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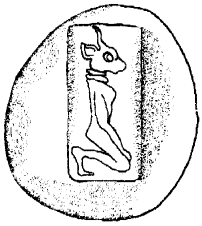

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# MUSICAL AND DANCE PERFORMANCES AROUND THE APOLLO'S STATUE: A CASE FROM SOUTH ITALY

ANGELA BELLIA

*Abstract.* The representations of musical and dance performances around statues allow us not only to explore the mythical, cultic, and historical contexts within which they were performed, but also their relationship with local cults and ceremonies. Taking into account visual evidence from Magna Graecia, this paper aims to take an interdisciplinary "big picture" approach, as opposed to a micro-focus on organology.

## INTRODUCTION

Vase paintings from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods often depicted musical performances around statues.[1] However, no study has explored this subject as an important aspect of musical iconography related to religious aspects of ancient cultures in terms of the behaviour of worshippers and cult practices.[2] This is in sharp contrast to the field of musical iconography, where the study of musical instruments and musical scenes in mythical contexts has been the main subject of investigation. However, paintings of musical performances around stat-

[1] Brand 2000, 99-113; Kubatzki 2016, 5-8.
[2] Nordquist 1992.

ues merely scratch the surface of a large field of inquiry that leads to questions regarding performance, space, and ritual, and the role of music and dance in ancient society and religion more widely. Indeed, these representations allow us not only to investigate the cultic and ritual contexts, but also the symbolic role of musical instruments in sacred sphere.[3]

In this essay I would like to focus on one of the masterpieces of music and dance performances around statues in Greek visual culture: the fragment of the Apulian red-figure calyx-krater from the Spartan colony of Taras, modern Tarentum, attributed to the painter of the *Birth of Dionysus* (Fig. 1).[4] Preserved at the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam, this vase depicts the meeting of Apollo and Dionysus.[5] It is possible that the fragmented vase came from Apollo's sanctuary in Tarentum, but we do not know where this was located in the Doric polis.[6] As Clemente Marconi has argued,[7] this vase belongs to a group of Greek and South Italian vases where the rare coexistence of the divinity in close proximity to its statue is represented. Since the Early Classical period, vase painters tended to differentiate the statues of gods from the "living gods": representation and represented are separated, and the image of the divinity is doubled, with both the "living god" and its representation standing close to one another.[8] This brings us back to the general interpretation of this series of vases featuring "living gods" alongside their images:[9] "by showing the divinity in close proximity to its statue," as Marconi pointed out, "these vases are emphasizing the fact that statues of gods translate in a visible way the

[3] Bellia 2016, 16-17; 2018, 89-91.

[4] Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 2579. *RVAp* I, 34, 36, nr. 10, tav. 9,2.

[5] Schefold 1937, 48-49; Schneider-Herrmann 1972, 31-34, fig. 1; Todisco 1990, 921-928, fig. 4; Alroth 1992, 39, fig. 20; de Cesare 1997, 94-97, fig. 46; Oenbrink 1997, 385, nr. D7; Marconi 2011, 162-164, fig. 17; Platt 2011, 120-122, fig. 2.10; Todisco 2012, 336, tav. 56.

[6] Hernández Martínez 2004, 92-99; Chaniotis 2011, 164.

[7] Marconi 2011, 162.

[8] Shapiro 1989, 24-27.

[9] Schefold 1937, 48-49.

invisible presence of the gods, acting as symbolic manifestations of their presence, and that statues of gods are powerful catalysts for the divine presence."[10] The Apulian vase fragment shows a temple of Apollo with open doors and a colossal bronze statue of the god inside. The statue is an Early Classical figure holding a phiale and a bow: though the posture has been rendered relatively stiff, the muscles are well-depicted. The attempt to foreshorten the columns and the door, as well as the use of highlights and shading on the statue painted white, gold and brown to simulate the metal original, clearly illustrate the new approach towards the problem of perspective.[11] Marconi has noted that the configuration of Apollo's statue,[12] which is holding attributes recalling his role as a vengeful god or as a justice dispenser, are suggestive of antiquity of the sanctuary and the local worship of the divinity, albeit in an archaic and primitive form.[13]

Sitting on the ground in front of him, the "living Apollo," holding a string instrument, is a High Classical figure positioned in three-quarter view beside his Doric temple. Next to him, a fragmentary figure of Artemis is sitting holding a spear. As Gisela Schneider-Herrmann pointed out,[14] the god has a youthful aspect and a sad expression: above his reclining head there is the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛ[ΩΝ].[15] A tripod and the temple seem to separate this "Apollonian" scene from a Dionysiac group also depicted on another fragment from the vase: the god, named by the inscription ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ above his head, is holding a branch; he is accompanied by his retinue composed of a maenad playing a tambourine with her right hand, and by a satyr in lively movement raising a *kantharos*. The percussion instrument is a frame drum enriched by small rattling disks and a handle, and by the presence of stiffening bands along both edges of the frame: since the 5th

[10] Marconi 2011, 162.
[11] *RVAp* I, 34.
[12] Marconi 2011, 163.
[13] Scheer 2015, 173-176.
[14] Schneider-Herrmann 1972, 37.
[15] Todisco 2012, 46.

century B.C., this is the distinctive trait of the tambourines depicted on the vase paintings of southern Italy.[16] Used typically to accompany dance, these large instruments were usually kept almost vertical like the tambourine held by the maenad on the vase from Tarentum.

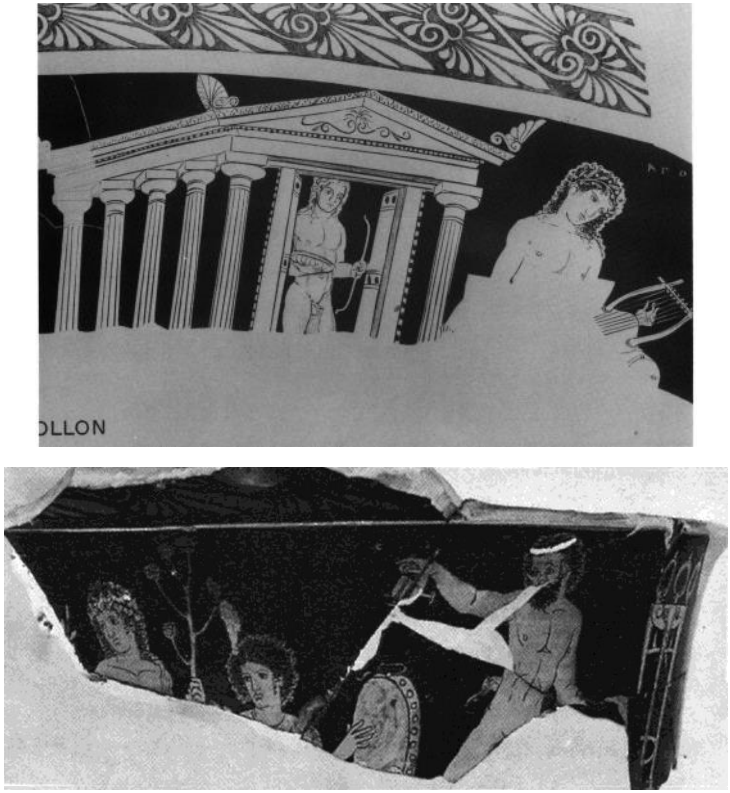


Figure 1. Fragments of a calyx krater depicting Apollo and his cult image and Dionysiac group (400-385 B.C.). Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579 (from de Cesare 1997, 95, fig. 46).

[16] Di Giglio 2009; Bellia 2014, 25-29; Vergara Cerqueira 2014, 53-57.

Dating to ca. 400-385 B.C., these fragments feature a unique scene within the context of South Italian vases. Visual evidence from this Apulian red-figure calyx-krater suggests a Dionysiac connotation of a festival devoted to Apollo cult, recalling the particular sacred sphere in South Italy, where the celebrations related to Apollo and Dionysus were often associated with seasonal rituals.[17] This vase seems to show that the Apolline festival might have involved Dionysiac elements and the related musical and sonic aspects. Thus, the uniqueness of this depiction concerns not only the coexistence of the statue of Apollo and of the "living god" holding a lyre, but also the scene of musical and dance performances and sonic events in a Dionysiac setting, however, linked to an "Apollonian" figurative context and to the epiphany of the god.

## DANCING AROUND THE APOLLO'S STATUE

Taking into account that cults of Apollo Hyacinthus – and possibly that of Artemis Hyacinthotrophus ("the one who nourished Hyacinthus") – existed in the Spartan colony of Taras, Schneider-Herrmann has interpreted the scene on the Apulian vase from Tarentum as a depiction related to the Hyacinthus feast, during which a festival dedicated to Apollo was celebrated both in Amyclae, near Sparta, and in Tarentum.[18] This festival was celebrated among Dorian Greeks;[19] it is directly attested at Sparta, but there is indirect evidence from many other Doric areas.[20] We know very little about Hyacinthus honoured annually at the Amyclaean shrine and about the identities and cults of Hyacinthus and Apollo of Amyclae. In the historical period, Hyacinthus was regarded as a hero. As Pausanias said (3.19.1-5), his grave was honoured at Amyclae in order to celebrate him as the beautiful boy with whom Apollo and the wind god Zephyrus fell in love: while Apollo and Hyacinthus were competing in discus throwing, the jealous west wind made Apollo's discus turn and kill the boy.[21]

[17] Lippolis, Garraffo, and Nafissi 1995, 172-174. See also Carbon 2015, 538.
[18] Schneider-Herrmann 1972, 31-34.
[19] Chaniotis 2011, 164.
[20] Hernández Martínez 2004, 81-85.
[21] Calame 2001, 174-175.

Figure 2. Marble gable-topped stele (3rd Century B.C.).
Sparta, Archaeological Museum, 689.
From the Amyclaeum (from Moreno Conde 2008, 79, fig. 6).

At the shrine of Amyclae a Late Geometric fragmented vase and a marble gable-topped stele dating to the 3rd century B.C. with the depiction of musical and choral performances were found. On the Geometric vase, a group of three dancers joining hands is depicted and at the head of the group are two solo dancers.[22] This round dance, which is performed with accompaniment from the lyre around the Apollo's statue, is also carved on a dedicatory stele from the 3rd century B.C. (Fig. 2).[23] The stele has been linked to the Hyacinthia and to musical

[22] Papadopoulou 2004, 322.

[23] Sparta, Archaeological Museum, 689. Papadopoulou 2004, 323, nr. 193; Moreno Conde 2008, 78-79; Petropoulou 2011-2012, 155.

and dance activities belonging to the older cultic tradition of Amyclae performed during the festival. The upper zone shows a sacrificial scene around the archaic statue of Apollo, who is helmeted and holds a spear and a bow; there is an altar in front of him, and a man drawing bull to the altar. Below, there is a scene of five women: the first is dancing the *kalathiskos*, the second and the third are probably dancers (or spectators) resting, the fourth is holding a lyre and a plectrum, also resting, and the fifth is an *aulos* player.

According to Angeliki Petropoulou, these performances were related to Hyacinthus' apotheosis, which had been depicted on the exterior of an altar in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.[24] Written sources could also show that since the Archaic period, music and dance around Apollo's statue were performed in Amyclae. Since the written sources mention only the Spartan version of the festival, it seems that it acquired a more or less fixed form at Amyclae, from where it was diffused to other Doric areas.[25] As Claude Calame highlighted, the process of absorption was very rapid, as is proven by the event linked to the foundation of the only Spartan city in the West:[26] indeed, the festival bearing the name Hyacinthus is first accepted in connection with the conspiracy of the Partheniae and the foundation of Taras. The importance of the Hyacinthus festival to the Tarentines is such that it features in their origin story when Antiochus of Syracuse[27] describes how during the ἀγών of the Hyacinthia, the signal for the attack of the conspirators was to be given because the whole Spartan population was present. Thanks to a Delphic oracle, Sparta rid itself of the conspirators, who then sought their fortune at Tarentum, which was traditionally founded around 700 B.C. These athletic games of the Hyacinthia are the oldest known religious events related to the Hyacinthus' supposed burial place under the colossal statue of Apollo.[28] This statue had already been erected around the 7th century B.C., given that an inscription

[24] Petropoulou 2011-2012, 154.
[25] Chaniotis 2011, 162.
[26] Calame 2001, 179.
[27] Strab. 6.3.2 = *FGrH* 555 F 13.
[28] Paus. 3.19.3.

dated to 600 B.C. is the earliest indication of a cult devoted to Apollo at the shrine of Amyclae.[29] It is worth noting that during roughly the same period (650-600 B.C.), Alcman composed a poem to be sung by a chorus of young girls that might have taken place in Amyclae, perhaps during the Hyacinthia.[30] The idea that it was performed around the colossal Apollo's statue at the end of the 7th century B.C. cannot be dismissed.[31] To judge from the chorus of young boys described by Polycrates[32] which sang on the second day of the Hyacinthia, it is likely a chorus of young girls sang on the same day; this would have occurred as early as the second half of the 7th century B.C.[33]

An echo of the joyful cultic sonic event of the Hyacinthia is also described in *Helen*,[34] in which Euripides quotes the nocturnal female rituals involving dances or revels for the Hyacinthus slain.[35] The nocturnal celebration culminated with a common banquet and dances of women and *komoi*, perhaps including a short song; the brevity of this song was categorized by Nonnus (*Dion.* 19.102-105) as being in the Amyclaean style. At the end of this joyful moment, the words – "Apollo restored to life the long-haired Hyakinthos, and Dionysos will make Staphylos live for ever" – were sung.[36] Thus, nocturnal *komoi* and dances performed by women and the presence of Dionysus in the joyful celebration suggest

