc. II *continens scholia vetera in Aristophanis Equites* (Groningen 1969).
- W. Lapini, “Teofrasto, *De sudoribus* 10”, *RFIC* 137 (2009) 339–349.
- W. Lapini, “Teofrasto e l’odore della terra (*De od.* 1)”, *GIF* 63 (2011) 61–63.
- W. Lapini, “Eschilo, *Agamennone*, 1200”, *Eirene* 49 (2013) 117–122.
- W. Lapini, “Eschilo (*Agamennone* 1200), Euripide (*Fenicie* 748), Eubulo (*I giocatori di dadi* 56.2 KA) e alcune riflessioni sulle congetture poligenetiche”, *Maia* 68 (2016) 630–636.
- R. Lauriola (ed.), *Aristofane. Gli Acharnesi*, introduzione di G. Paduano (Milano 2008).
- G. Mastromarco, P. Totaro (edd.), *Aristofane* II (Torino 2006).
- D. J. Mastronarde (ed.), *Euripides. Medea* (Cambridge 2002).
- C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum* III (Parisiis 1849).
- A. Paradiso, “Crossing the Halys and Its Dangers: Nicolaus of Damascus and the Croesus Oracle”, *GRBS* 57 (2017) 528–546.
- F. Perusino (ed.), *Aristofane. Lisistrata*, traduzione di S. Beta (Milano 2020).
- G. Stein, *Scholia in Aristophanis Lysistratam* (Gottingae 1891).
- R. Tosi, “Note ad alcuni scolii ad Aristofane (Eur. fr. 588 a K.)”, in: G. Avezzù, P. Scattolin (edd.), *I classici greci e i loro commentatori. Dai papiri ai marginalia rinascimentali*, Atti del Convegno (Rovereto 2006) 173–180.
- Th. G. Tucker, *The Choephoroi of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1901).
- J. Van Leeuwen (ed.), *Aristophanis Lysistrata*, cum prolegomenis et commentariis (Lugduni Batavorum 1903).
- N. G. Wilson (ed.), *Prolegomena de comoedia; scholia in Aristophanis Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes*, fasc. I B, *continens scholia in Aristophanis Acharnenses* (Groningen 1975).
- N. G. Wilson (ed.), *Aristophanis fabulae* II (Oxonii 2007).
- G. A. Xenis (ed.), *Scholia in Sophoclis Antigonom* (Berlin – New York 2021).

Textual notes on some Aristophanic scholia. *Ach.* 794: read μόνη ἢ μάλιστα instead of μόνη μάλιστα; *Eq.* 478 b: read οὐχ ἠττᾶται instead of οὐκ ἀπατᾶται; *Eq.* 781 b: read τὸν στρατόν instead of τὸν πρῶτον; *Eq.* 1034 b: read ἡσυχίαν δι' αὐτῶν instead of ἡσυχίαν αὐτῶν; *Nub.* 144 c: read κρατεῖ instead of καὶ εἰ; *Nub.* 421 d: read εὐτελῶς δειπνούσης instead of εὐτελοῦσης δείπνου; *Nub.* 450 b. α: read ἐκ πολλῶν instead of τῶν ἄλλων; *Nub.* 1017 (rec.): read ἀπραξίαν instead of ἀταξίαν; *Lys.* Arg. I, 1. 5 Hangard: read παρεμπολᾷ instead of ἐμπριλάς (sic); *Ran.* 775 a: read τὸ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἄκρον instead of τὸ περὶ τοὺς λόγους σαπρόν; *Plut.* 550 c (rec.): read βία instead of μίαν.

Текстологические заметки к нескольким аристофановским схолиям. *Ach.* 794: читай μόνη ἢ μάλιστα вместо μόνη μάλιστα; *Eq.* 478 b: читай οὐχ ἠττᾶται вместо οὐκ ἀπατᾶται; *Eq.* 781 b: читай τὸν στρατόν вместо τὸν πρῶτον; *Eq.* 1034 b: читай ἡσυχίαν δι' αὐτῶν вместо ἡσυχίαν αὐτῶν; *Nub.* 144 c: читай κρατεῖ вместо καὶ εἰ; *Nub.* 421 d: читай εὐτελῶς δειπνούσης вместо εὐτελοῦσης δείπνου; *Nub.* 450 b.α: читай ἐκ πολλῶν вместо τῶν ἄλλων; *Nub.* 1017 (rec.): читай ἀπραξίαν вместо ἀταξίαν; *Lys.* Arg. I, 1. 5 Hangard: читай παρεμπολᾷ вместо ἐμπριλάς (sic); *Ran.* 775 a: читай τὸ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἄκρον вместо τὸ περὶ τοὺς λόγους σαπρόν; *Plut.* 550 c (rec.): читай βία вместо μίαν.

Anton V. Korolenkov

ON SOME TRIUMPHS IN THE EPOCH OF CIVIL WARS IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

In the last third of the second century BC, Rome entered a period of civil wars. Needless to say, it was a sign of deep changes in Roman mentality that influenced the practice of triumphs. But despite occasional violations of traditions, the Romans did not consider it appropriate to hold triumphs or ovations over *cives perniciosi* (Val. Max. 2. 8. 7).¹ Quite a few scholars consider some triumphs of the epoch of civil wars to be signs of victory over internal enemies. Is this view justified? The following analysis is an attempt to answer this question.

Sulla's Triumph

At the end of January 81 BC, Sulla celebrated “con magnificenza orientale” a two-day triumph.² It should be noted that triumphs lasting longer than one day were quite rare in Roman history.³ It is evident that Sulla believed he had every right to do so.⁴ Although “his

¹ See, e. g., Lange, 2016, 95–96 (with references).

² Lanzani 1936, 83. On the two days of Sulla's triumph, see *Fasti Triumphales* (*CIL* I² 49); Plin. *NH.* 33. 16. A review of opinions on the exact date: Ghilli 2001, 478 n. 801. Sometimes the researchers connect Appian's report on Sulla's invitation of many athletes and on the organization of spectacles in honor of his victories (*BC* 1. 99. 464; Fröhlich 1900, 1557) with Sulla's triumph, but more likely the *Ludi Victoriae Sullanae* are meant here (Gabba 1958, 271).

³ Sumi 2002, 416–417.

⁴ F. Hinard considers Sulla's triumph “le plus important et le glorieux que Rome Rome eût connu jusqu'alors” (Hinard 1985, 236), which is an overstatement of Plutarch's enthusiastic opinion (*Sulla* 34. 1) about the booty taken from Mithridates (πολυτελεία καὶ καινότητι τῶν βασιλικῶν λαφύρων). If the booty seemed to be unprecedented, it was so only for the contemporaries, because Aemilius Paulus' triumph over Macedonia had been even more splendid.

victory over Mithridates was anything but a conclusive victory”,⁵ the dictator indulged in celebrating a triumph.⁶ Moreover, if Sulla had not celebrated the triumph, which is very hard to imagine, many people could have thought that he was admitting a lack of decisive success in the East.⁷ But Sulla’s success in the West is more interesting for us than that in the East. According to many researchers, the dictator did not conceal that it was a celebration of the victory not only over Mithridates, but also over his fellow citizens during the civil war. Noting that “Romans did not triumph over Romans”, A. Keaveney believes that the Cinnans had not been considered citizens because “they had ceased to be Romans and could thus be put where he believed they belonged, among the allies of Mithridates. It was only in this way that they could be included in the triumph”.⁸ But it is not clear on what this judgment is based. G. Sumi holds a slightly different point of view. In his opinion, Marians were equated with foreign enemies, “thus, Marius, like Mithridates, became a *hostis* of the Roman state, even though he was a Roman citizen”.⁹ What evidence do proponents of this view use to corroborate their conjecture?

Some researchers point out that the treasures – 14000 (according to another reading 13000) pounds of gold and 6000 pounds of silver confiscated by Marius the Younger from the Roman temples – were displayed during Sulla’s victorious procession. The amount

⁵ Balsdon 1951, 3; “questo era più un’apparenza che una realtà” (Valiglio 1960, 163). Fröhlich 1900, 1557 puts it more strongly: “die wirklichen Verhältnisse im Osten waren zu einer solchen Feier gerade damals am wenigsten angethan”.

⁶ Besides, we can remember Murena’s triumph over Mithridates, which was celebrated almost without any reasons in the same year (see Cic. *De imp. Pomp.* 8; Fröhlich 1900, 1557; Lange 2016, 80–81).

⁷ Valiglio 1960, 163 said explicitly that the victory over the Marians (“il partito democratico”) was the real object of the triumph. Keaveney considers this opinion very far-fetched (Keaveney 1983, 188).

⁸ Keaveney 1983, 188.

⁹ Sumi 2002, 423. “Declaring Romans *hostes*, however, created a new dimension to triumph and civil war: it was permissible, as a means of justification, to triumph over them as enemies of Rome” (Lange 2016, 124; see also Morstein-Marx 2021, 452). But this conclusion is unconvincing, because it is not supported by any ancient evidence.

of gold and silver was announced *sub eo* (Sullae. – A. K.) *titulo in triumpho*.¹⁰ I. Östenberg believes that “the placard also explained that this was the money that the younger Marius had previously taken to Praeneste from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and other shrines”.¹¹ In other words, Sulla emphasized that the booty had been captured from Marius the Younger, i. e., his fellow citizen. The word “also” in Östenberg’s sentence is significant: the researcher supposes that *titulus* contained information not only about the amount of treasures, but also about their previous owner and their original location. However, Pliny the Elder’s text to which she refers is very vague (NH 33. 16):

quod ex Capitolinae aedis incendio ceterisque omnibus delubris C. Marius filius Praeneste detulerat, **XIII (XIII)** pondo, **quae sub eo titulo in triumpho transtulit** Sulla et argenti **VI**.

(the gold) that Gaius Marius had conveyed to Praeneste from the conflagration of the temple of the Capitol and from all the other shrines amounted to 14 000 lbs., which, with a placard above it to that effect, was carried along in his triumphal procession by Sulla, as well as 6000 lbs. weight of silver.¹²

It is not quite clear whether the said *titulus* contained information only about the amount of the treasures displayed during the triumph or also about their origin, since the latter is not mentioned in the source explicitly.

G. S. Sumi, quoting Pliny’s text *in extenso* and understanding it in the same way as Östenberg, writes: “The display of the Marian fortune was just as important as a demonstration of pietas on Sulla’s part – an indication that he would honour the very temples of the gods which Marius had so wantonly desecrated”.¹³ Theoretically, we cannot

¹⁰ Plin. NH 33.16. Plutarch mentions these explanatory texts (δέλτοι, γράμματα) in the description of Lucullus’ and Pompey’s triumphs (*Luc.* 37. 6; *Pomp.* 45. 2; see also Östenberg 2009, 68–69).

¹¹ Östenberg 2009, 69.

¹² Transl. by Rackham 1952, 15 (with slight corrections).

¹³ Sumi 2002, 418. Schur 1942, 185–186 ranks it “zu einem symbolischen Akte von tiefer Bedeutung”.

exclude such a possibility, but it seems to be based on too broad an interpretation of Pliny's words. Such an overt demonstration that the gold and silver carried during the triumph had once been confiscated by Marius the Younger¹⁴ would become too obvious a hint at the victory over his fellow citizens.¹⁵ It is noteworthy that, according to Valerius Maximus' report (2. 8. 7), no pictures of "Roman citizens' cities" (i. e., Italian cities) had been carried during Sulla's triumphal procession (*L. Sulla... cum... triumphum duceret, ut Graeciae et Asiae multas urbes, ita civium Romanorum nullum oppidum vexit*).¹⁶ The difference is clear.

As for A. Eckert's interpretation, it looks quite speculative, as she believes, "das [capitolinisches] Gold weckte nicht nur Erinnerungen an die Belagerung von Praeneste im Bürgerkrieg, es rief auch das auf Sullas Anweisung an den männlichen Einwohnern der Stadt verübte Massaker ins Gedächtnis".¹⁷ Given the lack of any information on the reaction of Rome to the massacre at Praeneste, this associative array is absolutely unclear, even if Romans knew that they had been shown treasures captured at Praeneste. In this regard, the researchers pay attention to Plutarch's well-known passage: "For the most distinguished and influential of the citizens, crowned with garlands, followed in the procession, calling Sulla their saviour and father, since indeed it was through him that they were returning to their native city and bringing with them their wives and children" (*Sulla* 34. 2).¹⁸ This text is often considered further evidence of Sulla's demonstration of

¹⁴ Among other things, V. Havener emphasizes that the booty that had been captured in the East was demonstrated on the first day (Plin. *NH* 33. 16: *pridie*), while the booty of the civil war was carried on the second day (Havener 2016, 163; Lange 2016, 103 tends to accept this opinion). However, the mere division by day did not matter much unless it was indicated where the loot shown on the second day had been taken from – it could be understood that it was also Mithridates' treasures.

¹⁵ As stated by Hinard 1985, 236, during Sulla's triumphal procession, they carried the pictures demonstrating the scene of Valerius Flaccus' murder by Fimbria. Equally, Rosenblitt 2019, 129 asserts, "the defeat of Marius was advertised on a placard". This could have been an obvious hint at the civil war, but there is no information about these pictures in our sources.

¹⁶ Valgiglio 1960, 163; Lange 2016, 102.

¹⁷ Eckert 2016, 80.

¹⁸ Transl. by Perrin 1916, 433.

his victory not only over a foreign enemy, but also over his fellow citizens.¹⁹ Nevertheless, even Plutarch does not say openly that people in Sulla's retinue who had run from the Marians or had been exiled by the latter attracted some attention and formed a special group.²⁰ That is not surprising, because Sulla himself, as well as his followers, were outlawed in the same way. They had undesirable juridical status and could wear wreaths in honor of their return. Moreover, this fragment reflects a retrospective view of the events (maybe from Sulla's *Memoirs*), describing the former exiles as "the most distinguished and influential of the citizens" (οἱ ... ἐνδοξότατοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν), whereas in Sulla's retinue there were no δυνατώτατοι at that time, because none of them were consular.²¹

Finally, having every opportunity to celebrate a triumph not only over Mithridates, but also, for example, over the Samnites, the dictator nevertheless refrained from the latter²² – presumably, in order to avoid any hints of victory in the civil war. All this suggests that it was a classic victory celebration over an external enemy, namely the Pontic king. Surely, there might have been various rumors among both common people and even the senators, but decorum was maintained.

¹⁹ Lanzani 1936, 83; Schur 1942, 186; Carcopino 1947, 114–115; Ghilli 2001, 479 n. 803; with caution Gabba 1958, 278. As Rosenblitt 2019, 128–129 writes, "the parade of Roman exiles in his triumph over Mithridates deliberately blurs the foreign / civil line". F. Vervaeke 2023, 229 calls it "conspicuously novel" (as well as was the display of the gold and the silver from Praeneste).

²⁰ This unproven fact is the basis of the opinion that the participation of exiles in a triumphal procession was an innovation (Carcopino 1947, 114–115; Valgiglio 1960, 163; Havener 2016, 164). Equally controversial is the judgment of V. Havener, who considers this episode in the context of the custom of presenting fellow citizens in triumph (Havener 2016, 164) – they went separately, while the exiles returned by Sulla in fact made up his retinue (παρείποντο... τὸν Σύλλαν).

²¹ The only *consularis* among *Sullani* was L. Marcius Philippus, but he was a deserter not exiled. Moreover, we do not know if he took part in Sulla's triumph; anyway, his presence would not justify the plural form (ἐνδοξότατοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι) in Plutarch's text.

²² W. Letzner 2000, 263 claims that the triumph gave the impression of a celebration of victory not only over Mithridates, but also over the Marians and Italics, and especially the Samnites, although he notes the lack of images of Italian cities during the triumphal procession. It is not clear what exactly contained special allusions to the Samnites.

Caesar's Triumphs

In 46 BC, after the defeat of the Pompeians at Thapsus, Caesar celebrated four successive triumphs: one over the Gauls, one over the Egyptians, one over Pontus, and one over Numidia. There were valuable trophies displayed in the procession, and Vercingetorix, the Gallic chief, Arsinoe, the Egyptian princess, and Juba, the four-year-old Numidian prince (the future king and writer Juba II) were paraded through the streets (Plut. *Caes.* 55. 3; App. *BC* 2. 101. 418; Cass. Dio 43. 19. 2–4). People cheered when they saw the depictions (ποικίλαις γραφαῖς) of Achilles' and Pothinus' deaths and laughed at the scene of Pharnaces' flight (App. *BC* 2. 101. 420).

But according to the sources, not everything caused exultation. For example, many people showed sympathy for Arsinoe (Cass. Dio 43. 19. 3). More importantly, however, the public was outraged by the paintings depicting the death of Metellus Scipio,²³ Marcus Petreius, and Cato the Younger (ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς, καίπερ δεδιώξ, ἔστενε, καὶ μάλιστα, κτλ.), while the statue of Pompey was not shown, given the latter's popularity with the Romans (App. *BC* 2. 101. 419–420).

This information from Appian is completely accepted by researchers. R. A. Billows believes that they were “caricatures”, while in C. Meier's opinion, Caesar's enemies were directly or indirectly portrayed as his slaves.²⁴ However, the very idea of these pictures being present in the triumph is implausible. According to Appian (*BC* 2. 101. 419), Caesar refrained from celebrating his triumph over his fellow citizens because he did not consider it appropriate (ὥς

²³ Appian mistakenly refers to Metellus Scipio as Quintus instead of Lucius (Münzer 1899, 1224). The procession of elephants (apparently captured from Juba) with torches, which accompanied Caesar (according to Suetonius, *Jul.* 37. 2, to the Capitol; according to Dio Cassius, 43. 22. 1, when he was on his way home on the third day), is sometimes also interpreted as an allusion to the defeat of Metellus Scipio, since the figures of elephants on the coins were something like a coat of arms of the Metelli (Östenberg 2009, 180, n. 315), and Metellus Scipio himself minted such coins in Africa (Voisin 1983, 33 and n. 22 with bibliography). But it is unknown if these parallels occurred to Caesar himself and other Romans.

²⁴ Meier 1993, 582; Billows 2009, 246.

ἐμφύλια οὐκ εὐκότα τε αὐτῷ).²⁵ Why then would he emphasize that it was a victory over his Roman enemies by carrying their images?²⁶ It is noteworthy that Cicero, who never missed a chance to blame the dictator for his willfulness, does not mention such images in his procession, while at the same time he is indignant at the triumph over Massalia, allied to Rome.²⁷ Remember that Cicero wrote a eulogy for Cato the Younger,²⁸ and in this context his silence looks particularly strange. Other ancient authors (including Plutarch, who criticized the Spanish triumph of Caesar) seem to know nothing about it, either.²⁹ Finally, the representation of the aforementioned suicides would be counterproductive, because suicide exalted those who committed it: in this respect, the story of Perseus, who disgraced himself in the eyes of ancient tradition by preferring to be carried in Aemilius Paulus' triumphal procession to voluntarily ending his life, is characteristic.³⁰

Nevertheless, J.-L. Voisin, who made some of the abovementioned observations, believes that Appian's account is true. He claims that Caesar had to portray the suicide of his enemies, otherwise he would be blamed for their death, as was the case with his cousin L. Julius Caesar. The beautiful, truly Roman death of the Pompeian leaders was an atonement for their alliance with the enemies of Rome. During his triumph, Caesar thus welcomed this atonement and made it clear that even death does not make it possible to escape his mercy, even

²⁵ C. Lange 2016, 110 assumes that the quadruple triumph was a *sui generis* recompense granted to Caesar for not celebrating a triumph after his victory at Pharsalus. It is not clear why A. Eckert 2016, 79 believes that Caesar's victory over his fellow citizens was implied by his triumph over Egypt.

²⁶ J. Carcopino even believes that Caesar did not advertise his victory over the Pompeians, which is the reason for the absence of the names of Pompey and Cato during the triumph (Carcopino 1968, 467–468). However, if a picture of Cato's suicide as Appian described it, with torn entrails (*BC* 2. 101. 420), was indeed displayed, then the recognizability of the scene would have made mentioning the name unnecessary for informed people. On Pompey, see below.

²⁷ Cic. *Off.* 2. 28; cf. *Phil.* 8. 18; Voisin 1983, 15.

²⁸ For sources, see Büchner 1939, 1272.

²⁹ Voisin 1983, 14. He reasonably points out that Roman authors from Cicero to Florus did not see anything in Caesar's African triumph that would offend the feelings of Roman citizens, even the Pompeians. However, we do not have to end this list with Florus.

³⁰ Plut. *Aem.* 34. 3–4; Voisin 1983, 22 (he also refers to Livy 45. 39, but the latter mentions nothing of the kind).

if granted retroactively. At the same time, Caesar demonstrated his superiority over those who had the courage to take their own lives; his *virtus* turned out to be stronger.³¹

This interpretation can hardly be accepted. The representation of the suicides gave every reason to blame Caesar for the deaths of his enemies. Whether he granted them forgiveness or not, they died fighting against him, and *clementia Caesaris* annoyed the nobility.³² When Cato refused to accept Caesar's pardon, it was the latter who looked bad in the eyes of the majority of the nobles, while Cato became a symbol of the fight for liberty. It is doubtful, too, that the latter's death (in Appian's text he is depicted as "torn open by himself like a wild beast") would have appeared noble and even as a sign that Caesar welcomed Cato's "expiation" of "sins" and that at least one of the spectators of the triumph perceived it this way. At any rate, if we strictly follow the source, we do not see there anything like that. Besides, it is unclear why the public should have regarded the display of this kind of paintings as a "retroactive" manifestation of Caesar's mercy.

It seems that the French researcher underestimated the importance of his own observations, which have led me to a different conclusion. In my opinion, Appian's information is wrong. The partiality of the historian from Alexandria or his source is evident. The passage about Caesar's refusal of the display of Pompey's statue, which is explained with the latter's popularity, is completely out of place,³³ since Pompey, who died back in 48, could not participate in the African campaign.³⁴ But the mention of him gives rise to an anti-Caesarian attack, since it is obviously hinted that Caesar provided the opportunity for such an unseemly act. Appian himself points out that there were no names on the placards.³⁵ Therefore, we cannot be sure that it is not a garbled version: someone interpreted the image in his

³¹ Voisin 1983, 26–27.

³² See, e. g., Dowling 2006, 30.

³³ A triumph in honor of the victory at Pharsalus would be suitable for this (Voisin 1983, 25), but as mentioned above, Caesar abstained from celebrating it (see Cass. Dio 42. 18. 1).

³⁴ W. Havener discussing the absence of Pompey's statue does not consider this evident circumstance (see Havener 2016, 169–170).

³⁵ App. *BC* 2. 101. 419; Lange 2016, 110.

own way, and then the incorrect interpretation (in fact, a rumor) was added with fictitious details, which Appian willingly included in his work. In other words, it dealt with pictures showing some people. It should be noted that the pictures in question did not have any labels; besides, it was not easy to discern their message during the triumph when they were on the move.³⁶ It is true that Appian reports quite specifically about the messages of the paintings: Metellus Scipio, who is thrown into the sea after he pierced himself with a sword, and Cato with his insides turned out. However, it is difficult to imagine that the winner went to such an unrestrained and unreasonable mockery of Cato, which would have been counterproductive for Caesar himself, given great Cato's popularity.

Besides, this “appealing” detail is quite understandable. The source may have contained information about paintings depicting Metellus Scipio, who pierced himself with a sword and was thrown into the sea, and Cato, who turned out his insides; but possibly this was the author's comment about their fate, and not the images themselves, while Appian or his informant who used the specified source understood biographical information as a presentation of the message of the paintings.

A very curious case is the Spanish triumph of Caesar in 45, which, according to Plutarch (*Caes.* 56. 7–9), “vexed the Romans as nothing else had done” (θρίαμβος ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο Ῥωμαίους ἠνίασεν), because it should not have celebrated the misfortunes of the fatherland, “for it commemorated no victory over foreign commanders or barbarian kings, but the utter annihilation of the sons³⁷ and the family of the mightiest of the Romans, who had fallen upon misfortune”.³⁸ Cassius Dio expresses a similar sentiment. According to his account, Caesar's Spanish triumph was celebrated not in honor of the conquest of the foreign peoples, but because many citizens were destroyed (καίτοι μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου κρατήσας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοσοῦτο πληθὸς πολιτῶν ἀπολέσας). Besides, Caesar's legates

³⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Wjatcheslaw Chrystaljow, who drew my attention to this circumstance.

³⁷ In fact, only one son, Gnaeus, was killed, since Sextus fled (Pelling 2011, 420). Pelling notes that in Rome they might not have known about this at that time, but in the same way we can speak of exaggerations in any propaganda, especially since Plutarch himself definitely knew the truth.

³⁸ Trans. by Perrin 1967, 573.

Q. Pedius and Q. Fabius Maximus, who did not possess *imperium* at all and therefore were not entitled to such an honor, were awarded with triumphs, which caused ridicule (Cass. Dio 43. 42. 1–2). In E. Meyer’s opinion, Caesar paid homage to the republican traditions by granting the triumph to the governors of both Spanish provinces, Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pedius, even though they had not fought under their own auspices but under Caesar’s.³⁹ I think if Caesar was interested in this, it was very insignificant and in a purely formal sense. At the time of the celebration, Fabius was already a consul-suffect, which legitimized his position at least to some extent, but in the case of Pedius, we see a direct falsification by Caesar or his supporters because he was titled proconsul in the *fasti*.⁴⁰

But let us return to the triumph of Caesar. From the account of Dio Cassius, researchers unanimously concluded that although this triumph had been celebrated formally *ex Hispania* (in the *Fasti Triumphales* there is a lacuna), in reality it was an undeniable violation of the taboo against triumphs in honor of victory in a civil war.⁴¹ It is generally believed that during this triumph, the episode described by Suetonius took place: when Caesar passed by the place where the plebeian tribunes were sitting, one of them, Pontius Aquila, remained seated, which angered the winner (Suet. *Iul.* 78. 2).⁴²

The fact that this triumph was perceived as a celebration of victory over fellow citizens is reported only by very late sources, Plutarch and Dio Cassius, while Cicero, who was greatly biased, does not mention this, just as he does not mention this in the case of the celebrations

³⁹ Meyer 1922, 458.

⁴⁰ Lange 2016, 110.

⁴¹ Lange 2016, 85, 110, 203. See also Meyer 1922, 458; Gelzer 1969, 308; Meier 1993, 606; Billows 2009, 246. Carcopino 1968, 468 believes that Caesar equated those who resisted him after Thapsus with enemies such as the Lusitanians.

⁴² Meyer 1922, 458; Gelzer 1968, 308; Meier 1993, 606–607; Morstein-Marx 2021, 515. However the authenticity of this episode has been doubted (see Havener 2016, 172). It is quite possible that Caesar’s clash with Pontius took place under different circumstances. “Strictly speaking, nothing absolutely excludes a date in 46 for Pontius’s tribunate rather than 45, but since App. BC 2. 113/474 suggests that Pontius Aquila had taken the Pompeian side in the Civil War his election is harder to imagine before Thapsus than after it” (Morstein-Marx 2021, 515 n. 118). But we do not know whether Pontius Aquila took part in the civil war on the Pompeian side.

of 46 BC. If the triumph was indeed presented as *ex Hispania*, then there were certain grounds for this, since a significant part, if not most, of the Pompeian troops consisted of provincials who did not have Roman citizenship, i. e., the triumph was celebrated over the Spaniards.⁴³ There is no information about any depictions of deaths of the Pompeians.⁴⁴ Pontius Aquila's passive protest can be compared with the voice of one crying in the wilderness: it is not reported that the public applauded or reacted to the tribune's "impudence", although it is unlikely that Suetonius would have remained silent about such a fact if it had taken place. Besides, he did not condemn the triumph. Moreover, Plutarch could have significantly exaggerated the degree of people's displeasure.

The Failed Triumph of Decimus Brutus

A year after Caesar's death, a truly unprecedented event occurred: the Senate, in violation of all unwritten rules, granted a triumph to Decimus Junius Brutus for his victory over Mark Antony,⁴⁵ i. e., for success in the civil war.⁴⁶ In addition, Octavian was also awarded an ovation for the Mutina War,⁴⁷ but he demanded a triumph for himself, which seemed quite logical: Brutus only withstood the siege, but did not achieve victory in a proper battle, while Octavian took the most active part in the battle of Mutina.⁴⁸ Despite this, the Senate responded

⁴³ See Gelzer 1968, 293. The parallel with the triumphs of Metellus Pius and Pompey after the victory over the Sertorians, vaguely doubted only by Florus (3. 22. 10), suggests itself (Lange 2016, 110; see also Havener 2016, 151 n. 10).

⁴⁴ Our sources contain little information on Caesar's Spanish triumph (Östenberg 2014, 187; Havener 2016, 171). "Had Caesar taken note of the negative response towards the previous triumphs and now refrained from putting images of other Romans on parade? Or did he rather choose to push the message of civil war victory even further?" (Östenberg 2014, 187–188).

⁴⁵ Liv. *Per.* 119; Vell. Pat. 2. 62. 4; Cass. Dio 44. 40. 1; Östenberg 2014, 183; Lange 2016, 89, 128.

⁴⁶ We also know about the proposal to include the name of Decimus Brutus in the *fasti*, which, however, the Senate rejected (Cic. *Ad Brut.* 1. 15. 9; see also *Fam.* 11. 10. 1).

⁴⁷ Cic. *Ad Brut.* 1. 15. 9; 17. 2 – Marcus Brutus wrongly writes in his letter to Cicero about the triumph (Bellen 1997, 60 n. 76).

⁴⁸ See Liv. *Per.* 119; Havener 2016, 154.

with a very unkind refusal (App. *BC* 3. 80. 325; 82. 337; 89. 368),⁴⁹ but the granting of an ovation was also an obvious departure from tradition. In this context, the plans to erect a monument to the fallen in the fight for *res publica* should be mentioned; this project, however, was unlikely to be implemented.⁵⁰ But it should be noted that this idea itself was exceptional: public veneration of the fallen was not a custom among the Romans, unlike among the Greeks, and in this case it was about those who died in the civil war.⁵¹

Lange reasonably assumes that both this project and the granting of a triumph to Decimus Brutus demonstrated that the Senate was in dire straits.⁵² On the one hand, it is important that the *patres* voted for such measures. On the other hand, it is unclear whether they would have decided to implement them in practice after a victory over Antony,⁵³ and if the vote for Brutus' triumph did not seem to have caused debates or even confusion,⁵⁴ then its implementation could well have generated them; it is very likely that Brutus would have been convinced to abandon the victory celebrations. It is noteworthy that the triumvirs did not take this path and preferred to follow other precedents: back in 45, Caesar allowed Lepidus to celebrate a triumph, not for victories on the battlefield, but for preventing a powerful uprising in Spain.⁵⁵ For these peacemaking efforts (i. e., agreement with Sextus Pompeius) on the last day of 43 BC, Lepidus celebrated the triumph that the Senate had decreed, even before the formation

⁴⁹ Lange 2016, 88 admits that Octavian ultimately refused the ovation, which he never celebrated. It seems that the refusal was due to the negotiations he had started with Antony; an ovation in such circumstances would have looked extremely inappropriate.

⁵⁰ Cic. *Phil.* 14. 31–35; Lange 2016, 127.

⁵¹ Clark 2014, 27. As is well known, Decimus Brutus' triumph did not take place.

⁵² Lange 2016, 127. See also Östenberg 2014, 183.

⁵³ As for the monument, Clark 2014, 27 doubts that Cicero and his audience could have expected that it would actually be erected.

⁵⁴ Lange 2016, 87, 88, 90, 113.

⁵⁵ Cass. Dio 43. 1. 2–3. Cassius Dio notes mockingly that Lepidus sent to Rome only the money he had seized from the plunder of the allied communities; perhaps this is an echo of the ridicule caused by the fact that the triumph was granted to him without victories over enemies or even without fighting them (Weigel 1992, 144 n. 36).

of the second triumvirate.⁵⁶ When Caesar entered Rome with the *ovatio* after celebrating *Feriae Latinae*, it was not a recognition of any military successes. Probably, these very examples were followed by the triumvirs, who preferred ovation (but not a triumph!) in order to avert a new civil war in the wake of the agreement in Brundisium.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Therefore, we can see an interesting evolution of triumphs associated with victories during the civil wars. Apparently, Sulla tried to avoid any hint that he was celebrating the victory not only over external enemies, but also over his fellow citizens, especially since the Mithridatic War was a conflict separate from the fight against the Marians. Similarly, we do not have indisputable evidence of Caesar's triumphs celebrating victories in the civil war, although the very celebration of the African and Spanish triumphs was a clear hint at such victories, because Numidians and Spaniards were only allies of the Pompeians. But in 43 BC, the Senate did not hesitate to award a triumph to Decimus Brutus and an ovation to Octavian for their victory over Antony. The belief that Sulla and Caesar celebrated victories over their fellow citizens only emerged in the imperial era, when triumphs became the subject of active reflection. The triumvirs' refusal to follow the Senate's "extremist" line can be explained not only by its going beyond all conceivable norms, but also by the lack of necessity – the Senate in 43 BC was in dire straits, while the triumvirs felt like masters of the situation.

Anton V. Korolenkov

State Academic University for the Humanities, Moscow

sallust86@gmail.com

⁵⁶ Lange 2016, 83–86, 246 n. 94 (with sources). Lange admits the triumph could be partly in celebration of Lepidus' victories, but Cicero (*Phil.* 13. 7–9), when justifying honors for Lepidus, emphasizes a peaceful settlement (§ 8: *adduxit ad pacem remque publicam sine armis maximo civilis belli periculo liberavit*).

⁵⁷ Lange 2016, 65–66, 114–115. Lange places more emphasis on following the precedent of Caesar's *ovatio*, stressing that the triumvirs also celebrated an *ovatio*, not a triumph. However, the idea itself of celebrating the prevention of civil war brings them closer to the triumphs of Lepidus.

Bibliography

- J. P. V. D. Balsdon, “Sulla Felix”, *JRS* 41: 1 (1951) 1–10.
- H. Bellen, *Politik – Recht – Gesellschaft. Studien zur Alten Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1997).
- R. A. Billows, *Caesar: The Colossus of Rome* (London – New York 2009).
- K. Büchner, “M. Tullius Cicero (Fragmente)”, *RE* 2. R. 13 (1939) 1236–1274.
- J. Carcopino, *Sylla ou la monarchie manquée* (Paris 1947).
- J. Carcopino, *Jules César* (Paris 1968).
- J. H. Clark, *Triumph in Defeat. Military Loss and the Roman Republic* (Oxford 2014).
- M. Dowling, *Clemency and Cruelty in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor 2006).
- A. Eckert, *Lucius Cornelius Sulla in der antiken Erinnerung. Jener Mörder, der sich Felix nannte* (Berlin–Boston 2016).
- F. Fröhlich, “Cornelius 392”, *RE* 7 (1900) 1522–1566.
- E. Gabba (ed.), *Appiani bellorum civilium liber primus* (Florence 1958).
- M. Gelzer, *Caesar. Politician and Statesman* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968).
- L. Ghilli, “Commento [alla biografia di Silla]”, in: L. Ghilli, F. M. Muccioli (eds.), *Plutarco. Vite parallele. Lisandro. Silla* (Milan 2001) 300–514.
- W. Havener, “Triumphus ex bello civili? Die Präsentation des Bürgerkriegssieges im spätrepublikanischen Triumphritual”, in: H. Börm, M. Mattheis, J. Wienand (eds.), *Civil War in Ancient Greece and Rome. Contexts of Disintegration and Reintegration* (Stuttgart 2016) 149–184.
- F. Hinard, *Sylla* (Paris 1985).
- A. Keaveney, “Studies in the dominatio Sullae”, *Klio* 55 (1983) 185–208.
- C. H. Lange, *Triumphs in the Age of Civil War: The Late Republic and the Adaptability of Triumphal Tradition* (London – New York 2016).
- C. Lanzani, *Lucio Silla dittatore, storia di Roma negli anni 82–78 A.C.* (Milan 1936).
- W. Letzner, *Lucius Cornelius Sulla: Versuch einer Biographie* (Münster 2000).
- C. Meier, *Caesar* (Munich 1993).
- E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompejus. Innere Geschichte Roms von 66 bis 44 v. Chr.* (Stuttgart–Berlin 1922).
- R. Morstein-Marx, *Julius Caesar and the Roman People* (Cambridge 2021).
- F. Münzer, “Caecilius 99”, *RE* 3 (1899) 1224–1229.
- I. Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford 2009).
- I. Östenberg, “Triumph and Spectacle. Victory Celebrations in the Late Republican Civil Wars”, in: C. H. Lange, F. J. Vervaeke (eds.), *The Roman Republican Triumph Beyond the Spectacle* (Rome 2014) 181–193.
- C. Pelling (tr., comm.), *Plutarch. Caesar* (Oxford – New York 2011).
- B. Perrin (ed., tr.), *Plutarch's Lives. IV: Alcibiades and Coriolanus, Lysander and Sulla* (Cambridge, Mass. – London 1916).

- B. Perrin (ed., tr.), *Plutarch's Lives. VII: Demosthenes and Cicero, Alexander and Caesar* (Cambridge, Mass. – London 1967).
- H. Rackham (ed., tr.), *Pliny, Natural History. IX: Libri XXX–XXXV* (Cambridge, Mass. – London 1952).
- J. A. Rosenblitt, *Rome after Sulla* (London – New York 2019).
- W. Schur, *Das Zeitalter des Marius und Sulla* (Leipzig 1942).
- G. S. Sumi, “Spectacles and Sulla’s Public Image”, *Historia* 51: 4 (2002) 414–432.
- E. Valgiglio (ed., comm.), *Plutarco. Vita di Silla* (Turin 1960).
- F. J. Vervaet. *Reform, Revolution, Reaction. A Short History of Rome from the Origins of the Social War to the Dictatorship of Sulla* (Seville–Zaragoza) 2023.
- J.-L. Voisin, “Le triomphe africain de 46 et l’idéologie césarienne”, *Antiquités africaines* 19 (1983) 7–33.
- R. D. Weigel, *Lepidus: The Tarnished Triumvir* (London – New York 1992).

The article is devoted to some triumphs that are usually perceived as victory celebrations over fellow citizens in *bella civilia*. The author analyzes the triumphs of Sulla, Caesar, and D. Brutus (the latter triumph was voted but not held). In his opinion, there were no signs of celebrations of victory over fellow citizens during Sulla’s triumph; only the victory over Mithridates VI of Pontus was celebrated. Such hints might have been dropped during Caesar’s African triumph, but modern researchers seem to overestimate their importance. Only late authors perceived the African and Spanish triumphs as victory celebrations also over fellow citizens. At the same time, the absence of any negative reaction to the granting to Decimus Brutus of a triumph over Antonius is noteworthy. It shows deep changes in the perception of triumphs at the end of the Roman Republic.

Статья посвящена некоторым триумфам, которые обычно воспринимаются как триумфы над согражданами в *bella civilia*. Автор анализирует триумфы Суллы, Цезаря (африканский и испанский) и Д. Брута (декретированный, но не состоявшийся). По его мнению, нет признаков празднования победы над согражданами во время триумфа Суллы, который справлялся над Митридатом VI Понтийским. Какие-то намеки подобного рода могли быть во время африканского триумфа Цезаря, но они сильно преувеличены современными исследователями. Африканский, а также испанский триумф воспринимались как празднование победы над согражданами только поздними авторами. В то же время примечательно отсутствие негативной реакции на дарование триумфа над Антонием Дециму Бруту. Это показывает глубокие перемены в восприятии триумфов в конце Римской республики.

Philip Boserup-Lemire

A CRITICAL NOTE ON SERVIUS'
COMMENTARY ON VERG. AEN. 6. 1–2

Verg. *Aen.* 6. 1–2:

Sic fatur lacrimans classique immittit habenas
et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris.

In modern editions of the *Aeneid*, as in the early manuscripts, these lines open book 6. According to Servius (On *Aen.* 5. 871), however, they were originally left by Vergil at the end of book 5 and were subsequently moved by Tucca and Varius to their current position. This editorial intervention, he explains, accounts for why some ancient manuscripts begin book 6 instead with *obuertunt* (6. 3 in modern editions):

sciendum sane Tuccam et Varium hunc finem quinti esse uoluisse:
nam a Vergilio duo uersus sequentes huic iuncti fuerunt: unde in
non nullis antiquis codicibus sexti initium est *obuertunt pelago
proras, tum dente tenaci*.¹

He then proceeds to defend the decision of Tucca and Varius to relocate the lines (*Praef.* on *Aen.* 6):

sane sciendum, licet primos duos uersus Probus et alii in quinti
reliquerint fine, prudenter ad initium sexti esse translatos; nam et
coniunctio poematis melior est et Homerus etiam sic inchoauit:
ὡς φάτο δάκρυ χέων.

Two reasons are offered in support of the rearrangement: (a) it improves the *coniunctio poematis*, and (b) Homer *inchoauit* in a com-

¹ For the sake of convenience, I quote in both instances the text of Thilo and Hagen 1881–1887, which, apart from minor differences in orthography and punctuation, is identical in the second quotation to that of Jeunet-Mancy 2017.

parable manner. The first point is not further explained, but it may be taken to mean that Servius, recognising that the verses are scarcely intelligible unless read immediately after the close of book 5, thought that relocating them to their present position at the opening of book 6 created a stronger linkage between the two books. Turning to (b), which is the point that concerns us: Servius notes that Homer “opened” in a similar way – that is, with the phrase ὦς φάτο δάκρυ χέων. Considering the argument he is making, there can be no doubt that *inchoavit* in this context must refer to the introductory words of a book. No book of Homer, however, opens with this phrase.² It occurs only twice in the Homeric corpus, in both cases well within a book rather than at its opening: *Il.* 1. 357 and *Od.* 24. 438. Rather than assume that Servius was under the misapprehension that the phrase did in fact stand at the beginning of some book of Homer – a possible yet unconvincing scenario – I propose that δάκρυ χέων has been interpolated. While this assumption cannot be firmly supported by manuscript evidence – the two forms of the commentary (S and DS) are both heavily contaminated, requiring editors to consider every plausible reading³ – the ninth-century manuscript C (Casselanus Ms. Poet. Fol. 6) of the DS tradition may be adduced to provide a possible explanation: against the various misspelled versions of ὦς φάτο found in most manuscripts, C transmits ΩΣ ΕΦΑΤΟ, preserving Servius’ intended Ὠς ἔφαθ’ as a reference to the opening of book 13 of the *Odyssey*.⁴ On recognising the clear Homeric echo in Vergil’s *Sic fatur lacrimans*, a compiler seems to have added the words δάκρυ χέων as a separate scholium. These two scholia were subsequently conflated, producing the the perfectly sound yet, in this context, unsuitable ὦς φάτο δάκρυ χέων.

Philip Boserup-Lemire
 University of St Andrews
 ponbl1@st-andrews.ac.uk

² Cf. Harrison 1980, 370 n. 31: “Servius cites here the irrelevant ὦς φάτο δάκρυ χέων, which appears in the middle of Iliad One (357)”.

³ On the transmission of the texts of Servius and Servius Auctus, see Murgia–Kaster 2018, XI–XXVIII.

⁴ Hom. *Od.* 13. 1 Ὠς ἔφαθ’, οἱ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῆ.

Bibliography

- E. L. Harrison, "The Structure of the Aeneid: Observations on the Links between the Books", *ANRW* II. 31. 1 (1980) 359–393.
- E. Jeunet-Mancy (ed.), *Servius: Commentaire sur l'Énéide de Virgile, Livre VI* (Paris 2017).
- C. E. Murgia, R. A. Kaster (eds.), *Serviani in Vergili Aeneidos libros IX–XII commentarii* (Oxford 2018).
- G. Thilo, H. Hagen (eds.), *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii* I–III (Leipzig 1881–1887).

This note suggests that, in defending Tucca and Varius' relocation of *Aen.* 6. 1–2 from the end of the fifth book to their current position, Servius did not originally cite the Homeric ὦς φάτο δάκρυ χέων (*Il.* 1. 357 and *Od.* 24. 438) but simply ὦς ἔφαθ', as a reference to the opening of *Od.* 13.

В статье доказывається, що Сервій, в захисту проведеного Туккою і Варієм переміщення строк *Aen.* VI, 1–2 з кінця книги V на їх нинішнє місце, цитував із Гомера не ὦς φάτο δάκρυ χέων (*Il.* I, 357 і *Od.* XXIV, 438), а просто ὦς ἔφαθ' із початку *Od.* XIII.

Denis Keyer

CERTUM EST DARE LINTEA RETRO:
JUVENAL 3. 205; 5. 141, 143–144; 6. 195, 197–198
RECONSIDERED

This article re-examines five problems in three passages of Juvenal, defending earlier interpretations neglected in modern scholarship in four cases and proposing a new solution in the fifth.¹

1. A Luxury Table Owned by a Pauper? (3. 205)

Among the many hardships of life in Rome for a poor citizen, Umbricius mentions the risk of fire, which is especially acute for those who rent a room in the attic. This is illustrated by the story of a pauper who loses all his meager possessions in a fire and receives no offer of food, clothing, or shelter. By contrast, a rich and noble man who suffers the same misfortune comes to possess even greater luxuries than before, thanks to the generous donations of his friends. The pauper's possessions are described as follows (3. 203–209):²

lectus erat Codrus³ Procula minor, urceoli sex
ornamentum abaci, necnon et parvulus infra
cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron, 205
iamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos

¹ I am deeply indebted to Vsevolod Zeltchenko for his sound criticism, insightful comments, and generous willingness to engage with my interpretations of Juvenal.

² Text and apparatus here and below are based on Willis 1997 and Clausen 1959 with minor corrections, additions, and abridgements.

³ I leave aside the choice between *Codrus* or *Cordus* here and in 1. 2; see the survey of the discussion in Gallia 2016, 319–323. Since Griffith 1951, most scholars opt for the Roman name (Courtney ²2013, 153: “Umbricius would not feel sympathy for anyone with the Greek name Codrus”); cf., however, Gallia 2016, 321–322, who refers to the poet Codrus in Verg. *Buc.* 5. 11 and 7. 22 (shortly above, in v. 199, an Ucalegon is mentioned).

et divina opici rodebant carmina mures.
 nil habuit Codrus – quis enim negat? – et tamen illud
 perdidit infelix totum nihil...

203 Cordo *U*, Codro *VΦ*, Priscianus, *GL Keil II. 219, cf. 1. 2 et v. 208* | **205** cantharus et *codd.*, Centaurus *Markland probante Braund 2004* | sub eo de marmore *C. Valesius*, sub eodem <e> marmore *Matthias, Housman probante Courtney*, ab eodem marmore *Markland probante Braund 2004*, rupto de marmore *dub. Nisbet 1989 probante Willis*, sub eodem marmore echinus *Manso (ex Hor. Sermon. 1. 6. 117)* | Chiron *PV*, Chiron *cett.* **208** Cordus *U*, Cordrus *V*, Codrus *PRΦ*

It is essential for the discussion of the text that the schol. vet. ad 205 read:

quemadmodum solent e marmoribus facere sigilla diversa.

Thus, the scholiast saw Chiron as a marble statuette and seemingly thought the mention of marble referred to it; hence the emendation of *C. Valesius sub eo de marmore Chiron* (improbable, due to the unpoetic form *eo*)⁴ and *Matthias'* and *Housman's* elegant improvement *sub eodem <e> marmore Chiron*.

However, the mention of a marble statuette in the scholion does not necessarily suggest a divergence from the manuscript tradition in v. 205. It is equally possible that the scholiast read *sub eodem marmore* (i.e., *abaco*), taking *eodem* not as 'aforementioned', but as a reference to the material of Chiron's statuette (~ '*sub eodem marmore, scil. de quo ipse Chiron factus est*').⁵

⁴ *C. Valesius* in *Achaintre 1810*, 143. Besides, in this case *sub eo* must refer not to the *abacus*, but to the *cantharus* (rightly noted by *Scholte 1873*, 27 and *Kissel 2013*, 246 objecting to *Monti 2004*, who adopts this in the text; *Deroux 2009*, 680–692, also adopting *sub eo de marmore*, reconstructs *abacus* as a multi-shelf sideboard, Chiron being displayed below the *cantharus*).

⁵ Thus also *Farnabius 1642*, 31; he understands *Chiron* as a table support, but takes *marmore* ironically and believes that both the table and its support sculpture were of clay. *Killeen 1964*, 213 refers *eodem* to the material Chiron is made of, interpreting *sub marmore* as '*de (e) marmore*'; *Kissel 2013*, 246 rightly objects that this usage is confined to inscriptions of late antiquity and inconceivable in *Juvenal*.

Most surprisingly, the vast majority of scholars interpret Chiron as a sculptural table support, a *τραπεζοφόρον*.⁶ This interpretation, however, involves two crucial difficulties: (1) it would be somewhat odd for the table support, as an integral part of the table, to be mentioned separately from the tabletop alongside an object placed beneath it (*cantharus*); (2) more importantly, Codrus' (or Cordus') possessions are described as downright beggarly and 'literally nothing' (208–209 *nil habuit <...> illud totum nihil*).

Mice gnawing at the scrolls in a worn-out wicker box etc. point to absolute poverty, which is clearly inconsistent with a sculptural table support: regardless of its material, it would be an item of some luxury.⁷ Moreover, the same would apply to a marble statuette or even to a marble tabletop, which would still reveal, if not luxury, then at least a certain, albeit modest, degree of affluence.⁸

Thus, Chiron must be a cheap statuette⁹ (most likely, of terracotta), and the words *sub eodem marmore* must refer to the *abacus* in the sense of 'under the same (i.e., aforementioned) marble'. Therefore it

⁶ E.g., Duff 1898, 151 (with reservations), Marache 1965, 75; Courtney 2013 [1980], 154; Rudd–Barr 1991, 21; 158; Adamietz 1993, 340, Braund 1996, 209; Lorenz 2017, 414 (hesitantly). The idea is as early as Farnabius (see n. 5 above); Grangaeus in Casaubon 1695, 76; Ferrari 1679, 120 (cf. n. 7 below). It has been discussed whether a recumbent centaur could, in theory, serve as a sculptural table support. Courtney 2013, 154, objecting to Friedländer 1895, 219 and others, may be right that it could, since such supports could be designed as a continuous base running across the full diameter of the tabletop. In view of other, more serious problems, however, this question is irrelevant.

⁷ It has been assumed that the marble *abacus* and/or its sculptural support are contrasted with those made of citrus wood and supported by ivory sculpture (Ruperti 1820, 148, with reference to Ferrari 1679, 120; likewise Braund 1996, 209, Courtney 2013, 154, et al.) – yet, what is described here is not merely a lesser degree of luxury, but sheer beggary.

⁸ This table is usually compared to *lapis albus* in Hor. *Serm.* 1. 6. 116 (Porph. ad loc.: *marmoream delphicam significat, quae scilicet pretii non magni est*); thus, recently, Grazzini 2016, 164 n. 60. Yet, the objection raised above in n. 7 applies here as well: Horace is describing a relatively modest lifestyle, not extreme poverty: after all, he has his own house and servants.

⁹ Thus Matthias 1875, 36; Friedländer 1895, 219, Dimatteo 2023, 53; 421. Friedländer l.c. objects to Welcker 1850, 261 and Iahn (precise reference not found), who interpreted Chiron as a dog name (thus already Tixier de Ravisi 1560, 358), and Bücheler 1893, 247, who believed that the figure of Chiron in question served as the handle for the lid of a wicker box. Other uncommon interpretations of *Chiron* include '*opus compositum de Chirone*' (Calderini

seems natural to impute the mention of marble to a jocular mock-epic tone of the description (cf. *necnon* in v. 204).

Along these lines, the passage in question may be compared to Ovid's famous joke about the utensils of Philemon and Baucis (*Met.* 8. 668–670):¹⁰

...omnia fictilibus, post haec caelatus eodem
sistitur argento crater fabricataque fago
pocula... 670

Still, this meets with the difficulty, because *eodem argento* in Ovid is preceded by the mention of clay, while no material is mentioned in Juvenal to be taken up by *eodem marmore*, and in this case the text would convey the improbable idea that the table, as the *cantharus*, was of clay.¹¹ If one suspects here Ovid's joke and believes that it is Chiron who was made of the same 'marble' (i.e., clay) as the *cantharus* and *urceoli*, then *sub* should be emended.¹²

A more plausible and natural solution has already been proposed by a few older scholars,¹³ namely to take *sub eodem marmore* as

1487, 12v.; Joh. Britannicus in Casaubon 1695, 473) and '*opus Chironis de arte chirurgica*' (Lubinus 1619, 154, ascribing this to Calderini).

¹⁰ Thus, older scholars, who were rightly puzzled by the presence of a marble in a pauper's hands. Cf. Farnabius 1642, 31 (n. 5 above); Markland (published in Willis 1996, 63): "*unde marmor in suppellectili Codri?*"; Ruperti ²1820, 148 (rejecting this view, cf. Ferrari 1679, 120): "*marmore vulgo ironice dictum et de argilla capiendum putant, quia Codrus pauperrimus fuerit...*". Douza (in Burmann 1727, 608) cites Juvenal's passage in question defending *eodem argento* in Ovid vs. *eadem argilla*, but it remains unclear how exactly he understood *sub eodem marmore*.

¹¹ Cf. n. 5 above.

¹² Markland (in Willis 1996, 63): "*Totum sic lego: nec non et parvulus infra / centaurus recubans, ab eodem marmore, Chiron. Facete, ab eodem marmore: figlinus enim erat quemadmodum urceoli isti sex. Sic aurum ad fin. Sat. VII*"; Grazzini 2011, 341; cf. idem 2016, 164 n. 60 rightly objects to emending *cantharus* et and points out the weakness of *ab* as indicating provenance rather than material.

¹³ Lubinus 1619, 154: "*quem abacum marmoreum ironice et ioculariter dicit. Fuit enim Codrus pauperrimus*"; cf. Juvencius ³1697, 43 (alongside the usual view of it as "*pes abaci*", and referring *eodem* to *cantharus*): "*Fictilis effigies centauri Chironis, Achillis magistri, jacens sub eodem marmore, quo cantharus, id est, infra eundem vilem abacum, quem ironice marmor appellat, quia solebant divites marmoreis abacis uti*"; Lemaire 1825 (see n. 16 below);

referring to the tabletop ('under the aforementioned marble'), but to take *marmore* ironically, as if it were in quotation marks.¹⁴ The meager utensils placed on and beneath the tiny wooden stand for vessels are described in a mock-elevated register (*necnon, ornamenta*¹⁵), as though it were a marble display table bearing precious cups. A nice parallel to such usage is *coccina* in Mart. 2. 43. 8 that is ironically employed to denote cheap clothing by contrast with its luxurious analogues:¹⁶

misit Agenoreas Cadmi tibi terra lacernas;
non vendes nummis coccina nostra tribus.

It seems tempting to go further and extend this ironic usage to *abacus* in v. 204 as well.¹⁷ The crucial question here is whether this term invariably implied a luxurious display table¹⁸ (in which case its usage in v. 204 is certainly ironic) or whether it could also denote an ordinary 'sideboard', as is generally assumed.¹⁹

Peerlkamp 1861, 33 ad Verg. *Buc.* 7. 35 (on the statue of Priapus; he interprets *marmoreum pro tempore fecimus* as 'ligneum'): "*Sub eodem marmore, ex quo abacus ligneus, quem divites marmoreum habebant*".

¹⁴ Pace Courtney ²2013, 154, supported in this by Deroux 2009, 682, I do not see any difficulty "...in the clumsy way in which the explicit information that it is of marble is dragged in at the last moment": the *abacus* is referred to again as "marble" ironically: in imitation of an elevated style, the precise name of the object is replaced by a synonym that, by metonymy, refers to its (alleged) material.

¹⁵ *Ornamentum* in v. 203 is paralleled by *ornamenta deorum* in v. 218 (of statues taken from the temples in the East); cf. n. 25 below.

¹⁶ Lemaire 1825, 212 (ad. loc.): "*Martialis mens intelligatur e Juvenal. III. Sat. III., vs. 204 <...> Quemadmodum marmor in his versibus pro ligno abaci sumitur, ita coccina pro vilibus pannis minime coccineis*".

¹⁷ Thus Binder 1996, 4 (*DNP* s.v. *Abacus*).

¹⁸ Over 20 examples in *ThLL* s.v. ("*mensa pretiosa ad cenas lautas et sim.*"; in most of the passages cited, the table serves to display vessels rather than to function as a dining table).

¹⁹ Richter 1966, 116 translates *abacus* as "sideboard" and observes that its aim was "to display the many ornaments highly prized by the Romans". Yet the item from a sarcophagus she identifies as an *abacus* (*ibid.* Fig. 586) appears rather utilitarian. Ulrich 2007, 224 inclines to reinterpret it as *urnarium*; however, in his view "*abacus* encompassed both utilitarian and high-status objects" (*ibid.* 223). In *schol. vet.* ad v. 204 *abacus* (as well as *lapis albus* in Hor. *Serm.* 1. 116 in Porph., cf. n. 8 above) is identified with the *delphica*, which seems to have three legs and a round top. The reason for this may be that it was also used to display ornaments.

Although the latter view is widely accepted, the arguments for it are not entirely secure. Apart from the passage in question (where *abacus* may well be used ironically), the meaning ‘*mensa simplex, cui urceoli vel vasa imponebantur*’ is supported in *ThLL* s.v. only by two mentions in Cato,²⁰ where *abacus* is listed among items necessary for olive gardens (*Agr.* 10. 4²¹) and vineyards (*ibid.* 11. 3²²). Its meaning there remains uncertain: it has been understood as a kneading trough²³ and as a stand for vessels.²⁴

Whether *abacus* is used here ironically, like *marmore*, in the sense of ‘display table’, or neutrally, in the sense of ‘stand for vessels’, it is noteworthy that the verb *ornare* was sometimes used for adorning display tables with luxury items.²⁵ It is therefore very likely that this is what is hinted at by *ornamenta abaci* in v. 204, which also supports a playfully ironic interpretation of *marmore*.

The mention of a recumbent Chiron is somewhat obscure. It is true that, as is generally believed, a statuette of Chiron holding a lyre, as the teacher of Achilles, might symbolize Codrus’ (or Cordus’) interest in poetry. If so, some explanation is required for *recubans*. Although it is usually taken to imply a Sphinx-like pose, it is noteworthy that *LIMC* s.v. offers no parallels for that, and on the whole it is difficult to imagine a centaur lying on his side or back, since in that case the human part would be tilted towards the ground. There are examples of Chiron with a lyre recumbent on its hind legs, and it is this pose that is suggested by *schol. vet. ad loc.*²⁶ and even by an attempt at reconstruction;²⁷

²⁰ The fourth example, Tert. *Idol.* 8. 3 *qui signum describit, quanto facilius abacum linit!* can be discarded, as Waszink – Van Winden 1987, 149 ad loc. convincingly explain that it refers not to the luxury tables, but to a wall decoration, namely marble slabs imitated in stucco (cf. Fiechter 1918, 3–4).

²¹ ... *molae asinarias unas et trusatilis unas, Hispaniensis unas, molilia III, abacum I, orbes aheneos II, mensas II...*

²² ... *scamnum I, mensas II, abacum I, arcam vestiariam I...*

²³ Saglio 1875, 4, citing Hesych. μ 138 μάκτρα· ἄβάκιον, ἔνθα μάσσουσι τὸ ἄλευρον); Mau 1893, 5 (*RE* s.v. *Abacus* 4.).

²⁴ Fiechter 1918, 2–3. Indeed, in *Agr.* 11. 3 *abacus* is listed among items of furniture.

²⁵ Varro *Ling. Lat.* 9. 46 *abacum argento ornari*; Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 61 *abacos. . . compluris ornavit argento auroque caelato*; cf. Aus. *Epigr.* 2. 1. 2 (by paradox) *abacum Samio saepe onerasse luto*; Act. *Petr.* 17 *omnia ornamentaria in delfica exposuisti*.