[29] Petropoulou 2011-2012, 154.
[30] Ferrari 2008.
[31] Petropoulou 2011-2012, 155.
[32] Polycrates, *FGrH* 588 F 1 in Ath. 4.139d-f: "But in the middle of the three-day period there is held a spectacle with many features, and a remarkable concourse gathers which is largely attended... full choirs of young men enter and sing some of national songs, and dancers mingling among them go through the figures in the ancient style, accompanied by the flute and the voice of the singers." Trans. Gulick. Papadopoulou 2004, nr. 178.
[33] Papadopoulou 2004.
[34] Eur. *Hel*. 1468-1470: "And shalt join in the dances again, or the revels for Hyacinth slain, when with rapture night's pulses shall quiver." Trans. Way 1930. Papadopoulou 2004, nr. 176.
[35] Papadopoulou 2004, 321.
[36] Petropoulou 2011-2012, 154.

the Dionysiac aspects of Hyacinthia:[37] they seem to echo the Hyacinthus' identity as a dying and reborn god of the Dorians.[38]

## A LYRE RECALLING A RITE OF PASSAGE?

There is no doubt that the components of Hyacinthus' heroic cult consisted of mourning for his violent death at a young age, propitiatory offerings at his tomb, and the celebration of a festival in his honour involving the whole community.[39] The main source of the Spartan festival discusses how on the first day, a sacrifice was offered to Hyacinthus, perhaps during the evening in the form of a funerary ritual honouring the memory of the hero.[40] On this day of the feast, it seems the singing of the *paian*, Apollo's song par excellence, was not permitted in order to express grief for the death of Hyacinthus.[41] As Calame pointed out,[42] the second day was characterized by a different mood including a sort of many-coloured spectacle: musical and choral performances were an important part of this phase of the feast and of the procession to the sanctuary of Apollo and Hyacinthus. Boys played the lyre; they also sang songs, perhaps including the song for Apollo not sung on the first day. Moreover, choruses of young people performed dances accompanied to the sound of the *aulos*. The dances performed by both youths and maidens had a local and traditional character, and stood in direct relation to the past of the city, annually renewed by the children at each festival.[43]

The two ritual phases seem to translate a sort of passage from death to life in which, after a short period of death, Hyacinthus is reborn and begins a new life. Thus, as Calame has argued, music, songs and dances in the Hyacinthia have been interpreted as elements of initiation

[37] Nobili 2014, 140-141.
[38] Chaniotis 2011, 164.
[39] Calame 2001, 182; Papadopoulou 2004, 322.
[40] Burkert [2]2003, 85-86.
[41] Polycrates, *FGrH* 588 F 1 in Ath. 4.139d-f. Chirassi Colombo 1968, 157-177; Chaniotis 2011, 166.
[42] Calame 2001, 174.
[43] Papadopoulou 2004, 322.

rites aimed at the integration of adolescents into the civic body, as well as to express gratitude to Apollo, their protector god.[44] It is worth noting that this phase of the feast was linked to musical performances of the boys playing their lyres not only to accompany the rhythm of the procession, but also to strengthen the bonds in the community.

Taking into account this element of the ritual aimed to dramatize the myth of Hyacinthus and his resurrection, one wonders if the lyre represented on the fragmented vase from Tarentum may depict not only the passage from childhood to adulthood, but also musical performances related to the Hyacinthia introducing youths in the society of adults. This iconography could allude to premature death of Hyacinthus as an element associated with the periodic death and birth of vegetation, a motif linked to a male rite of passage and to the ritual death of the boys before they were accepted into the male adult community in the city. In this case, the depiction of the instrument held by Apollo on the Apulian vase fragment helps us to reconstruct its symbolic role in a specific context of worship.

## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AS SYMBOLS OF DEATH AND REBIRTH

On the Apulian vase fragment the "living Apollo" is holding a seven-string lyre stretched on his left knee while he pulls two strings with his left thumb and index finger (Fig. 3). The fingers are bent forward and look as if they hold or pull rather than pluck the strings, whereas no action is combined towards the strings by the right hand with the plectrum: the position of the right arm does not entirely exclude the possibility that Apollo is holding a plectrum. Indeed, as his arm lying at his right side, the god does not seem to play his lyre or to sing: his gesture apparently illustrates the god checking his instrument before tuning or starting to play it.[45] The depiction of tuning the seven-string lyre is a clear way of illustrating the preparation for a musical performance that is about to start, indicating that within the musical context

[44] Calame 2001, 174-185.

[45] For visual evidence of musical scenes and musical instruments, especially on vase paintings of the Classical period, including details of playing technique, see Goulaki-Voutyra 2016, 364-365.

depicted, the instrument is not yet being played. On the one hand, the representation of the lyre may be a reference to an upcoming musical event, but on the other hand, the lyre may be related to the particular religious customs of the Italiote community of Southern Italy and to the festival dedicated to Apollo in Tarentum, which the ancient observer knew how to decode.[46]

As Schneider-Herrmann highlighted,[47] the image of the "living god" could be linked to the first day of the festival dedicated to Hyacinthus, austere and funerary, during which his death was celebrated without music. In this case, the Apollo's sad face on the Apulian vase fragment could be related to his sadness at Hyacinthus' death. Thus, the representation seems to evoke the notion that Apollo is displaying a silent "musical symbol" belonging to the Hyacinthus age as a young man ready to enter into society and able to take part in the symposium after a symbolic death:[48] thanks to music, resurrection could be celebrated through expressing the joy of the Hyacinthus' apotheosis. On the second day, numerous animals were sacrificed and fire burned on the grave of the hero in Tarentum,[49] possibly culminating with a banquet and the joyful nocturnal dances of women.[50] It is worth noting that the male statuettes probably representing Hyacinthus holding the kithara (Fig. 4)[51] and the tambourine,[52] which were found in the different sanctuaries of Tarentum, could have been offered during this celebration: these instruments are depicted as merely being held in the hand, functioning as attributes or sacred objects[53] related to musical performances in seasonal celebrations and rituals dedicated to Apollo Hyacinthus.[54]

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[46] Fontannaz 2014, 71-72.
[47] Schneider-Herrmann 1972, 31-34. See also de Cesare 1997, 94-97.
[48] Bellia 2016, 8-11.
[49] Lippolis, Garraffo, and Nafissi 1995, 225-226.
[50] Papadopoulou 2004, 321-322.
[51] Tarentum, National Archaeological Museum, 52024, tav. XV, 2.
[52] Lippolis, Garraffo, and Nafissi 1995, 56-58.
[53] Angliker 2018, 25-32; Bellia 2018, 89-95; Bundrick 2018, 15-21; Liveri 2018, 39-46.
[54] Vergara Cerqueira 2019, 102-108.

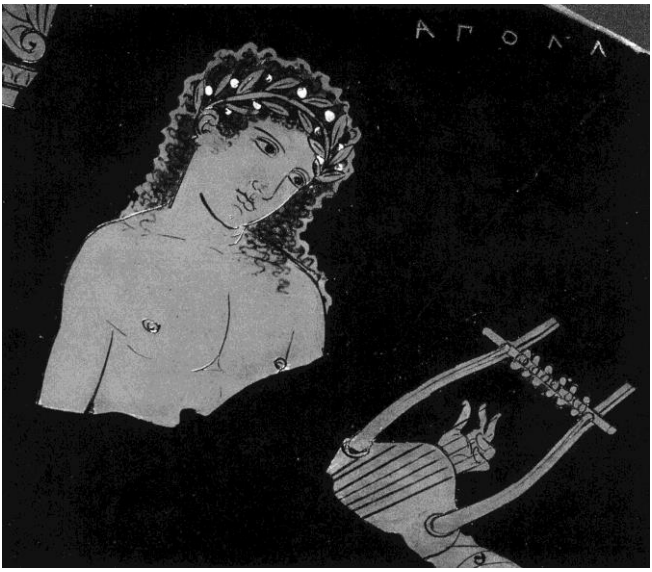



Figure 3. Particular of the Apulian vase fragment depicting Apollo holding a lyre (400-385 B.C.).
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579
(from de Cesare 1997, 95, fig. 46).

Figure 4. Male terracotta statuette likely representing Hyacinthus (?) holding a lyre (4th-3th century B.C.).
Tarentum, National Archaeological Museum, 52024
(from Lippolis, Garraffo, and Nafissi 1995, tav. XV, 2).

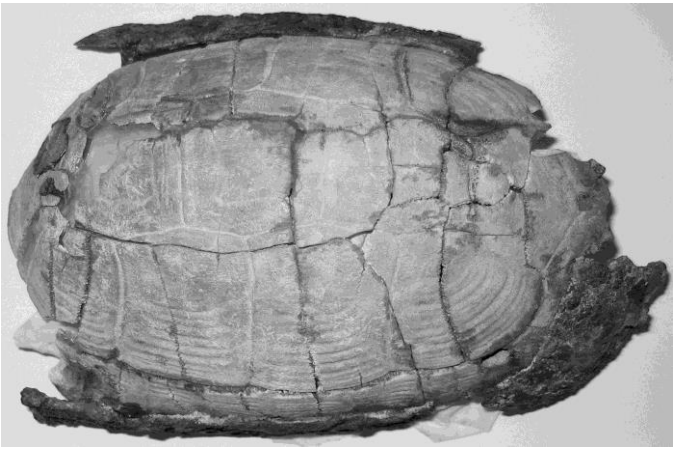
Furthermore, the reclining banqueters holding a lyre discovered in Tarentum have been identified in terms of votive contexts (Fig. 5).[55] Their interpretation has given rise to many discussions concerning the meaning of this theme, some of which contradict one another. Interpretations range from a divine figure (and in particular Dionysus) to a deceased hero, sometimes in connection with the funerary realm and the chthonic cults. Arguments in favour of Dionysus are based on the drinking vessels held by the male figure, which are related to the symposium. It has been also proposed[56] that the reclining banqueter holding a lyre could be considered a specific votive offering that recalls the symposium during which, as is well known, music was a fundamental component.

[55] Tarentum, National Archaeological Museum, 20074. Bellia 2016, 5-11, fig. 1.
[56] Lippolis, Garraffo, and Nafissi 1995, 56-58; Bellia 2016, 4-11.

The presence of tortoise shells, used for the sound box of lyres and found in graves at Tarentum (Fig. 6),[57] seems also connected to the idea that music and banquets additionally represent the joys of the afterlife.[58] It is not particularly surprising that a Dionysiac group is depicted on the vase from Tarentum: while the lyre recalls rituals celebrated in the "Apollonian" sacred sphere and its role of a musical instrument related to initiation and changes of status, the tambourine and dance within the Dionysiac scene are a parallel reference to rebirth and new life.

Figure 5. Terracotta figurine of a banqueter holding a lyre
(6th-5th century B.C.).
Tarentum, National Archaeological Museum, 20074
(from Bellia 2016, 7, fig. 1).

[57] Tarentum, National Archaeological Museum, 66158. Bellia 2012, 67, fig. 69.
[58] Bellia 2016, 5-11.



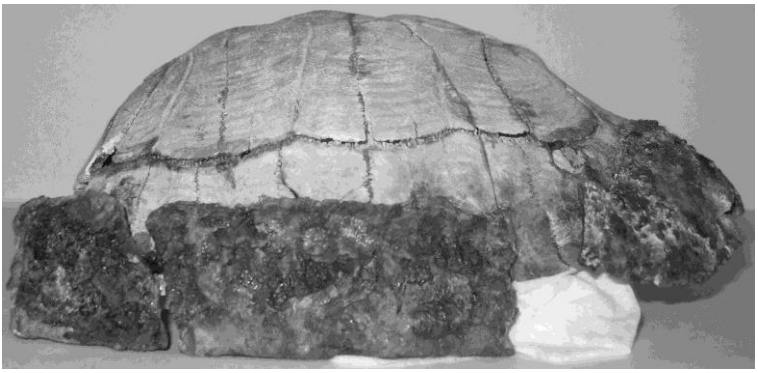


Figure 6. Sound box of lyres found in the grave 57,
necropolis of "via Otranto" at Tarentum (5th century B.C.).
Tarentum, National Archaeological Museum, 66158
(from Bellia 2012, 67, fig. 69).

Furthermore, depicted on the fragment of the Apulian red-figure calyx-krater from Tarentum is the double power of Apollo: on the one hand, he is the bringer of death and disease (symbolized by the bow); on the other hand, he is able to heal through the music of the lyre. It is also possible to attribute a symbolic value to the stringed instrument, one that is connected with the affirmation of religious afterlife beliefs in the western Greek colonies from the 6th century B.C.: particularly for those concerned with personal salvation, the music of string instruments was indispensable in raising the soul of the faithful to overcome death.[59] Thus, if on the one hand the coexistence of musical themes in the same figurative space seems related to the local rituals and cults in Tarentum to which Apollo and Dionysus are often closely associated, on the other, music seems to be linked to the cycle of human and chthonic life. Moreover, music could be also symbolically linked to the leisured life of the cultured male élite in Tarentum, where the *paideia*, particularly those involving music and gymnastics, were fundamental to the education of young people.[60] This aspect would also have been relevant to the potential owner of the vessel.

It is interesting to note that the "Dionysiac" scene on the Apulian vase fragment (Fig. 7) has a parallel on a volute krater (400 B.C.), preserved at the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, also attributed to the painter of the *Birth of Dionysus*.[61] In this complex depiction of a sacrifice to Dionysus from the indigenous tomb 152 from Ruvo a naked young god reclines above while below him preparations are made for a sacrifice of a goat in front of a bearded statue of the god. On this vase music and dance performances are also depicted in the representations of the "living Dionysus" along with his archaic idols (Fig. 8).[62]

According to Oliver Taplin, the viewers of the depictions on these vas-

[59] Burkert 1972, 350-368.

[60] Bellia 2016, 10; Vergara Cerqueira 2019, 108.

[61] Naples, National Archaeological Museum, 82922. *RVAp* I, 35, nr. 8; Alroth 1992, 39, fig. 21; de Cesare 1997, 95-96, fig. 47; Carpenter 2014, 272, fig. 12.4.

[62] de Cesare 1997, 95-96.

es from Apulia could be also viewers of the actual performances.[63] In this case, a painter's use of a distinctive version of myth and ritual can point to familiarity on the part of his audience with the performance itself and the spread of these kinds of religious rites. The primitive figure of the god stands behind the altar in his sanctuary, where libations, offerings, and music and dances are performed.[64] The cult image is stiff and front-facing wearing a *polos*, and holding a *kantharos* and a thyrsus staff.[65] Lively dancing maenads are playing tambourines and cymbals around his archaic idol, while one maenad is holding a sacrificial basket and another maenad is killing a goat with a knife at the table where a fire is depicted. The "living Dionysus" himself is watching the performance of a sacrifice in his honour from the upper register. The god is seated with a thyrsus and is accompanied by his retinue formed by a seated satyr holding a *kantharos* and a maenad playing a tambourine: the instrument is enriched not only by small ratting disks and a handle like those of the instrument of the fragmentary krater housed in Amsterdam, but also by the depiction of thyrsus or vegetal elements related to the rebirth of the cycle of vegetation. As a percussion instrument suited to marking time and producing an exciting sound for the rhythmic movements, the tambourine was particularly connected with cults and closely related to dancing movements, shaping the soundscape and dancescape[66] of celebrations of seasonal festivals of fertility. It is not by chance that its depiction is often related to performances linked to the cycle of vegetation, as well as to wedding rituals: on the Sicilian red-figure *skyphos* from Lipari attributed to the Painter of Palermo 401 a woman holding a *tympanon* is depicted in a nuptial scene (Fig. 9):[67] this frame drum is enriched by decorative ribbons and small rattling disks embedded in the frame suited to emphasize the rhythm of dance.

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[63] Taplin 2007, 25.

[64] Platt 2011, 60-72.

[65] Alroth 1992, 39.

[66] Naerebout 2017, 39.

[67] Lipari, Regional Archaeological Museum Luigi Bernabò Brea, 185 bis. Trendall 1967, 3/80; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1986, 18, fig. 26.

Figure 7. Particular of the Apulian vase fragment
depicting a maenad playing a tambourine (400-385 B.C.).
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579 (from de Cesare 1997, 95, fig. 46).

Figure 8. Volute krater from Ruvo.
The "living" Dionysus along with his archaic idols (400 B.C.).
National Archaeological Museum in Naples, 82922.
(from Carpenter 2014, 272, fig. 12.4).

Figure 9. *Skyphos* representing a woman holding a *tympanon* in a wedding scene (4th century B.C.).
Lipari, Regional Archaeological Museum Luigi Bernabò Brea, 185 bis
(from Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1986, 18, fig. 26).

## SOME FINAL THOUGHTS

As Marconi has noted, by juxtaposing the "living god" and his archaic idol, "the vase painter ... appears here to be carrying to their extreme limits both the notion that the statue of a god is inanimate and the notion that the statue makes the living god present."[68] The representations of percussion instruments on the fragmentary krater in Amsterdam and on the volute krater in Naples appear to communicate the function of their sounds: to accompany dance during the epiphany of a deity.[69] Percussive rhythms served to emphasize the presence of the god, creating a sacred soundscape around the idol; this soundscape was a distinct element of the ritual sphere and the related religious experience.[70] As a founding act of the cult, epiphany in a sacred space was usually established in places where divinities have chosen to "reveal" themselves. Musical and dance performances served to add prominence to their appearances. The depiction of a god (or a goddess) next to a temple is therefore an allusion to the foundation of the sanctuary's cult. This means that the fragmented vase from Tarentum may have meant far more than a mere visual display of gods meeting: by alluding to the epiphany of Apollo that was the basis for the establishment of a local cult, they may have reminded the viewer of how close the "living god" and his idol had come and how musical and dance performances were offerings to the deities completed in the framework of the ritual ceremony. Thus, music and sound, alongside dance as a component inseparable from music in the sacred sphere, strengthen the power of performances, which relies in great part on the effect of the heightened multisensory experience.[71]

The desire to retain a tangible memento of a musical performance in a sacred place could have brought worshippers to offer particular dedications that depicted musical and dancing performances; this may have contributed to evoking the presence of the gods in the worship-

[68] Marconi 2011, 164-165.
[69] Platt 2011, 120-121.
[70] For the sound experience in a sacred environment, see Miles 2016, 183-186.
[71] Bell 1997, 159-164.

pers by recalling sounds related to their epiphany and their soundscape in a sacred setting.[72] These depictions are emphasizing the fact that music and sound are acting as "aural manifestations" of the divine presence; translating in a visible way the invisible presence of the god, the representations of music and dance performances are powerful recalls to their epiphany. Keeping this perspective in mind, the musical scenes on the Apulian vase fragment could be associated not only with a specific idea of ritual and musical performances in the local cult of Apollo Hyacinthus in Tarentum, but also to an explicit preservation of their memory.

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[72] Bundrick 2018, 19.

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# COGIDUBNUS – EIN KÖNIG OHNE KÖNIGREICH IN DER BRITANNISCHEN PROVINZ?

## DIE DEKONSTRUKTION EINES KLIENTELKÖNIGREICHES IM RÖMISCHEN BRITANNIEN*

JEAN COERT

*Abstract.* The article examines the status of king Cogidubnus and the existence of the kingdom, which various historians attributed to him hitherto. After a short description of the sources and research approaches to this issue, it will reveal that there are no evidences or strong indices for his kingdom and many points even contradict this research postulate. On this basis, the existence of a client kingdom in Julio-Claudian Britain will be deconstructed. Associated with this, also new approaches on the position of king Cogidubnus and the use of client kings by the Roman provincial administration will be discussed.

So, wie sich ein Staatsoberhaupt über einen dazugehörigen Staat definiert, erscheint es auch begriffslogisch, dass sich ein König über ein dazugehöriges Königreich definiert. Diese selbstverständlich erscheinenden Begriffsrelationen haben in der althistorischen Forschung sehr

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lange die Sicht auf die sogenannten Klientelkönige[1] des *Imperium Romanum* bestimmt. Eine Folge dieser Perspektive war es, dass für einige überlieferte Dynasten die Existenz von ganzen Königreichen postuliert wurde, obwohl das Vorhandensein dieser Reiche mit keiner einzigen Quelle belegbar ist. Als ein prominentes Beispiel hierfür gilt König Cogidubnus,[2] für den bisher angenommen wurde, dass er unter den Julioclaudiern in Form einer Enklave ein Königreich in der britannischen Provinz beherrschte, auch wenn solch ein royales Territorium nicht durch Quellenbelege nachweisbar ist.[3] Problematisch für derart

[1] Obzwar irreführender Weise die Dynasten, die in rechtlicher und politischer Abhängigkeit zu Rom standen, in den antiken Quellen meist als *amici* und *socii* und eigentlich nie als *clientes* der Römer bezeichnet wurden, hat sich in der Forschung zu diesen Akteuren der Terminus Klientelkönig durchgesetzt. Auch wenn der Begriff zeitgenössisch nicht benutzt wurde, fasst er jedoch im Gegensatz zu den antiken Bezeichnungen als Metapher auch die patronatsähnlichen Ausformungen dieser Beziehungen, welche sich insbesondere in der hier untersuchten Kaiserzeit immer stärker der römischen Klientelstruktur annäherten. So wird auch hier im Folgenden der Terminus Klientelkönig verwendet, um im weitesten Sinne Könige zu beschreiben, die sich in einer patronatsähnlichen oder politisch abhängigen Beziehung zu Rom befanden. Für die Diskussionen und Definitionsfragen dieses Begriffes vgl. Badian 1967, 155-167; Braund 1988, 77f.; Kehne 2000; Baltrusch 2008, 71, 120f.; Wendt 2015.

[2] Der wahre Name des Königs ist in der Forschung umstritten. Dies ist zum einen darin begründet, dass verschiedene lateinische Versionen existieren. Während Tacitus den Dynasten Cogidumnus nennt, ist er auf einer Inschrift als Cogidubnus belegt. Weitere Namensdiskussionen wurden durch den Zweifel an der korrekten Wiedergabe des keltischen Namens in der lateinischen Sprache angeregt. So haben linguistische Forschungen ergeben, dass der Name des Königs eventuell auch Togidumnus oder Togidubnus gelautet haben könnte. Auch wenn diese rekonstruierten Namensversionen vermehrt in althistorischen Publikationen genutzt wurden, sind sie dennoch spekulativ. Daher wird sich in dieser Arbeit auf die belegte epigraphische Schreibweise des Namens beschränkt. Zur Namensdiskussion vgl. Murgia 1977, 339; Coates 2005, 364.

[3] Vgl. Cunliffe 1971, 23-25; 1973, 21-29; Barrett 1979, 229-238; Braund 1984b, 84; 1988, 71; 1996, 111; Frere [3]1987, 53; Henig 2002, 37-47; Birley 2005, 466-468; Creighton 2006, 31; Hind 2007, 99; Black 2008, 298-303; Fulford 2008, 6f.; Gambash 2009, 75, 80; Russel 2010, 108-112, 140-146. Als ein weiteres Beispiel für solch

rekonstruierte Königreiche sind nicht nur die fehlenden antiken Quellenreferenzen, sondern vor allem auch die Ergebnisse der aktuellen Klientelkönigsforschung. In den vergangenen Jahrzehnten hat diese nämlich immer mehr Personen in den asiatischen und afrikanischen Provinzen zum Vorschein bringen können, die zwar die Titel oder Ehren eines Königs besaßen, aber keinem territorialen Königreich vorstanden. Als Beispiele für solche royalen Akteure in den asiatischen Provinzen kann man Adobogiona,[4] Lucius Antonius Zenon von Laodikeia,[5] Dexandros von Apameia[6] oder Flavius Hannibalianus[7] nennen. Neben seinen römischen und griechischen Ämtern in Griechenland und Italien ist König Gaius Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus in Afrika für seine Tätigkeiten in der Provinz Ägypten bekannt,[8] aber auch für Mau-

ein Königreich, das ohne Quellenerwähnung postuliert wurde, kann man Kietis im südöstlichen Kleinasien nennen. Vgl. Wilhelm 1894; Schottky 2004, 104.

[4] Adobogiona ist genau wie Muse und Orodaltis als Königin der Stadt Prusias belegt, welche in der bithynischen Provinz lag. Vgl. Marek ²2010, 384; Coskun 2017, 45f.

[5] Zenon von Laodikeia machte unter den Julioclaudiern Karriere in der Provinz *Asia* und war Tribun der Legio XII Fulminata, Hohepriester in *Asia* und Münzprägeanstaltsmagistrat in Laodikeia. Obwohl er nur römische und provinziale Ämter bekleidete, bekam er unter Augustus königliche Ehren und das Recht königlichen Purpur zu tragen. Er war wahrscheinlich mit der pontischen Polemonidendynastie verwandt. Vgl. *SEG* 37.855; Thonemann 2004.

[6] Für Dexandros, Sebastos-Priester von Apameia in der syrischen Provinz, und seine Nachfahren sind königliche Ehren und Titel überliefert, die er von Augustus verliehen bekam, obwohl der Priester anscheinend gar keine Verbindungen zu einem Königreich hatte. Vgl. Coskun 2014a; 2016.

[7] Nach der Interpretation von Karin Mosig-Walburg sind Flavius Hannibalianus von Konstantin I. der Titel und das Amt eines Königs verliehen worden, damit er nicht realiter ein Königreich beherrscht, sondern über diese Position im Orient den diplomatischen und politischen Verkehr mit den von Rom abhängigen Staaten im Nahen Osten betreiben konnte. Vgl. Mosig-Walburg 2005.

[8] Philopappus stammte aus der kommagenischen Dynastie der Orontiden, deren Königreich unter seinem Großvater Antiochus IV. provinzialisert worden war. Obwohl das Königreich nicht mehr existierte und Philopappus Mitglied des römischen Senates war und mehrere römische und lokale Ämter in Italien,

retanien und Numidien sind die Aktivitäten von zahlreichen Königen und Fürsten innerhalb der Provinzen überliefert.[9]

Während in diesen Regionen bereits derartige Könige untersucht wurden, hat man solche Optionen für verbündete und befreundete Dynasten in Europa bisher kaum erwogen. Insbesondere in der althistorischen Forschung zum römischen Britannien hat man bis jetzt daran festgehalten, dass die drei mit den Römern kooperierenden Könige, die für die Zeit während und nach der claudischen Invasion Britanniens im Jahr 43 n.u.Z. und der damit verbundenen Provinzeinrichtung bekannt sind, eigene Königreiche besessen haben. Für den Icenerkönig Prasutagus[10] und die Brigantenkönigin Cartimandua[11] sind diese Annahmen gut nachvollziehbar und bisher unbestritten, da ihre Gebiete an den vorläufigen Nordgrenzen der neugeschaffenen Provinz lagen. Hingegen ist die These für den dritten König namens Cogidubnus um einiges problematischer, denn man erfährt bei Tacitus, dass dieser König *civitates* im eroberten Gebiet der Römer erhielt, obwohl die römisch besetzten Teile Britanniens von Beginn an als Provinz organisiert wurden.[12] Der vorliegende Artikel soll sich diesem Paradoxon widmen und eruieren, ob Cogidubnus wirklich der Herrscher eines eigenständigen Königreiches im römischen Britannien war, oder ob er lediglich einen vergleichbaren Königsstatus[13] inne hatte, wie ihn die aufgezählten Dynasten in der Provinzialadministration genossen. Zunächst werden für diese Untersuchung alle bekannten Quellen zu König Cogidubnus präsentiert und anschließend die bisherigen Forschungsansätze zu

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Griechenland und Ägypten bekleidete – sogar das eines Suffektkonsuln unter Trajan –, durfte er weiterhin den Königstitel tragen. Vgl. Sullivan 1977, 785-794; Halfmann 1979, 131f.; Kleiner 1983, 9-17; Baslez 1992; Facella 2006, 338-345.

[9] Vgl. Kotula 1965; Brett und Fentress 1996, 63; Tiersch 2015.

[10] Vgl. Braund 1996, 132-146; Russel 2010, 120-124; Coert 2017b.

[11] Vgl. Richmond 1954; Braund 1984a; 1996. 124-132; Hanson und Campbell 1986; Russel 2010, 114, 119; Coert 2017a.