²⁶ “*recubans*” enim e<s>t a posteriore parte recubens.

²⁷ Kelsey 1908, 30–38.

nevertheless, I am not sure that this pose could properly be described as *recubare*. Thus, the meaning of the words *recubans* <...> *Chiron* may remain open.²⁸

In any case, the interpretation of Chiron as a *τραπεζοφόρον* must be rejected; instead, *marmore* in v. 205 ought to be understood ironically, hinting at a luxurious display table in contrast with a tiny, cheap wooden stand. Full sail astern toward Lubinus, Lemaire, and Peerlkamp!

2a. Fertile Mycale / Mygale:
Matron or Concubine? (5. 141)

At a banquet, the wealthy and arrogant Virro subjects his poor client Trebius to every possible humiliation; yet if Trebius were suddenly to become rich, matters would be quite different (5. 132–145).

quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
et melior fatis donaret homuncio, quantus
ex nihilo, quantus fieres Virronis amicus!
'da Trebio, pone ad Trebium. vis, frater, ab ipsis 135
ilibus?' o nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,
vos estis frater. dominus tamen et domini rex
si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula
luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo.
iucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum. 140
sed tua nunc Mycale pariat licet et pueros tres
in gremium patris fundat semel, ipse loquaci
gaudebit nido, viridem thoraca iubebit
adferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
ad mensam quotiens parasitus uenerit infans. 145

137 frater *Colon. 199, Paris. 8291, ita cj. Markland, fratres cett.* 138 tu Φ , tunc *PRFO*, tum *Housman 1931 probante*

²⁸ If Chiron was a dog (see n. 9 above), it would explain *recubans*, but the name is not a typical one for a dog. Could *recubans* imply that a small statuette (in contrast with *mediamque Minervam* in v. 219, whatever is meant by *mediam*) was laid sideways under a low sideboard (elsewhere in the passage the stress is laid on the lack of space and small size of the furniture and utensils)? Yet even a low sideboard would perhaps allow one to place a small terracotta statuette beneath it vertically. Scholte 1873, 27 likewise suggests, by analogy with *parvulus cantharus*, that the point is the unusually small size of what is normally a large statue; yet it is far from evident that images of Chiron were typically large.

Braund 2004 139 *luserat P, iusserat R 140 del. Jahn 141 tua codd., sua Weidner 1989* | *Mycale Φ, Mygale PR, Migale schol., Megale Markland, Buecheler 142 semel PR, simul Φ 143 gaudebis ... iubebis Hendry 1998*

Up to v. 140 the logical sequence is clear: ‘If you were to inherit a large fortune, you would at once become Virro’s intimate friend. The real object of his friendship is the money he hopes to inherit. Yet, if you wish to be the patron’s boss, you must not have a young son or daughter at your house (since otherwise he will have no prospect of the legacy)’.

The word *nunc* in v. 141 contains a problem that is crucial for reconstructing the further train of thought of the passage. It divided the scholars into two camps.

The first interpretation understood fertile *Mycale* (or *Mygale*)²⁹ as a concubine in contrast with *Trebius*’ childless wife:³⁰ ‘But your concubine (*Mycale* / *Mygale*) may give birth to as many as three children at once (i.e., as long as the children are not legitimate heirs): the patron will rejoice at your brood and indulge the small guests at the table’. Logically and contextually, this train of thought appears impeccable and self-evident.³¹ The Achilles’ heel of this interpretation is *nunc* in v. 141. It has been objected that *nunc* is regularly used after unreal conditionals, often with *at* or *sed*, as a marker of return to the real-life situation: ‘as it is now’ (cf. *ut nunc est*).³²

²⁹ The schol. vet. read *Migale* and suggest a hint at *μῆνυσθαί* (*ex ipsa coitione etymologia*); the reference to *Mycale* in *Ov. Met.* 12. 263 is unlikely.

³⁰ Thus *Ruperti* ²1820, 234–236 and *Friedländer* 1895, 274 (both at length); *Heinrich* 1839, 215–216; *Weidner* 1873, 113; *Scholte* 1873, 41; *Rose* 1936, 12–13, *Marache* 1965, 137; *Labriolle–Villeneuve* ⁹1967, 52; *Viansino* 1990, 187; *Adamietz* 1993, 352 n. 68. *Scholte* 1873, 45 agrees that *Mycale* / *Mygale* is a concubine, but takes *tua* as a generic second person rather than as a direct address to *Trebius*.

³¹ *Duff* ²1975 [1898], 198 objects that a concubine with children and a wife mentioned earlier in v. 77 cannot live under the same roof, but this need not be the case. As I see it, *Virro* is visiting *Trebius* at *Mycale*’s house, and it is there that the children appear before the guests (the phrase *parasitus <...> infans* is merely a joke); it is less likely that small children could attend a dinner at *Virro*’s house together with *Trebius* and *Mycale*, as is often assumed. Cf. n. 39 below.

³² *OLD* s.v. *nunc* 11 (“introducing a fact or consideration opposed to a previous speculation, wish, or sim. ‘(But) as it is’ (often w. adversative conjs. or advs.’.); *Kühner–Stegmann* ⁴1962, 399; cf. *vōν δέ*; examples are abundant; for *sed nunc* (less usual in this sense than *nunc*, *at nunc*, *nunc vero*) cf. *Verg. Aen.* 4. 345, *Ov. Trist.* 4. 1. 29.

Consequently, most recent scholars interpret *nunc* in opposition to *casus irrealis* in v. 132 f. and *tunc* in v. 138³³ as “now, when you are poor”; in this reading, Mycale / Mygale is Trebius’ wife and a freedwoman.³⁴ This shift in interpretation results, however, in fundamental difficulties.

1) Although it is not theoretically impossible that Trebius married a freedwoman and Juvenal chose to omit her first official name, this detail would be highly odd: how is the reader to understand that Mycale / Mygale is Trebius’ mistress and why stress her low origin?

2) Even more surprising is Virro’s attention to Trebius’ newborn children; suppose that the contrast between his reaction to the hypothetical offspring of a rich friend and a poor client is implied; still, it strongly contradicts his character. The man is repeatedly shown as mistreating and despising Trebius; why would he fuss over his children?

3) Virro’s insistent obsequiousness in v. 135–136 (when serving Trebius) and v. 135–136 (when indulging his children) suggests a parallelism, which is ruined if v. 141–145 are regarded as a digression.

Attempts to overcome these problems have born little fruit.

– V. 141–145 have been admitted to be difficult³⁵ and blamed as “irrelevant”³⁶ – true, yet precisely this invites us to rethink the interpretation.

– Presents of little value (on which, see section 2b below) have been explained as showing Virro’s meanness³⁷ or simply occasional courtesy that stresses his lack of interest in Trebius’

³³ This reading is, however, not certain: many editors, especially the older ones, print *si vis tu* (Weidner, Iahn, Bücheler, Mayor, Duff, Pearson, Housman [1905], Ramsay, Vianello, Willis, et al.), perhaps precisely because most of them thought *nunc* in v. 141 referred to the imaginary wealth, which does not sit easily with *tunc* in v. 138; *tunc* came to be preferred after Leo’s edition (Leo, Labriolle–Villeneuve, Knoche, Clausen, Martyn, Adamietz, Santorelli, Lorenz, Dimatteo et al.). Housman 1931, XLVI “the divergence points to *tum*”.

³⁴ Mayor ⁴1889, 266 supported at length by Duff 1898, 198; Courtney 2013 [1980], 213; Tennant 1993, 83–89; Braund 1996, 299; Santorelli 2013, 170; Kissel 2013, 270; Lorenz 2017, 181; 183; Dimatteo 2023, 91; 466; et al. Braund 2004, 226–227 hesitates between the two options.

³⁵ Housman 1905, XXXII “V. 140 <...> its context, the most obscure in Juvenal”.

³⁶ Duff 2013 [1898], 198: “...strikingly irrelevant; but such irrelevance is common in Juv.”; Courtney 2013, 213: “not fully relevant”.

³⁷ Ullman 1966, 281; Hopman 2003, 561.

legacy³⁸ – both possible, but that does not make Virro’s fussing over the poor client’s children and rejoicing about them³⁹ less puzzling.⁴⁰

- Virro’s attention to Trebius’ children has also been interpreted as calculated efforts to hook future parasites⁴¹ or ensure the status of Trebius himself⁴² – yet, again, any ingratiating is alien to his character.
- Recourse has been taken to emendations, but implausibly.⁴³

In view of the numerous and frustrating problems raised by this line of interpretation, one may wonder whether it is possible to discard it altogether and return to the safe and reassuring harbor of the previous interpretation. The question, then, is whether *nunc* can still be understood within the counterfactual *irrealis* discourse as meaning ‘now, when you are (hypothetically) rich’.

The first argument for this option is that *nunc* is here not quite in the initial position (as it is, for example, in *sed nunc...*). If we take *sed* with Mycale (*sed Mycale* <in contrast with the wife>) rather than with *nunc* (*sed nunc* <in contrast with *si [...] donaret* in v. 132 f.>),⁴⁴ this instance will differ from the numerous examples in which *nunc* marks a transition from imaginary situation to the present, real state of affairs.

³⁸ Morford 1977, 242; Braund 1996, 299; Kissel 2013, 270.

³⁹ A similar picture is given in Theophr. *Char.* 5. 5 (Ἀρεσκος, cf. 2. 6 [Κόλαξι]): the man invites his host’s children to the table, proclaims their close resemblance to their father, kisses them, and plays with them.

⁴⁰ Hight 1954, 145 offers a surprising explanation: “Juvenal, even at the cost of breaking the consistency of his character-sketch, cannot bear to think of any man’s being cruel to a child”.

⁴¹ [Rudd–]Barr 1991, 168; Jenkyns 1982, 195–196.

⁴² Tennant 1995, 86–87.

⁴³ Hendry 1998, 252–255 (cj. *gaudebis* <...> *iubebis*) writes that *ipse* refers to Trebius himself being not invited out and making parasites of his own children (Kissel 2013, 270 rightly objects that this falls out of the context and besides elsewhere in the satire *ipse* is Virro); likewise Manso 1821, 233–234 writes that *ipse* and *gaudebit* <...> *iubebit* refer to Trebius (Hendry 1998, 252–255 rightly objects that such a shift from the second person [*tua*] to the third is hardly possible). Along similar lines, Weidner 1887a, 290–291; 1887b, 6; ²1889, 88 emended *tua* in v. 141 to *sua*, thus making Mycale Virro’s wife.

⁴⁴ This may serve as an argument against the deletion of v. 140, since without the mention of a wife the transition to Mycale / Mygale would be somewhat abrupt.

Second, the what-if clause that begins in v. 132 expands into an extended descriptive passage, and its *irrealis* discourse is further actualized by the indicative forms *praestat honorem* and *estis fratres* in the address to the money (v. 136–137). That is, Virro’s imaginary remark is commented upon as if it were real. One could therefore posit the same deictic shift for *nunc* in v. 141.

Third, and most importantly, a similar example of *nunc* within a comparable long passage introduced by a *casus irrealis* – notably, again with two actualizing present indicatives in the middle – can be found in Iuv. 10. 43, where Democritus is imagined watching the *pompa circensis*:⁴⁵

quid si vidisset praetorem curribus altis
 extantem et medii sublimem pulvere circi
 in tunica Iovis et pictae Sarrana ferentem
 ex umeris aulaea togae magnaеque coronae
 tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla? 40
 quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus et, sibi consul⁴⁶
 ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
 da nunc et volucrem, sceptro quae surgit eburno,
 illinc cornicines, hinc praecedentia longi
 agminis officia et niveos ad frena Quirites, 45
 defossa in loculos quos sportula fecit amicos.

This understanding encounters a problem if one adopts *tunc* instead of *tu* in v. 138: it would be strange, if not altogether impossible, for the hypothetical situation of sudden wealth to be referred to as *tunc* in v. 138 and then as *nunc* in v. 141. This serves as an argument in favor of following (Φ) and printing *tu* with the earlier editors.⁴⁷

In any case, with regard to v. 141–145 one should change course and steer in the wake of the interpretation defended by Ruperti and Friedländer.

⁴⁵ Referred to already by Scholte 1873, 45: “*Nunc*: hic non magis temporali sensu accipiendum est quam *Sat. X, 43*”.

⁴⁶ The transformation of a *praetor* in v. 36 into a *consul* in v. 41 poses a problem that still requires a solution.

⁴⁷ See n. 33 above; among the editors who accept *tunc*, only Labriolle–Villeneuve adhere to the interpretation defended here. *Tu* may emphasize the reversal of roles: “if you want to be Virro’s *dominus*, like he was yours...”.

2b. Presents for Baby Parasites? (5. 143–144)

It is universally accepted that Virro's gifts to the triplets, hypothetically born to Mycale / Mygale and now grown enough to attend the table, consist of three items: a green waistcoat (mostly interpreted as imitating those of the popular chariot-drivers' faction, cf. 11. 198; but sometimes as a military toy);⁴⁸ the smallest nuts (explained either by Virro's parsimony or as convenient for the children's small hands); and pennies, which are specifically modified as "begged for". This unusual set of presents, however, raises a whole series of problems that are seldom discussed.

1) *assemque rogatum* and, possibly, *minimas nuces* seemingly stress the low price of the presents. This would display Virro as mean, but it contradicts the train of thought defended in section 2a above: Virro is here pretending to adore Trebius' babies in hope for his legacy and should, on the contrary, show generosity.

2) Even if Virro is displayed as a miser, the green waistcoat must be a much more expensive item than nuts and pennies, which seems inconsistent.⁴⁹

3) The presents should be meant not for one child, but for all three of them. Nuts and pennies (*assem* taken collectively) could be distributed among the three, but only one waistcoat is mentioned, and it is not easy to understand it in a collective sense.

A compelling reinterpretation of v. 143–144 was put forward by Rose almost a century ago.⁵⁰ Surprisingly – and unfairly, – it has remained virtually unnoticed.⁵¹ In what follows, I restate Rose's solution and adduce several indirect arguments in its support.

⁴⁸ Markland in Willis 1996, 66 ("quaere de *thoraca*") was probably puzzled by the detail. Scholte 1873, 41–45, rightly objecting to Iahn's emendation *cito rhaga* (instead of *thoraca*), piled up a highly implausible set of corrections in order to associate all the presents with races: *viridem thoraca iubebit / adferri miniosque equulos axemque rotatum ad thensam...*

⁴⁹ Ullman 1966, 266 absurdly thinks of *viridem thoraca* as made of old, green-patinated bronze (in his view, Virro is a disrespectful host; as indicated above, he should be an obsequious guest). Hopman 2003, 557–574, even more nonsensically, seeks to prove that "the *viridis thorax* <...> is a perverse gift that endows the child with un-Roman and feminizing character".

⁵⁰ Rose 1936, 12–13.

⁵¹ It is registered in Lommatzsch 1938, 104 and objected to by Hopman 2003, 565–566 (see n. 54 below).

Rose noticed that *schol. vet.* ad v. 143 (*viridem thoraca*) mention a monkey:

armilausiam prasinam, ut simiae.

Normally this is ignored or explained by some confusion with the v. 153–155 shortly below,⁵² where a creature that gnaws rotten apples on the Servian Wall is periphrastically described as “trained by the whip to throw a spear from a she-goat, while wearing a helmet and a shield”; *schol. vet.* ad loc. helpfully identify it as a monkey: *quale[m] simia manducat*.

Rose, however, ingeniously suggested that *viridem thoraca* in v. 143 is a metonymy for a tamed monkey, and took *rogatum* as a supine governing the pair *minimasque nuces assemque*: a monkey is trained to perform some tricks and beg for a small reward of nuts and coins, which adds to the amusement. Virro must have bought it to please his new patron’s illegitimate children (so Rose), or else some street performer’s monkey was sent for.⁵³

This suggestion eliminates a number of difficulties and suits the context perfectly. The dubious distribution of pointedly cheap presents to the triplets of the rich man’s potential *rex* (v. 137) turns into a lively scene that serves as a parallel to v. 135–136: Virro as a host does his best to please Trebius himself, while as a guest he endeavors to amuse Trebius’ illegitimate offspring. The obscure scholion is thus explained. Syntactically, the construction with the supine is possible.

Rose himself admitted two difficulties:⁵⁴ (a) there is no evidence that would associate a green waistcoat with monkeys; (b) “Juvenal seldom uses a pair of *que*’s in this fashion, and all the certain examples seem to be on the ends of lines”.

The absence of evidence for a monkey in a green waistcoat⁵⁵ does not rule out a metonymy of this kind: it would be sufficient, if some

⁵² Thus Hopman 2003, 565.

⁵³ On monkeys in antiquity in general, see McDermott 1935; 1936; 1938 (esp. 131–146, “The Ape As a Pet and a Performer”; 135, 243–246 no. 343, 345, 349 on representations of monkeys as musicians at banquets); Toynebe 1973, 55–60, 354–355.

⁵⁴ Rose 1936, 13 n. 1. Both taken up by Hopman 2003, 565–566 with n. 30 with the verdict “many problems”.

⁵⁵ Most often a cloak is attested as a garment (McDermott 1938, 185–188), often with a hood (a Pompeian fresco with a boy teaching an ape to dance [ibid. 280 n. 479]; Gallo-Roman figurines, ibid. 187–188, no. 156–163,

monkeys could perform in a waistcoat, not necessarily green: the reader, then, could infer that a monkey is meant from the mention of nuts and coins to be begged for.

The pair of *-que*'s, otherwise rare in Juvenal, may add here an epic flavor.⁵⁶ It most often occurs at the end of lines, but regularly appears at the beginning or in the middle of Latin hexameters as well. However, if *rogatum* is a supine, the second object (*assem*) is left without an epithet, while the first one (*nuces*) is not, which seems to be avoided in such cases.⁵⁷ Stylistically and syntactically, it would be easier to take *rogatum* as an epithet.⁵⁸

However, the following speaks in favor of the supine: the perfect participle *rogatus* very rarely modifies an inanimate object ('[a thing] begged for'); in fact, I could not find a single example:⁵⁹ it almost always refers to a person asked for something. On the contrary, *rogatum* as a supine occurs fairly often.⁶⁰ Grammatically, therefore, supine is preferable.

cf. idem 1936, 153–154 with n. 35; Mart. 14. 128 [*bardocucullus* worn by *cercopitheci*? the sense is obscure]. In Luc. *Pisc.* 36 monkeys at the Egyptian court perform Pyrrhic dance in purple robes (*ἀλουργίδαι*). In Claud. *In Eutrop.* 1. 304–307 a boy dresses a monkey in silk garments, leaving its back and buttocks uncovered, in order to amuse the guests. The ape representing Aeneas wears a thorax and a cloak on the Pompeian fresco that parodies the scene of Aeneas' flight (McDermott 1938, 278–280 no. 478).

⁵⁶ Within the same passage *loquaci* <...> *nido* (v. 142–143) is taken from Verg. *Aen.* 12. 475 and ...*tibi parvulus aula / luserit Aeneas* (v. 138–139) from *Aen.* 4. 328–329.

⁵⁷ In the rare examples I could find, it is either the second object of the two that is modified (Pers. 2. 6 *murmurque humilisque susurrus*, Ov. *Met.* 15. 590 *populumque gravemque senatum*; 14. 775 *Tatiusque patresque Sabini*; 12. 363 *pectusque umerumque sinistrum*; 7. 373 *volucrisque ferumque leonem*) or else, if the first object is modified, the modifier is postposed and tacitly goes with the second object, too (Verg. *Aen.* 9. 302 *matrique tuae generique*; Ov. *Met.* 13. 751 *patrisque sui matrisque*; 6. 716 *Calaisque puer Zetesque*; 3. 414 *faciemque loci fontemque*; *Trist.* 2. 1. 37 *genitorque deum rectorque*); cf. Cat. 57. 2 *Mamurrae pathicoque Caesarique*.

⁵⁸ If so, nuts and coins might be meant for playing with a monkey.

⁵⁹ In Ov. *Met.* 3. 653 *non haec mihi terra rogata est* it is a verbal form; in Ov. *Ibis* 641 *sed di dent plura rogatis* and *Priap.* 37. 14 *rogata fecit* it is a neutral plural used substantively. The next fascicle of *ThLL* when it sees print, will make things clear.

⁶⁰ Cic. *Verr.* 4. 63; Caes. *BG* 1. 11; 5. 36; 7. 5; Varro *R. r.* 2. 11. 12; Sall. *Iug.* 77. 3; Pompon. *Atell.* 160; Quintil. *Decl. min.* 247 pr. 2; Hygin. 45. 1.

Another indirect argument in Rose's favor is that baboons begging for coins after performance are attested in Ael. *NA* 6. 10:

ἐπὶ τῶν Πτολεμαίων οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς κυνοκεφάλους καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδασκον καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ αὐλεῖν καὶ ψαλτικὴν. καὶ μισθὸν κυνοκέφαλος ἐπράττετο ὑπὲρ τούτων, καὶ τὸ διδόμενον εἰς φασκώλιον ἐμβαλὼν ἐξηρημένον ἔφερεν, ὡς οἱ τῶν ἀγειρόντων δεινοί.

Finally, as mentioned before, this view removes the problem of distributing one green waistcoat among the three kids. *Parasitus infans* in v. 145 is to be taken in a collective sense: it would be strange if the children would come to the table and receive presents one at a time.

Thus, the *viridis thorax* in 5. 143 is very likely a monkey. A beacon must be raised for Rose's ingenious explanation, unfairly long left in the shadows.

3a. "Things Left Under the Blanket" (6. 195)

In 6. 185, Juvenal mocks women for their excessive use of Greek (*omnia Graece*, v. 187). He devotes particular emphasis to the use of affectionate Greek expressions in intimate relations, a practice that appears to have been both fashionable and erotically stimulating, yet at the same time regarded as wanton – probably because of its associations with Greek-speaking prostitutes. An old woman is castigated for employing such expressions in public (191–199):

concumbunt Graece. donec tamen ista puellis:
tunc etiam, quam sextus et octogesimus annus
pulsat, adhuc Graece? non est hic sermo pudicus
in vetula. quotiens lascivum intervenit illud
ζωή καὶ ψυχή, modo sub Iodice relictis 195
uteris in turba. quod enim non excitet inguen
vox blanda et nequam? digitos habet. ut tamen omnes
subsident pinnae, dicas haec mollius Haemo
quamquam et Carpophoro, facies tua computat annos.

195 relictis *codd.*, ferendis (> *ferelictis) *Housman probante Lorenz*, loquendis *Nisbet probante Willis et Watson–Watson*, pudendis *Watt 1996*, peractis *Delz 1998*, receptis *Delz in Watt*

2002, *relatis* (i.q. ‘vocem referre’) Zago 2025 194–195 in *vetula*, *quotiens ... ψυχή. modo interp. Casaubon, Vianello 195 modo codd., mihi Leo 195–196 relictā / verteris Francken 195–197 modo ... turba del. Heinrich 195–198 modo ... subsidant pinnae del. Knoche 195–198 corruptelam vel lacunam susp. Vianello 196–197 ‘quod enim ... habet?’ vetulae tribuunt Markland et Vianello 197 vi tamen PR, et tamen H. Valesius probante Högg 1971, attamen Heinecke*

Scholarly attention with regard to this passage has for the most part focused on v. 195,⁶¹ where Housman pointed out a difficulty in *relictis*. Indeed, *relictis* is difficult to reconcile with the train of thought of the passage, since, apparently, in this case the wanton speech that the old woman is using in public would be described as abandoned.

The sense anticipated by Housman (“such expressions can only be tolerated in bed”); likewise Nisbet’s *loquendis* and Delz’s *receptis*) was based on a close parallel from Martial;⁶² besides, Housman was puzzled by *enim* in v. 196: in his view, the woman, being 85 years old, “*iam nec Graece concumbit, nec Latine*”.

However, strong arguments have been put forward against his view, namely (1) *modo* should mean ‘recently’, as in the meaning of ‘only’ it is normally used in a postposition;⁶³ (2) this would imply that the use of Greek expressions in intimate contexts is regarded as acceptable, whereas the preceding lines make it clear that Juvenal objects to women speaking Greek altogether.⁶⁴

⁶¹ See Zago 2025, 423–27 for a detailed analysis of the discussion and the emendations proposed. My summary here draws on this balanced and well-argued article and presents, in abridged form, the principal views and arguments surveyed there.

⁶² 10. 68. 5–8: *κύριέ μου, μέλι μου, ψυχή μου congeris usque, / pro pudor! Hersiliae civis et Egeriae. / lectulus has voces, nec lectulus audiat omnis, / sed quem lascivo stravit amica viro.*

⁶³ Watt 1996, 284–285, joined by Delz 1998, 123–124 and Zago 2005, 424, objected that of the other 18 instances of *modo* in Juvenal, 17 mean ‘recently’ (in fact, 15: 14. 86 *modo... nunc... nunc...* and 15. 119 *quis modo...?* should be set aside – D.K.) and just one, in postposition, ‘only’ (2. 135 *liceat modo vivere...*).

⁶⁴ Zago 2005, 424 is right that the mention of young girls serves rather to underscore how particularly absurd these affected expressions sound in the mouth of an old woman; it is hardly likely that Juvenal intended to suggest that, under certain circumstances – in bed and when uttered by young girls – the use of Greek expressions should be accepted.

Another line of interpretation proceeds from the assumption that the old woman, even at the age of eighty-five, is, pace Housman, satirically portrayed as sexually active.⁶⁵ The train of thought is then reconstructed as follows: her use of lascivious language in public merely reproduces what she has recently uttered in bed; that is, her licentiousness is not confined to words but reveals actual – and *ipso facto* disreputable – sexual activity.

In this case *relictis* should be either emended to mean ‘uttered’, ‘employed’ etc.,⁶⁶ or else be defended in a weakened sense (‘left lying after use’, like *(de)ponere*).⁶⁷ The latter option is not without difficulty, since, unlike *(de)ponere*, *relinquere* appears to retain the general notion of ‘abandoning, forsaking’.

This line of interpretation also gives rise to objections:

1) The adverb *modo*, if understood in the sense of ‘recently’, would imply that the old woman regularly resorts to this practice, whereas the following lines suggest that it is doomed to failure.

2) The line of reasoning appears overly complicated: the statement that the old woman’s speech is shameless is followed not by an argument that substantiates this claim, but by a further accusation of improper sexual desire.⁶⁸ Yet, whether or not the old woman has sexual relationships is irrelevant for assessment of her speech.

3) The bedroom in this case would serve a different function than in Martial 10. 68 (n. 62 above), thus undermining the otherwise strong similarity between the two texts.

⁶⁵ Delz, 1998, 124; Zago 2025, 5 with n. 29.

⁶⁶ Delz 1998 *peractis*; Zago 2005, 423–427 argues for *relatis*.

⁶⁷ Thus already Lubinus 1619, 246; also, e.g., Friedländer 1895, 305–306; Högg 1971, 93; Santorelli 2011, 79 and Dimatteo 2023, 117. Pace Zago 2025, 1 (“no more logical than saying ‘you play on the playground with the ball lately left at home’”), it is not outright absurd, as the verb may encode separation from a prior locus. One could say, e.g., “You’re stepping outside in a night cap that you only recently left under your pillow” (i.e., it was left there only a short while ago, and now, behold, you are wearing it again).

⁶⁸ Zago 2025, 427: “Greek endearments are shameless and disgusting when they come from a *uetula*, because they reveal her repulsive appetite for sex; in fact, when she uses lascivious expressions such as ζῶη καὶ ψυχὴ in public, one senses that she is lustful and has lately uttered them in the bedroom to arouse her partner, because (196 *enim*) alluring Greek words are a powerful tool of seduction”.

Thus the *consensus codicum* may be preserved, the Latin is satisfactory (*modo* means ‘recently’, not ‘only’), the close parallel with Martial 10. 68 (n. 62 above) is maintained (conveying the general idea that such words, if at all, might be conceivable only in the bedroom⁷²), and the train of thought is smooth (Greek expressions are condemned even in bed, and the claim of the indecency of the old woman’s speech is substantiated):

Such language is indecent in an old woman’s mouth. Whenever those wanton words, ζῶη καὶ ψυχή, crop up, you use in public words that were but lately⁷³ refrained from (even) under the blanket.

We may set sail on a new course in the direction mapped out (although later rejected) by Watt.

3b. Whose Feathers Droop? (6. 197–198)

Another problem within the same passage lies in the words *ut tamen omnes subsidunt pinnae* (v. 197–198). The general sense of this rarely attested idiom is clear: like Eng. *to let one’s feathers droop*, it should convey dejection, a loss of spirit or a downcast appearance. A similar metaphor with an opposite sense is found in Iuv. 4. 69–70 (of Domitian puffed up by straightforward flattery):

...quid apertius? et tamen illi
surgebant cristae. nihil est quod credere de se 70
non possit, cum laudatur dis aequa potestas.

‘*vitam non attigisse, vita abstinuisse*’ and quoting Hor. *Serm.* 2. 6. 89 *esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens* and *AP* 149–150 *et quae / desperat tractata nitescere posse relinquat* (likewise Harvie 1981, 145; Kissel 1990, 635–637).

⁷² The change from *in lecto* to *sub lodice* may be explained as reinforcing the idea of modesty: when covered by the blanket, one might be expected to behave even more wantonly than generally in bed, yet even there such words were refrained from.

⁷³ Cf. Iuv. 14. 298, where *modo*, in the sense of ‘but lately’, is contrasted with the present state of affairs.

However, the syntax and meaning of v. 197–198 require elucidation.⁷⁴ Surprisingly, recent scholarship came to agreement⁷⁵ in taking *ut tamen omnes subsidant pinnae* as addressed to the old woman: ‘to flatten all <your> feathers’ (as if it were ...*tibi subsidant*), i.e., “so that you would not display any confidence”.⁷⁶

This view suggests that here the *ut* clause represents a peculiar form of *ut finale*, the essence of which has been excellently formulated by Courtney as expressing not the purpose of the subject of the main clause, but “the purpose of Juvenal in reporting it” (“So that you don’t become over-excited <I must point out to you that> *facies tua computat annos*”).⁷⁷

Syntactically, this explanation is possible, and such an *ut* can be defended by parallels. Yet it does not fit into the context and meets with major logical difficulties:

1) *Omnes* in this case would be superfluous and psychologically improbable.⁷⁸ ‘So that all your feathers lie flat’ is stronger than the sense requires. Normally, in such warnings, one tends, on the contrary, toward understatement, e.g., “...to curb your arrogance...; do not become too conceited...” etc.