[12] Vgl. Tac. *Agr.* 14.1-2; Wesch-Klein 2016, 110-112.

[13] Wie bei anderen Königen in den Provinzen, könnte auch dieser Dynast nur der Titulatur nach ein König gewesen sein oder seinen Königstitel in Form eines Amtes mit einem definierten Aufgabenbereich erhalten haben.

diesem Material skizziert und einer kritischen Analyse unterzogen. Hierauf aufbauend werden dann die Quellen und der königliche Status des britannischen Dynasten analysiert.

Die überlieferten Quellen zu Cogidubnus sind karg, denn sie belaufen sich alleinig auf eine Inschrift aus der südbritischen Stadt Chichester und eine Passage in Tacitus' *Agricola*. Trotz ihrer geringen Zahl bieten die Quellen viele Informationen. So berichtet uns Tacitus Folgendes über den britannischen König:

> Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae, addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur.[14]

Die Inschrift, auf der Cogidubnus erwähnt wird, wurde bereits im April 1723 bei Grabungsarbeiten an der Kreuzung der heutigen Lion Street mit der North Street in Chichester entdeckt. Der epigraphische Fund ist seitdem mehrfach interpretiert worden. Langfristig konnten sich aber nur zwei verschiedene Lesarten in der Forschung behaupten,

[14] Tac. *Agr.* 14.1-2: "Von Konsularen wurde als erster zum Statthalter Aulus Plautius gesetzt, dann Ostorius Scapula, beide im Feld vortrefflich; und so wurde allmählich der uns zunächstliegende Teil Britanniens zur Provinz geformt und ihr obendrein eine Veteranensiedlung gegeben. Einige Gaue gab man dem König Cogidumnus – er blieb uns bis zum heutigen Tag treu ergeben –, nach dem alten und früh schon geübten Brauch des römischen Volkes, als Werkzeug zur Knechtung auch Könige zu benutzen. Später dann hielt Didius Callus das von den Vorgängern Erworbene zusammen und schob nur wenige Stützpunkte weiter vor, wodurch er den Ruhm vermehrter Pflichterfüllung anstreben wollte." Die deutsche Übersetzung, die für diese und spätere Tacituspassagen verwendet wurde, ist nach der Agricolaausgabe von Feger 1973 zitiert.

welche jeweilig verschiedene Inhalte transportieren.[15] Da beide Varianten an vielen Stellen auf Interpretationen beruhen und somit sich keine der Lesarten verifizieren lässt, werden hier beide Interpretationen angeführt und in der nachfolgenden Diskussion gleichermaßen berücksichtigt. Die ältere Lesart ist die folgende:

> [N]eptuno et Minervae / templum / [pr]o salute do[mus] divinae / [ex] auctoritate [Ti.] Claud(ii) / [Co]gidubni r(egis) lega[ti] Aug(usti) in Brit(annia) / [colle]gium fabror(um) et qui in eo / [- - -] d(e) s(uo) d(ant) donante aream / [Clem]ente Pudentini fil(io).[16]

Die neuere Lesart von Julianus Bogaers, die sich seit ihrer Veröffentlichung zunehmend in der Forschung durchgesetzt hat, lautet:

> [N]eptuno et Minervae / templum / [pr]o salute do[mus] divinae / [ex] auctoritat[e Ti(beri)] Claud(i) / [To]gidubni r[eg(is) M]agni Brit(anniae) / [colle]gium fabror(um) et qui in eo / [sun]t d(e) s(uo) d(ederunt) donante aream / [Pud]ente Pudentini fil(io).[17]

Neben diesen Quellen, die direkten Bezug auf den König nehmen, wird in der Forschung häufig auch der Fishbourne-Palast bei Chichester, ein römisches Anwesen aus dem 1. Jh. n.u.Z., dieser Person zugeordnet.[18] Der Grund hierfür ist die lokale Nähe zum Inschriftenstandort und die Größe des Baus sowie dessen üppige Ausstattung.

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[15] Ausführlich zur Fund- und Interpretationsgeschichte der Inschrift vgl. Bogaers 1979.

[16] *CIL* 7.11 = *RIB* 1.91 = *AE* 2008.772. Dies könnte man auf folgende Weise ins Deutsche übersetzen: "Für Neptun und Minerva, für das Wohlergehen des göttlichen Hauses [= Kaiserhaus/Kaiserfamilie] ist durch die Autorität von Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, König (und) kaiserlicher Legat in Britannien, und von der Gilde der Handwerker und ihrer Mitglieder dieser Tempel aus eigenen Mitteln gegeben/gestiftet worden ... (Clem)ens Sohn des Pudentinus."

[17] *CIL* 7.11 = *RIB* 1.91 = *AE* 2008.772. Vgl. Bogaers 1979.

[18] Vgl. Cunliffe 1971, 23-25, 165-169; Allen 2006, 99f.; Henig 2002, 48; Black 2008, 298-303; Russel 2010, 112, 146; Schörner 2011, 120f.

Aus ähnlichen Gründen gab es bereits Überlegungen, den Palast bei Calleva mit Cogidubnus in Verbindung zu bringen.[19]

Auf dieser dünnen Quellenbasis wurden spekulative Theorien entworfen, die sich bis heute in der Forschung halten: Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass Cogidubnus Klientelkönig eines Königreiches in Britannien war, welches jedoch durch die Quellen nicht überliefert ist. Meistens wird aufgrund der Inschrift das heutige Chichester als Zentrum dieser Königsherrschaft und der dortige Fishbourne-Palast als seine Königsresidenz angesehen. Das umliegende Land im Südosten Britanniens an der Ärmelkanalküste wird als sein königlicher Besitz betrachtet, wobei über die Ausdehnung sehr verschiedene Spekulationen im Raum stehen. Für gewöhnlich wird postuliert, dass Teile der heutigen Region Sussex zum Herrschaftsbereich gehört haben müssen. Das Königreich bildete laut dieser Hypothese also eine Enklave innerhalb der neugeschaffenen Provinz *Britannia*, die nach dem Herrschaftsende von Cogidubnus in die Provinz integriert wurde. Manche Historiker lokalisieren sein Königreich andernorts und betrachten ihn beispielsweise als einen Nachfolger der präclaudischen Klientelkönigtümer,[20] der diese angeblich nach der Invasion weiter betreut haben soll.[21]

Ähnlich divers sind die Ansätze für seine Herkunft und seinen Lebenslauf. Von manchen Historikern wird er als ein Mitglied der präclaudischen Klientelkönigsdynastien angesehen. Bisweilen wird er mit Togodumnus, König der Catuvellaunen,[22] identifiziert. Andere

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[19] Vgl. Fulford 2008, 6f.

[20] Gemeint sind die Gebiete, welche unter Caesar den Klientelkönigsdynastien von Commius und Tasciovanus übertragen wurden.

[21] Vgl. Cunliffe 1971, 23-25; 1973, 21-29; Barrett 1979, 229-238; Braund 1984b, 84; Frere [3]1987, 53; Braund 1988, 71; 1996, 111; Faulkner 1998, 68f.; Allen 2006, 99f.; Henig 2002, 37-47; Barrett 2009, 283; Birley 2005, 466-468; Creighton 2006, 31; Hind 2007, 99; Black 2008, 298-303; Fulford 2008, 6f.; Gambash 2009, 75, 80; Russel 2010, 110-112. Miles Russel hat sogar eine Rekonstruktion des Königreiches in Form einer geographischen Karte gewagt, vgl. Russel 2010, 111.

[22] König Togodumnus ist durch das Geschichtswerk von Cassius Dio bekannt und wird dort als Widerstandskämpfer und Feind der Römer beschrieben, der

bewerten ihn als einen Lokalakteur, der möglicherweise schon vorher ein König war und im Rahmen der Invasion durch Kooperation mit den Römern ihre Gunst und die ihres Kaisers gewann und somit seine Stellung erhielt. Es gibt aber auch die Überlegung auf Basis der linguistischen Analyse seines Namens, dass er ein Gallier war, der von den Römern als König in Britannien eingesetzt wurde.[23] Damit verbunden ist es ebenso umstritten, wann Cogidubnus König wurde und wann diese Herrschaft wieder endete. Wie bereits erwähnt, gibt es die Theorie, dass Cogidubnus bereits vor der claudischen Invasion ein König in Britannien war. Die Mehrheit der Forscher vermutet jedoch aufgrund des claudischen Gentilnomens und der taciteischen Darstellung, dass er in den ersten Jahren der Invasion und Provinzialisierung Britanniens zum König erhoben wurde. Ebenso unsicher sind die Angaben über das Ende des Königtums. Während Anthony Barrett ein Ende im Zeitraum des Boudicca-Aufstandes für plausibel hält, argumentiert David Braund, dass es keinerlei Indizien über die Dauer der Herrschaft gibt, weswegen Cogidubnus sogar noch bis in Tacitus' Zeiten aktiv gewesen sein könnte.[24] Derartige Spekulationen über ihn kulminieren beim Archäologen Martin Hennig, welcher ohne Quellenbelege romanartig die Geschichte des Königs von seiner frühen Kindheit bis zum Greisenalter schildert.[25] Dafür ist ihm bereits in einer Rezension anstatt einer wissenschaftlichen Methodik und Arbeitsweise ein "mixing of fiction (and fiction!)"[26] vorgeworfen worden.

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während der claudischen Invasion gegen sie kämpfte und dabei ums Leben kam. Vgl. Cass. Dio 60.20.1.

[23] Vgl. Cunliffe 1971, 23-25; Barrett 1979, 233-237; Braund 1984b, 39f.; Frere [3]1987, 53; Allen 2006, 99f.; Coates 2005, 364; Creighton 2006, 31; Russell 2006b, 41-43; Hind 2007, 99f.; Russel 2010, 108-112.

[24] Vgl. Cunliffe 1973, 21; Barrett 1979, 230-242; Frere [3]1987, 53; Braund 1996, 110-112; Hind 2007, 98; Black 2008, 298-303; Gambash 2009, 95.

[25] Neben nicht nachweisbaren biographischen Angaben zu Cogidubnus bereichert Henig die Darstellung mit fingierten Monologen und Dialogen zwischen historischen Persönlichkeiten, weswegen die Verwendung seiner Thesen und Analysen höchstproblematisch ist. Vgl. Henig 2002, 21-62.

[26] Fulford 2002.

Neben diesen Mutmaßungen zu den Eckdaten seines Lebens und seinem Königreich sind in diesem Untersuchungsrahmen besonders die Forschungsansätze zur Definition und Rolle seines Königtums von Interesse. Insbesondere der Titel *rex magnus* und das Amt *legatus Augusti* aus der Chichesterinschrift haben bis jetzt die Forschung beschäftigt. Die Problematik des Amtes bei der Befassung mit dem König schildert Barrett in folgender Weise:

> Cogidubnus' possible function as *legatus* also presents difficulties. Cunliffe remarks that as 'an imperial legate the king would have carried out a wide range of administrative duties' and Frere claims that the rank would have given Cogidubnus control over Roman citizens. However, such an arrangement would have been without precedent or parallel in Roman history and it is difficult to see how the king could have governed his *regnum* as an independent monarch, at least nominally so, and as a *legatus* of the emperor; the two roles seem in a sense to be mutually exclusive and it was not Roman practice to use two *legati* to administer one province. Also, there are no known parallels for a client-king's commanding a Roman legion as *legatus*. There are instances of individuals who attained the position of legionary *legatus* even though they were not of senatorial rank; however, in every instance they are Romans holding regular. One cannot avoid the conclusion that if Cogidubnus did hold the rank of *legatus Augusti,* the rank must be regarded as an inexplicable historical anomaly. The historical evidence, then, seems to support Professor Bogaers' doubts about the presence of the title in Chichester inscription.[27]

Barrett verweist hiermit auf wichtige Grundlinien der Forschungsdiskussionen um Cogidubnus. Das ihm zugeschriebene Königreich wird meist als unvereinbar mit dem Amt eines kaiserlichen Legaten betrachtet. Anstatt Zweifel über die Art des postulierten Königtums zu äußern, wird in der Forschung häufig das römische Amt als bezweifelnswert angesehen. Da es keine anderen Beispiele gibt und das Amt ungewöhnliche administrative Zuständigkeitsbereiche u.a. über

[27] Barrett 1979, 237f.

römische Bürger bedeuten würde, wird dies meistens als unrealistisch gewertet und die ursprüngliche Lesart der Chichesterinschrift als wahrscheinlich inkorrekt klassifiziert. Durch diesen Umstand konnte insbesondere die Lesart von Bogaers an Zustimmung gewinnen.[28]

Die von ihm interpretierte Titulatur *rex magnus* ist auf große Akzeptanz in der Forschung gestoßen. Bogaers empfand diese Titulatur auf den ersten Blick als "odd, not to say ludicrous"[29] für den britannischen Klientelkönig, jedoch konnte er durch einen Vergleich zu den Klientelkönigen im griechischen Osten mögliche Gründe für den Titel aufzeigen. Er konnte herausarbeiten, dass für diesen Raum drei Mal der lateinische Titel *rex magnus* epigraphisch überliefert ist und zwar für den herodianischen Klientelkönig Agrippa[30] und die emesenischen Klientelkönige Sohaemus und Sampsigeramus[31] und das jeweilig in der Stadt Baalbek. Neben der lateinischen Variante konstatierte Bogaers, dass das griechische Äquivalent *βασιλεὺς μέγας* ebenfalls unter den Klientelkönigen des Ostens weit verbreitet war. Hieraus schloss er, dass Cogidubnus wahrscheinlich in diesen Kontext einzuordnen und gleichartig ein Klientelkönig mit eigenem Königreich gewesen sei.[32] Darauf aufbauend vermuteten Bogaers, Frere, Braund und Birley, dass der Titel und die Tacitusbeschreibung implizieren könnten, dass dem König neben seinem *regnum* auch noch weitere Besitzungen unterstanden und zu seinem Herrschaftsbereich gehörten.[33] Für Barrett legten die gesonderte Erwähnung bei Tacitus und die Inschrift eher den Schluss nahe, dass das Reich von Cogidubnus ein sehr großes und signifikantes gewesen sein muss.[34]

Zwar mögen diese Ansätze prinzipiell plausibel erscheinen, jedoch wurden viele substanzielle Schwächen dieser Theorien ignoriert oder übersehen, die die Tragfähigkeit dieser Konzepte enorm angreifen

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[28] Vgl. Barrett 1979, 237f.; Bogaers 1979, 243-245.

[29] Bogaers 1979, 245.

[30] Es handelt sich um folgende Inschrift: vgl. *CIL* 3.14387 = *IGLS* 6.2759 = D 8957.

[31] Es handelt sich um folgende Inschrift: vgl. *CIL* 3.14387a = *IGLS* 6.2760 = D 8958.

[32] Vgl. Bogaers 1979, 252-254.

[33] Vgl. Bogaers 1979, 253; Frere [3]1987, 53; Braund 1996, 110; Birley 2005, 466-468.

[34] Vgl. Barrett 1979, 231-233.

und sie daher bedenkenswert machen. Der erste Punkt ist das postulierte *regnum* von Cogidubnus. Die Quellen erwähnen zwar den Königsstatus von Cogidubnus, jedoch wird ein damit verbundenes Königreich in keiner Form erwähnt. Auch wird in den Quellen zur claudischen Invasion und römischen Eroberung Britanniens von keinem Königreich erzählt, das man ihm zuordnen könnte. Diese berichten nämlich davon, dass Claudius von Beginn an das Gebiet zu einer Provinz formte und auch dementsprechend organisierte.[35] Zur Kreierung von Königreichen oder der Einsetzung von Königen in solche gibt es keine einzige Quellenerwähnung oder irgendein anderweitiges Indiz. Man erfährt für Britannien lediglich, dass Vertreter der alten Klientelkönigsdynastien, wie z.B. Caratacus oder Togodumnus, systematisch bekämpft, besiegt und als Gefangene nach Rom gebracht wurden.[36] In der Reichszentrale zelebrierte Claudius sogar auf einer Inschrift die Bezwingung von elf britannischen Königen, aber eine Einsetzung oder Bewahrung von solchen wird nicht einmal angedeutet.[37] Lediglich über die britannischen Könige Prasutagus und Cartimandua ist es bekannt, dass sie anfänglich während der Eroberung Britanniens die Herrschaft in ihren Königtümern beibehielten. Sie waren aber bereits vor der römischen Invasion Könige und ihre Territorien lagen an den vorläufigen nördlichen Grenzen der Provinz *Britannia*, wodurch sie auch vorerst nicht von der Invasion betroffen waren und mit den Römern kooperieren konnten.[38] Hingegen wird für Cogidubnus im Südosten Britanniens, also dem unmittelbaren Invasionsschauplatz, ein Königreich postuliert. All diese Punkte deuten gravierend gegen die Existenz eines Königtums oder dessen Kreation in der neugeschaffenen britannischen Provinz.

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[35] Vgl. Wesch-Klein 2016, 111.

[36] Vgl. Tac. *Hist.* 3.45; Cass. Dio 60.20.1; 61.33.3c = *Zon.* 11.10; Frere [3]1987, 48-52; Braund 1996, 96-108.

[37] Vgl. *CIL* 6.40416 = *CIL* 6.920 = *CIL* 6.31203 = *D* 216 = *AE* 1948.80 = *AE* 2004.38.

[38] Vgl. Frere [3]1987, 53f.; Braund 1996, 124-132; Birley 2005, 466-468; Creighton 2006, 29-31; Coert 2017a; 2017b.

Insbesondere lohnt sich eine vertiefende Beschäftigung mit dem Autoren Tacitus in Bezug auf die Darstellung der eben genannten zeitgenössischen britannischen Könige. Beide Könige im Norden werden bei Tacitus stets ihren Stämmen und Herrschaftsbereichen zugeordnet, wenn sie behandelt werden, indem er sie als *Cartimandua[e] regina[e] Brigantum*[39] und *Rex Icenorum Prasutagus*[40] bezeichnet. Interessanterweise geschieht aber gerade solch eine Zuordnung bei Cogidubnus durch Tacitus nicht. Wir erfahren lediglich, dass er *civitates* erhielt, ohne eine dazugehörige Spezifizierung zu bekommen, und dass er im Kontext von römischen Amtsträgern angeführt wird.[41] Im Gegensatz dazu spricht Tacitus bei Cartimandua und Prasutagus explizit von einem *regnum*, das jeweilig ihrer Herrschaft untersteht.[42] Dies evoziert den Eindruck, dass Tacitus hier sehr bewusst zwischen Cogidubnus und den anderen Königen differenziert, indem er ihnen andere Herrschaftselemente zuordnet und Cogidubnus im Gegensatz zu Cartimandua und Prasutagus statt einem *regnum* nur *civitates* beherrschen lässt. Wahrscheinlich soll hiermit deutlich zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, dass Cogidubnus ebensolch ein Königreich oder die Herrschaft über einen Stamm nicht besaß. Jedenfalls zeigt sich, dass es sehr problematisch ist, von dieser Tacitusstelle ein Königreich abzuleiten, wenn die betreffende Passage sich so sehr von den anderen taciteischen Königsbeschreibungen in Vokabular und Inhalt unterscheidet. Man könnte an dieser Stelle die klassische Gegenargumentation anführen, dass einerseits die relevanten literarischen Stellen für das Königtum von Cogidubnus nicht überliefert wurden, und andererseits Tacitus in *Agricola* vielleicht einen anderen Darstellungsstil nutzte als in den *Annalen* und *Historien*, wodurch man keinen Gegenbeweis zur Existenz des Königreichs anführen kann. Wenn man aber bedenkt, wie minutiös und ausgeklügelt Tacitus Könige in seinen Werkkomposi-

[39] Tac. *Ann.* 12.36.1: "Cartimandua, Königin der Briganten." In ähnlicher Weise auch bei den Historien. Vgl. Tac. *Hist.* 3.45.
[40] Tac. *Ann.* 14.31: "Prasutagus, König der Icener."
[41] Vgl. Tac. *Agr.* 14.1-3.
[42] Vgl. Tac. *Hist.* 3.45; *Ann.* 14.31.

tionen implementiert hat,[43] dann würden solche unbegründeten Unterschiede bei der Darstellung für den gleichen Status eines Königs doch sehr verwundern.

Es sprechen jedoch auch die archäologischen Quellen gegen das Vorhandensein solch eines Königreiches. Charakteristisch für die britannischen Klientelkönigtümer waren ihre vielfältigen und zahlreich gefundenen Münzprägungen. Seit Caesar kann man lokale Münzprägungen mit starken römischen Einflüssen bei den Klientelkönigtümern im Süden Britanniens nachweisen, die bis zur claudischen Invasion von den jeweiligen Königen in Auftrag gegeben wurden.[44] Selbst nach der Invasion kann man noch lokale Münzprägungen den eben behandelten Königen Cartimandua und Prasutagus zuordnen.[45] Gerade aber für das postulierte Königtum von Cogidubnus ist unter den vielen britannischen Prägungen keine einzige Münze zu finden, die man ihm attribuieren könnte.[46] Dies könnte eine unglückliche Überlieferungssituation bedeuten, oder aber wieder darauf hindeuten, dass es gar kein Königreich des Cogidubnus gab, da die Münzprägung der britannischen Klientelkönigreiche – insbesondere im Süden – eine feste Tradition hatte. Im Prinzipat waren solche Münzprägungen auch bei den Klientelkönigreichen in Afrika und dem griechischen Osten sehr weit verbreitet. Sie wurden dort nachweislich von der römischen Reichszentrale nicht nur stark beeinflusst, sondern teilweise sogar direkt in römischen Münzprägeanstalten hergestellt.[47] Umso mehr verwundert es daher, dass man ebensolche Funde für Cogidubnus und "sein Reich" nicht hat.

Gleichermaßen problematisch sind die postulierte Königshauptstadt Chichester und der damit verbundene Fishbourne-Palast, der als Kö-

[43] Ausführlich hierzu vgl. Gowing 1990.

[44] Vgl. Creighton 2000, 65-72, 101-125; 2006, 35-45.

[45] Vgl. Laver 1909; Frere $^{3}$1987, 53f.; Williams 2000; Russel 2010, 120f. Für die Münzen, die Cartimandua und dem Stamm der Briganten zugeordnet wurden, gab es auch schon Forschungsansätze, die sie anderen Stämmen zugerechnet haben. Vgl. Braund 1984a, 1; Hanson und Campbell 1986, 82.

[46] Vgl. Cunliffe 1973, 21; Barrett 1979, 231-233; Braund 1996, 109.

[47] Vgl. Dahmen 2010.

nigsresidenz gedeutet wird. Für dieses Anwesen wurden keinerlei Inschriften gefunden, die auf den Besitzer hindeuten oder irgendwelche Symbole und künstlerischen Elemente entdeckt, die in irgendeiner Form auf einen König oder die Repräsentation eines Königs hindeuten würden. Barry Cunliffe, der Ausgrabungen am Fishbourne-Palast betreute und die dort gemachten Ergebnisse dokumentierte, hat den Komplex auf die flavische Zeit datiert, also mehrere Jahrzehnte nach dem von vielen Historikern vermuteten Herrschaftsantritt zur Zeit der claudischen Invasion. Neben dieser Unstimmigkeit hat Cunliffes Analyse ergeben, dass das Anwesen keine spezifisch königlichen Elemente aufweist und der Bau ebenso gut einem hochrangigen römischen Beamten oder einem reichen Grundbesitzer gehört haben kann, obwohl er betont, König Cogidubnus als möglichen Besitzer damit nicht ausschließen zu wollen.[48] Auch wenn die Größe und die opulente Ausstattung der Anlage den Gedanken nahelegen, dass der Besitzer einen extraordinären Status besaß, ist dies kein Beweis für königlichen Besitz. Daher gab es bereits mehrere alternative Zuordnungen des Palastes. Miles Russel vermutete z.B., dass die Residenz für den römischen Statthalter Sallustius Lucullus erbaut wurde.[49] Somit affirmieren die zeitliche Diskrepanz und die unsichere Zuordnung den Zweifel an der Königsresidenz und einem damit verbundenen Königreich.

Hinzu kommt, dass man bei Fishbourne und Chichester Militärbauten gefunden hat, die laut Sheppard Frere wohl der *Legio II Augusta* zuzuordnen sind, welche aktiv an der britannischen Invasion beteiligt war. Frere interpretierte diese Funde als eine Militärbasis zur Zeit der britannischen Eroberung.[50] Solch ein römischer Militärstützpunkt scheint ebenfalls das Bild von einer Königshauptstadt und einem eigenständigen Königreich zu konterkarieren.

Das zentrale Argumentationselement für die königliche Hauptstadtthese ist aber vor allem die Chichesterinschrift, die das identi-

[48] Vgl. Cunliffe 1971, 165-169. Inzwischen gibt es neue Datierungsansätze zu dem Anwesen, die für einen früheren Bau sprechen könnten. Vgl. Black 2008, 293-297.
[49] Vgl. Russel 2006a.
[50] Vgl. Cunliffe 1973, 24-26; Frere $^{3}$1987, 58; Gambash 2009, 82.

fizierende Bindeglied zwischen der Stadt und Cogidubnus sein soll. Bei diesem epigraphischen Zeugnis und seiner Bedeutung für die Cogidubnusforschung ist jedoch ein sehr wichtiger Punkt bis jetzt nicht beachtet worden. So hat Bogaers zwar zu Recht einen Vergleich zu den Klientelkönigsinschriften in Baalbek gemacht, welche die gleichen Titulaturen aufweisen, jedoch die Eigenschaften des Inschriftenstandortes und die damit verbundenen Implikationen für den Vergleich nicht bedacht.[51] Baalbek war zu dieser Zeit eine römische Kolonie, die nicht zu den Territorien der epigraphisch erwähnten Könige gehörte, sondern Bestandteil der Provinz *Syria*.[52] Da viele Dynasten sich auf verschiedene Weisen auch in den Provinzen betätigten, sind solche Inschriften, die sich auf Klientelkönige beziehen, keine Seltenheit in den römischen Provinzen. So sind mannigfach Klientelkönige als Euergeten und Stifter epigraphisch in römischen Provinzstädten, insbesondere auch in der Stadt Athen, überliefert.[53] Die Grenzen der Provinzen und Königreiche stellten dabei keine administrative Barriere für die Dynasten und die römischen Magistraten dar, sodass sich diese Akteure nachweislich mehrfach auch in der Administration der jeweilig anderen Verwaltungsräume betätigen konnten. Zwei anschauliche Exempla hierfür sind die spanischen Provinzen und das Königreich Mauretanien. Auf der einen Seite übten die mauretanischen Könige Iuba II. und Ptolemaios die Funktionen von *duumviri* und *patroni* in den römischen Kolonien Gades und Carthago Nova aus und prägten dort sogar Provinzialmünzprägungen, obwohl

[51] Vgl. Bogaers 1979, 252-254.

[52] Vgl. Ragette 1980, 17.

[53] In Athen sind vor allem Ehreninschriften und -statuen zahlreicher Klientelherrscher überliefert. Wahrscheinlich wurden sie als Dank für die Baustiftungen, Spenden und anderweitigen Unterstützungen, die die Könige der Stadt zukommen ließen, errichtet. Neben derartigen euergetischen Betätigungen gab es auch noch andere Formen der royalen Partizipation an der attischen Stadtkultur. So ist beispielsweise der thrakische König Cotys als Archon von Athen überliefert. Zu den königlichen Spuren in Athen vgl. Graindor, 1927, 81-92. Für allgemeinere Informationen zum königlichen Euergetismus in römischen Provinzen vgl. Braund 1984b, 78f.; Wilker 2015.

diese spanischen Provinzstädte in keinem Bezug zu ihrem Königreich standen.[54] Hingegen gab es im Territorium des Königreiches Mauretanien einige römische Kolonien, die wiederum dem administrativen Zugriff der Könige entzogen waren und der Jurisdiktion des Statthalters der spanischen Provinz *Baetica* unterstanden.[55] Im Rückschluss auf Chichester zeigen diese Beispiele, dass die Inschrift kein Beweis und auch kein brauchbares Indiz sein kann, weder um Chichester als Königshauptstadt von Cogidubnus zu werten, noch um in irgendeiner Form ein Königreich in und um Chichester nachzuweisen. So würde man z.B. auch nicht bei den vorangegangenen Königsinschriften aus Athen oder Carthago Nova behaupten, dass diese Städte die Königsresidenzen der dort epigraphisch belegten Könige waren und dass ihr Umland königliche Enklaven in den Provinzen bildeten.