2) It would be very strange if the frustrating effect of ugliness indicated by *tamen* – namely the failure to arouse – were omitted from the objection and left for the reader to infer. The sense “yet, to disappoint you: your face is old and ugly” is not sufficient: it should read “...too old and ugly to arouse anyone”.

3) Finally, the omission of the dative (*tibi*) seems harsh.

⁷⁴ As in the case of v. 195 (see n. 62 above), these lines bear a close resemblance to Martial (6. 23): *stare iubes semper nostrum tibi, Lesbia, penem: / crede mihi, non est mentula quod digitus. / tu licet et manibus blandis et vocibus instes, / te contra facies imperiosa tua est.*

⁷⁵ Courtney ²2013 [1980]; Richlin 1986, 46; Rudd[–Barr] 1991, 43; Adamietz 1993, 102, 360; Braund 2004, 251, 246; Watson–Watson 2014, 137; Lorenz 2017, 199; Dimatteo 2023, 117.

⁷⁶ The *schol. vet.* ad loc. refer the metaphor to the old woman’s looks (*quia vetulae flaccescant*). This explanation is untenable, since *subsidere* is used of something previously in active motion or in an upright position; it cannot denote sagging skin or a shabby appearance (in such a case one would say that the feathers fall out, not that they sink).

⁷⁷ Courtney ²2013, 246 ad loc.; 533 (ad 15. 89), comparing 6. 87 and 197, 12. 93; Kühner–Stegmann ⁴1962, 233–234; Hofmann–Szantyr 1965 (²1972), 642. Cf. also Pinkster 2021, 299.

⁷⁸ Högg 1971, 94 rightly notes that *omnes pinnae* should correspond to *quod non... inguen?* (= *omnia inguina*).

In view of these objections, it appears fairly certain that the phrase *ut omnes subsidant pinnae* should refer not to the old woman, but to *excitet inguen* in v. 196. The contraposition indicated by *tamen* largely suggests itself: a wanton Greek expression arouses every male organ like fingers, but (*tamen*) due to the old and ugly face, “all feathers droop” (the opposite of *excitet*).

This view was put forward by some early scholars, who rephrased the passage and conveyed its general sense correctly, but failed to offer an adequate explanation for the syntactical role of *ut*.⁷⁹ It cannot be concessive, like *quamquam dicas haec mollius...*,⁸⁰ and the sense requires that *tamen* should refer to the fact that the old and ugly face exerts a fundamentally dejecting influence on the organ to be aroused.

In all likelihood, the drooping of all feathers should be an outcome of *facies tua computat annos*. The problem is, however, that *ut consecutivum* can hardly precede the main clause. In addition, the concessive clause *quamquam dicas haec mollius...* separates the proposed *ut* clause from its matrix clause, so that *ut consecutivum* is here out of the question.

H. Högg reconstructed the train of thought correctly, but he saw the only solution in accepting H. Valesius’ emendation *et tamen*.⁸¹ Along the same lines, Heinecke emended *ut tamen* to *attamen*.⁸² In this case, however, *subsidant pinnae* must be the main clause, and the meaning of the subjunctive remains unclear to me: both *coniunctivus potentialis* and *coniunctivus iussivus* (‘may all the feathers droop’) would be problematic.

Meanwhile, the problem is easily solved once we understand *ut omnes subsidant pinnae* as a form of a pseudo-final *ut* that formally

⁷⁹ Grangaeus in Casaubon 1695, 145: “...*tunc videntium omnes pennaе subsidunt; vel, ut ait Martialis, tunc illis – ‘mentula mensque cadit’* [7. 18. 12], ‘*nec possunt putidam arrigere ad vetulam*’ [cf. 4. 5. 6]”; Lubinus 1619, 246. Likewise, e.g., in the translations of Siebold 1858, 117 and Ramsay 1918, 99.

⁸⁰ Prateus 1684, 164 took *ut* as concessive, while referring it to the preceding *digitos habet* (“*etsi quiescat libido*”) – but this is incompatible with *tamen*.

⁸¹ H. Valesius in Achaintre 1810, 163–164; Högg 1971, 93–95 “Und dennoch dürften sich alle Flügel senken, denn magst du derlei auch zärtlicher sagen als der beste Schauspieler, dein Gesicht verrät deine Jahre!”. He emphasizes the formal similarity between the passage in question and *et tamen illi / surgebant cristae* in 4. 69–70 quoted above.

⁸² Heinecke 1804, 87–88.

presents the outcome of an action as an intended purpose.⁸³ This allows to dispose of both difficulties: (a) the meaning of the pseudo-final *ut* clause may be similar to that of a consecutive one,⁸⁴ and (b) pseudo-final clauses, just like normal final clauses, can be preposed (most often with negative conjunctions,⁸⁵ but also with *quo*⁸⁶ and *ut*⁸⁷).

In this case the pseudo-final *ut* would express not just a fate-determined outcome (the so called “*voluntas fati*”, type: *He left the country to die in an accident*), but, more specifically, a consequence of an ironically adverse circumstance (cf. *But to ruin all our plans, the rain started again*), or else a motive ironically attributed to the ugly old face, as if making objects of arousal ‘droop their feathers’ were its spiteful purpose.

The preposing of a final or a pseudo-final sentence, as shown in n. 87 above, is not a problem. Moreover, the sentences starting with *ut tamen* can well, pace Högg,⁸⁸ be final,⁸⁹ or even pseudo-final, as in Iuv. 10. 354;⁹⁰ cf. a similar word order (with *ne non* = *ut*) in Ov. *Met.* 9. 735–736):

⁸³ Nisbet 1923, 27–43; Hofmann–Szantyr 1965 (21972), 642; Pinkster 2021, 302–304; cf. *OLD* s.v. *ut* 28f: “introducing an unlikely motive ironically suggested by the speaker; also a purpose ascribed to destiny”.

⁸⁴ Cf. Pinkster 2021, 302 “Some scholars take these clauses as result clauses, with the negator *ne* equivalent to *ut non*. Others use the label ‘pseudo-final’...”.

⁸⁵ Liv. 8. 10. 10 *Decii corpus ne eo die inveniretur, nox querentes oppressit*; 44. 44. 1 *consulem <...>, ne sincero gaudio fruereetur, cura de minore filio stimulabat*; 7. 1. 7 *...ne quando a metu ac periculis vacarent, pestilentia ingens orta* (cf. 7. 27. 1: *ne nimis laetae res essent*...).

⁸⁶ Curt. Ruf. 8. 3. 3 (Spitamenes’ wife implores him to surrender to Alexander): *...et quo efficaciores essent preces, haud procul erat Alexander*.

⁸⁷ Luc. 7. 596: *vivat et, ut Bruti procumbat victima, regnet*; Liv. 26. 41. 8: *pater et patruus intra triginta dierum spatium, ut aliud super aliud cumularetur familiae nostrae funus, interfecti sunt*; Tac. *Ann.* 4. 52. 1: *at Romae commota principis domo, ut series futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra sobrina eius postulatur accusante Domitio Afro*.

⁸⁸ Högg 1971, 93–94.

⁸⁹ Ov. *Met.* 6. 83; *Pont.* 3. 3. 77; Tac. *Ann.* 11. 20. 2.

⁹⁰ Högg 1971, 93–94 surprisingly understands Iuv. 10. 354 *ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis / exta*... as concessive, but no doubt it is a form

... ne non tamen omnia Crete
monstra ferat, taurum dilexit filia Solis.

Thus, the drooping of feathers refers to *inguen*, and *ut subsidant* is best explained as an ironic pseudo-final clause that presents the result of the old woman's ugliness as a purpose:

After all, what organ would fail to be aroused by a soft and wanton expression? It has fingers. Yet, in order to let every feather droop – even if you could speak in tones more tender than those of Haemus and Carpophorus – your face keeps tally of the years.

Sail should be turned astern toward Grangaeus and Lubinus.

Denis Keyer
University of Bern
deniskeyer@gmail.com
denis.keier@unibe.ch

Bibliography

- N. L. Achaintre (ed., comm.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Satirae* II (Paris 1810).
 J. Adamietz (ed., tr., comm.), *Juvenal. Satiren. Lateinisch–deutsch* (Munich–Zurich 1993).
 G. Binder, “Abacus”, *DNP* I (1996) 4.
 S. M. Braund (ed., comm.), *Juvenal, Satires: Book I* (Cambridge 1996).
 S. M. Braund (ed., tr.), *Juvenal and Persius* (Cambridge, Mass. – London 2004).
 F. Bücheler (ed.), *A. Persii Flacci, D. Iunii Iuvenalis, Sulpiciae saturae. Rec. O. Iahn* (Berlin ³1893).
 P. Burmann (ed., comm.), *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon libri XV* (Amsterdam 1727).
 D. Calderini (ed., comm.), [*Commentarii Iuvenalis*] (Venice 1487).
 I. Casaubon, M. Casaubon (eds.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Aquinatis satyrae... Accedit Auli Persii Flacci satirarum liber* (Leiden 1695).
 W. V. Clausen (ed.), *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis saturae* (Oxford 1959 [21966]).
 E. Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*, California Classical Studies 2 (Berkeley, Calif. ²2013 [London ¹1980]).

of pseudo-final: “But so that you might demand something (from the gods) and dedicate entrails to shrines – <I suggest the following...>”; see n. 77 above.

- J. Delz, “Bemerkungen zu Juvenal”, *MH* 55 (1998) 120–127.
- C. Deroux, “Le dressoir de Cordus et son Chiron (Juvénal, *Sat.* III, 203–207)” *Latomus* 68 (2009) 680–692.
- Dimatteo G. (ed., comm., tr.), R. C. Melloni (tr.), *Giovenale. Satire (testo latino a fronte)* (Santarcangelo di Romagna 2023).
- J. D. Duff (ed., comm.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis saturae XIV = Fourteen Satires of Juvenal* (Cambridge ²1975 [¹1898]).
- T. Farnabius (ed., comm.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis et Auli Persii Flacci satyrae* (Amsterdam 1642).
- O. Ferrari, *Electorum libri duo* (Padua 1679).
- E. R. Fiechter, “Abacus 3.–5.”, *RE Suppl.* III (1918) 1–4.
- C. M. Francken, “Ad Iuvenalem”, *Mnemosyne* 21 (1893) 202–210.
- L. Friedländer (ed., comm.), *D. Junii Iuvenalis saturarum libri V. I* (Leipzig 1895).
- A. Gallia, “‘Some of my Best Friends...’: Reading Prejudice in Juvenal’s Third Satire”, *CLJ* 111 (2016) 319–346.
- S. Grazzini, “Simona M. Manzella: Decimo Giunio Giovenale, *Satira* III, trad. e comm. Napoli 2011 (rev.)”, *Athenaeum* 104 (2016) 338–342.
- S. Grazzini, “Poetica e ideologia nella terza satira di Giovenale”, in: A. Stramaglia, S. Grazzini, G. Dimatteo (eds.), *Giovenale tra storia, poesia e ideologia*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 357 (Berlin–Boston 2016) 149–168.
- J. G. Griffith, “Varia Iuvenaliana”, *CR* 1 (1951) 138–142.
- R. A. Harvie, *A Commentary on Persius* (Leiden 1981).
- J. R. Aug. Heinecke, *Animadversiones in Iuvenalis satiras, sive censura editionum Rupertianorum* (Halle [Saale] 1804).
- C. Fr. Heinrich (ed., comm.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Satirae... Accedunt scholia vetera* II (Bonn 1839).
- M. Hendry, “Three Cruces in Juvenal”, *CQ* 48 (1998) 252–261.
- G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford 1954).
- J. B. Hofmann, A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich 1965 [²1972]).
- H. Högg, *Interpolationen bei Juvenal?* Inaug.-Diss. (Freiburg i. Br. 1971).
- M. Hopman, “Satire in Green: Marked Clothing and the Technique of Indignatio at Juvenal 5.141–45”, *AJPh* 124 (2003) 557–574.
- A. E. Housman (ed.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis saturae: Editorum in usum* (London ¹1905, ²1931).
- A. E. Housman, *The Classical Papers, vol. 2: 1897–1914*, ed. by J. Diggle, F. R. D. Goodyear (Cambridge 1972).
- A. E. Housman, “Notes on Persius”, *CQ* 7 (1913) 12–32.
- R. Jenkyns, *Three Classical Poets* (London 1982).
- J. Juvencius (ed., comm.), *D. Junii Iuvenalis et Auli Persii satyrae* (Rouen ³1697).
- F. W. Kelsey, “Codrus’s Chiron and a Painting from Herculaneum”, *AJA* 12 (1908) 30–38.

- J. F. Killeen, “Juvenal III 203–205”, *Glotta* 42 (1964) 213–214.
- W. Kissel (ed., tr., comm.), *Aulus Persius Flaccus: Satiren* (Heidelberg 1990).
- W. Kissel, “Juvenal (1962–2011)”, *Lustrum* 55 (2013) 1–431.
- U. Knoche, *Handschriftliche Grundlagen des Juvenaltextes*, *Philologus Suppl.* 33. 1 (Leipzig 1940).
- U. Knoche (ed.), *D. Iunius Iuvenalis. Saturae* (Munich 1950).
- R. Kühner, C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Tl. II: Satzlehre II* (Hanover 41962).
- P. de Labriolle, F. Villeneuve (eds., trs.), *Juvénal: Satires* (Paris 91967).
- [N. E. Lemaire] (ed., comm.), *M. V. Martialis epigrammata* (Paris 1825).
- Fr. Leo (ed.), *A. Persii Flacci, D. Iunii Iuvenalis, Sulpiciae saturae. Rec. O. Iahn. Post F. Buechelers iteratas curas ed. quartam...* (Berlin 1910).
- E. Lommatzsch, “Römische Satiriker (außer Horaz)... 1930–1936”, *Bursians Jahresberichte* 260 (1938) 89–105.
- S. Lorenz (ed., tr., comm.), *Juvenal. Satiren / Saturae. Lateinisch–deutsch* (Berlin–Boston 2017).
- E. Lubinus (ed., comm.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis satyrarum libri V... Praeterea A. Flacci Persii satyrarum liber unus* (Hanover 1619).
- J. C. F. Manso, *Vermischte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze* (Breslau 1821).
- R. Marache (ed., comm.), *Juvénal, Saturae III, IV, V* (Paris 1965).
- J. R. C. Martyn (ed.), *D. Iuni Iuvenalis saturae* (Amsterdam 1987).
- E. Matthias, *De scholiis Iuvenalianis*. Diss. Inaug. (Halle, Saale 1875).
- A. Mau, “Abacus 4.”, *RE I* (1893) 5.
- J. E. B. Mayor (ed., comm.), *The Thirteen Satires of Juvenal I* (London 41889).
- W. C. McDermott, “The Ape in Greek Literature”, *TAPA* 66 (1935) 165–176.
- W. C. McDermott, “The Ape in Roman Literature”, *TAPA* 67 (1936) 148–167.
- W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore 1938).
- S. Monti, “Iuv. III 205, III 322, VIII 57–59: due problemi critico-testuali ed uno esegetico”, in: U. Crisculo (ed.), *Societas studiorum. Per Salvatore d’Elia* (Naples 2004) 281–291.
- M. Morford, “Juvenal’s Fifth Satire” *AJPh* 98 (1977) 219–245.
- R. J. Nisbet, “*Voluntas Fati* in Latin Syntax”, *AJPh* 44 (1923) 27–43.
- R. G. M. Nisbet, “On Housman’s Juvenal”, *IllClassStud* 14 (1989) 285–302.
- C. H. Pearson, H. A. Strong (ed., comm.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis saturae XIII = Thirteen Satires of Juvenal* (Pearson 21892)
- P. H. Peerlkamp, “Ad Vergilium”, *Mnem.* 10 (1961) 1–49.
- H. Pinkster, *The Oxford Latin Syntax. II: The Complex Sentence and Discourse*. (Oxford 2021).
- L. Prateus (ed., comm.), *D. Junii Iuvenalis et A. Persii Flacci satirae* (Paris 1684).
- G. G. Ramsay (ed., tr.), *Juvenal and Persius* (London–New York 1918).
- A. Richlin (ed., comm.), *Juvenal, Saturae VI* (Bryn Mawr [PA] 1986).
- G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London 1966).
- H. J. Rose, “Some Passages of Latin Poets”, *HSCPh* 47 (1936) 1–15.

- N. Rudd (tr.), W. Barr (comm.), *Juvenal: The Satires* (Oxford 1991).
- G. A. Ruperti, *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Aquinatis satirae XVI. II* (Leipzig 21820).
- E. Saglio, “Abacus V”, *DAGR I* (1875) 4.
- B. Santorelli (ed., tr., comm.), *Giovenale, Satira V*, Texte und Kommentare 44 (Berlin–Boston 2013).
- A. Scholte, *Dissertatio literaria continens observationes criticas in saturas D. Iunii Iuvenalis* (Utrecht 1873).
- E. C. J. von Siebold (tr.), *Die Satiren des D. Iunius Iuvenalis* (Leipzig 1858).
- P. M. W. Tennant, “‘Uncle’ Virro and Trebius’ Offspring: The Relevance of Juvenal ‘Satires’ 5, Lines 141–145”, *Acta Classica* 36 (1993) 83–89.
- I. Tixier de Ravisi (Ravisius Textorius), *Officinae epitome* (Lyon 1560).
- J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1973).
- B. L. Ullman, “Miscellaneous Comments on Juvenal”, in: L. Wallach (ed.), *The Classical Tradition: Literal and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (Ithaca, NY 1966).
- R. B. Ulrich, *Roman Woodworking* (New Haven–London 2007).
- N. Vianello (ed.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis satirae* (Turin 1935).
- G. Viansino, “Note a Giovenale”, in: L. Nicastrì (ed.), *Contributi di filologia Latina* (Naples 1990).
- J. H. Waszink, J. C. M. Van Winden (eds., tr., comm.), *Tertullianus: De idololatria*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 1 (Leiden a. o. 1987).
- L. Watson, P. Watson (eds. and comm.), *Juvenal: Satire 6* (Cambridge 2014).
- W. S. Watt, “Notes on Juvenal”, *Eikasmos* 7 (1996) 283–289.
- W. S. Watt, “Notes on Juvenal”, *Hermes* 130 (2002) 299–305.
- A. Weidner (ed., comm.), *D. Junii Iuvenalis saturae* (Leipzig 1873, 21889).
- A. Weidner, “Zu Juvenalis Satiren”, *Neue Jahrb. Phil. Päd.* (1887a) 279–296.
- A. Weidner, “Emendationes Iuvenalianae”, in: *Gymn. zu Dortmund, Jahresber. über das Schuljahr 1886/87* (Dortmund 1887b).
- F. G. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler II: Basreliefe und geschnittne Steine* (Göttingen 1850).
- J. Willis, “Markland’s Notes on Juvenal”, *Antichthon* 30 (1996) 58–84.
- J. Willis (ed.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis saturae sedecim* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1997).
- G. Zago, “A Crux in Juvenal (6.105)”, *CQ* 75 (2025) 423–427.

The article re-examines five problems in three passages of Juvenal. In 3. 205 *recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron* cannot imply a sculptural table support, since the personage lives in extreme poverty. Instead, *marmore* must be taken ironically (cf. *coccina* in Mart. 2. 43. 8) and *eodem* as ‘aforementioned’: a tiny cheap stand for vessels is described as if it were a marble display table for precious cups.

Mycalē in 5. 141 is Trebius’ concubine: her triplets cannot be Trebius’ legitimate heirs, hence Virro indulges their children. *Nunc* in v. 141 is to be understood within the *irrealis* discourse: “now, when you are (hypothetically) rich” (cf. 10. 43). In v. 138 *tu* (Φ) is to be preferred to *tunc* (PRFO). In 5. 143–144

a waistcoat, small nuts, and pennies cannot be gifts to the triplets. Rose was right in taking *viridem thoraca* as a metonymy for a tamed monkey (hence *schol. vet. ad loc. ...ut simiae*), *rogatum* as a supine and the pair of *-que*'s as mock epic style: the monkey begs for pennies and small nuts in reward for the performance.

In 6. 195 *relictis* must be retained in the sense of 'refrained from' (cf. Pers. 5. 61; Hor. *Serm.* 2. 6. 89; *AP* 150) and taken impersonally as referring to the Romans in general: 'you use in public words that but lately were refrained from (even) under the blanket'. In 6. 197–198 the words *ut tamen omnes subsidant pinnae* are not addressed to the old woman ('to flatten out all <your> feathers'), but express the opposite of *quod enim non excitet inguen* in v. 196; the *ut* clause is pseudo-final: the effect of the old woman's ugly face is presented as a purpose.

В статье разбираются пять трудных мест из трех пассажей Ювенала. В ст. 3, 205 *recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron* не может подразумевать скульптурную ножку стола, потому что герой живет в нищете. *Marmore* надо понять в ироническом смысле (ср. Mart. II, 3, 48 *cochina*), а *eodem* – как 'вышеупомянутый': крохотная дешевая подставка для утвари описывается как мраморный сервант для дорогих сосудов.

В ст. 5, 41 *Микала* – сожительница *Требия*; *Виррон* любезничает с ее тройней, поскольку они не могут стать законными наследниками *Требия*. В ст. 141 *punc* надо понять в рамках ирреального дискурса: 'сейчас, когда ты (гипотетически) богат'. В ст. 138 чтение *tu* (Φ) следует предпочесть варианту *tunc* (*PRFO*). В ст. 143–144 *жилет*, маленькие орехи и гроши не могут быть подарками для тройняшек. *Роуз* был прав, поняв *viridem thoraca* как метонимическое обозначение обезьяны (отсюда *...ut simiae* в схолиях к ст. 143), *rogatum* – как супин, а соединение *-que ... -que* – как элемент эпического стиля. Обезьяна выпрашивает орехи и гроши в награду за представление.

В ст. 6, 195 *relictis* надо сохранить, поняв его безлично (т.е. применительно к римлянам вообще) в смысле 'воздерживаться от ч.-л.' (ср. Pers. 5, 61; Hor. *Serm.* 2, 6, 89; *AP* 150): 'ты на людях пользуешься выражениями, которых еще недавно избегали (даже) под одеялом'. В ст. 6, 197–198 слова *ut tamen omnes subsidant pinnae* не обращены к старухе ('чтоб пропал весь <твой> задор'), а выражают противоположность ст. 196 *quod enim non excitet inguen*. Союз *ut* здесь псевдофинальный: следствие уродливости старого лица представлено как цель.

ARCHAEOLOGICA
et
EPIGRAPHICA

Natalia Pavlichenko, Viktor Vakhoneev

NEW FUNERARY LEAD URNS WITH
INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NECROPOLIS
OF TAURIC CHERSONESOS*

Within the course of almost 200 years of Tauric Chersonesos studies, a large number of epigraphic monuments from Roman times, both lapidary inscriptions and graffiti, were found. However, until recent times only a limited number of inscriptions on vessels for human remains were known. Lead urns take a special place among such vessels. In 1987, E. I. Solomonik published information on six lead urns with graffiti from the first centuries AD from the excavations of K. K. Kostyushko-Valyuzhinich and R. G. Loeper.¹ In 2021–2023, during the excavations of the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos, four similar urns were unearthed as a part of the burial complex of the exedra in the territory of the Roman necropolis of the second century AD.²

The exedra was a monumental semi-circular construction with the height of about 2 m and horizontal dimensions of 6 × 4 m. It was adjacent to the road that led to the city gates (Fig. 1, 2). The exedra had a four-stepped façade. Stone benches with legs shaped like lion paws were situated on a slab-paved surface. Of the seven benches originally installed, five have been preserved, and their surfaces show characteristic scuff marks from prolonged use, indicating that the exedra served as a place for funeral rites and ritual meals.³ A number of the exedra's decorative and functional elements resemble similar

* N. Pavlichenko carried out this work within the framework of the Program of Fundamental Scientific Research of the State Academies of Sciences, State Assignment no. FMZF-2025-0010. V. Vakhoneev conducted the research under the sponsorship of the grant of the Russian Science Foundation no. 24-28-20456, URL: <https://rscf.ru/project/24-28-20456/>.

¹ Solomonik 1987 [Э. И. Соломоник, “Свинцовые урны с надписями из Херсонеса”, in: *Материалы по этнической истории Крыма*], 67–78.

² Solovyova–Solovyev–Vakhoneev–Pokrovskaya–Nizov 2024, 20–44.

³ Cormack 2007, 594; Campbell 2015, 49.

monuments from Asia Minor and Pompei.⁴ A special feature of the Chersonesos exedra was the presence of a funerary complex at its base. There were two slabbed graves and two stone sarcophagi inside of it (Fig. 3).

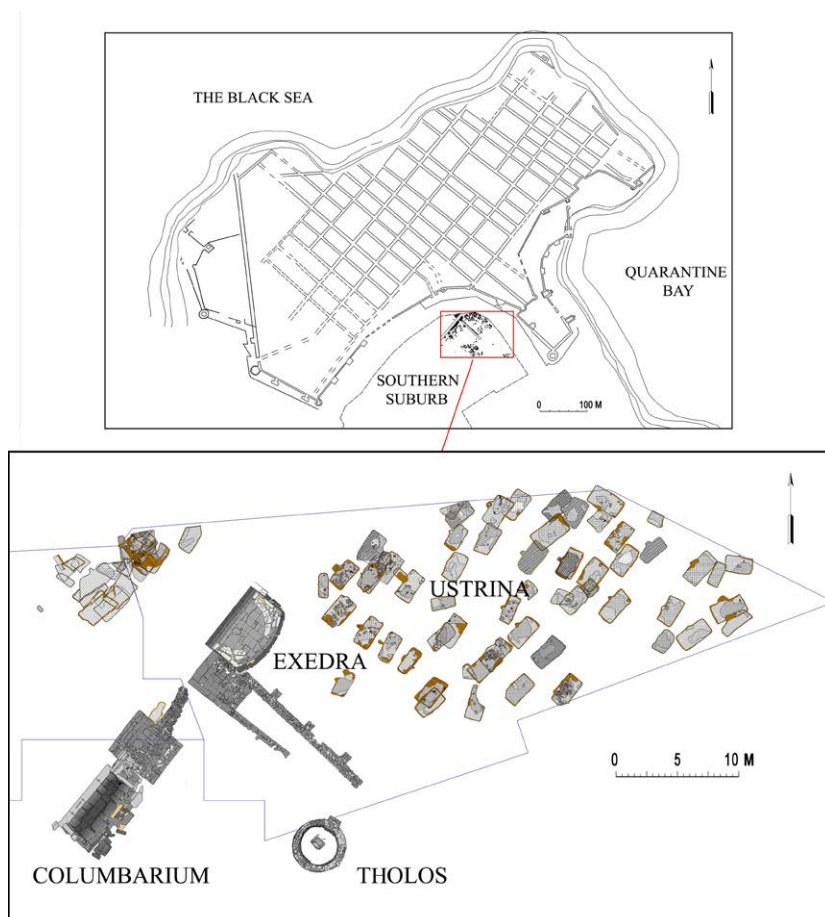


Fig. 1. The plan of the northern part of the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos according to the level of objects of the 1st–2nd centuries AD

⁴ Aktaş 2008, 242–261; Hesberg 1992, 164–170; James–Dillon 2012, 410.



Fig. 2. The exedra

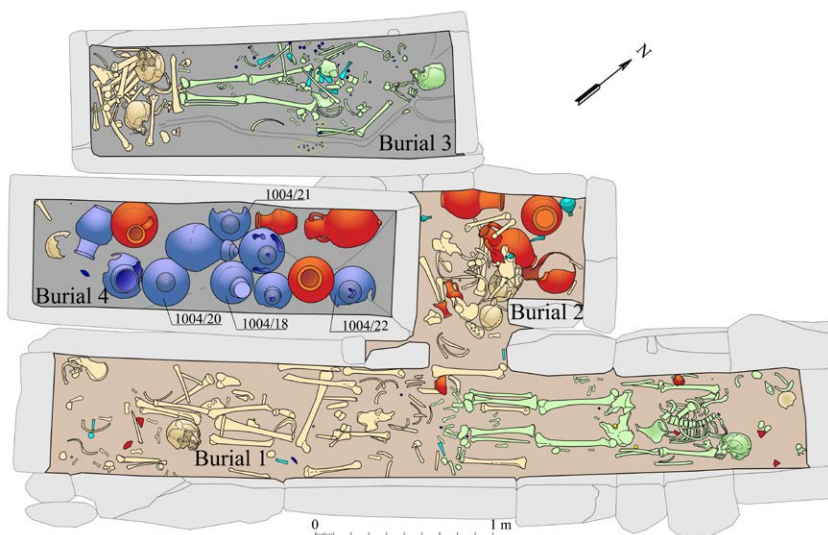


Fig. 3. The plan of the exedra burial complex

Burial 1 was a stone box covered with six slabs. The skeletons of at least five people – men, women, and a child – were found inside. The accompanying inventory included red-glazed ceramics from the late first or early second century, lamps with relief images, glass vessels, gold jewellery (wreath leaves, pendants, and plaques), a bronze knife, and a buckle.

Burial 2 has been only partially preserved, as it was damaged during the later installation of a neighbouring sarcophagus. The bones of at least ten people were found there. Inhumation as well as cremation burials were discovered. Seven ceramic urns, as well as 5 red-glazed vessels, 7 glass vessels, and relatively rich inventory were found in this grave: glass and ceramic vessels, bronze fibula from the second century AD, golden forehead ribbons, a bronze mirror with concentric circles, bone pyxides, astragali, and ornaments made of Egyptian faience.