Eine ähnliche Situation präsentiert sich beim Palast von Calleva im heutigen Silchester. Auch hier hat man einen Palast, der wahrscheinlich aus neronischer Zeit stammt, mit König Cogidubnus in Verbindung bringen wollen. In diesem Fall gibt es aber nicht einmal Inschriften, geschweige denn besondere architektonische Elemente o.Ä., die aussagekräftig als Indizien auf irgendeinen König hinweisen könnten. Daher konstatierte bereits Michael Fulford, dass man nur mit Sicherheit sagen kann, dass das Gebäude wohl für eine hochrangige

[54] Das Engagement von Iuba II. und Ptolemaios lässt sich wahrscheinlich durch ihr gutes Verhältnis zum Kaiser und dessen Verbindung zu den Städten erklären. Iuba II. war vor seiner Königseinsetzung in der Familie Caesars und Octavians aufgewachsen, dort ausgebildet und somit auch ein Vertrauter der Familie geworden. Daher verwundert es nicht, dass er und sein Sohn in den iulischen Kolonien seiner Ziehväter aktiv waren und dort als Patrone und Duumviri Verantwortung für die Städte übernahmen, die in einem engen Verhältnis zu Caesar und Octavian standen. Für Augustus war es wahrscheinlich reizvoll, dass sich seine Vertrauten in der Administration seiner Kolonien betätigten. Vgl. *CIL* 2.3417; Avien. *Ora Mar.* 267-283; *RPC* I Nr. 169 + 172; Beltrán Martínez 1980; Braund 1988, 89; Roller 2003, 155f.; Schumacher 2008, 152; Falomir Pastor 2013, 108f.; Coert 2017c; 2017d.

[55] Vgl. Plin. *HN.* 5.2; Braund 1988, 71f.

Person gedacht war, und es völlig spekulativ bleibt, ob diese Person ein britannischer Dynast oder ein römischer Magistrat war.[56]

Dieses Konglomerat an Indizien und logischen Schwächen zeigt, dass das Konzept eines Königreiches unter Cogidubnus in der britannischen Provinz nicht tragfähig ist und die hierzu geäußerten Forschungsthesen stark zu bezweifeln sind. Somit ist auch das Argument von Barrett über die Widersprüchlichkeit eines *regnum* und einem *legatus Augusti* nicht mehr von Relevanz, und die damit verbundene Lesart auch nicht völlig absurd, sondern möglich und akzeptabel. Durch die Entkräftung oder zumindest Schwächung dieser Hauptthesen im Forschungsdiskurs um Cogidubnus lohnt sich eine Neubetrachtung dieses Königs und der zu ihm vorhandenen Quellen.

Sieht man von den bisher umstrittenen und kritischen Punkten ab, können zur Person von Cogidubnus folgende Informationen mit Sicherheit den Quellen entnommen werden: Die Inschrift zeigt, dass er das claudische Gentilnomen besaß.[57] Dies impliziert, dass er das römische Bürgerrecht hatte. Seit dem augusteischen Prinzipat war es üblich, dass die Kaiser das Bürgerrecht an Klientelkönige vergaben, weswegen rückschließend anzunehmen ist, dass Cogidubnus sein Bürgerrecht von einem Kaiser mit claudischem Gentiliz bekam.[58] Da hierfür nur die beiden Kaiser Claudius und Nero in Frage kommen[59] und Tacitus den König mit den Geschehnissen in Britannien unter der Ägide von Claudius kontextualisiert,[60] erscheint es naheliegend, dass dieser ihm auch das Bürgerrecht verlieh.[61] Wenn er das Bürgerrecht von

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[56] Vgl. Fulford 2008, 1-11.

[57] *CIL* 3.14387 = *IGLS* 6.2759 = *D* 8957: *[N]eptuno et Minervae / templum / [pr]o salute do[mus] divinae / [ex] auctoritate [Ti.] Claud(ii) / [Co]gidubni r(egis) lega[ti] Aug(usti) in Brit(annia) / [colle]gium fabror(um) et qui in eo / [- - -] d(e) s(uo) d(ant) donante aream / [Clem]ente Pudentini fil(io).*

[58] Vgl. Raggi 2010, 95f.

[59] Vgl. Kienast, Eck, und Heil [6]2017, 82, 88.

[60] Vgl. Tac. *Agr.* 14.1-3.

[61] Diese Annahme ist jedoch mit Vorsicht zu genießen, da nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann, dass statt Claudius Kaiser Nero das Bürgerrecht an den Dynasten verliehen hat. Studien zur Ankyraner Priester-Liste und den auf ihr ver-

Claudius erlangte, würde dies bedeuten, dass er erst unter Claudius von römischer Seite den Königstitel bekam, der auf der Inschrift erwähnt wird, bzw. in dieser Stellung als romtreuer Dynast anerkannt wurde, falls er bereits vorher in irgendeiner Form ein König war.[62] Ein vorher bestehendes Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zu Rom und dessen Kaisern kann damit ausgeschlossen werden, da er ansonsten wohl das julische Gentiliz von Claudius' Vorgängern tragen müsste. Zugleich evoziert damit das claudische Gentilnomen Zweifel daran, ob Cogidubnus mit den vorigen Klientelkönigsdynasten in Verbindung gebracht werden kann, da diese wohl von Caesar oder seinen kaiserlichen Nachfolgern das julische Gentilnomen bekommen hätten.[63] Somit deutet das Gentilnomen deutlich daraufhin, dass er wahrscheinlich unter Claudius erst seinen Titel von römischer Seite bekam und wahrscheinlich in keiner Verbindung zu den vorherigen römischen Dynasten stand.

Außerdem kann man der Inschrift entnehmen, dass er zusammen mit einer Gilde von Handwerkern, welche seinem Zuständigkeitsbereich unterstanden haben möge, aus eigenen Mitteln zum Wohl der *domus divinae* – also zum Wohl des Kaiserhauses – einen Tempel für Neptun und Minerva errichten ließ.[64] Erneut gibt es hiermit einen eindeutigen Bezug zum römischen Kaiserhaus, der die Verbindung des Königs zu diesem und den römischen Institutionen deutlich macht. Ebenso wird wieder ein Bezug auf die römische Sphäre mit der Tempelstiftung für die römischen Götter Neptun und Minerva erkennbar. Hier lohnt sich der Vergleich zu anderen Klientelkönigen, denn, wie bereits erwähnt wurde, waren solche königlichen Tempelbaustiftungen in der Kaiserzeit in den Provinzen weit verbreitet.[65]

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zeichneten galatischen Dynasten haben gezeigt, dass die kaiserliche Vergabe des römischen Bürgerrechts nicht zwanghaft für alle Klientelkönige gelten musste und teilweise relativ zögerlich erfolgen konnte. Ausführlich hierzu vgl. Coskun 2008, 157; 2014b.

[62] Ebenso David Braund interpretierte diese Stelle auf diese Weise. Vgl. Braund 1996, 110.

[63] Auch David Braund sah dies in ähnlicher Weise. Vgl. Braund 1996, 110.

[64] Vgl. *CIL* 3.14387 = *IGLS* 6.2759 = *D* 8957.

[65] Vgl. Braund 1984b, 78f.; Wilker 2015.

Beispielsweise hat König Herodes als Euerget Tempel in den Städten Berytus und Tyros in der Provinz *Syria* gestiftet und am Wiederaufbau des Apollontempels auf Rhodos mitgewirkt und sich wahrscheinlich auch am Tempelbau für den *genius* des Augustus in Athen beteiligt.[66] Selbst im Herzen des Imperiums berichtet uns eine Inschrift davon, dass ein Mitglied der arsakidischen Königsfamilie einen Tempel nur wenige Kilometer von der Tibermetropole entfernt in Nemi stiften und erbauen ließ.[67] Deutlich wird hieran, dass solche royalen Baustiftungen nicht mit der lokalen Existenz eines Königreiches zusammenhängen mussten. Im Fall von Chichester könnte es sich also genauso um eine euergetische Baustiftung von Cogidubnus in der britannischen Provinz handeln. Vielmehr spricht diese Stiftung sogar für seine Einbindung in die Provinz, da derartige euergetische Zuwendungen typisch für lokale Ritter und Eliten in den Provinzen waren.[68]

Zuletzt verdient noch die Titulatur *rex magnus Britanniae* bzw. nach anderer Lesart die Wortgruppe *rex legatus Augusti in Britannia* in der Inschrift Beachtung.[69] Beide Lesarten dokumentieren gleichermaßen den auf Britannien bezogenen Königsstatus. Es ist eine verwirrende Anomalie, dass Cogidubnus als König von *Britannia* bezeichnet wird, obwohl gleichzeitig die gleichnamige Provinz existierte.[70] Für das zeitgleiche Existieren von einem gleichnamigen territorialen Klientelkönigtum und einer gleichnamigen Provinz gibt es kein einziges Beispiel in der gesamten römischen Geschichte. Man würde erwarten, dass Cogidubnus wie Cartimandua und Prasutagus ein Königreich über ein spezifisches Gebiet oder einen Stamm erhielt, aber stattdessen wird bewusst auf den Namen der neu eingerichteten Provinz Bezug genommen, was implizieren würde, dass er König der neuen Provinz war. Die ältere Lesart gibt mit der Formulierung *in Britannia* einen

[66] Vgl. Joseph. *BJ* 1.280-281, 1.422, 1.424; *AJ* 14.377-378, 16.147; Suet. *Aug.* 60; Wilker 2015, 98f., 109.
[67] Vgl. *CIL* 14.2216 = *D* 843 = *AE* 2000.251.
[68] Vgl. Wesch-Klein 1999, 301-307.
[69] Vgl. *CIL* 3.14387 = *IGLS* 6.2759 = *D* 8957.
[70] Vgl. Wesch-Klein 2016, 110-113.

Hinweis darauf wie man dies noch verstehen könnte: Wahrscheinlich ist vielmehr gemeint, dass Cogidubnus in der Provinz *Britannia* tätig war und dort innerhalb der Provinz Zuständigkeitsbereiche besaß. Dies würde sich in Verbindung mit der wahrscheinlichen Nichtexistenz eines Königreiches plausibel zusammenfügen. Das vorhandene Inschriftenmaterial ließe auch die Ergänzung und Deutung *rex magnus Britannorum* zu, was wohl bedeuten würde, dass er mehreren britannischen Gruppierungen vorstand.

Nicht nur die Verwendung des Choronyms *Britannia* erscheint in der Lesart nach Bogaers problematisch, sondern auch der Großkönigstitel *rex magnus*. Derartige Großkönigstitel sind völlig atypisch für das antike Britannien und ansonsten in keinen weiteren Quellen für diese Region überliefert. Auch in den restlichen Königreichen, die im lateinischen Westen während der julioclaudischen Ära existierten, sind vergleichbare Großkönigstitel nicht auffindbar. Daher verwundert es nicht, dass Bogaers als Vergleichsmaterial Inschriften aus der Levantenregion heranziehen musste.[71] Solche Großkönigstitel, egal ob in der lateinischen Variante *rex magnus* oder der griechischen Form *βασιλεὺς μέγας*, haben ihren Ursprung im hellenistischen Osten und im iranischen Vorderasien. Und auch nur dort wurden sie im Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit hauptsächlich verwendet.[72] Umso irritierender wirkt daher die Nutzung der Titulatur im geographisch weit davon distanzierten Britannien. Zusätzlich scheint es naheliegend zu sein, dass Cogidubnus, wie die gleichen Titelträger im Osten, ein besonders großes Reich besaß oder eine extraordinär angesehene und hohe Herrschaftsstellung genoss, wenn er solch ein *rex magnus* war. Dass aber nichts über solch eine Herrschaft überliefert ist und dass Tacitus dem britischen Dynast lediglich *civitates* zuordnet, scheint gegen die wortgewaltige Titellesart von Bogaers zu sprechen.

Hingegen ist die Bezeichnung *legatus Augusti* keineswegs eine fremde Bezeichnung für diese Region, die man, wie z.B. den Großkönigstitel, erst auf einem anderen Kontinent als Vergleichsmaterial

[71] Vgl. Bogaers 1979, 252-254.
[72] Vgl. Muccioli 2013, 395-417.

suchen müsste. So ist nämlich die Wortgruppe *legatus Augusti pro praetore* auf mehreren Inschriften in Britannien tradiert und als Begriff für die dortigen römischen Statthalter geläufig gewesen, so wie sie es auch für viele andere kaiserliche Provinzen war.[73] Jedoch waren keineswegs die Statthalter die einzigen Personen in den Provinzen, die *legati Augusti* sein konnten, denn auch dem Heer, Magistraten und Imperiumsträgern dienten oft kaiserliche Legaten als hochgestellte Assistenten oder Berater. Sie beteiligten sich somit z.B. auch an der provinzialen Administration.[74] Das Amt eines Statthalters kann man wohl für Cogidubnus ausschließen, aber sollte diese Lesart der Inschrift richtig sein, so könnte erwägt werden, ob Cogidubnus vielleicht eine untergeordnete Legatenstellung im Heer oder der Provinz genoss.

Neben der Inschrift gibt uns Tacitus auch noch Informationen zu besagtem König. Er berichtet davon, dass dem *rex* Cogidubnus während der Provinzialisierung Britanniens *civitates* gegeben wurden und er den Römern sehr treu blieb.[75] In der Wortwahl wird also sehr bewusst Abstand von klassischen Formulierungen genommen, in denen direkt von der Übergabe eines *regnum* an einen Klientelkönig gesprochen wird, wie sie Tacitus normaler Weise für Königseinsetzungen in seinem Werk verwendet hat.[76] Den Grund für die Vergabe

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[73] Vgl. Birley 2005, 10.

[74] Vgl. Schäfer 1989, 51; Ausbüttel 1998, 32.

[75] Tac. *Agr.* 14.1-2: *Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae, addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur.*

[76] Meist spricht Tacitus bei solch einer Situation davon, dass einem *rex* ein *regnum* oder eine *gens* gegeben wird (*dare/donare*), er in ein Gebiet eingesetzt (*inponere/imponere*) oder diesem vorangestellt wird (*praeficere*) oder wiederum solch einem Königreich oder Volk vom Kaiser ein König gegeben wird. Als Beispiele hierfür vgl. Tac. *Ann.* 2.3.2, 2.4, 2.63.5, 11.8.1, 11.9.1, 12.29.1, 14.26.2, 15.27.2.

von den *civitates* nennt er auch, denn dies geschah laut Tacitus "nach dem alten und früh schon geübten Brauch des römischen Volkes, als Werkzeug zur Knechtung auch Könige zu benutzen."[77] Nach dieser Darstellung wurden Cogidubnus Bürgerschaften als Zuständigkeitsbereich zugeteilt, damit er diese für das römische Volk verwaltet. Interessant ist, dass Tacitus dies nicht einmal als eine besondere Ausnahme präsentiert, sondern es als ein gängiges Modell zur Administration und Unterwerfung von Reichsteilen beschreibt, in welchem anscheinend solche Könige als Werkzeuge der römischen Reichsverwaltung üblich waren. Zu beachten ist hierbei, dass diese Übertragung von *civitates* an König Cogidubnus von Tacitus direkt im Kontext der Provinzeinrichtung der Tätigkeiten der ersten Statthalter genannt wird, sodass der Eindruck entsteht, dass dieser König und seine Zuständigkeitsbereiche Bestandteil ebenjener Provinzorganisation waren.

Das vorliegende Indizienparadigma legt zwar in seiner Gänze nicht die Existenz eines Königreiches nahe, zeigt jedoch dafür auffällige Parallelen zu den Dynasten ohne königliche Territorien innerhalb der Provinzen auf, die anfangs als Beispiele angeführt wurden. Daher lohnt es sich, die erarbeiteten Informationen zu Cogidubnus mit derartigen royalen Akteuren zu vergleichen, um ein besseres Verständnis für die Situation des Britanniers entwickeln zu können. Beispielsweise gibt es bei Strabon eine Passage zur Einsetzung des galatischen Dynasten Adiatorix in die Stadt Herakleia Pontike in der pontischen Provinz, die auffallend ähnliche Umstände zu beschreiben scheint:

> ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἡράκλεια πόλις ἐστὶν εὐλίμενος καὶ ἄλλως ἀξιόλογος, ἥ γε καὶ ἀποικίας ἔστελλεν· ἐκείνης γὰρ ἥ τε Χερρόνησος ἄποικος καὶ ἡ Κάλλατις· ἦν τε αὐτόνομος, εἶτ᾽ ἐτυραννήθη χρόνους τινάς, εἶτ᾽ ἠλευθέρωσεν ἑαυτὴν πάλιν· ὕστερον δ᾽ ἐβασιλεύθη γενομένη ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις· ἐδέξατο δ᾽ ἀποικίαν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας. λαβὼν δὲ παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου τὸ μέρος τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως Ἀδιατόριξ ὁ Δομνεκλείου τετράρχου Γαλατῶν υἱός, ὃ κατεῖχον οἱ Ἡρακλειῶται,

[77] Tac. *Agr.* 14.1: *... vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges...*

> μικρὸν πρὸ τῶν Ἀκτιακῶν ἐπέθετο νύκτωρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτούς, ἐπιτρέψαντος, ὡς ἔφασκεν ἐκεῖνος, Ἀντωνίου· θριαμβευθεὶς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ νίκην ἐσφάγη μεθ᾽ υἱοῦ· ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ποντικῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς συντεταγμένης τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ.[78]

Man erfährt aus diesem Ausschnitt, dass Adiatorix, ein Abkömmling aus den galatischen Tetrarchenfamilien, für den ansonsten keine Herrschaften überliefert sind, 41 v.u.Z. als Dynast über einen Teil der Bevölkerung von Herakleia Pontike eingesetzt wurde.[79] Dies geschah, obwohl die Gemeinde laut Strabon nicht mehr Bestandteil von Königreichen war, sondern der Herrschaft der Römer unterstand, welche sie 72 v.u.Z. in die Provinz *Pontus* integriert hatten.[80] Taciteisch formuliert ist dem Dynasten Adiatorix eine *civitas* in der Provinz *Pontus* übergeben worden und das völlig ohne den Zwang ein Königreich o.Ä. zu kreieren. Diese Herrschaft über die provinziale Gemeinde war anscheinend bis zu dem Zeitpunkt unproblematisch, an dem der Dynast die Treue zum eigentlichen römischen Herrscher brach. Man kann also explizit das gleiche Phänomen wiederfinden, welches zwar auch für Cogidubnus beschrieben wird, aber von der Forschung bisher nur mit

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[78] Strab. 12.3.6 (542-543): "Herakleia ist eine Stadt mit gutem Hafen und auch sonst beachtlich: hat sie doch sogar Koloniegründungen unternommen (sie ist ja die Mutterstadt von Chersoneos und Kallatis). Sie war selbstständig, wurde dann einige Zeit von Tyrannen beherrscht, aber machte sich dann wieder frei; später wurde sie von Königen regiert. Unter die Herrschaft der Römer gekommen bekam sie eine Kolonie der Römer gegen einen Teil der Stadt und des Landes. Als dann Adiatorix, der Sohn des Domnekleios, des Tetrarchen der Galater, von Antonius den Teil der Stadt bekommen hatte den die Herakleioten bewohnten, überfiel er kurz vor dem Aktischen Krieg nachts die Römer und metzelte sie nieder – mit Antonius' Erlaubnis, wie er behauptete; er wurde in dem Triumphzug nach dem Sieg bei Aktion mitgeführt und zusammen mit einem Sohn hingerichtet. Die Stadt gehört zur Pontischen Provinz, die mit Bithynien zusammengelegt ist." Die deutsche Übersetzung ist nach der Strabonausgabe von Radt 2004 zitiert.

[79] Für die Informationen und Daten zur Einsetzung und Biographie von Adiatorix vgl. Sullivan 1990, 171; Marek ²2010, 384; Coskun 2010, 40f.

[80] Vgl. Bittner 1998, 104-107.

der Einrichtung und Existenz eines Königreiches akzeptiert wurde. Gerade das Beispiel von Adiatorix zeigt aber, dass solch eine Bedingung überhaupt nicht an die Situation von Cogidubnus herangetragen werden muss. So wäre es auch eine Option, dass der Britannier auf ganz ähnliche Weise als Dynast über einige Gemeinden oder Orte in der Provinz *Britannia* eingesetzt wurde – mit dem Unterschied, dass er laut Tacitus den Römern gegenüber treu blieb.[81] Seine Baustiftung und Widmung an das Kaiserhaus könnte ein Ausdruck dessen sein und zeigen, dass er sich wohl um die Gunst der Provinzbevölkerung und der Kaiserfamilie bemühte, um seine eigene Stellung in dieser Administrationskonstellation zu sichern.

Die Beweggründe, sowohl für die Einsetzung von Adiatorix als auch von Cogidubnus, sind unbekannt. Tacitus gibt aber einen ernst zu nehmenden Hinweis hierauf, wenn er davon spricht, dass die Römer Könige als Werkzeug zur Knechtung nutzten.[82] Man kann in mehreren kürzlich eingerichteten Provinzen beobachten, dass Rom weiterhin auf die lokalen Dynastien zurückgriff, um die Administration der Provinz und die Vermittlung mit der Lokalbevölkerung zu bewerkstelligen. Exemplarisch sind dafür die Herodianer, welche eine entscheidende Rolle beim römischen Umgang mit Judaea einnahmen und auch außerhalb dieser Region als Vermittler zwischen Römern und Juden in den Provinzen dienten.[83] Ebenso im provinzialisierten Galatien kann man lange die Spuren der Tetrarchendynastien in der Provinzverwaltung verfolgen.[84] Eine Stelle aus Caesars *Bellum Alexandrinum* zeigt deutlich auf, dass Dynasten und Könige auch in die Provinzen inkorporiert waren, wodurch einzelne Gebiete innerhalb der Provinzen wohl unter der Herrschaft derartiger Individuen stehen konnten. So berichtet nämlich Caesar, dass er bei seiner Reise durch die Provinz

[81] Vgl. Tac. *Agr.* 14.1.
[82] Vgl. Tac. *Agr.* 14.1.
[83] Vgl. Wilker 2007, 471-476.
[84] Vgl. Coskun 2008, 153-158.

*Syria* "reges, tyrannos, dynastas provinciae finitimosque,"[85] also Könige, Tyrannen und Dynasten aus der Provinz und aus der Nachbarschaft empfing. Gleichermaßen wäre es denkbar, dass Kaiser Claudius und die ersten Provinzmagistrate bei der Einrichtung der Provinz *Britannia* ein Interesse daran hatten, auf lokale Akteure oder Dynasten wie Cogidubnus zurückzugreifen, um mit deren Wissen und indigenen Kontakten die Administration des kürzlich eroberten Gebietes zu erleichtern. Besonders der Boudicca-Aufstand unter Nero ist ein flagrantes Indiz darauf, dass es Probleme mit vielen Gruppen, Gemeinden und Regionen in der neu geschaffenen Provinz gab.[86] Um mit solchen virulenten Gruppen und Ortschaften umzugehen, könnte ein lokaler König zur Betreuung und Vermittlung mit der Provinzialadministration attraktiv gewesen sein. Ähnlich wie bei der caesarischen Beschreibung der Provinz *Syria* und der angrenzenden Gebiete, könnte auch Cogidubnus parallel zu den Magistraten dahingehend in der Provinz aktiv gewesen sein.

Ein Novum wäre solch eine Strategie nicht, denn Strabon berichtet von genau solchen römischen Abwägungen zwischen Königen und Magistraten bezüglich der Reichsadministration. Zur Organisation Kilikiens, welches grundlegend als Provinz verwaltet wurde,[87]

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[85] Caes. *BAlex*. 65.3-4: *Haec in Syria, Cilicia, Asia celeriter se confecturum sperabat, quod hae provinciae nullo bello premebantur; in Bithynia ac Ponto plus oneris videbat sibi impendere. Non excessisse enim Ponto Pharnacen audiebat neque excessurum putabat, cum secundo proelio vehementer esset inflatus quod contra Domitium Calvinum fecerat. Commoratus fere in omnibus civitatibus quae maiore sunt dignitate, praemia bene meritis et viritim et publice tribuit, de controversiis veteribus cognoscit ac statuit; reges, tyrannos, dynastas provinciae finitimos, qui omnes ad eum concurrerant, receptos in fidem condicionibus impositis provinciae tuendae ac defendendae dimittit et sibi et populo Romano amicissimos*. Vgl. zur Interpretation dieser Quellenpassage Schmitt 2005, 191.

[86] Vgl. Du Toit 1977; Gambash 2012.

[87] Es handelt sich um einen weit verbreiteten Fehlschluss der althistorischen Forschung, dass die im Jahr 103 v.u.Z. errichtete Provinz *Cilicia* im Jahr 43 v.u.Z. zu einem Ende kam und ihre Territorien an Klientelherrscher vergeben wurden, bis Kaiser Vespasian das Gebiet wieder zu einer Provinz reorganisierte. Tassilo

erzählt er, dass in einem Teil dieser Region, beim rauhen Kilikien, darüber sinniert wurde, ob sich eher Statthalter oder Könige für die Administration dieses Bereiches eignen würden. Die Entscheidung fiel dabei auf die Könige. Die ausschlaggebenden Argumente waren laut Strabon, dass Könige besser lokale Piraterie und Räuberbanden händeln können, im Gegensatz zu einem Statthalter dauerhaft präsent sind und auch über eigene Truppen verfügen.[88] Derartige Quellenpassagen zeigen deutlich, dass gleichermaßen Magistrate und Klientelkönige als römische Verwaltungsmodi begriffen wurden, die opportun in verschiedenen Regionen des Reiches und der Provinzen Anwendung fanden. Gleiche Überlegungen wird es sicherlich bei der Formung der britannischen Provinz gegeben haben. Ob es die gleichen Kriterien, wie in Kilikien, waren, die dazu führten, dass einige *civitates* der Provinz König Cogidubnus anvertraut wurden, kann nicht mit Gewissheit gesagt werden. Viel wichtiger erscheint es, dass Cogidubnus wahrscheinlich aus genau solch einem Abwägungsprozess heraus zu seiner Stellung gelangt ist, da er wohl eine attraktive und vorteilhafte Ergänzung zu den Provinzmagistraten darstellte. Wie die Könige des rauhen Kilikiens, konnte auch er dauerhaft in bestimmten Bereichen der Provinz präsent und politisch aktiv sein und sich somit intensiver und längerfristiger um problematische oder subversive Gruppen und Regionen kümmern als die im regelmäßigen Turnus wechselnden Magistrate aus Rom.

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Schmitt hat diese These überzeugend widerlegt: Nur bestimmte Teilbereiche Kilikiens wurden an Könige vergeben, während andere Teile der Region dauerhaft in diesem Zeitraum als Provinz organisiert wurden. Vgl. Schmitt 2005.