Burial 3 was placed in a limestone sarcophagus. Three female skeletons with golden jewellery, glass balsamaria, and beads were discovered here. One of the slabs covering the sarcophagus is a secondary-use tombstone of Cas(s)andra, daughter of Antisthenes (Fig. 4).⁵

⁵ The massive slab (69.80 × 80.00 × 21.32 cm) with the inscription Κασάνδρα | Αντισθένου | [θυγ]άτηρ was placed face down and was subjected to additional shaping when another row of slabs was laid on top of it to serve as the floor of the exedra. Judging by the font, it dates back to the second half of the first or the early second century AD. Initially it could be a part of some monumental burial building, as indicated in particular by rather large letters (letter height 6.6–9.7 cm). The arrangement of the words in the inscription looks unusual: the name and patronymic are not located in the centre of the slab but are aligned to the left, while the word θυγάτηρ is shifted to the right. There is a large empty space left between the name and the patronymic. In the Black Sea region, the personal name Κασσάνδρα has not been found before. The masculine variant was attested once in Tanais in the second century AD: συναγωγός Θεαγένης Κασάνδρου (the list of the members of thiasus, *CIRB* 1262₄). Around half of *LGPN* examples of Κασσάνδρα and Κάσσανδρος originate from Macedonia and are dated to the first to third centuries AD (*LGPN* IV s. v.). Forms of this name with lost geminate Κάσ(σ)ανδρος and Κασ(σ)άνδρα originating from Macedonia and Asia Minor are also dated to the first centuries AD (*LGPN* III A, IV s. v.). See Pavlichenko 2024 [Н. А. Павличенко, “Лапидарные надписи”], 292–293.



Fig. 4. The tombstone of Cas(s)andra, daughter of Antisthenes, from the slabs of the sarcophagus of burial 3

Burial 4 was also placed in a monolithic stone sarcophagus. It contained eight lead urns with cremated remains (four of them were marked with graffiti: Διοσκουρίδου, Νάνωνος Ἀντισθένου, [Ἀν]τισθένου and [Ν]εικ(- -), the rest were unsigned), four ceramic urns (one of them is an amphora), and one bronze (Fig. 5). Not only bones, but also some items of funerary inventory have been preserved inside the vessels: intaglio, iron strigil, golden mouth and eye plaques, and trefoils from wreaths. It is worth noting that the rich accompanying inventory is typical of all urns of this burial, regardless of the presence of an inscription.

Thus, the Chersonesos exedra demonstrates a remarkable phenomenon of combining cremation and inhumation in one funeral complex: urns with ashes were kept in the central sarcophagus, while more



Fig. 5. The burial sarcophagus 4 with the urns

than ten people were buried in the surrounding side chambers by inhumation (bones without traces of fire). This serves as additional evidence that in such provincial centres as Tauric Chersonesos both rites could coexist, depending on family traditions or individual preferences.

The cumulative evidence of the dating artifacts (ceramic and glass vessels, jewellery) allows us to date the use of the exedra from the late first to the middle of the second century AD.

The spatial organization of the necropolis, just like the richness of the burial inventory, confirms its elite character: the exedra was located near the road, next to other imposing monuments: crypts, slab graves, and a funerary tholos.⁶ Additional evidence of the “uncommon” character of the exedra funeral complex is the very fact of the rite of cremation. Cremation was available primarily to wealthy families who had the resources to pay for specialists (*libitinarii*, *ustores*), purchase fuel, and manufacture funerary urns. Such a ritual required specially prepared sites with ash pits (*ustrinae*), significant stocks of firewood, and the participation of experienced craftsmen

⁶ Solovyova–Solovyev–Vakhoneev–Pokrovskaya–Nizov 2024, 27.

who could control the combustion process and ensure complete calcification of bones.⁷

The lead urns from the exedra and the urns from previous finds belong to the same type. These are biconical vessels with a roller under the neck and the lid. The inscriptions are located directly under the roller or below, on the shoulders of the vessel. Just like on ceramic urns, the text of inscriptions consists in the vast majority of cases only of the name in the nominative or genitive case, sometimes with a patronymic. Such conciseness is typical for the internal marking of burials inside collective tombs and contrasts with the detailed epitaphs on tombstone steles. The exception is the inscription on the urn of Konkha (cat. no. 5), the text of which is similar in content to lapidary epitaphs.⁸

It is important to note that there was significant variation in Chersonesos funeral practices. Lead and ceramic urns that could be either “signed” or “unsigned” were used within the same funeral complex. The absence of a signature could reflect different circumstances: a change in traditions over the decades during which the exedra was used for secondary burials, or a situation in which the identification of the urn was obvious to all family members.

Thanks to the discovery of the exedra, a new name – Ἀντισθένης – was added to the Chersonesos onomasticon. The repetition of this name on two urns (cat. nos. 8, 9) indicates a family burial. It is possible that Cas(s)andra, daughter of Antisthenes, whose stele was used as a covering in burial 3, belonged to the same family. On the

⁷ Кропотов–Vakhoneev 2025 [В. В. Кропотов, В. В. Вахонеев, “Кремационная площадка 7 (раскоп 4.1) Южного пригорода Херсонеса Таврического”, *Нижевоолжский археологический вестник*], 175; Noy 2000 a, 30–45; Noy 2000 b, 186–196.

⁸ Sometimes graffiti text on urns find direct analogies on tombstone steles. For example, in Hijrā, Jordan, two lead urns with ashes were found in one of the burial caves, dating from the second to the third centuries AD. One of them, made in the form of a miniature “house” with a gable roof, in addition to ornaments in the form of olive branches, palm leaves, and pomegranates, had Greek inscriptions: Θάρσει, Κρίσπε, οὐδεὶς <ἀ>θάνατος and a quote σοὶ ἐλέχθη ὅν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν οὗτος ἀποθνήσκει νέος (cf. *Sent. Men.* 583 Jäkel = Pernigotti). A formula Θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος, as well as this quote, are similar to the inscriptions on the tombstones of the first to fourth centuries AD from Jordan (Timm – Abu Shmeis – Nabulsi 2012, 25–28).

other hand, the names Νάνων and Διοσκουρίδης are well known from the dated Chersonesos decrees of the first half of the second century AD in honour of the citizens of Heraclea Δια[- -] (129/130 AD), Παπίας Ἡρακλέωνος (130/131 AD), and πατέρες Ἡρακλεῶται (dated to approximately 138 AD) (cat. nos. 7, 8). The bearers of these names belonged to a rather narrow circle of noble Chersonesos families at the head of the city administration. The palaeographic features of the inscriptions on the urns from burial 4 also point to the first half of the second century AD.

The Lead Urns with Graffiti from Tauric Chersonesos. Catalogue⁹

1. The necropolis. The excavations of K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich. 1891.

The State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
inv. no. 4619 (Fig. 6).

Origin and context of the find. It was found by K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich at the site of the necropolis near the southern defensive wall, tomb no. 38. The urn, covered with a lid, contained a glass vial, a bronze buckle, and a piece of gold leaf. In addition to the lead urn, 12 ceramic urns were unearthed in this tomb, one of them with the graffiti APK.¹⁰

Shape and dimensions. The spherical urn with a smoothly expanding body. The upper part passes into a short neck with a roller. The bottom is flat. Metal has been lost in several places on the body. Height 27 cm, body diameter 24 cm.

Inscription. Ἡλίωνος Πρω(- -), “(The urn) of Helion (son) of Pro...”. The height of the letters is 1.8–2 cm (by Solomonik¹¹). The

⁹ We would like to thank Chief Curator N. L. Demidenko and the curator E. V. Kolesnik for the opportunity to work with the stock collection of the State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”. The catalogue of urns is compiled in chronological order of their discovery during excavations.

¹⁰ The Scientific Archive. Manuscript Department. ИИМК РАС. F. 1, inv. 1 (1891), file 20, fol. 150 v. [Научный архив. Рукописный отдел. ИИМК РАН. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. 1891. Д. 20. Л. 150 об.]; ОАК 1893 [Отчет Императорской Археологической Комиссии за 1891 год], 145.

¹¹ Solomonik 1987 [Э. И. Соломоник, “Свинцовые урны с надписями из Херсонеса”, in: *Материалы по этнической истории Крыма*], 68



Fig. 6. Urn 1: 1 – general view, 2 – drawing (Solomonik 1987),
3 – inscription

graffito is drawn neatly. Judging by the depth and width of the lines, after *omicron*, the graffito author scratched it with another, thinner tool, so that the last five letters became distinguishable only after the surface was cleaned in the 1970s. The surface of the urn wall after *Πρω*(- -) is absolutely smooth, which indicates the complete preservation of the text. *Lambda* is italic, with the right oblique hasta longer than the left; the oblique hasta of *nu* does not reach the lower right corner; *omicron* is oval; *sigma* is lunar; *omega* is italic. *Rho* is drawn in two steps: at first, the graffito author mistakenly scratched a horizontal hasta, as in the previous *nu*, and then he proceeded with a semicircle of *rho*.

Despite the existence of the cult of Helios in Chersonesos throughout the ancient era, no theophoric name derived from *Ἥλιος* has yet been attested, apart from *Ἥλιων* on this urn. E. I. Solomonik completed as *Ἥλιων* the *ΗΛΙ* graffiti from the amphora used as an urn from the necropolis of the first centuries AD in Inkerman Valley as well as the *ΗΛΙΩ* graffiti from the fragment of an amphora from the Yuzhno-Donuzlavsky settlement.¹²

¹² Solomonik 1984 [Э. И. Соломоник, *Граффити с хоры Херсонеса*], 42 no. 101, 87 no. 433; Dashevskaya 1970 [О. Д. Дашевская, “Два граффити на амфорах Южно-Донузлавского городища”, *Краткие сообщения института археологии*], 51–52, fig. 21. 2.

The patronymic is strongly abbreviated, which makes it possible to ask who drew the names on the urns with ashes: a libitinarius, who could carry out cremation at multiple cremation sites for a short period of time, or relatives. The main function of the inscription was to help distinguish the urns. In this case, the patronymic may have served to distinguish among several homonyms.

As it seems, the Chersonesos onomasticon still does not contain personal names beginning with Πρω-. As the only analogy, we can point out the ΠΡΩ graffito on a fragment of a tray of a small, black-glazed cup from the end of the fourth century BC from the excavations of K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich.¹³

Bibliography. OAK 1893, 145; Solomonik 1987, 68 no. 1; Fig. 1, 1 б; BÉ 1990, 549 no. 564; SEG 37. 655.

2. The necropolis. The excavations of K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich. No later than 1894.

**The State Historical Museum (Moscow),
no. 33426, inv. Б 121/34 (Fig. 7).**¹⁴

Origin and context of the find. The circumstances of the find are unknown.

Form and dimensions. The urn is of biconical shape. The bottom is flat. The rim is straight with four holes to fix the lid, and there is a wide roller under it. Height 35.5 cm, body diameter 23.8 cm (by Zhuravlev¹⁵).

Inscription. Γα᾿δὶ τος Τουγα, “(The urn) of Gadis, (son) of Tuga”.¹⁶ The graffito is drawn neatly. The height of letters: 1.7–2.7 cm (by Solomonik¹⁷). The letters ΔΙ (the height of letters is 1.0 cm) were omitted by the carver to be drawn above the line. *Alpha* is with a broken hasta; *alpha* and *delta* have the right oblique hasta

¹³ Solomonik 1978 [Э. И. Соломоник, *Граффити античного Херсонеса*], 107 no. 1427.

¹⁴ The authors express their gratitude to D. V. Zhuravlev, Curator of the Ancient and Byzantine Collection of the State Historical Museum, who provided information about this urn.

¹⁵ Zhuravlev 2002 [Д. В. Журавлев (ed.), *На краю античной ойкумены: Греки и варвары на северном берегу Понта Евксинского*].

¹⁶ E. I. Solomonik thought that Γαδῖτος was a nominative (Solomonik 1987, 75); *LGPN* publishers (IV s. v.) assumed that it was a genitive of Γάδις.

¹⁷ Solomonik 1987, 75.



Fig. 7. Urn 2: 1 – general view (*На краю античной ойкумены. Каталог, no. 336*), 2 – drawing (Solomonik 1987), 3 – inscription

protruding above the left; *omicron* is of different shapes – the first one is oval, within line dimensions, the second one, circular, is slightly smaller; the broken *sigma* has parallel hastae; the hastae of *upsilon* are curved.

Other than Γαδῖτος Τουγα, another interpretation of this graffito is possible: Γαδῖτος τοῦ Γα(διτος or -διτου),¹⁸ but both E. I. Solomonik and the publishers of *SEG* believed that ΤΟΥΓΑ was a patronymic.¹⁹ Both names are encountered for the first time. Arguably, analogies for Γαδιτος could be Γάδας or Γαδίκιος / Γαδίκειος, attested in the Bosphoros in the first and second centuries AD and attributed by L. Zgusta to names of Iranian origin, while D. Weber considered them names of Germanic origin.²⁰ The Τουγα

¹⁸ *ΒΕ* 1990, 549 no. 564.

¹⁹ Solomonik 1987, 74–75 no. 5; *SEG* 37. 659.

²⁰ Γάδας – *CIRB* 372₁, Pantikapaion, the first half of the first century AD; Γαδίκιος – *CIRB* 1135_{17, 23, 24}, 1140_{12, 13, 20}, 1144₁, 1145₉, 1151₉, 1154₅, 1165₂, Gorgippia, second century AD; Γαδίκειος – *CIRB* 1196₂, Gorgippia, first century AD; Boltunova 1971 [А. И. Болтунова, “Надписи Горгиппии”, *Нумизматика и эпиграфика*], 9 no. 6 A; Zgusta 1955, 87–88 § 91, 92; Weber 1988, 145–146.

form was found once in the epitaph from the second to third century BC from Amasia in Anatolia and apparently is of Asia Minor origin.²¹

Bibliography. Solomonik 1987, 74–75 no. 5, Fig. 5; Zhuravlev 2002, no. 336; *ΒΕ* 1990, 549 no. 564; *SEG* 37. 659.

3. The necropolis. The excavations of K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich. 1899.

The State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
inv. no. 4620 (Fig. 8).

Origin and context of the find. It was discovered during excavations of the necropolis behind the south-eastern defensive wall of Chersonesos as part of the family crypt no. 1013 in niche 14. The urn contained burnt bones and a rich accompanying inventory: gold jewellery with garnets and pearls, paste beads, a bronze mirror, an iron knife blade, a silver headband, and four coins (one Roman coin minted during the reign of Emperor Titus and three Chersonesos coins).



Fig. 8. Urn 3: 1 – general view, 2 – drawing (Belov 1927),
3 – drawing (Solomonik 1987), 4 – inscription

²¹ Μαυράτου Τούγα υἱόν (Anderson–Cumont–Grégoire 1910, 118 no. 95 b₁; Robert 1963, 517). L. Zgusta thought that Τούγα could be a form of accusative (Zgusta 1964, 521 §1587). This name did not enter *LGPN*.

Shape and dimensions. The biconical urn with an edge in the upper third of the vessel. The neck is short and smooth, and the lid is rounded. Height 36 cm, body diameter 30.5 cm. The upper part of the urn has significant losses.

Inscription. Αιλίας Λαοδίκ[η]ς θυγατρὸς Ζήθου, “(The urn) of Aelia Laodice, daughter of Zethus”. The height of the letters is 1.2–2.0 (by Solomonik²²). The letters are narrow; *alpha* has an inclined crossbar; *alpha*, *delta*, and *lambda* have the right inclined hasta above the left; *omicron* is diamond-shaped; the broken *sigma* has parallel hastae, while its inclined hastae intersect.

K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich reports only the well-preserved beginning of the inscription ΑΙΛΙΑΣΛΑΟΔΙΚ, without noticing the letters going into the breakage.²³ Yet judging by the photos from the 1920s in Belov 1927, the gap in the wall of the urn was much smaller, so that G. D. Belov was able to restore the word θυγατρὸς after Laodice’s name and the name of her father: Ζήθος (Fig. 8.2).²⁴ This reading is confirmed by E. I. Solomonik’s autopsy. In her drawing, one can see the breakage line after *kappa*, part of the lower horizontal hasta of *dzeta*, the letters ΘΟ, and part of the inclined hasta of *ypsilon* (Fig. 8.3).²⁵

The mythologic name of Λαοδίκη likely came to Chersonesos from Asia Minor. Judging by the presence of the Roman nomen Aelius, Aelia Laodice had Roman citizenship. In the lapidary inscriptions of Chersonesos from the first half to the middle of the second century AD, this name is found twice. Both times it belonged to women from families whose members had received Roman citizenship during the reign of the Flavian dynasty.²⁶

²² Solomonik 1987, 69.

²³ The Scientific Archive. Manuscript Department. ИМЦ РАН. Ф. 1, inv. 1 (1899), file 4 a, fol. 12 [Научный архив. Рукописный отдел. ИИМК РАН. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. 1899. Д. 4 а. Л. 12]; Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich 1901 [К. К. Косцюшко-Валюжинич, “Извлечение из отчета о раскопках в Херсонесе Таврическом в 1899 году”, *Известия Императорской Археологической Комиссии*], 14.

²⁴ Belov 1927 [Г. Д. Белов, “Римские пристенные склепы по. 1013 и 1014”, *Херсонесский сборник*], 119, Fig. 13, 14.

²⁵ Solomonik 1987, 70, Fig. 2 б.

²⁶ Laodice, daughter of Heroxenus and wife of T. Flavius Parthenocles, son of Flavius Parthenocles – *IOSPE* I² 431₂; *INBS* III 161₂, first quarter of the

Judging by the monumentality of the crypt in which the urn with its ashes was located and the richness of the funeral inventory, Aelia Laodice also belonged to the upper strata of Chersonesos society. G. D. Belov believed that she was the sister of Ariston, son of Zethus, mentioned in the fragment of the τῶν σφραγισαμένων list,²⁷ provided that this Ariston was the father of Zethus, son of Ariston, mentioned in the ἀ' στίχος of the decree in honour of Δια[- -] 129/130 AD.²⁸ He thus attributed the time of her life to the late first or early second centuries AD.²⁹

However, considering that, in the inscriptions of the second half of the first to second centuries AD, Ζῆθος occurs 13 times as a name or patronymic (this name is not attested in earlier or later inscriptions) and the frequent repetition of names in aristocratic families of this time, one can hardly say anything definitive about the family ties of Aelia Laodice.

It should be noted that the palaeographic features of the inscription on the urn of Aelia Laodice find their closest analogy in the font of the inscription in honour of Laodice, the sister of T. Flavius Ariston and T. Flavius Attina, which is dated to the time around the middle of the second century AD.³⁰ The dating of the urn is confirmed by the discovery of a coin of Emperor Titus (79–81), as well as a whole set of rich funeral inventory.

Bibliography. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich 1901, 14; Belov 1927, 119–120; Solomonik 1987, 69 no. 2, Fig. 2, 2 б; *БЭ* 1990, 549 no. 564; *SEG* 37. 656.

second century AD; Laodice, sister of T. Flavius Ariston and T. Flavius Attina, daughter of T. Flavius Apollonius, son of T. Flavius Ariston – Latyshev 1915 [В. В. Латышев, “Эпиграфические новости из Южной России”, *Известия Императорской Археологической Комиссии*], 28–30; *IOSPE* I² 432₁; *INBS* III 161₁, around the mid-second century AD. See also Saprykin 1998 [С. Ю. Сапрыкин, “Херсонесская проксения синопейцу”], 48–54.

²⁷ *IOSPE* I² 391₂; *INBS* III 89₂.

²⁸ *IOSPE* I² 359₂₂; *INBS* III 22₂₂.

²⁹ Latyshev 1907 [В. В. Латышев, “Дополнения и поправки к изданным надписям из южной России”, *Известия Императорской Археологической комиссии*], 62; Belov 1927, 119–121.

³⁰ Latyshev 1915, 28–30; *IOSPE* I² 432₁; *INBS* III 161₁, around the middle of the second century AD. I. A. Makarov dates it back no earlier than the middle of the second century AD.

**4. The necropolis. The excavations of R. G. Loeper. 1910.
The State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
inv. no. 4623 (Fig. 9).**

Origin and context of the find. It was found in 1910 near the western defensive wall of Chersonesos, in grave g. The urn contained burnt bones, a glass balsamarium, and an iron buckle.

Form and dimensions. The urn is of biconical shape. In the upper part of the body there is a protruding roller formed by the bending of the body. The bottom is flat. The roller is vertical, bent, and protrudes above the body. The edge is rounded. Metal has been lost in several places on the body. The bottom is partially lost. There is a two-line inscription under the urn’s roller. Height 28.3 cm, body diameter 23.6 cm, bottom diameter 16.1 cm, rim diameter 9.7 cm (by Zhuravlev–Kostromichev³¹).



Fig. 9. Urn 4: 1 – general view, 2 – drawing (Solomonik 1987),
3 – inscription

³¹ Zhuravlev–Kostromichev 2017 [Д. В. Журавлев, Д. А. Костромичев, Комплексы с ювелирными изделиями из Херсонесского некрополя. Материалы раскопок Р. Х. Лопера в 1909–1910 гг.], 79.

Inscription. Θαμεις Χηματινου, “Tamis, (son) of Hematinos”. The height of the letters (by Solomonik³²) is 1.2–2.3 cm (top line), 2.4–3.7 cm (bottom line). The inscription is drawn in thin lines; the letters are of different heights. *Alpha* has a broken horizontal hasta; the right-inclined hastae of *alpha* and *mu* protrude above the left; the lunar *epsilon* is with a crossbar that does not reach the semicircle line; *theta* is rectangular; the inclined hasta of *nu* does not reach the bottom of the right vertical hasta.

Unlike most graffiti on urns, the name of the deceased is in the nominative case. The name Θαμεις, and in general a masculine name with a nominative ending in -εις, is attested in Chersonesos for the first time.³³ It remains unclear whether the combination conveys a diphthong or a sound [ī]. E. I. Solomonik suggested that this name was used as a patronymic on a graffito on a red-glazed urn from the excavations of K. K. Kostyushko-Valyuzhinich Ὑγενία / Θαμεινος / γυνή (The State Hermitage, inv. no. X. 1891.17).³⁴

Until now in Chersonesos, Χηματινος has been known only as the patronymic of archon Ἡραιος Χηματινου from the decree from 129–130 AD in honour of Δια[-], a citizen of Heraclea.³⁵

Bibliography. Loeper 1927, 231;³⁶ Solomonik 1987, 70–71 no. 3, Fig. 3, 3 6; Zhuravlev–Kostromichev 2017, 79–80, 162, Tab. 31; *BÉ* 1990, 549 no. 564; *SEG* 37. 657.

³² Solomonik 1987, 71.

³³ Masculine names with the nominative ending -εις (Γάστεις, Δάσσεις, Νάνεις, Πάτεις etc.) are well known from Bosporan inscriptions of the first and the second centuries AD (see *CIRB* p. 817, § 9 for a brief review of the grammar of Bosporan inscriptions).

³⁴ The font of this graffito has a number of palaeographic features in common with the graffito found in 1910; in particular, it also uses *alpha* with a straight and a broken crossbar at the same time (*OAK* 1893, 141; Solomonik 1987, 69 no. 2). Solomonik also mentions a Chersonesos urn with the name ΘΑΜΕΝΙΣ (The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”, inv. no. 4385, non vidimus).

³⁵ *IOSPE* I² 359₃₁; *INBS* III 22₃₁. Two more examples of the use of this name come from Pantikapaion (*CIRB* 129, first century BC; *CIRB* 640, late first to early second century AD). See also the feminine name Χήματα (*CIRB* 75, second half of the second century AD; *CIRB* 643, the end of the first to the first half of the second century AD).

³⁶ P. X. Лепер, “Дневник раскопок Херсонесского некрополя. Раскопки 1910 г.”, *Херсонесский сборник* II (Севастополь 1927) 209–256.

**5. The necropolis. The excavations of R. G. Loeper. 1913.
The State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
inv. no. 34043 (Fig. 10).**

Origin and context of the find. It was found in burial 12 along with other urns in the area near Quarantine Bay, next to the guardhouse. Inside the urn there were burnt bones, as well as the accompanying inventory: a glass balsamarium, a bronze buckle, fragments of iron knives, a silver ring.

Shape and dimensions. The urn is of biconical shape. The neck is straight with two holes for fixing the lid and a convex roller at the bottom. The neck and the body have insignificant deformations. Height 29.5 cm, body diameter 23 cm.

Inscription. Κόνχα Ματροδώρου θυγάτερ, γυνή δαι³⁷ Εὐρυδάμου
Δαμοκλέως. Φαρνάκης Φαρνάκου τῶναρ αὐτοῦ τρωφῆς χάριν,



Fig. 10. Urn 5: 1 – general view, 2 – drawing (Solomonik 1987, with amendments of Shangin 1938: bold font), 3 – inscription

³⁷ In the Chersonese inscriptions there is an instance in which E is represented by AI: Χαίροισθ-<ε> (lapis ΧΑΙΡΟΙΣΘΑΙ), παροδεῖται, ἅμα τε καὶ ἔρρωσθε (third century AD, *IOSPE* I² 4856; *INBS* III 199), alongside with the opposite occurrences in which, as a result of monophthongization, AI is transmitted by E: κέ, γυνεκέ, χέρε (first centuries AD, *IOSPE* I² 513, 542; Solomonik 1973 [Э. И. Соломоник, *Новые эпиграфические памятники Херсонеса*], 200 no. 183).

“Konkha, daughter of Metrodoros, wife of Eurydamos, son of Damocles. Pharnaces, son of Pharnaces, (buried his nurse) according to a dream for his nursing”. The height of the letters is 0.8–2.7 cm (by Solomonik³⁸). *Alpha* has a straight and a broken crossbar; *alpha* and *delta* have the right-inclined hasta higher than the left one; *epsilon* is lunar, with the crossbar not reaching the semicircle; *theta* has a short dash; *mu* is italic; the right part of the inclined hasta of *nu* is above the bottom of the right vertical hasta; *omicron* is of two types – circular in line dimensions and oval; *rho* has a small semicircle; *sigma* is of two types – lunar and rectangular; *epsilon* has slightly curved hastae; *omega* is italic.

The inscription is located directly under the rim and consists of two phrases. The first one, located in a spiral along the shoulders of the urn, is the standard formula for a woman’s epitaph, with the names of her father and husband. The second one, located not in the continuation of the first but under it, explains why Pharnaces, son of Pharnaces, took care of the cremation and burial of Konkha.

There have been two publications on this urn, and the reading of the second phrase differs significantly. M. A. Shangin, a specialist in Byzantine studies and Greek palaeography,³⁹ who published several Chersonesos inscriptions from the excavations of R. G. Loeper during his trip to the Chersonesos Museum in 1936–1937, proposed the following reading: Φαρνάκης Φαρνάκου τῶναρ αὐτοῦ τρωφῆς χάριν, “Pharnaces, son of Pharnaces, according to a dream for nurturing him”. E. I. Solomonik understood the end of the second phrase in a different way: Φαρνάκης Φαρνάκου τῶν αἰαντοῦ τρωφῆα τιμῆς χάρι(ι)ν, “Pharnaces, son of Pharnaces, (buried) his nurse for the sake of honour”.

There are several challenges associated with Solomonik’s interpretation of line 2. While the confusion between the letters O and Ω (in τῶν and τρωφῆα) in an inscription from the first centuries AD is not unexpected,⁴⁰ the application of the masculine form as a qualifier

³⁸ Solomonik 1987, 72.

³⁹ On the work of M. A. Shangin in the Chersonese museum, see Pavlichenko 2022 [“Российская эпиграфика после В. В. Латышева (1921–1941 гг.)”, *Археологические вести*], 263–264.

⁴⁰ Cf. κατ’ ὄναρ in a dedication from Macedonia from the first centuries AD (*EAM* 28; *SEG* 34. 645); Πυθόδωρος (129/130 BC, *IOSPE* I² 359³³; *INBS* III 22³³), Μητροδόρου (first centuries AD, *IOSPE* I² 513); Slavova 2004, 27, § 1.4.4.

for Konkha necessitates further clarification. A tombstone for the boy Metrodorus, son of Apollonides, erected by his tutor and wet nurse (ὁ τροφεὺς καὶ ἡ τροφός), was recently discovered in the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos.⁴¹ This tombstone dates to the second century AD, coinciding with the period of Konkha's urn. So, it remains ambiguous why the author of this inscription chose not to use τροφός, the term for wet nurse that was prevalent in the Chersonesos language during that era.⁴² Furthermore, Solomonik examined Konkha's urn in the 1980s, approximately fifty years after Shangin's autopsy in the mid-1930s. During this interval, the preservation condition of the urn, which already displayed deformations at the time of its discovery, inevitably deteriorated, which makes the reading of the words after Φαρνάκης Φαρνάκου and especially the last two words in her version untenable as an unequivocal interpretation.

Let us consider the interpretation of Shangin. After ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ, ΤΩΝΑ is clearly visible. Solomonik interpreted the next letter as *iota*, and Shangin believed it was *rho*. Indeed, one can distinguish the semicircle of *rho* of the same shape as in ΦΑΡΝΑΚΗΣΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ. ΑΥΤΟΥΤΡΩΦΗΑ is quite legible after ΤΩΝΑΡ. *Alpha* is followed by a vertical hasta. Because of a random dash above it, Solomonik decided that it was *tau*. However, a semicircle is visible to the right of this hasta, which allows us to support the reading of Shangin, who saw *rho* here. Next, *iota* and a carelessly drawn *nu* are visible. A rectangular *sigma* is drawn above ΗΑ and then, above ΠΙ, there is *chi*. In other words, it can be assumed that the author of the second inscription, after having scratched in ΤΡΩΦΗ, saw that the remaining letters (ΣΧΑΡΙΝ) did not fit into the gap remaining before ΦΑΡΝΑΚΗΣ. So he first wrote ΣΧ above the line and then squeezed ΑΡΙΝ in front of ΦΑΡΝΑΚΗΣ.

After ΣΧ, separate indistinct oblique and vertical lines are visible. Perhaps these dashes and the letters ΟΥ above *kappa* and *omicron* in ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ are “traces of primary writing” noted before by

⁴¹ Trofimova–Pavlichenko 2022, 132.

⁴² D. Keyer pointed out the passage Aesch. *Choeph.* 760, where the term ὁ τροφεὺς is used in relation to a woman, but it is unlikely to serve as an analogy due to the significant temporal disparity. It should be noted, however, that, according to the publishers of the *SEG*, “τροφεὺς can refer to a female nurse” (*SEG* 37. 658).

Shangin.⁴³ The inscription on the ossuary of Hemera, Metrodoros' wife,⁴⁴ states that her ashes will remain in the ossuary for only five and a half years. Thus, the secondary use of the urn does not appear surprising either.

Shangin's interpretation looks preferable because in this case it is not necessary to explain the replacement of the article τήν with τῶν before the word "nurse" and the form τροφῆα. The small *eta* placed in Solomonik's drawing between *mu* and *phi* in the word ΦΑΡΝΑΚΗΣ actually represents several accidental scratches.

Shangin apparently believed that τῶναρ originated as a result of *krasis*. However, unlike the expression κατ' εὐχίην, which is often shortened to εὐχίην and can be used with an article before εὐχίην, in "κατ' ὄναρ" the noun is always used without an article, and the preposition is never omitted. Still more importantly, the phrase "according to a dream" is often found in votive inscriptions, but in an inscription on an urn with human ashes, it looks at least unusual.⁴⁵

It must be acknowledged that in the second line of the inscription, only the name and patronymic Φαρνάκης Φαρνάκου can be confidently read. Both proposed options for restoring the rest of the line seem questionable. However, in our opinion, Shangin's reading is closer to the text that can be seen on the urn.

As Solomonik noticed, in the first phrase, *alpha* has a straight crossbar, *omicron* is rounded, *sigma* is lunar; and in the second phrase, *alpha* has a broken crossbar, *omicron* is oval, and *sigma* is rectangular. This allows us to assume cautiously that the first and second lines were scratched by different people. It is, however, unclear whether they were contemporaries or if we are dealing with at least two inscriptions from different periods.

⁴³ Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich noted in his report that in tomb no. 38, from which the urn with the name of Ἡλίωνος Πρω(-) (cat. 1) came, there were two ceramic urns "with old fractures repaired: one with lead, the other with mastic" (Scientific Archive of IHMC RAS. Manuscript Department. F. 1, inv. 1 (1891), file 20, fol. 150 v. [Φ. 1. Οπ. 1. 1891. Δ. 20. Λ. 150 οβ.]).

⁴⁴ *IOSPE* I² 513.

⁴⁵ Regrettably we were able to find only one analogy for the usage of "κατ' ὄναρ" in a tombstone inscription. This is an epitaph of a child on the wall of a columbarium: θεῶ ἦρωι Οὐνεριανῶ Εὐρώτας καὶ Οὐνερία τέκνω γλυκυτάτῳ κατ' ὄναρ (*IGUR* II 848, Rome, early second century AD).

The personal names Μητρόδωρος, Εὐρύδαμος, Δαμοκλής, and Φαρνάκης have been repeatedly found in the lapidary inscriptions, stamps, and graffiti of Chersonesos. Noteworthy is the simultaneous use of forms with the preservation of Doric [ā] along with forms where [ā] is displayed as η.

The name Κόνχα is known in the Chersonesos lapidary inscriptions only from the tombstone of Soterikhos and Konkha from between the second half of the second century AD and the first half of the third century AD; the tombstone was raised by Soterikhos himself, the servant of the Parthenos goddess.⁴⁶ Forms with *nu* in the position in front of the velar (-γγ- > -vχ-) were repeatedly encountered in Chersonesos.⁴⁷

Bibliography. OAK 1918, 67;⁴⁸ Shangin 1938, 77 no. 7;⁴⁹ Solomonik 1987, 72–74 no. 4, Fig. 4, 2 β; ΒÉ 1990, 549 no. 564; SEG 37. 658.

6. The necropolis. The excavations of K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich. The end of the 19th century.

In the 1970s, E. I. Solomonic saw the urn in the collections of the Chersonesos Museum, inv. no. 4627 (Fig. 11). *Non vidimus.*

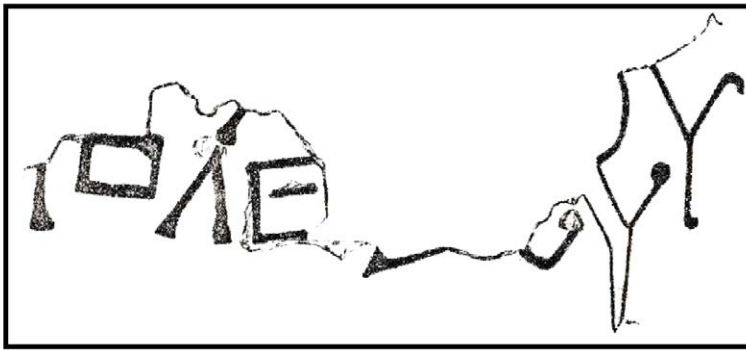


Fig. 11. Urn 6: drawing (Solomonik 1987)

⁴⁶ IOSPE I² 457₃; INBS III 372₃.

⁴⁷ Ἀνχιάλου (Philippolis, Anchialos, Roman period) – Slavova 2004, 101; cf. also IOSPE I² 355₃₆, 356₃, 127, 610, 425₁₄, 43.

⁴⁸ OAK 1918 [Отчет Императорской Археологической Комиссии за 1913–1915 годы].

⁴⁹ Shangin 1938 [М. А. Шангин, “Некоторые надписи Херсонесского музея”].

Origin and context of the find. The circumstances of the discovery and the time of inclusion in the Chersonesos Museum are unknown. The description of the vessel, its dimensions, the height of the letters, and the reading of the graffito are given according to the publication of E. I. Solomonik and her drawing.⁵⁰

Shape and dimensions. The urn is badly damaged; only its parts have been preserved. The height to the breakage is ca. 24 cm, body diameter ca. 24 cm.

Inscription. [- -]ου / [- -]πολε[- -]υ. The height of the letters is 4.3–4.5 cm. *Omicron* is square; *lambda* and *psilon* have enlargements at the ends of the hastae. Solomonik saw the remains of *alpha* in the middle of the first line. Judging by the preserved letters OY at the end of the first line, the inscription contained a male name and represented the standard formula “(the urn) of so-and-so, (son) of so-and-so”. The first letter of the second line, which Solomonik reads as *pi*, shows only the lower part of one vertical hasta in the drawing. If this is indeed *pi*, then it is possible to restore, for example, [Εὐ]πολέ[μο]υ.⁵¹ H. W. Pleket noticed in lemma *SEG* 37. 660 that according to Y. G. Vinogradov (in a private letter), the end of the second line should be restored as [- -]πολέμου.

Bibliography. Solomonik 1987, 76 no. 6, Fig. 6; *ΒΕ* 1990, 549 no. 564; *SEG* 37. 660.

⁵⁰ Solomonik 1987, 76 no. 6.

⁵¹ Cf. the graffito ΔΑΜΟΕΥΠΟΛΕ on a black-glazed cantharos of the turn of the fourth to the third century BC from the settlement of Panskoe-1. Y. G. Vinogradov saw *kappa* in the sixth letter and interpreted the graffito as δάμο εκ πόλε[ως], “(Gefäß) des Volkes aus der Stadt” (“Vessel) of the people of the city”). He believed that it was connected with the oligarchically minded Chersonesos inhabitants who, in his opinion, had seized part of the territory belonging to Chersonesos and, in particular, Panskoe-1 (Vinogradov 1997, 489). V. P. Yailenko saw the owner’s inscription on this graffito: Δάμο Εὐπολέ(μο) (“(the cantharos) of Damos, (son) of Eupolemos” (Yailenko 2017 [В. П. Яйленко, “Тени ольвиополитов и херсонесских олигархов в Западной Таврике (граффити с Панского 1)”, in: *История и эпиграфика Ольвии, Херсонеса и Боспора VII в. до н. э. – VII в. н. э.*], 674, Fig. 114). A. Chaniotis thought that εὐπόλεμος was not a patronymic but a description “successful in war” of Δάμος (*SEG* 51. 983). In fact, the sixth letter cannot be *kappa* because in that case it would be in retrograde writing.

7. The Southern Suburb, the necropolis. 2023.
The State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
no. XT-21-P-21/1004-18⁵² (Fig. 12).

Origin and context of the find. It was found at excavation site 21 in the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos as part of the exedra burial complex (burial 4). Remains of cremation were found inside the urn, as well as a glass balsamarium with a conical body and a fragment of gold foil.

Shape and dimensions. A biconical lead urn has a wide body on a flat pallet, a short cylindrical neck, and a roller under the rim. The top is covered with a simple lid. Height 29.5 cm, body diameter 14 cm. The height of the lid is 4.21 cm; the diameter is 11.6 cm.

Preservation. It is preserved in satisfactory condition. Despite the partial losses of the body and signs of corrosion, the overall shape of the vessel, the rim, and the lid are clearly distinguishable. The lid is stuck to the rim, and there is a hole in the body.



Fig. 12. Urn 7: 1 – general view, 2 – drawing, 3 – inscription

⁵² During the writing of this manuscript, the urns from the excavations of the Southern Suburb were being prepared for transfer to the stocks of the State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”; hence the use of the field number here and below for their identification.

Inscription. Διοσκουρίδου, “(The urn) of Dioscurides”. The height of the letters is 1.45–1.99 cm. *Kappa* is higher than the rest of the letters (2.06 cm). The graffito is carefully drawn. *Delta*, *upsilon*, and *rho* have slightly curved hastae; the second *delta* has a right oblique hasta higher than the left one; *omicron* is oval; *rho* is italic; *sigma* is lunar.

The theophoric name Διοσκουρίδας is attested in several Chersonesos inscriptions from the second and third centuries AD. Εὐρύδαμος ὁ Διοσκουρίδου is mentioned in the first line of “those who applied their seals”, while Μητρόδωρος ὁ Διοσκουρίδου was prodikos in the decree in honour of Δία[- -], citizen of Heraclea, in 129/130 AD.⁵³ In the following year, 130/131 AD, the decree in honour of Papias from Heraclea Μητρόδωρος Διοσκουρίδου appears already in the second line of “those who applied their seals” and prodikos is Βοῦσκος Διοσκουρίδου.⁵⁴ This name is being restored for the Chersonesos citizens “who applied their seals” in the decree in honour of πατέρες Ἡρακλεῶται dating from about 138 AD⁵⁵ and in a fragment of the decree of the second century AD.⁵⁶ Finally, Διοσσκουρίδης Διοσσκουρίδου donated 500 denarii for the construction of marble columns in a building dated between the second half of the second and the first half of the third century AD.⁵⁷ Thus, all the known bearers of this name belonged to an influential aristocratic family that actively participated in the social life of the polis in the second and third centuries AD.

In the second century BC, during the war against the Scythians, the cult of the Dioscuri was a state cult, as evidenced by the coin series. Judging by the finds of bronze seal rings, carnelian gems, and a relief depicting the Dioscuri,⁵⁸ they continued to be worshipped in the first centuries AD, but the cult became private.

First publication.

⁵³ *IOSPE P* 359_{24, 34}; *INBS III* 22_{24, 34}.

⁵⁴ *INBS III* 23_{27, 29}.

⁵⁵ *IOSPE P* 363₄; *INBS III* 25. 2₁₄.

⁵⁶ *INBS III* 84₈. Earlier, I. A. Makarov proposed to date this inscription from the end of the first to the first quarter of the second century AD (Makarov 2006 [И. А. Макаров, “Новые надписи из Херсонеса Таврического”], 92–95 no. 4).

⁵⁷ *IOSPE P*. 441_{1, 2}; *INBS III* 141_{1, 2}.

⁵⁸ Bondarenko 2003 [М. Е. Бондаренко, *Пантеон Херсонеса Таврического*], 129.

8. The Southern Suburb, the necropolis. 2023.
The State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
no. XT-21-P-21/1004-20 (Fig. 13).

Origin and context of the find. It was found at excavation site 21 in the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos as part of the exedra burial complex (burial 4). Remains of cremation were found inside the urn.

Shape and dimensions. A biconical urn has a high body, steep shoulders, and a low cylindrical neck; the rim is highlighted by a roller and equipped with a lid with a stepped profile. The bottom of the urn has a concave shape. The height of the urn is 38.0 cm; the diameter of the rim is 10.10 cm, the diameter of the body is 41.6 cm, and the diameter of the bottom is 14.11 cm. The height of the lid is 5.0 cm; its diameter is 10.5 cm. There are four holes on the lid for attaching two pins. The pins have the appearance of brackets and are slightly curved. One of the pins is broken off. On the neck of the urn are also four through holes for attaching the pins. The body has several major losses and traces of corrosion, but the overall shape, neck, rim, and lid are clearly distinguishable.

Inscription. Νάνωνος Αντισθ[έν]ου, “(The urn) of Nanon (son) of Antisthenes”.



Fig. 13. Urn 8: 1 – general view, 2 – drawing, 3 – inscription

Letter height: 1.29–1.81 cm. The letters are of unequal height (*alpha* is 1.55–1.81 cm, *nu* is 1.29–1.38 cm, and *sigma* is 1.39–1.48 cm). The names are drawn on the same level. *Alpha* has a broken horizontal hasta, its right oblique hasta goes beyond the left, *theta* has a dash, the oval *omicron* is in the dimensions of the line, *sigma* is lunar, and *omega* is italic.

The Asia Minor name *Návwv* falls into the category of *Lallnamen*. In Chersonesos, the vast majority of known examples of its use date back to the Hellenistic era from the end of the fourth to the third quarter of the third century BC. The next case of the use of this name is much more recent: *Návwv Καλλιστράτου*, who was one of “those who applied their seals” in the decree in honour of *πατέρες Ἡρακλεῶται*, which dates back to about 138 AD.⁵⁹ In the Northern Black Sea region, this proper name is known only from Chersonesos;⁶⁰ two more examples from the first centuries AD are recorded in Asia Minor: in Cilicia⁶¹ and eastern Phrygia.⁶²

Unlike Bosporos, where names derived from *σθένοσ* are among the frequent ones,⁶³ neither *Ἀντισθένης* nor other similar names seem to have been found in Chersonesos so far. At the same time, names with such a stem were popular in Asia Minor, with which Chersonesos had stable relations since at least the fourth century BC.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *INBS* III 25. 2₂₀. Besides, V. V. Latyshev restored this name in the patronymic of *prodicus* (*Καλλίσ<σ>τρατοσ Ν[άνωνοσ]*) in the decree of “those who applied their seals”, dated back to ca. 120 AD (Latyshev 1918 [В. В. Латышев, “Эпиграфические новости из южной России”, *Известия Императорской Археологической Комиссии*], 10; Solomonik 1973, 17–20, no. 111₁₂).

⁶⁰ Of the other names with the base *vav(v)(a)* in the Northern Black Sea coastal region, *Náva*, *Navāσ*, *Navvāσ*, *Navvίwv* are found (fourth to first centuries BC, *LGPN* IV s. v.).

⁶¹ *LGPN* V C s. v.

⁶² In this case, the *Návwv* stem does not end with the nasal, but with the *vt-*: *Μάνησ Νάvwvτωσ Δουδα* (*MAMA* I 353, 1).

⁶³ With the exception of one inscription from *Pantikapaion* of the first century BC (*CIRB* 270), all the remaining cases relate to the second half of the first to the third century AD: *CIRB* 36, 53, 83, 96 (*Pantikapaion*), 883 (*Myrmekion*), 1278–1280 (*Tanais*). The same can be noted for other names from this stem; in the Northern Black Sea coastal region, the vast majority of examples date back to the first to third centuries AD.

⁶⁴ *LGPN* V A s. v. For names typical of *Paphlagonia* and *Pontus*, which are attested in Chersonesos see Tokhtasyev 1997 [С. Р. Тохтасьев, “К изданию каталога керамических клейм Херсонеса Таврического”], 387–388.

The form of the genitive Ἀντισθένου with the ending -ου confirms the already available data on the formation of genitives of masculine personal names with stems ending in sigma in the dialect of Tauric Chersonesos. For the fourth to second centuries BC, the most common forms are ones with -εος⁶⁵ and -ειος.⁶⁶ Frequently the same name is used with different endings of the genitive for a relatively limited period of time as e. g. the forms Ἀγασικλέος / Ἀγασικλεῖος on ceramic stamps.⁶⁷ The forms with -ου and with -ους appear in the first centuries AD.⁶⁸

First publication.

**9. The Southern Suburb, the necropolis. 2023.
The State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
no. XT-21-P-21/1004-21 (Fig. 14).**

Origin and context of the find. It was found at excavation site 21 in the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos as part of the exedra burial complex of the second century AD (burial 4). Inside the urn were found, along with the cremated bones, a small, crumpled fragment of gold foil and a gold trefoil from a funeral wreath. Such wreaths date back to ca. 50–125 AD.

Shape and dimensions. A biconical lead urn with steep hangers. The rim is highlighted by a roller and equipped with a lid with a stepped profile. The height of the urn is 40.15 cm, the diameter of the body is 39.5 cm, the diameter of the rim is 10.1 cm, and the diameter of the bottom is 15.42 cm. The height of the lid is 7 cm, and the diameter of the lid is 11.03 cm.

⁶⁵ Δαμοκλέος (ceramic stamp, Katz 2007 [В. И. Кац, *Греческие керамические клейма эпохи классики и эллинизма (опыт комплексного изучения, Боспорские исследования)*], 442, gr. 1 В, 318–307 BC), Ήροφάνεος (late fourth to early third century BC, *IOSPE* I² 488₂; *INBS* III 277₂), Ἐπικράτεος (late fourth to the first half of the third century BC, *IOSPE* I² 520₂; *INBS* III 275₂), Μεγακλέος (first half of the third century BC, Solomonik 1973; *INBS* III 278₂).

⁶⁶ Θεοφάνειος (the third century BC, *IOSPE* I² 510₂; *INBS* III 230₂), Δαμοκλεῖος (the third century BC, *IOSPE* I² 343₃; *INBS* III 51₃), Παρθενοκλεῖος (about 175–150 BC, *IOSPE* I² 351₃; *INBS* III 5₃).

⁶⁷ Katz 2007, 442, gr. 1 Γ (296–287 BC), 2 Б (272–266 BC).

⁶⁸ Θεαγένου (the late first to the first half of the second century AD, *IOSPE* I² 493₁, *INBS* III 369₁), Θεογένου[υ] (second century AD, *IOSPE* I² 699₄; *INBS* III 69₄); Διογένου (129/130 AD, *IOSPE* I² 359₃₀; *INBS* III 22₃₀).



Fig. 14. Urn 9: 1 – general view, 2 – drawing, 3 – inscription

There are large penetrating breaches in the lower part of the body. The lid is stuck to the rim.

Inscription. [Αν]τισθένου,⁶⁹ “(the urn) of Antisthenes” or “(the urn of) ... (son/daughter) of Antisthenes”.

The height of the letters is 1.03–1.98 cm. *Iota* is 2.30 cm; *theta* has a horizontal line; like *omicron*, it is rounded and within line dimensions; the lower right corner of *nu* is raised; *sigma* is broken with parallel hastae. The horizontal hastae of *sigma*, *theta*, and *epsilon* are slightly curved, due to the fact that the inscription was scratched on a non-horizontal surface. *Tau* was partially preserved. The wall of the urn before *tau* is heavily corroded, so it is difficult to say whether the graffito consisted of a single name or a name with patronymic.

Considering that the exedra was most likely a family tomb for one of the noble Chersonesos families, it can be stated with a high degree of confidence that the urns with the inscriptions [Αν]τισθένου and Νάνωνος Αντισθ[έν]ου come from the same family group and contained the remains of relatives. The palaeographic features

⁶⁹ Strictly speaking, the restoration is possible, for example, as [Κρα]τισθένου (*IGBulg I*² 41₂, Odessos, third to second centuries BC) or [Παν]τισθένου (*IG V 2. 38*, Arcadia, fourth to third centuries BC).

of these graffiti do not contradict this. Judging by the lapidary inscriptions from the first half of the second century AD, there was a coexistence of *thetas* with a solid and a short horizontal line, as well as four-stroke *sigmas* with parallel hastae and lunar *sigmas*. It should also be noted that the genitive has the same ending as on the tombstone of Cas(s)andra and on the urns with the names of Nanon, son of Antisthenes.

First publication.

**10. The Southern Suburb, the necropolis. 2023.
The State Museum Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
no. XT-21-P-21/1004-22 (Fig. 15).**

Origin and context of the find. It was found at excavation site 21 in the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos as part of the exedra burial complex (burial 4). Inside the urn, the remains of a cremated, presumably female skeleton were found, as well as a fragmented, crumpled gold trefoil and a fragment of oval-shaped molten glass.

Shape and dimensions. The urn is oval- to pear-shaped with a short neck. The rim is highlighted by a roller and equipped with a lid with a stepped profile. The bottom is flat. The stepped cover has been preserved. The height of the urn is 34.0 cm, the diameter of the



Fig. 15. Urn 10: 1 – general view, 2 – drawing, 3 – inscription

rim is 10.5 cm, the diameter of the bottom is 11.0 cm, the diameter of the lid is 10.8 cm, and the height of the lid is 5.5 cm. There are significant losses from the body and bottom.

Inscription. [Nε]υκ(- -). Letter height: *iota* is 5.3 cm; *kappa* is 4.0 cm. The inscription was drawn carelessly, perhaps in a hurry. Before *iota*, two lines intersecting at right angles are visible, which are obviously the lower part of the *epsilon*. Thus, graffiti can be interpreted as an abbreviation of a name with the stem υκ- in which the sound [i] is conveyed through the combination of ει, which finds numerous analogies in the Chersonesos lapidary inscriptions of the first centuries AD.⁷⁰

First publication.

Natalia Pavlichenko

*Institute for the History of Material Culture,
St Petersburg (IHMC RAS)*

nat.pavlichenko@gmail.com

Viktor Vakhoneev

*Institute for the History of Material Culture,
St Petersburg (IHMC RAS);*

*Laboratory “Interdisciplinary Studies of the Coastal Zone”,
Sevastopol State University*

vvvkerch@mail.ru

Abbreviations

IGUR – L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae I–IV* (Rome 1968–1990).

IOSPE – *Inscriptiones Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* (Petropoli).

INBS – *Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea* (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/index-ru.html>).

BE – *Bulletin épigraphique*

SEG – *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*

MAMA 1 – W. M. Calder, *Eastern Phrygia, Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* 1 (Manchester 1928).

⁷⁰ Τειμαῖς (*IOSPE* I² 420₁₂, *INBS* III 157, the first century AD); Λαγορεῖνος (*IOSPE* I² 359₃₄, *INBS* III 22, 129/130 AD); γενομένων, φιλοτειμία (*IOSPE* I² 364_{11,9}, *INBS* III 21, second century AD); Στρατονείκου (*INBS* III 360, late second to early third century AD), etc.

Bibliography

- Ş. Aktaş, “Tombs of the Exedra Type and Evidence from the Pataran Examples”, *Adalya* 11 (2008) 235–262.
- J. G. C. Anderson, F. Cumont, H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l’Arménie*, *Studia Pontica* III: 1 (Brussels 1910).
- G. D. Belov, “Rimskie pristennye sklepy no. 1013 i 1014” [“Roman Wall Crypts no. 1013 and 1014”], *Khersonesskij sbornik* II (Sevastopol 1927) 107–146.
- A. I. Boltunova, “Nadpisi Gorgippii” [“Inscriptions from Gorgippia”], *Numismatica i epigraphika* 9 (1971) 9–15.
- M. E. Bondarenko, *Panteon Khersonesa Tavricheskogo* [The Pantheon of Tauric Chersonesos] (Moscow 2003).
- V. L. Campbell, *The Tombs of Pompeii. Organization, Space and Society* (New York 2015).
- S. Cormack, “The Tombs at Pompeii”, in: J. Dobbins, P. Foss (eds.), *The World of Pompeii* (London 2007) 585–606.
- O. D. Dashevskaya, “Dva graffiti na amforah Yuzhno-Donuzlavskogo gorodishcha” [“Two Graffiti on the Amphorae of the Yuzhno-Donuzlavsky Settlement”], *Kratkie soobscheniya instituta arkhelologii (KSI)* 124 (1970) 51–53.
- H. von Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten* (Darmstadt 1992).
- S. L. James, S. Dillon, *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World* (Chichester, West Sussex 2012).
- V. I. Katz, *Grecheskiye keramicheskiye kleyma epokhi klassiki i ellinizma (opyt kompleksnogo izucheniya)* [Greek Ceramic Stamps of the Classical and Hellenistic Eras (an Attempt at Complex Analysis)], *Bosporskije issledovanija* 18 (Simferopol–Kerch 2007).
- K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich, “Iz vlechenye iz otcheta o raskopkakh v Khersonese Tavricheskom v 1899 godu” [“Extracts from the Report on Excavations in Tauric Chersonesos in 1899”], *Izvestiya Imperatorskoy Arkheologicheskoy Komissii* 1 (St Petersburg 1901) 1–55.
- V. V. Kropotov, V. V. Vakhoneev, “Kremacionnaya ploshchadka 7 (raskop 4.1) yuzhnogo prigoroda Khersonesa Tavricheskogo” [“Cremation Site 7 (Excavation 4.1) of the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos”], *Nizhnevolzhskij arheologicheskij vestnik* 24 (2025) 173–188.
- V. V. Latyshev, “Dopolneniya i popravki k izdannym nadpisyam iz yuzhnoj Rossii” [“Additions and Amendments to the Published Inscriptions from Southern Russia”], *Izvestiya Imperatorskoy Arkheologicheskoy Komissii* 23 (1907) 49–65.
- V. V. Latyshev, “Epigraficheskie novosti iz Yuzhnoj Rossii” [“Epigraphic News from Southern Russia”], *Izvestiya Imperatorskoy Arkheologicheskoy Komissii* 58 (1915) 28–39.
- V. V. Latyshev, “Epigraficheskie novosti iz Yuzhnoj Rossii” [“Epigraphic News from Southern Russia”], *Izvestiya Imperatorskoy Arkheologicheskoy Komissii* 65 (1918) 9–21.

- R. G. Loeper, “Dnevnik raskopok Khersonesskogo nekropolya. Raskopki 1910 g.” [“Diary of the Excavations of the Chersonesos Necropolis. Excavations of 1910”], *Khersonesskij sbornik* II (Sevastopol 1927) 209–256.
- I. A. Makarov, “Novye nadpisi iz Khersonesa Tavricheskogo” [“New Inscriptions from Tauric Chersonesos”], *VDI* 2006: 4, 83–97.
- D. Noy, “Building a Roman Funeral Pyre”, *Antichthon* 34 (2000 a) 30–45.
- D. Noy, “Half-burnt on an Emergency Pyre: Roman Cremations which Went Wrong”, *G&R* 47: 2 (2000 b) 186–196.
- OAK* = *Otchyot Imperatorskoy Arkheologicheskoy Komissii za 1891 god* [Reports of the Imperial Archaeological Commission for 1891] (St Petersburg 1893) 137–150.
- OAK* = *Otchyot Imperatorskoy Arkheologicheskoy Komissii za 1913–1915 gody* [Reports of the Imperial Archaeological Commission for 1913–1915] (St Petersburg 1918) 51–84.
- N. A. Pavlichenko, “Rossijskaya epigrafika posle V. V. Latysheva (1921–1941 gg.)” [“Russian Epigraphy after V. V. Latyshev (1921–1941)”], *Arkheologicheskie vesti* 35 (2022) 260–271.
- N. A. Pavlichenko, “Lapidarnye nadpisi” [“Lapidary Inscriptions”], *Bulletin of the Institute for the History of Material Culture. Russian Academy of Sciences: Rescue Archeology* 15 (St Petersburg 2024) 290–295.
- L. Robert, *Noms indigenes dans l’Asie Mineure greco-romaine* (Paris 1963).
- S. Y. Saprykin, “Khersonesskaya prokseniya sinopejcu” [“The Chersonese Proxenia to the Sinopian”], *VDI* 1998: 4, 41–65.
- M. A. Shangin, “Nekotorye nadpisi Khersonesskogo muzeya” [“Some Inscriptions of the Chersonesos Museum”], *VDI* 1938: 3, 72–87.
- M. Slavova, *Phonology of the Greek Inscriptions in Bulgaria* (Stuttgart 2004).
- E. I. Solomonik, *Novyye epigraphicheskije pam’atniki Khersonesa* [New Epigraphic Monuments of Chersonesos] (Kiev 1973).
- E. I. Solomonik, *Graffiti antichnogo Khersonesa* [Graffiti of Ancient Chersonesos] (Kiev 1978).
- E. I. Solomonik, *Graffiti s khory Khersonesa* [Graffiti from the Chora of Chersonesos] (Kiev 1984).
- E. I. Solomonik, “Svincovye urny s nadpisyami iz Khersonesa” [“Lead Urns with Inscriptions from Chersonesos”], in: *Materialy po etnicheskoy istorii Kryma* [Materials on the Ethnic History of the Crimea] (Kiev 1987) 67–78.
- N. Solovyova, S. Solovyev, V. Vakhoneev, A. Pokrovskaya, Y. Nizov, “The Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos”, *Hyperboreus* 30: 1 (2024) 20–44.
- S. Timm, A. Abu Shmeis, A. Nabulsi, “Hijra Leaden Urn Inscriptions”, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 56 (2012) 25–28.
- S. R. Tokhtasyev, “K izdanju kataloga keramicheskikh klejm Khersonesa Tavricheskogo” [“Towards the Publication of the Catalogue of Ceramic Stamps of Tauric Chersonesos”], *Hyperboreus* 3: 2 (1997) 362–404.

- A. Trofimova, N. Pavlichenko, “The Gravestone of Metrodoros from the Excavations of the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos Taurica”, *Hyperboreus* 28: 1 (2022) 123–143.
- Ju. Vinogradov, “Die Olbiopoliten in der Nordwest Tauris”, in: H. Heinen (ed.), *Pontische Studien. Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte und Epigraphik des Schwarzmeerraumes* (Mainz 1997) 484–492.
- D. Weber, “Die ersten Germanen am Nordufer des Schwarzen Meeres”, *Historische Sprachwissenschaft (Historical Linguistics)* 101: 1 (1988) 138–150.
- V. P. Yailenko, “Тени ол’виополитов і херсонесских олигархов в Западній Тавриці (графіти с Панського 1)” [“Shadows of Olviopolites and Chersonese Oligarchs in Western Taurica (Graffiti from Panskoe 1)”, in: *Istoriya i epigrafika Ol’vii, Khersonesa i Bospora VII v. do n. e. – VII v. n. e.* (St Petersburg 2017) 671–685.
- L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Prague 1955).
- L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964).
- D. V. Zhuravlev (ed.), *Na krayu antichnoy oikumeny: Greki i varvary na severnom beregu Ponta Evksinskogo* [On the Edge of Oikumene: Greeks and Barbarians on the Northern Coast of the Pontus Euxinus] (Moscow 2002).
- D. V. Zhuravlev, D. A. Kostromichev, *Kompleksy s yuvelirnymi izdeliyami iz Khersonesskogo nekropolya. Chast’ I. Materialy raskopok R. H. Lepera v 1909–1910 gg.* [Complexes with Jewellery from the Chersonesos Necropolis. Part I. Materials of the Excavations of R. G. Loeper in 1909–1910] (Moscow 2017).

In 2023, the exploration of the necropolis on the premises of the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos revealed a monumental construction of an exedra combining memorial building and family tomb functions. Finds from the two slabbed graves and two stone sarcophagi at the base of the exedra confirm that, in Chersonesos, burials carried out in the first to the second centuries AD in accordance with the rites of both inhumation and cremation could coexist within a single burial complex. In one of the sarcophagi, four lead urns with graffiti [Αν]τισθένου, Διοσκουρίδου, Νάνωνος Αντισθένου и [N]εικ(-) were found. It was the first time that several “signed” lead urns were discovered in situ in the same family tomb. In Chersonesos, such finds are rare. Up to now, only six such urns are known (excavations of K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich and R. G. Loeper).

One of the names – Ἀντισθένης – has not hitherto been attested in Chersonesos. In contrast, the names Διοσκουρίδης and Νάνων are well known from the Chersonese decrees dated to the first half of the second century AD. They belonged to the representatives of noble Chersonesos families ruling

the city. Generally, the analysis of palaeography, onomastics, and accompanying inventory allows us to date the urns with the graffiti from burial 4 to between the end of the first century and the middle of the second centuries AD.

The article provides a catalogue of all ten currently known lead urns with inscriptions from the Chersonesos necropolis.

В 2023 г. во время исследования некрополя на территории Южного пригорода Херсонеса Таврического была обнаружена монументальная конструкция – экседра, совмещавшая функции мемориального сооружения и семейной усыпальницы. Материалы из находящихся в ее основании двух плитовых захоронений и двух каменных саркофагов подтверждают, что в I–II вв. н. э. в Херсонесе в рамках одного и того же погребального комплекса могли сосуществовать погребения, выполненные в форме кремации и в форме ингумации. В одном из саркофагов находились четыре свинцовые урны с граффити [Ἀν]τισθένου, Διοσκουρίδου, Νάνωνος Ἀντισθένου и [Ν]εκ(-), и, таким образом, впервые было найдено несколько “подписанных” свинцовых урн *in situ* в одном семейном погребении. Для Херсонеса подобные находки являются редкостью, до сих пор было известно только шесть таких урн с граффити из раскопок К. К. Косцюшко-Валюжинича и Р. Х. Лепера.

Одно из имен – Ἀντισθένης – ранее не было засвидетельствовано в Херсонесе. Имена Διοσκουρίδης и Νάνων, напротив, хорошо известны по датированным херсонесским декретам первой половины II в. н. э. и принадлежали представителям знатных херсонесских семейств, которые стояли во главе управления городом. В целом анализ палеографии, ономастики и сопутствующего инвентаря позволяет датировать урны с граффити из погребения 4 концом I – серединой II вв. н. э.

В статье приведен каталог всех известных в настоящее время десяти свинцовых урн с надписями из некрополя Херсонеса.

Natalia Pavlichenko

MARBLE PLAQUES IN TOMBSTONES
FROM THE SOUTHERN SUBURB OF
TAURIC CHERSONESOS*

In 1921, S. A. Zhebelev wrote the following in his obituary for the academician V. V. Latyshev: “V. V. returned from Athens as a mature and exceptionally competent epigrapher, both in theory and in practice. At that time, no one was better able to copy inscriptions directly from the originals, make squeezes, transcribe texts, restore lacunae, and interpret inscriptions in accordance with all the principles of epigraphic criticism and exegesis”.¹

The trip to Athens in question took the form of a two-year internship in the city, during which V. V. Latyshev and V. K. Jernstedt held scholarships from the Ministry of National Education (1880–1882).² During this period, their teachers – and later colleagues – included leading epigraphists such as P.-F. Foucart, Director of the École française d’Athènes from 1879 to 1890, and

* This study was completed with the financial support of The Russian Science Foundation (project no. 24-18-00202, <https://rscf.ru/project/24-18-00202/> “Epigraphic monuments of Greece and Asia Minor in the collection of squeezes of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS (attribution, comprehensive study and creation of an electronic database)” in IHMC RAS.

The author would like to thank S. L. Solovyov for permission to publish information about these monuments, as well as V. V. Vakhoneev, A. S. Cin’ko, P. V. Gorbunov and S. V. Ushakov for their kind advice on the archaeological context of the finds.

¹ С. А. Жебелев 1926 [С. А. Жебелев, “Василий Васильевич Латышев (29 июня 1855 – 2 мая 1921)”, *Византийский временник*], 107.

² On a project establishing the Russian Archaeological Institute in Athens and the internships of Russian scholarship holders, see Pavlichenko–Grigorieva–Goroncharovskij 2024 [Н. А. Павличенко, О. В. Григорьева, В. А. Горончаровский, “‘...Нам нужно больше, гораздо больше надписей, и все-таки сыты не будем’: материалы о проекте создания Русского Археологического института в Афинах (из архивных собраний Санкт-Петербурга)”, *Археологические вести*], 150–159.

U. Köhler, Director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Abteilung Athen) from 1875 to 1886. As A. V. Nikitsky later observed, Latyshev “quickly came to be regarded as the equal” of the archaeologists and epigraphists working in Athens at the time.³ This is evidenced by his election as a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute a year after his arrival in Athens, as well as by the numerous articles he published on inscriptions discovered during his travels in Greece.⁴

The early 1880s were a period of particularly intensive activity in the compilation of new epigraphic corpora. At this time, U. Köhler was engaged in the preparation of the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*. Latyshev had the opportunity to observe this work at first hand, thereby gaining practical experience with a new generation of epigraphic corpora, organised according to principles that differed from those adopted in A. Böckh’s *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Later, in his work on the *Inscriptiones Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini (IOSPE)*, he applied the same methodological approach to the lapidary monuments of the Black Sea coastal region that he had acquired during his internship in Athens.

At the time of Latyshev’s stay in Greece, archaeologists and epigraphists began to identify an increasing number of Megarian funerary monuments of a distinctive form unique to this polis: small marble or more rarely limestone plaques (5–16 cm in height, 5–26 cm

³ St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. F. 84, Inv. 1, File 36, Fol. 13.

⁴ See Latyshev’s letter to his teacher I. V. Pomyalovsky of 31 July 1882 (The National Library of Russia, Manuscripts Department, F. 608. Inv. 1. File 928. Fols 4–5): “Дело в том, что почтенный г. Фукар – страстный любитель эпиграфических новинок, и превратил свой Bulletin de correspondance hellénique почти в специально эпиграфический сборник. Как только узнает он, бывало, что у меня есть что-нибудь новенькое, сейчас пристает с просьбами – дай, да дай ему для Bulletin’a...” (“The fact is that the venerable M. Foucart is an ardent enthusiast of epigraphic novelties and has turned the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* into something close to a specialised epigraphic collection. As soon as he learns that I have something new, he persistently urges me to submit it to his *Bulletin*...”). As a result of his trip to Greece, Latyshev published approximately twenty articles in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, BCH*, and *MDAI(A)* (see Vinberg 1958, [Н. А. Винберг, “Список трудов В. В. Латышева”, *Советская археология*], 36–38).

in width, 2–8 cm in thickness) bearing the names of the deceased in the nominative or genitive case and dating to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Since these plaques have never been found *in situ* in Greece, set into a recess in the front face of a stela, scholars long failed to reach a consensus as to their precise function. From the earliest publications onward, most researchers assumed that such plaques were inserted into funerary stelae or formed part of a larger funerary monument.⁵ M. Guarducci, however, argued that F. Lenormant was correct in maintaining that the three plaques he discovered and published had been found “à l’intérieur des sépultures”.⁶

With regard to the Megarian plaques, this issue was resolved relatively recently. While preparing for publication a catalogue of Megarian plaques known to him, A. Robu identified two previously unpublished funerary stelae in the collections of the Archaeological Museum of Megara, dating from the fourth to the second century BC. The dimensions of the cut recesses in these two stelae corresponded closely to those of the known Megarian plaques. One, a limestone-shell slab, featured a rectangular recess (12.0 × 27.0 × 5.5 cm) cut into the front face, as well as a groove on its top surface for the attachment of a crowning element of the monument, possibly a pediment. The other, made of white marble, takes the form of a column and is broken at the top. The front is decorated with low relief ribbons, beneath which is a shallow rectangular recess (9.0 × 6.5 × 0.3–0.4 cm) that, according to A. Robu, was not intended to receive a plaque but served a purely decorative function.⁷ On the basis of comparable material – including a marble plaque of the same type from Callatis (dimensions 8.5 × 16.5 × 11.5 cm, with only the thickness exceeding that of the Megarian plaques),⁸ stelae from Tauric Chersonesos with comparable recesses, and stelae from this polis in which such plaques were

⁵ See lemmas *IG* VII 129, 131; Fraenkel 1896, 443–444; Graindor 1917, 32; Robert 1989, 103; Peek 1934, 54. For a review of the literature on this issue, see Robu 2016, 342–344.

⁶ Lenormant 1864, 123; Guarducci 1970, 389–393. However, there are serious doubts about the authenticity of these three inscriptions (see Robu 2016, 342–343).

⁷ Robu 2016, 363, cat. 64, 65; 375 Fig. 46, 45. In view of the traces of pigment observed on the stela, it may be assumed that the recess originally contained an inscription or an image executed in paint.

⁸ *ISM* III 152.

preserved *in situ* within their cut recesses⁹ – A. Robu concludes that the Megarian plaques were certainly set into funerary stelae and not placed within burials.

As for the Chersonesos inserts, V. V. Latyshev initially believed that, owing to their small size, such plaques could not have functioned as independent tombstones.¹⁰ He argued that marble plaques bearing the name of the deceased were attached inside the tomb, directly to the urn or to the sarcophagus, in order to indicate whose ashes they contained.¹¹ Subsequently, when stelae with cut recesses for inserts were discovered, as well as stelae preserving such plaques *in situ* (Fig. 1, 2), he abandoned this point of view. In *IOSPE I*² (1916), he already noted that small marble plaques were set into the recesses of limestone funerary stelae.¹² Later, this interpretation became predominant in Russian historiography.¹³

The Chersonesos tombstones plaques date from the third century BC to the late second century AD and account for slightly more than one quarter of the tombstones in this polis known at present. The majority of them (at least 75%) belong to the third and the second centuries BC. All plaques are made of marble and are rectangular, occasionally square, in shape. In some cases, the epigraphic field is framed by a low relief border. Their dimensions range as follows:

⁹ With reference to R. Posamentir's monograph on polychrome Chersonesos stelae, A. Robu cites several tombstones from Chersonesos featuring rectangular cut recesses intended to receive inserts (Robu 2014, 407 n. 2; Posamentir 2011, 31, no. 20; 87, no. C 6; 89, no. C 8, etc.). Unfortunately, the relevant Russian-language publications on such inserts and stelae appear to have remained unknown to him.

¹⁰ Latyshev 1892 [В. В. Латышев, "Древности Южной России: Греческие и латинские надписи, найденные в Южной России в 1889–1891 годах. Херсонесские надписи", *Материалы по археологии России*], 26 no. 9.

¹¹ Latyshev 1895 [В. В. Латышев, "Древности Южной России: Греческие и латинские надписи, найденные в Южной России в 1892–1894 годах. Надписи из Херсонеса Таврического", *Материалы по археологии России*], 15 no. 13, with reference to the opinion of К. К. Kostyushko-Valyuzhinich, as expressed in the *Report on Excavations in Tauric Chersonesos for 1892* (The Scientific Archive. Manuscript Department. ИИМК RAS. F. 1, Inv. 1 (1892), File 214, Fol. 107).

¹² See lemmas of the inscriptions in *IOSPE I*² 466; 475; 492.

¹³ Solomonik 1964 [Э. И. Соломоник, *Новые эпиграфические памятники Херсонеса*], 180–181.



Fig. 1. Stele of Herophantos, son of Theophantos, with an inserted marble tablet. The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese” (no. 4609). Photo: Robu 2014, 496, Pl. VII

Fig. 2. Stele with a rectangular recess for the insertion of separately worked marble plaque from the excavations of the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos. The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese” (no. XT-21-P8-158_3)



0 10
XT-21-P8-158/3

height 5.0–10.0 cm, width 9.0–17.0 cm, and thickness 1.5–5.0 cm. At least two plaques are known that, judging by their profiles, were fashioned from the wall of a wide, open vessel (louterion?).¹⁴ Two plaques bear inscriptions on both sides.¹⁵

The structural elements of the inscriptions on the plaques correspond closely to those of the epitaphs on ordinary funerary stelae. The personal names on the plaques are consistently given in the nominative case. On men's tombstones, the inscription consists of a personal name followed by a patronymic. On women's tombstones, the formula is ἡ δεῖνα (θυγάτηρ) τοῦ δεῖνος, τοῦ δεῖνος γυνά. Among the Megarion plaques, there are numerous cases in which the personal name on the plaque is given without a patronymic.¹⁶ In Chersonesos, only a single example of this type is known: Ἀθαναγόρας | Καλλιάδα | θρεπτός.¹⁷ This tombstone commemorates a slave bred in the house of Kalliadadas and represents the only instance in which an additional characteristic is appended to the personal name. Judging by the presence of patronymics on all the plaques except that of Athanagoras, it may be concluded that all the other individuals commemorated were citizens of Chersonesos. The types of stelae the plaques were set onto also correspond to standard funerary monuments. These include stelae adorned with a cornice or a cornice and antefixes, stelae with relief pediment and acroteria, and military tombstones bearing representation of a shield and sword, among others.¹⁸

¹⁴ *INBS* III 305; cat. no. 6.

¹⁵ For example, one side of a plaque dated back to the third century BC preserves the remains of a typical epitaph for a female, on the other only two letters survive, making it unclear whether this represents a secondary reuse of the plaque or whether it was originally cut from a stela bearing a more extensive inscription: side A: [- -][[- -]IA, side B: Ἀπολλ[- -] | Ἡρογε[ίτου?] γυ[νά] (Solomonik 1964, 86–87 no. 37; *INBS* III 291). See also the Chersonesos insert carved on the back side of a fragment of the decree from the second century BC (*IOSPE* I² 713; *INBS* III 308) and the insert from Megara from the second century BC with epitaphs on both sides (Robu 2016, 340, 358–359 cat. 44, 45). It is also entirely possible that the stelae themselves were reused on more than one occasion.

¹⁶ Robu 2016, 349–350 no. 5, 7–9 etc.

¹⁷ *IOSPE* I² 709; *INBS* III 297, second century BC.

¹⁸ *INBS* III 259, 303, 309; Bibikov 1976 [С. И. Бибиков, *Античная скульптура Херсонеса*], 73 no. 185, 187, 75 no. 194.

Tombstones manufactured using different types of stone are well attested both in Greece¹⁹ and in the Black Sea coastal region. These may take the form of individual stelae or more complex funerary structures, such as sarcophagi. A pertinent example is provided by the small, thin marble slabs bearing metrical epitaphs from Olbia and Chersonesos which, judging by the treatment of their reverse sides, were intended to be set into niches cut into massive limestone slabs or into the walls of sarcophagi.²⁰ A further example is a slab from Chersonesos made of Inkerman limestone dating from the end of the first to the first half of the second century AD, which features two cut recesses. In one of these, a thin (2.0 cm thick) marble plaque bearing a male bust and an epitaph commemorating Scythas, son of Theagenes, was found nearby, broken into several fragments.²¹

However, the mass adoption of this particular type of funerary monuments – stelae with marble plaques – is confined to a relatively narrow geographical area: Megara and Megaris (notably Aigosthena and Pagai), as well as Megarian colonies, namely Callatis and Tauric Chersonesos, whose metropolis Heraclea Pontica was itself a Megarian colony.²²

¹⁹ See, for example, the epitaph on a marble plaque of the same dimensions as the Megarian inserts that was found in Cyprus: Robert 1936, 105 no. 58.

²⁰ The epitaph of Epicrates from Olbia, dating to the first half of the fourth century BC, measures 10.5 cm in height, 17.5 cm in width, and 3.5 cm in thickness (Kozub–Beletsky 1975 [Ю. И. Козуб, А. А. Белецкий, “Стихотворная эпитафия Эпикрата из Ольвии”, *Вестник древней истории*], 172–175). The epitaph of Theophila from Chersonesos, dated to the second century BC, measures 12.7 cm in height, with a preserved width of 16.1 cm and a thickness of 3.0 cm (Almazova–Keyer–Pavlichenko–Verlinsky 2024, 154–158).

²¹ *IOSPE I*² 493 (*INBS III* 369). This arrangement finds a close parallel in a limestone pillar originating from the southern slope of the Athenian Acropolis bearing the ex-voto of Praxias, dedicated to Asklepios and dating to the mid-fourth century BC, into whose front surface the upper part of a marble human face was inserted within a niche: *IG II*² 4372; <https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/pillar-votives-dedicated-asklepios-praxias-dedication>.

²² Robu 2016, 345. This idea had in fact been expressed earlier by E. I. Solomonik (Solomonik 1964, 180 n. 1). A special type of tombstone characteristic only of Megara was also noted in his day by L. Robert (Robert 1968, 103). See also Plin. *NH* 4. 85.

In Chersonesos, the appearance of tombstones of this type was probably due not only to cultural borrowings, but also to similar local conditions, such as the availability of cheap local limestone, from which most of the lapidary inscriptions of the polis were made.²³ Imported marble, on the contrary, was expensive, with the result that in the Hellenistic era the limestone tombstones with marble plaques could also be erected by the upper strata of the Chersonesos community. Later, from the first century BC, tombstones bearing only a concise indication of the name and patronymic of the deceased were gradually replaced by more elaborate epitaphs, which also recorded the individual's age and achievements and were often accompanied by a low relief portrait.

Catalogue of plaques from the 2021–2023 excavations of the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos

1. The Southern Suburb, necropolis. 2021.

The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”, no. XT-21-P.3/92-1²⁴ (Fig. 3).

Context of the find. Together with the plaque of Cat. no. 2 (no. XT-21-P.3/92-2), it was found in Excavation Area 3 in the upper part of a well-filling in the square 128/157. In general, this well dates back to the Hellenistic period: the earliest finds are from the fourth century BC, and its filling obviously occurred in the 1st century BC.

²³ Pausanias reports that in Megara there was a λίθος κογχίτης (Paus. 1. 54. 6): μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁ κογχίτης οὗτός ἐστι, καὶ σφισι καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει πεποιήται πολλὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ ἄγαν λευκὸς καὶ ἄλλου λίθου μαλακώτερος· κόγχαι δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι διὰ παντὸς ἔνεισιν οἱ.

²⁴ During the preparation of this manuscript, the plaques from the excavations of the Southern Suburb were being prepared for transfer to the stocks of the State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”. In this connection the field number is used here and further for their identification. For the study of the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos and the excavation layout, see Solovyova–Vinogradov–Myts–Solovyov–Vakhoneev 2024 [Н. Ф. Соловьёва, Ю. А. Виноградов, М. Л. Мыц, С. Л. Соловьёв, В. В. Вахонеев, “Краткие итоги археологических раскопок Южного пригорода Херсонеса”, *Бюллетень Института истории материальной культуры РАН (Охранная археология)*], 20.



Fig. 3. The marble plaque with an inscription: Στράτιππος | Ὑμνου.
The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”
(no. XT-21-P.3/92-1)

The latest material consists of fragments of red-glazed ceramics from the turn of the first century BC to the first century AD. The filling material in both the upper and lower parts of the well is almost homogeneous.

Description. Tombstone plaque. Marble. $12.7 \times 6.6 \times 3.5$ cm, letter height is 1.0 cm (with *omicron* of 0.7 cm). The lower left corner is missing and there are minor chipped areas all over the surface.

The plaque is rectangular, framed around the perimeter by a low relief frame. The front side is polished. Judging by the remains of an image carved in low relief (ivy leaves) preserved on the reverse side, the plaque was made of a slab decorated with floral ornaments and was a part of a sculptural composition.

Inscription: Στράτιππος | Ὑμνου, “Stratippus, (son) of Hymnus”.

The letters are drawn carelessly. There is a slight thickening at the ends of the hastae; *alpha* has a broken hasta; the lower right corner of

nu is higher than the left; *omicron* is almost within the dimensions of the line; *pi* has a horizontal hasta protruding above the vertical ones, and its right hasta is shorter than the left one; the horizontal hastae of one of the *sigmae* are almost parallel.

The personal name Στράτιππος has not yet been recorded in the Northern Black Sea coastal region. It is a relatively rare personal name (attested in only forty-one examples in *LGPN*). It occurs in inscriptions from the Aegean Islands, on Kos, Rhodes and Lesbos, dating to between the third and the first century BC (*LGPN* I s. v.). Nevertheless, several Hellenistic-period examples are also known from Attica, Thessaly, Asia Minor, and Macedonia.²⁵

By contrast, the name Ὑμνος is well attested in Chersonesos in the third and second century BC, occurring not only in lapidary inscriptions, but also on ceramic stamps²⁶ and coins.²⁷ The inscription recording the sale of land plots in 270–260 BC mentions Hymnus, son of Scythas.²⁸ It may therefore be assumed that the astynomos Ὑμνος ὁ Σκύθα, who performed his magistrature in 227–210 BC, was his descendant, and that he is the same individual who became a Delphian proxenos in 195/194 BC.²⁹ It is possible that the astynomos Σώπολις ὁ Ὑμνου, whom V. I. Katz dates to 197–180 BC, and the [Σ]ώπο[λις] Ὑμν[ου] known from a marble plaque dating from the late third to the first half of the second century BC represent the same individual or close relatives.³⁰

Dating: late third and first half of the second century BC.

First publication.

²⁵ *LGPN* II, III B, IV, V A, V B s. v.

²⁶ Katz 2007 [В. И. Кац, *Греческие керамические клейма эпохи классики и эллинизма (опыт комплексного изучения)*], 443, the astynomos Ὑμνος ὁ Σκύθα (chronological group III A, 227–210 BC) and Σώπολις ὁ Ὑμνου (chronological group III B, 197–180 BC).

²⁷ Anokhin 1977 [В. А. Анохин, *Монетное дело Херсонеса (IV в. до н. э. – XII в. н. э.)*], 142 no. 123, 142 no. 123, 143 no. 133, 138, nomophylax Ὑμνος 230–220, 210–200 BC.

²⁸ Solomonik–Nikolaenko 1990, [Э. И. Соломоник, Г. Н. Николаенко, “О земельных участках Херсонеса в начале III в. до н. э. (к *IOSPE I² 423*)”], 82; *SEG* 40. 615 A₁₁.

²⁹ Ὑμνος ὁ Σκύθα Χερσονασίτας, *Syll.*³ 585₁₉.

³⁰ *IOSPE I² 494* (*INBS* III 310). Latyshev dated this insert from the end of the fourth to the beginning of the third century BC; however, the *pi* form rather argues in favour of a later date.

**2. The Southern Suburb, necropolis. 2021.
The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
no. XT-21-P.3/92-2 (Fig. 4).**

Context of the find. See cat. no. 1.

Description. Tombstone plaque. Marble. $6.0 \times 4.9 \times 2.0$ cm, letter height is 0.8–1.2 cm. The left part and the upper right corner are missing.

The plaque is rectangular. The front side is polished. The reverse side is trowelled and partially chipped.

Inscription: [- -]τας | [- -]λειος.

The letters are cut evenly. The ends of the hastae are slightly thickened; *alpha* has a straight hasta; *omicron* is slightly smaller than the dimensions of the line; *sigma* has slightly splayed bars.

The name of the deceased can be restored as Ἀτώτας.³¹ Other possible restorations include names derived from the same stem Ἄττας, which, although not attested in Chersonesos, was repeatedly recorded in Olbia



Fig. 4. The fragmented marble plaque with an inscription:
[- -]τας | [- -]λειος. The State Museum-Preserve
“Tauric Chersonese” (no. XT-21-P.3/92-2)

³¹ Ἀδεῖα Δαματρίου, Ἀτώτα γυνή (late fourth to the third century BC, *IOSPE*² 712; *INBS* III 235). The name was of Paphlagonian origin (Zgusta 1955, 298 no. 596, 326 no. 746; Robert 1963, 455, 528–530; *CIRB* 189; Tokhtasyev 1997 [С. Р. Тохтасьев, “К изданию каталога керамических клейм Херсонеса Таврического”], 4, 387), and it is attested in its Ionic form in the Bosphoros (*CIRB* 170, 189, second half of the fourth century BC; 401, first century AD).

and the Bosphoros, as well as in Macedonia and Asia Minor.³² Names such as Ἀλκέτας and Ἀμφίτας are also known through ceramic stamps from Heraclea Pontica, the metropolis of Chersonesos.³³ The patronymic may be restored as the genitive of one of the names based on the stem -σ-, for example, Δαμοκλήης, Παρθενοκλήης, Δαμοτέλης, or Θεοτέλης.³⁴

Dating: third century BC.

First publication.

3. The Southern Suburb, necropolis. 2021.

The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”, no. XT-21- P.3/229-1 (Fig. 5).

Context of the find. It was found in Excavation Area 3 in the square 130/157 at the level of 3.20 m in accordance with the Baltic system, in a mixed layer dating from the Hellenistic period to the first centuries AD, along with fragments of amphorae from Heraclea, Knidos, Mende, Sinope, and Chersonesos and a small number of fragments of black-, brown-, and red-glazed ceramics.

Description. Tombstone plaque. Marble. 10.2 (preserved) × 8.1 × 4.0 cm, letters height is 0.8–1.3 cm. The right side is lost; the back surface is almost completely chipped.

The plaque is rectangular. The front side is polished.

Inscription: Παρθε[- -] | Πυθίων[ος] | χαῖρ[ε], “Parthe[- -], (son or daughter) of Pythion, farewell”.

There are some thickenings at the ends of the hastae. *alpha* has a straight crossbar; *theta* has a dot; *pi* has a horizontal hasta protruding above the vertical ones, its right hasta shorter than the left one and slightly curved.

³² LGPN IV, V A, V C s. v.

³³ IOSPE III 40–65, 516; Fedoseev 2016 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, *Керамические клейма. Гераклея Понтийская*], 123 no. 1015–1024, 129 no. 1087–1090.

³⁴ Names ending in -κλήης include: Δαμοκλεῖος IOSPE I² 343 (INBS III 51, SEG 47. 1168, first half of the third century BC), 713 (INBS III 308, second half of the second century BC) and Παρθενοκλεῖος IOSPE I² 351 (INBS III 5, second quarter of the second century BC); names ending in -τέλης include: Θεοτέλειος IOSPE I² 512 (INBS III 245, late fourth or first half of the third century BC); and Δαμοτέλειος Katz 1994 [В. И. Катц, “Керамические клейма Херсонеса Таврического”], 92 no. 35 (Катц 2007, 442, the chronological group IIГ, 296–287 BC).



Fig. 5. The fragmented marble plaque with an inscription: Παρθε[-] | Πυθίων[ος] | χαῖρ[ε]. The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese” (no. XT-21- P.3/229-1)

The first name is obviously derived from that of the principal deity of Chersonesos, the goddess Parthenos.³⁵ Since the right-hand portion of the plaque is lost, it is impossible to determine which of the names that are derived from the stem of *παρθενο-* was carved on the plaque.³⁶ The name Πυθίων has so far been attested in Chersonesos only on coins and ceramic stamps dating to the second century BC.³⁷

The overwhelming majority of Chersonesos epitaphs with the formula *χαῖρε* date back to the first centuries AD; this plaque therefore represents one of the earliest known examples of its use.³⁸

Dating: second century BC.

First publication.

³⁵ Bondarenko 2003 [М. Е. Бондаренко, *Пантеон Херсонеса Таврического*], 25; Braund 2018, 34–37.

³⁶ See below the analogies for these names, cat. no. 7.

³⁷ Nomophylax 140–130 BC (Anokhin 1977, 146 no. 173); *astynomos* Φορμίωv Πυθίωvος, beginning of the 190s BC (Katz 2007, 443).

³⁸ Several other epitaphs are also assigned to the Hellenistic period: Makarov–Samojlenko 2013 [И. А. Макаров, В. Г. Самойленко, “Эпиграфические находки из куртины 19 оборонительных сооружений Херсонеса Таврического”], 68 no. 3 (late third to first half of the second century BC); Solomonik 1964, 90 no. 42, *INBS* III 317 (second century BC); *IOSPE* I² 523, *INBS* III 329 (first century BC).

**4. The Southern Suburb, necropolis. 2021.
The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
no. XT-21-P-5/94-11 (Fig. 6).**

Context of the find. It was found in Excavation Area 5 in the square 165/102, at the level of –1.4 m in accordance with the Baltic System in a ceramic lens (dark grey clay loam), extremely saturated with fragments of ceramics from the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods.



0 5
XT-21-P5-94/11

Fig. 6. The fragmented marble plaque with an inscription: Διονύ[σιος ?] | Διονυ[σίου ?]. The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese” (no. XT-21-P-5/94-11)

Description. Tombstone plaque. Marble. $6.8 \times 8.6 \times 3.0$ cm, letter height is 1.2–2.0 cm. The left part is chipped, the right part is lost.

The plaque is rectangular. The front side is polished; the back side is trowelled and partially chipped.

Inscription: Διονύ[σιος ?] | Διονυ[σίου ?], “Diony[sios ?], (son) of Diony[sios ?]”.

The inscription was drawn using rulers. The ends of the hastae are slightly thickened. The lower right corner of *nu* is higher than the left one; *omicron* is slightly smaller than the size of the line.

In the Hellenistic period, the cult of Dionysus in Chersonesos functioned as a state cult. Lapidary inscriptions from the second half of the third century BC contain several references to Dionysos festivals. Thus, one of the decrees recounts how Parthenos saved the Chersonesites from barbarians at a moment when the inhabitants of

the city, together with children, marched in a procession [- - ἐπὶ τὰ] γ κομιδᾶν [τοῦ] Διονύσ[ου - -].³⁹ Latyshev restored the name of the festival at which the Chersonesos historian Syriskos was honoured as [τῶν Διονυ]σίωv.⁴⁰ From the decree in honour of Diophantos onwards, lapidary inscriptions regularly mention the month of Διονύσιος.⁴¹ Finds of terracotta and sculptural representation of Dionysus and his retinue, altars dedicated to the god, and items of jewellery associated with his cult attest to the veneration of this deity in both Hellenistic and Roman times.⁴² Nevertheless, among the numerous theophoric names derived from Διόνυσος, only Διονύσιος is so far attested in Chersonesos, and, with a single exception, none of the inscriptions extend beyond the fourth to second centuries BC.⁴³

Dating: third century BC.

First publication.

5. The Southern Suburb, necropolis. 2021.
The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
no. XT-21-P-6/55-1 (Fig. 7).

Context of the find. It was found in Excavation Area 6 in the square 158/110, in the anthropogenic layer above the object 16 Б. This redeposited layer could have been formed as a result of a one-time discharge of filling from a construction site (the object 16 Б) that originated in the Hellenistic period and underwent alterations in Roman and Early Medieval times. The accompanying material mostly dates back to the Hellenistic period: fragments of amphorae

³⁹ This evidence most probably refers to a Dionysian procession, *IOSPE* I² 343₁₂ (*INBS* III 51₁₂), first half of the third century BC. V. V. Latyshev and later I. A. Makarov read the word κομιδᾶν in the line 12. Y. G. Vinogradov gave a different transcription: [ἐπὶ σ]υκομιδᾶν τοῦ Διονυσι[ου μηνός], “for harvesting in the month of Dionysus” (Vinogradov 1997 [Ю. Г. Виноградов, “Херсонесский декрет ‘о несении Диониса’ IOSPE I² 343 и вторжение сарматов в Скифию”], 121), 121). See also *SEG* 47, 1168.

⁴⁰ *IOSPE* I² 344₁₃ (*INBS* III 1).

⁴¹ *IOSPE* I² 352₅₆ (*INBS* III 8); see also *IOSPE* I² 357 (*INBS* III 24₂₄), first third of the second century AD.

⁴² Bondarenko 2003, 67–74.

⁴³ Second half of the second to first half of the third century AD (*INBS* III 143); second half of the fourth to second century BC (*INBS* III 214, 237, 241, 242, 243, 281, 282, 299, 313, 318).



Fig. 7. The fragmented marble plaque with an inscription:
[- -]ΚΛΕΙΣ[- -] | [Ἀπολ]λωνίδ[ου]. The State Museum-
Preserve “Tauric Chersonese” (no. XT-21-P-6/55-1)

of Heraclea and Sinope, single fragments of red-glazed ceramics, numerous animal bones and shells.⁴⁴

Description. Tombstone plaque. Marble. 6.9 (preserved) × 7.15 (preserved) × 3.2 cm, letter height is 1.2–1.4, letter height is 1.0–1.4 cm. Only the central part has been preserved, the plaque on the left and right is broken off, the upper and lower edges are chipped.

The plaque is rectangular. The front side is polished; the back side is roughly processed.

Inscription: [- -]ΚΛΕΙΣ[- -] | [- - Ἀπολ]λωνίδ[ου - -].

The letters are carved unevenly. The ends of the hastae are slightly thickened. *Lambdas* are of different shapes; they are more or less wide. The lower corners of *nu* are on the same level; *omega* has a complex shape.

⁴⁴ Vlasov–Ushakov–Turova 2024 [В. П. Власов, С. В. Ушаков, Н. П. Турова, “Археологические исследования на раскопе 6”, *Бюллетень Института истории материальной культуры РАН (Охранная археология)*], 108–109, Fig. 12. 3.

With only the central part of the plaque preserved, it is unclear how many lines there were in this epitaph.

Dating: third to second century BC.

First publication.

**6. The Southern Suburb, necropolis. 2021.
The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
no. XT-21-P7-560/11 (Fig. 8).**

Context of the find. It was found in the north-western part of Excavation Area 7 in the square 83/155 in the ruins of a stone wall (the object 14 a), in the upper level of which a fragment of a marble plaque was found. According to the main accompanying material (fragments of amphorae of Heraclea, Sinope, Colchis from the end of the first century BC to the second century AD; fragment of a brown-glazed cup-cantharos made in Macedonia in the second century AD,



Fig. 8. The fragmented marble plaque with an inscription: Κλυμένα | Ἀπολλᾶ | [Ἡ]ρογείτου | [γ]υνά.
The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”
(no. XT-21-P7-560/11)

fragments of glass vessels of the Roman period) the object dates to the first century BC to the second century AD.⁴⁵

Description. Tombstone plaque. Marble. 15.0 × 8.5 × 4.0 cm, letter height is 0.7–1.2 cm, *omicron* is 0.6–0.7 cm. The lower left corner is lost.

The plaque is rectangular and slightly curved. Apparently, it was made from the wall of a large, wide stone vessel (louterion?). The front and back sides are polished. The side faces are roughly processed. On the reverse side, the upper edges on the left and right are scabbed, probably for installation in the socket.

Inscription. Κλυμένα | Ἀπολλᾶ | [H]ρογείτου | [γ]υνά, “Clymena, (daughter) of Apollas, wife of Herogeitos”.

The ends of the hastae are slightly thickened. *Alpha* has a straight crossbar; the lower corners of *nu* are on the same level; *omicron* is significantly smaller than the size of the line; *pi* has a horizontal hasta protruding above the vertical ones; its right hasta is shorter than the left.

The mythological name Κλυμένα has not yet been encountered in Chersonesos.⁴⁶ By contrast, Ἀπολλᾶς and Ἡρόγειτος are among the most common personal names in the city.⁴⁷

Dating: second century BC.

First publication.

7. The Southern Suburb, necropolis. 2021. The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”, no. XT-21-P7-996/11 (Fig. 9).

Context of the find. It was found in the square 157/85 in a layer with accompanying material from the third and the second centuries BC (fragments of handles of amphorae from Sinope,

⁴⁵ Sokov–Cin’ko–Chetverikov–Mokrushin 2024 [П. В. Соков, А. С. Цинько, С. И. Четвериков, В. П. Мокрушин, “Археологические исследования на раскопе 7, *Бюллетень Института истории материальной культуры РАН (Охранная археология)*”], 149, Fig. 19.

⁴⁶ The name under discussion is one of the rare ones. Its earliest attestation dates back to the fourth century BC and originates from Attica (*LGPN* II s. v.). The remaining examples belong to the first–third centuries AD and are attested in Attica (*LGPN* II s. v.), as well as in Caria and Macedonia (*LGPN* IV, V B s. v.).

⁴⁷ Ἀπολλᾶς: *IOSPE* I² 411 (*INBS* III 111); *INBS* III 256, 257 etc; Katz 2007, 442. Ἡρόγειτος: *IOSPE* I² 351 (*INBS* III 5); *INBS* III 5; Katz 2007, 442–443.

Heraclea, Chersonese, Thasos, and Kos from the third to second century BC, two Rhodes amphorae stamps, pyramid-shaped sinker from the Hellenistic period).⁴⁸



Fig. 9. The fragmented marble plaque with an inscription: Παρθένο[κλῆς?] | Διοτίμ[ου]. The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese” (no. XT-21-P7-996/11)

Description. Tombstone plaque. Marble. 7.5 × 11.0 (preserved) × 3.0 (preserved) cm, the height of the letters is 1.2–1.4 cm. The marble is spalling, with a longitudinal crack in the upper part of the plaque.

The plaque is rectangular, its perimeter framed by a low relief frame. The front side is carefully polished, the side faces are treated with a fine finish. The reverse side is chipped.

Inscription: Παρθενο[κλῆς?] | Διοτίμ[ου], “Parthenokles, (son) of Diotimos”.

⁴⁸ Sokov–Cin’ko–Chetverikov–Mokrushin 2024, 145.

Apexes. *Alpha* has a straight crossbar; *theta* has a small crossbar; the lower right corner of *nu* is higher than the left one; *omicron* is smaller than the size of the line; *pi* has a right vertical hasta shorter than the left one.

To the right of the ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟ, part of the apex is visible, which may belong to the vertical hasta of *kappa*. In this case, the first name can be restored e. g. as Παρθενοκ[λῆς], a name attested multiple times in Chersonesos.⁴⁹ These may also be interpreted as the upper left corner of *pi* or *sigma*. If one assumes that a *pi* followed the *omicron*, alternative restorations become possible, such as Παρθενο[παῖος] or Παρθενό[πη], both names attested in Asia Minor and Macedonia during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁵⁰ If the letter following the *omicron* is interpreted as a *sigma*, the name could be restored as Παρθένο[ς]. However, in Chersonesos, there is not a single record of the name of the goddess Parthenos used as a personal name. For this reason, the restoration Παρθενο[κλῆς] appears preferable.

In the lapidary epigraphy of Chersonesos, the name Διότιμος is attested only as a patronymic, in the epitaph of Pasion, (son) of Diotimos from Heraclea, dated to the third century BC.⁵¹ In addition, a Diotimos is known as a Chersonesian nomophylax of the second half of the second century BC.⁵²

Dating: second half of the third to early second century BC.

First publication.

⁴⁹ The earliest known bearer of this name is the nomophylax Ἀπολλώνιος Παρθενοκλεῖος (*INBS* III 5, a decree in honour of Menophilos, second century BC); all other inscriptions belong to the second and third century AD (*INBS* III 22, 161, 199). Other names derived from the same stem include the female name Παρθένα, *IOSPE* I² 520 (*INBS* III 275), late fourth to first half of the third century BC, and Παρθένιος, *IOSPE* I² 403, 270–250 BC; Solomonik 1973 [Э. И. Соломоник, *Новые эпиграфические памятники Херсонеса. Лapidарные надписи*], 17–19 no. 111, с. 120 AD; Golentsov–Dashevskaya 1981 [А. С. Голенцов, О. Д. Дашевская, “Надгробие воина с херсонесской хоры”], 109, late fourth century BC.

⁵⁰ *LGPV* A, V B s. v.

⁵¹ Makarov–Samojlenko 2013, 69, no. 4; *INBS* III 410. This name is not attested in the Herakleian ceramic stamps.

⁵² Anokhin 1977, 146, no. 181, 183.

8. The Southern Suburb, necropolis. 2021.
The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”,
no. XT-21- P-10/1518-167 (Fig. 10).

Context of the find. It was discovered in the northern part of Excavation Area 10, in the lower tiers of a massive stone wall with buttresses (the object 115) that ran along the northwest-southeast line. It was unearthed within Excavation Areas 10 and 10/1 approximately 250 m southwest of the city gate line.⁵³ Initially, the wall was considered defensive. It was believed that it was erected at the end of the second century BC, during the Diophantine wars, and it stood



Fig. 10. The fragmented marble plaque with an inscription: Πολ[υκάστα ?] | Δαμ[- -] | Σμ[αίου] | [γυ]νά.
 The State Museum-Preserve “Tauric Chersonese”
 (no. XT-21-P-10/1518-167)

⁵³ Vakhoneev 2024 [В. В. Вахонеев, “Археологические исследования на раскопе 10.1”, *Бюллетень Института истории материальной культуры РАН (Охранная археология)*], 193; Gorbunov 2024 [П. А. Горбунов “Археологические исследования на раскопе 10”, *Бюллетень Института истории материальной культуры РАН (Охранная археология)*], 188, Fig. 10.

throughout the entire Roman period.⁵⁴ V. V. Vakhoneev showed that this wall was built across the Chersonesos gully in order to protect the necropolis from flooding and sediments during seasonal water runoff. He dates the time of its construction to 250–225 BC and the end of its use to the fifth and sixth centuries AD.⁵⁵

Description. Tombstone plaque. Marble. $7.32 \times 6.02 \times 1.51$ cm, letters' height is 1.0–1.2 cm. The lower left corner and the right part of the plaque are lost, the back surface and the side edges are chipped.

The plaque is rectangular. The front surface is polished, the back surface and the side faces are roughly processed.

Inscription: Πολ[υκάστα ?] | Δαμ[- -] | Σιμ[αίου] | [γυ]νά, “Polykasta (daughter) of Dam..., wife of Simaios”.

Apexes. *Alpha* has a straight crossbar; the vertical hastae of *mu* are parallel; *pi* has a horizontal hasta protruding above the vertical ones; *sigma* has parallel horizontal hastae.

Among female names beginning with Πολ-, only Πολυκάστα is attested in Chersonesos.⁵⁶ The grave stela of Polykasta, wife of Delphos, dated to the late fourth to the first half of the third century BC, was found in the masonry of a tower XVII (the Tower of Zeno) of the defensive walls of Chersonesos, next to the tombstone of Delphos, son of Euclides, which belongs to the same period.⁵⁷ It is possible that these are the tombstones of a married couple and that the stelae were displaced from neighbouring graves. The letter forms of the plaque under discussion do not contradict the assumption that the second bearer of this rare mythological name⁵⁸ belonged to the same family as Polykasta, wife of Delphos.

The restoration of her patronymic remains problematic. The third letter may be restored as *mu*, since the *mu* of the third line has the

⁵⁴ Solovyova–Vinogradov–Myts–Solovyov–Vakhoneev 2024, 21, Fig. 7.

⁵⁵ Vakhoneev 2026 [В. В. Вахонеев, “Защитная стена с контрфорсами на южном пригороде Херсонеса Таврического: реконструкция античной инженерной стратегии”, *Археология евразийских степей*].

⁵⁶ So far only one such case has been recorded: Πολυκάστα | Ἴπποκράτειος, | Δελφοῦ γυνά (Solomonik 1973, 144–145 no. 145; *INBS* III 240).

⁵⁷ Δελφῶς | Εὐκλείδα (Solomonik 1973, 141 no. 144; *INBS* III 239). For the family, most of whose members bore names associated with the cult of Apollo and to which Polycasta and Delphos belonged, see Perlman 2011, 389–390, Fig. 12.3.

⁵⁸ Polycasta was the daughter of Nestor and the wife of Telemachus (Hesiod fr. 35, 221).

same form. This allows us to suggest a personal name derived from δαμ(ο)-, for example, Δαμοκλῆς or Δαμάτριος.

The name of Polycasta's husband is clearly derived from the stem σῆμ(ο)-. Σιμαῖος, Σιμάλων, Σιμίας, and Σῆμος are all attested in Chersonesos. The last two names are also known from ceramic stamps from Heraclea Pontica.⁵⁹ Σιμαῖος is attested on the tombstone of Σιμαῖος Δαματρίου, dating to the second century BC.⁶⁰ In addition, three astynomoi bearing this name are known from the last third of the third to the first quarter of the second century BC.⁶¹ Σιμάλων is attested only on a fabricant's stamp of the third century BC.⁶² Σιμίας is recorded once as a patronymic in a dedication to Parthenos dating from the late fourth to the first half of the third century BC.⁶³ Finally, Σῆμος ὁ Δαματρίου served as astynomos in the second quarter of the third century BC.⁶⁴ Given that the letter forms of this plaque may be dated to the late third to early second century BC, the restoration of Polycasta's husband as Σιμ[αίου] appears preferable.

Dating: late third to first half of the second century BC.

First publication.

Natalia Pavlichenko

*Institute for the History of Material Culture, St Petersburg
(IHMC RAS)*

nat.pavlichenko@gmail.com

Abbreviations

INBS – *Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea* (<https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/index-ru.html>)

ISM III – *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure. III. Callatis et son territoire* (Bucharest–Paris 1999)

MDAI(A) – *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*

SEG – *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*

⁵⁹ *IOSPE* III 62; 789.

⁶⁰ *IOSPE* I² 492 (*INBS* III 309).

⁶¹ Katz 2007, 443.

⁶² It is attested only on a fabricant's stamp: Katz 1994, 128 no. 43.

⁶³ *IOSPE* I² 410 (*INBS* III 114).

⁶⁴ Katz 2007, 442.

Bibliography

- N. Almazova, D. Keyer, N. Pavlichenko, A. Verlinsky, “Metrical Epitaphs from the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos”, *Hyperboreus* 30: 1 (2024) 149–165.
- V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Khersonesa (IV v. do n. e. – XII v. n. e.) [Coinage of Chersonesos (4 th c. BC – 12 th c. AD)]* (Kiev 1977).
- S. N. Bibikov (ed.), *Antichnaya scul’ptura Khersonesa [The Ancient Sculpture of Chersonesos]* (Kiev 1976).
- M. E. Bondarenko, *Panteon Khersonesa Tavricheskogo [The Pantheon of Tauric Chersonesos]* (Moscow 2003).
- D. Braund, *Greek Religion and Cults in the Black Sea Region* (Cambridge 2018).
- N. F. Fedoseev, *Keramicheskije klejma. Gerakleja Pontijskaya [Ceramic Stamps. Heraclea Pontica]* (Kerch 2016).
- M. Fraenkel, “Epigraphische Miscellen”, *MDAI(A)* 21 (1896) 440–447.
- A. S. Golentsov, O. D. Dashevskaya, “Nadgrobije voina s khersonesskoj khory” [“Gravestone of a Warrior from the Chersonesian Chora”], *VDI* 1981: 2, 109–114.
- P. A. Gorbunov, “Arkheologicheskije issledovanija na raskope 10” [“Archaeological Research at the Excavation Area 10”], *Bulletin of the Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences (Rescue Archeology)* 15 (St Petersburg 2024) 187–191.
- P. Graindor, “*Inscriptions grecques (Athènes, Mégare, Ténos)*”, *Revue Archéologique* 1917, July–December, 1–67.
- M. Guarducci, “Note di epigrafia sepolcrale”, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Rendiconti (RAL)* 25 (1970) 389–402.
- V. I. Katz, *Keramicheskije klejma Khersonesa Tavricheskogo [Ceramic Stamps of Tauric Chersonesos]* (Saratov 1994).
- V. I. Katz, *Grecheskiye keramicheskije klejma epokhi klassiki i ellinizma (opyt kompleksnogo izucheniya) [Greek Ceramic Stamps of the Classical and Hellenistic Eras (an Attempt at Complex Analysis)]*, Bosporskije issledovanija 18 (Simferopol–Kerch 2007).
- Yu. I. Kozub, A. A. Beletsky, “Stikhotvornaya epitaphija Epikrata iz Olvii” [“A Verse Epitaph of Epikrates from Olbia”], *VDI* 1975: 1, 172–175.
- V. V. Latyshev, “Drevnosti Yuzhnoj Rossii: Grecheskije i latinskije nadpisi, najdennye v Yuzhnoj Rossii v 1889–1891 godakh. Khersonesskie nadpisi” [“Antiquities of Southern Russia: Greek and Latin Inscriptions Found in Southern Russia in 1889–1891. Chersonesos Inscriptions”], in: *Materialy po arkheologii Rossii* 9 (St Petersburg 1892).
- V. V. Latyshev, “Drevnosti Yuzhnoj Rossii: Grecheskije i latinskije nadpisi, najdennye v Yuzhnoj Rossii v 1892–1894 godakh. Nadpisi iz Khersonesa

- Tavricheskogo” [“Antiquities of Southern Russia: Greek and Latin Inscriptions Found in Southern Russia in 1892–1894. Inscriptions from Tauric Chersonesos”], in: *Materialy po arkheologii Rossii* 17 (St Petersburg 1895).
- F. Lenormant, “Sept inscriptions grecques inédites”, *Revue archéologique* 9 (1864) 120–123.
- I. A. Makarov, V. G. Samoilenko, “Epigraphicheskije nakhodki iz kurtiny 19 oboronitel’nykh sooruzhenij Khersonesa Tavricheskogo” [“Epigraphic Finds from the Curtain Wall 19 of the Defensive Structures of Chersonesus Taurica”], *VDI* 2013: 4, 62–73.
- N. A. Pavlichenko, O. V. Grigorieva, V. A. Goroncharovskij, “‘...Nam nuzhno bol’she, gorazdo bol’she nadpisej, i vse-taki syty ne budem’: materialy o proekte sozdanija Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo instituta v Aphinakh (iz arkhivnykh sobranij Sankt-Peterburga)” [“‘...We need more, many more inscriptions, and still, we will not be sated’: Documents on the Project of the Establishment of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Athens (from the Archival Collections of St Petersburg)”], *Arkheologicheskie vesti* 45 (2024) 150–163.
- W. Peek, “Griechische Inschriften”, *MDAI(A)* 59 (1934) 35–80.
- P. Perlman, “The People of the Citadel Necropolis”, in: Posamentir 2011, 383–454.
- R. Posamentir, *The Polychrome Grave Stelai from the Early Hellenistic Necropolis*, Chersonesan Studies 1 (Austin 2011).
- L. Robert, *Collection Froehner I. Inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1936).
- L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963).
- L. Robert, “Enterrements et épitaphes. Épitaphes à Bithynion”, in: id., *Opera minora selecta* VI (1989) 97–109.
- A. Robu, “Une coutume épigraphique de Mégare attestée à Chersonèse Taurique et à Callatis”, in: *Mégare et les établissements mégariens de Sicile, de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin. Histoire et institutions* (Berne 2014) 407–408.
- A. Robu, “Contribution à l’épigraphie mégarienne: les tablettes funéraires inscrites”, in: *Mégarika. Nouvelles recherches sur Mégare et les cités de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin. Archéologie, épigraphie, histoire. Actes du colloque de Mangalia (8–12 juillet 2012) Textes réunis et édités par Adrian Robu et Iulian Bîrzescu, avec le concours de Denis Knoepfler et Alexandru Avram* (Paris 2016) 333–375.
- P. V. Sokov, A. S. Tsinko, S. I. Chetverikov, V. P. Mokrushin, “Arkheologicheskije issledovanija na raskope 7” [“Archaeological Research at the Excavation Area 7”], *Bulletin of the Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences (Rescue Archeology)* 15 (St Petersburg 2024) 141–159.
- E. I. Solomonik, *Novyje epigraphicheskije pam’atniki Khersonesa* [New Epigraphic Monuments of Chersonesos] (Kiev 1964).

- E. I. Solomonik, *Novyye epigraphicheskije pam'atniki Khersonesa. Lapidarnye nadpisi* [New Epigraphic Monuments of Chersonesos. Lapidary Inscriptions] (Kiev 1973).
- N. F. Solovyova, Yu. A. Vinogradov, V. L. Myts, S. L. Solovyov, V. V. Vakhoneev, “Kratkije itogi arkeologicheskikh raskopok Yuzhnogo prigoroda Khersonesa” [“Summary of the Archeological Excavations of the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos”], *Bulletin of the Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences (Rescue Archeology)* 15 (St Petersburg 2024) 17–28.
- E. I. Solomonik, G. N. Nikolaenko, “O zemel'nyh uchastkah Khersonesa v nachale III v. do n. e. (k IOSPE I² 403)” [“On the Land Plots of Chersonesos at the Beginning of the Third Century BC (to IOSPE I² 403)”], *VDI* 1990: 2, 79–99.
- S. R. Tokhtasyev, “K izdanju kataloga keramicheskikh klejm Khersonesa Tavricheskogo” [“Towards the Publication of the Catalogue of Ceramic Stamps of Tauric Chersonesos”], *Hyperboreus* 3: 2 (1997) 362–404.
- V. V. Vakhoneev, “Arkeologicheskije issledovanija na raskope 10.1” [“Archaeological Research at the Excavation Area 10.1”], *Bulletin of the Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences (Rescue Archeology)* 15 (St Petersburg 2024) 192–200.
- V. V. Vakhoneev, “Zaschitnaya stena s kontrphorsami na Yuzhnom prigorode Khersonesa Tavricheskogo: rekonstrukciya antichnoj inzhenernoj strategii” [“The Retaining Wall with Buttresses in the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos: Reconstruction of an Ancient Engineering Strategy”], *Arkeologija evrazijskikh stepej* (2026) (in print).
- N. A. Vinberg, “Spisok trudov V. V. Latysheva” [“List of Publications by V. V. Latyshev”], *Sovetskaya arkeologija* 28 (1958) 36–51.
- Yu. G. Vinogradov “Khersonesskij dekret o ‘nesenii Dionisa’ IOSPE I² 343 i vtorozhenie sarmatov v Skifyu” [“The Chersonesian Decree on the ‘Carrying of Dionysos’ IOSPE I² 343 and the Sarmatian Invasion of Scythia”], *VDI* 1997: 3, 104–124.
- V. P. Vlasov, S. V. Ushakov, N. P. Turova, “Arkeologicheskije issledovanija na raskope 6” [“Archaeological Research at the Excavation Area 6”], *Bulletin of the Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences (Rescue Archeology)* 15 (St Petersburg 2024) 101–140.
- S. A. Zhebelev, “Vasilij Vasil'evich Latyshev (June 29, 1855 – May 2, 1921)” [С. А. Жебелев, “Василий Васильевич Латышев (29 июня 1855 – 2 мая 1921)”], *Vizantijskij vremennik* 25 (1926) 105–110.
- L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Prague 1955).

During the excavations of the necropolis in the Southern Suburb of Chersonesos in 2021–2023, eight marble tombstone plaques with inscriptions were discovered. They date from the third to the second century BC: Στράτιππος Ὑμνου; [- -]τας [- -]λειος; Παρθε[- -] Πυθίων[ος], χαῖρ[ε]; Διονύ[σιος ?] Διονυ[σίου ?]; [- -]ΚΛΕΙΣ[- -] | [Ἀπολ]λωνίδ[ου]; Κλυμένα Ἀπολλᾶ [Ἡ]ρογείτου [γ]υνά; Παρθένο[κλῆς?] Διοτίμ[ου]; Πολ[υκάστα ?] Δαμ[- -] Σιμ[αίου] [γ]υνά. The use of limestone tombstone stelae with small marble plaques is characteristic of the funerary practices of Megara and several of its colonies. The Chersonesos tombstones of this type date from the beginning of the third century BC to the end of the second century AD and constitute slightly more than one quarter of the funerary monuments known at the present time. The majority of these belong to the third to second centuries BC.

Во время раскопок некрополя на территории Южного пригорода Херсонеса в 2021–2023 гг. было найдено восемь мраморных вставок в надгробия с надписями, датирующихся III–II вв. до н. э.: Στράτιππος Ὑμνου; [- -]τας [- -]λειος; Παρθε[- -] Πυθίων[ος], χαῖρ[ε]; Διονύ[σιος ?] Διονυ[σίου ?]; [- -]ΚΛΕΙΣ[- -] | [Ἀπολ]λωνίδ[ου]; Κλυμένα Ἀπολλᾶ [Ἡ]ρογείτου [γ]υνά; Παρθένο[κλῆς?] Διοτίμ[ου]; Πολ[υκάστα ?] Δαμ[- -], Σιμ[αίου] [γ]υνά. Использование известняковых надгробных стел с небольшими мраморными вставками характерно для погребального обряда Мегары и некоторых их колоний. В Херсонесе надгробные памятники такого типа датируются временем с начала III в. до н. э. по конец II в. н. э. и составляют чуть больше четверти от известных нам в настоящее время надгробных памятников. Большая их часть относится к III–II вв. до н. э.

KEYWORDS

BARZAKH

Athenian homicide trial; excess of self-defense; Oedipus; Sophocles
афинское уголовное судопроизводство; превышение необходи-
мой самообороны; Софокл; Эдип

BOSERUP-LEMIRE

Servius; textual criticism; Vergil
Вергилий; Сервий; критика текста

KEYER

crux interpretum; interpretative problems; interpretative tradition;
Juvenal; neglected interpretations
забытые толкования; история толкования; проблемы толкования;
Ювенал; crux interpretum

KOROLENKO

Caesar; civil wars in the Roman Republic; Roman triumphs; Sulla,
гражданские войны в эпоху Римской республики; римские
триумфы; Сулла; Цезарь

LAPINI

ancient and recent scholia; Aristophanes; Greek Comedy; textual criticism
Аристофан; древнегреческая комедия; древние и поздние схолии;
критика текста

PAVLICHENKO

Greek inscriptions; marble plaques in tombstones; Tauric Chersonesos,
the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos
греческие надписи; мраморные вставки в надгробия; Херсонес
Таврический; Южный пригород Херсонеса Таврического

PAVLICHENKO – VAKHONEEV

exedra; lead urns with graffiti; necropolis; Tauric Chersonesos; the Southern Suburb of Tauric Chersonesos

некрополь; свинцовые урны с граффити; Херсонес Таврический; экседра; Южный пригород Херсонеса Таврического

ZAICEV

cult of Oedipus; Eteon; Scaphlae; Sophocles

культ Эдипа; Скафла; Софокл; Этеон

Научное издание

HYPERBOREUS:
Классическая филология и история
Vol. 31 2025 Fasc. 2

Ответственный редактор выпуска *А. Л. Верлинский*
Компьютерная верстка *А. Б. Левкина*

Учредители журнала *А. К. Гаврилов, Д. В. Панченко*
Регистрационное свидетельство № 0111029 от 27 августа 1993 года

Подписано в печать 24.04.2026. Формат 64 × 100 ¹/₁₆. Усл. печ. л. 11,2.
Печать цифровая. Тираж 50 экз. Заказ № 094.
Отпечатано в типографии издательско-полиграфической фирмы «Реноме»,
192007 Санкт-Петербург, наб. Обводного канала, д. 40.
Тел./факс (812) 766-05-66. E-mail: book@renomespб.ru
www.renomespб.ru