[88] Strab. 14, 5, 6: εὐφυοῦς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τόπου πρὸς τὰ λῃστήρια καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν (κατὰ γῆν μὲν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ἐθνῶν, πεδία καὶ γεώργια ἐχόντων μεγάλα καὶ εὐκατατρόχαστα, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τε ναυπηγησίμου ὕλης καὶ τῶν λιμένων καὶ ἐρυμάτων καὶ ὑποδυτηρίων), ἐδόκει πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τοιοῦτο βασιλεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς τόπους ἢ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόσιν εἶναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις πεμπομένοις, οἳ μήτ᾽ ἀεὶ παρεῖναι ἔμελλον μήτε μεθ᾽ ὅπλων. οὕτω μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ τὴν τραχεῖαν Κιλικίαν.

Vielleicht besaß er dafür sogar eigene militärische Truppen, wie die kilikischen Könige. Das mögliche Legatenamt könnte dies implizieren.

Eventuell mag man an dieser Stelle bemängeln, dass dies alle Vergleiche zum hellenistischen Osten seien, der in einigen Verwaltungsbereichen anders als der lateinische Westen, insbesondere als Britannien, funktionierte. Betrachtet man die Strukturen des Westens jedoch näher kann man vielmehr Parallelen aufdecken, denn die Julioclaudier hatten ebensolche administrativen Taktiken auch in den benachbarten gallischen, germanischen und alpinen Provinzen in Kontinentaleuropa angewandt. Hier waren zahlreiche Mitglieder von lokalen Fürsten- und Königsfamilien in die neuen elitären, römischen Positionen der Provinzen, wie z.B. im Kaiserkult, im Heer und in der urbanen und provinzialen Administration, integriert worden.[89] Damit verbunden waren auch viele dieser Akteure, in den Ritterstand aufgenommen worden,[90] welchen man als Voraussetzung für die Stellung eines Legaten ansehen dürfte. In diesem Rahmen beobachtete bereits Edward Luttwak, dass sich in dieser Zeit Personen mit dualem Status entwickelten. Das heißt, es gab Personen, die sowohl Könige oder Fürsten als auch Träger römischer oder provinzialer Ämter waren.[91]

Für den Alpenraum ist dahingehend insbesondere König Cottius prominent, der trotz seines Königtums auch ein römischer Ritter war und das Amt eines Präfekten innehatte.[92] Nach aktuellem Forschungsstand bekam Cottius die cottischen Alpen als Präfektur von Augustus zugesprochen und konnte in dieser Form die Region in-

[89] Vgl. Flaig 1992, 532-543; Schäfer 2000, 32-40, 121-126, 146-150; Dahlheim $^{3}$2003, 51; Alföldy 2011, 164f.

[90] Vgl. Schäfer 2000, 32-40, 121-126, 146-150.

[91] Vgl. Luttwak 1976, 39f.

[92] Vgl. Letta 1976, 37-76; Luttwak 1976, 39f.; Wesch-Klein 2008, 70-75; Roncaglia 2013, 356-358; Cornwell 2015, 50-57; 2017, 59-62. Archäologische Funde deuten darauf hin, dass unter den Julioclaudiern noch weitere Klientelkönige dem Ritterstand angehörten und die dazugehörigen Insignien trugen. Michaela Konrad hat dies z.B. für die Königsdynastie von Emesa untersucht. Vgl. hierzu Konrad 2014, 41f., 56.

nerhalb des römischen Administrationsapparates willkürlich regieren, solange er für die Kontrolle der dortigen Stämme und die infrastrukturellen Verbindungen zwischen den Provinzen Sorge trug. Diese Präfektur konnte und wurde sogar an seine Nachfahren vererbt, die, wie er auch, den Königstitel tragen durften, obwohl sie römische Präfektenämter bekleideten.[93] Ähnlich wie Cogidubnus, erlangten die cottischen Könige vor allem durch Bauten und dazugehörige Inschriften eine breitere Bekanntheit. Sie errichteten Straßennetze zwischen den Provinzen und zu Ehren des Kaisers den Augustusbogen von Segusio (heutiges Susa).[94] Könnte dieses Paradigma ein Vorbild für die Position von Cogidubnus sein? Möglicherweise besaß er eine ganz ähnliche Sonderstellung in der Provinzialverwaltung, in deren Rahmen er, wie Cottius, ein römisches *imperium* über einzelne Gemeinden oder Stämme erhielt und trotzdem den Königstitel tragen durfte.

Rückblickend bedeuten diese Informationen für Cogidubnus nicht nur, dass der Zweifel an der zwangsläufigen Existenz eines *regnum* verbunden mit einem Königstitel affirmiert wird, sondern auch, dass Cogidubnus auf ähnliche Weise in die britannische Provinz integriert worden sein könnte. So war es in der frühen Kaiserzeit ein gängiges Modell, dass Statthalter Aufgaben der Administration in den Provinzen an Legaten, Prokuratoren oder andere Akteure delegierten, um den großen Verwaltungsaufwand einer Provinz bewerkstelligen zu können.[95] In solch einem Rahmen könnten, wie in der Beschreibung von Tacitus angedeutet, dem König verschiedene *civitates* in der Provinz *Britannia* zur Verwaltung und Betreuung anvertraut worden sein. Bereits Richard Talbert konnte aufzeigen, dass Grenzziehungen innerhalb der Provinzen und daraus resultierende verschiedene Administrationsbereiche üblich waren, wodurch die Römer unterschiedliche opportune Verwaltungspraxen in den einzelnen Re-

[93] Vgl. Cornwell 2015, 67f.; 2017, 60-63.
[94] Vgl. Amm. Marc. 15.10.2-7; Witschel 2008, 91-93; Cornwell 2015, 64-67; 2017, 61-65.
[95] Vgl. Ausbüttel 1998, 32.

gionen der Provinzen anwenden konnten.[96] Ein gutes Beispiel ist dafür die Einrichtung der Provinz Achaea unter Augustus, denn auch hier kann man derartige gespaltene Administrationsräume beobachten. Obwohl fast das gesamte griechische Kernland in der Obhut der in Korinth ansässigen Statthalter lag, wurden Sparta, Kythera und weitere Gebiete in Lakonien der euryklidischen Dynastie anvertraut, die hier eine durch die Quellen nicht näher definierte Herrschaftsstellung neben den herkömmlichen Ämtern genossen. Neben dieser Sonderstellung in der Provinzverwaltung partizipierten sie an der royalen Kultur ihrer Zeit, fungierten als Kaiserpriester in Achaea, frönten dem Euergetismus in Griechenland und übernahmen auch in der restlichen Provinz Ämter, wie z.B. das eines Prokurators in Korinth oder eines Archonten in Athen.[97] In dieser kurzen Aufzählung und auch in den vorigen Vergleichen finden sich viele Parallelen zu dem hier untersuchten britischen Dynasten. Daher könnte man diese Konzepte auch an Cogidubnus herantragen und vermuten, dass er auf vergleichbare Weise als König abgegrenzte Bereiche in der Provinz *Britannia* administrierte, für die er als vorteilhafter gegenüber klassischen Magistraten erachtet wurde. Wahrscheinlich wollte Tacitus genau solch eine Situation vermitteln, wenn er von der Formung und Einrichtung der Provinz unter den ersten britannischen Statthaltern erzählt und beiläufig erwähnt, dass man in diesem Rahmen auch Cogidubnus einige Gaue zur Administration übergab.[98] Er wäre demnach ein imperialer Verwalter und damit eventuell auch ein Vermittler und Integrator innerhalb der Provinz gewesen, der einzelne, möglicherweise problematische, Gemeinwesen betreute. Damit würde der König ganz der taciteischen Beschreibung entsprechen, indem er als ein römisches Werkzeug zur Knechtung innerhalb der Provinz genutzt wurde. Vielleicht bekam er sogar in die-

[96] Vgl. Talbert 2005.
[97] Vgl. Strab. 8.5.1; Paus. 3.26.7; 4.31.1; Cass. Dio 54.7.2; Bowersock 1965, 59f.; Baltrusch 1998, 114f.; Canali De Rossi 2001, 101; Thommen 2003, 200-203.
[98] Vgl. Tac. *Agr.* 14.1-3.

ser Funktion den Status eines kaiserlichen Legaten, wie es auf der Inschrift erwähnt wird.

Die damit verbundenen administrativen Pflichten und die Kontrolle über römische Bürger, die bisher einigen Historikern für die Akzeptanz dieses Amtes gefehlt haben,[99] wären in solch einer Konstellation auch gut vorstellbar. Bedenkt man, dass bereits vor dem britannischen Dynasten König Herodes ein *procurator* der Provinz *Syria* gewesen war,[100] wäre diese Stellung auch gar nicht so absurd, wie es bisher viele Forscher bewertet haben.[101] In ähnlicher Weise findet man nämlich Dynasten, die römische Ämter in den Provinzräumen bekleideten, auch im lateinischen Westen. Prominent sind hierfür die bereits erwähnte cottische Dynastie in den Alpen und zahlreiche Stammesfürsten im Maghreb, welche als *praefecti gentis* und *praefecti civitatis* Substrukturen in den Provinzen administrierten.[102] In vergleichbarer Form und Funktion könnte auch das Amt eines kaiserlichen Legaten dem Britannier verliehen worden sein. Wie bei den behandelten cottischen Königen, die über Präfektenämter ihren Herrschaftsbereich über Stämme zugeteilt bekamen, könnte mit einem derartigen Legatenamt auch Cogidubnus erst die Herrschaft über die von Tacitus genannten *civitates* in der Provinz verliehen worden sein.

Wenn man abseits der klassischen römischen Quellen recherchiert, kann man einen Autoren finden, der eine Königsrolle im claudischen Britannien beschreibt, die ganz ähnlich der hier entwickelten Interpretation ist. Die Rede ist vom mittelalterlichen, britischen Historiker Geoffrey von Monmouth, der in seinem Werk über die britischen Könige davon schreibt, dass Kaiser Claudius bei der Provinzeinrichtung Britanniens auch einen König in ihr installierte. Dieser König soll laut der Quelle unter römischer Autorität sich um verschiedene Gemein-

[99] Vgl. Barrett 1979, 237f.

[100] Vgl. Joseph. *AJ* 14.280; *BJ* 1.225. Ausführlich zur Prokuratorenstellung von Herodes vgl. Barrett 2009.

[101] Vgl. Barrett 1979, 237f.

[102] Für die cottische Königsdynastie vgl. Letta 1976; Wesch-Klein 2008, 70-75; Roncaglia 2013, 356-358. Für die Fürsten in Mauretanien und Numidien vgl. Kotula 1965, 348f.; Lepelley 1974; Weiß 2006; Tiersch 2015, 250-252, 258-260.

den und Städte in der Provinz und deren Wiederaufbau gekümmert und zusätzlich sich um die Gerechtigkeit gegenüber der Lokalbevölkerung gesorgt haben.[103] Finden sich hier die Spuren von einem König, der laut Tacitus *civitates* in Britannien anvertraut bekam?

Der Quellenwert von Geoffrey von Monmouth ist nicht umsonst umstritten. Zum einen behauptet der Autor selber alte Schriften, wie z.B. walisische Chroniken, für sein Geschichtswerk recherchiert und übersetzt zu haben und auch in der Forschung kann man im Quellenvergleich nachvollziehen, dass er historische Informationen akkurat in seinem Werk aufgegriffen hat. Andererseits durchziehen auch eindeutig immer wieder Fehler, Fiktionen und Erfindungen des Schreibers die Geschichtsdarstellungen. Dadurch ist der Quellenwert für das antike Britannien schwerlich zu evaluieren und die Unterscheidung zwischen Fakten und Falschinformationen nicht immer einfach.[104] Interessanter Weise tauchen aber in ebenjenen Claudiusepisoden auch zwei Könige auf, Cunobelinus und Cassivellaunus, die auch gut durch die klassischen antiken Autoren überliefert sind.[105] Somit sind einige richtige Elemente bereits bei der Beschreibung des claudischen Britanniens mit Sicherheit gegeben. Eventuell ist also auch die Beschreibung des royalen Akteurs, der sich um die Städte und Lokalbevölkerung in der britannischen Provinz gekümmert hat, nicht komplett fingiert und gibt vielleicht sogar die Tätigkeiten eines Königs namens Cogidubnus wieder.

Eine weitere Option, die die eben ausgeführte Möglichkeit nicht negieren muss und Vorbilder im griechischen Osten finden würde, wäre, dass Cogidubnus für besondere Verdienste, Ämter oder Funktionen in der Provinz mit dem Königstitel geehrt wurde. So ist es für Dexandros, einem der ersten Sebastos-Priester in der Provinz *Syria*, überliefert, dass er unter Augustus oder Tiberius königliche Ehren erhielt. Ebenso besaßen seine Nachkommen, die ebenfalls im Kai-

[103] Geoffrey von Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, 4.68-69.339-350.

[104] Zur Forschungsdiskussion über die verwendeten Quellen von Geoffrey Monmouth und seinen Umgang mit diesen vgl. Jankulak 2010, 13-21.

[105] Geoffrey von Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, 4.63-65.260-282.

serkult und in der Provinz rege aktiv waren, solche königlichen Ehren. Zuletzt ist dies für die Regierungszeit von Kaiser Hadrian dokumentiert, der diese königlichen Ehren explizit an den Nachfahren L. Iulius Agrippa vergab.[106] In ähnlicher Weise bekleidete Zenon von Laodikeia provinziale Ämter, übernahm die Stellung des Hohepriesters in der Provinz *Asia* und bekam dafür von Kaiser Augustus königliche Ehren.[107] Zurückblickend wäre es auch für den britannischen König denkbar, dass er für besondere Verdienste oder gesellschaftliche Positionen, die mit einigen *civitates* zusammenhingen, königliche Honorierungen erhielt.

Vielleicht war er sogar im britannischen Kaiserkult involviert.[108] Seine religiöse Stiftung und Kaiserwidmung könnten dafür ein Indiz sein. Am kimmerischen Bosporus war es z.B. Tradition, dass die Könige auch gleichzeitig Hohepriester des Kaiserkultes waren.[109] Das ist kein Einzelfall, denn in der julioclaudischen Zeit kann man für viele Klientelkönige und ihre Familienmitglieder nachweisen, dass sie nicht nur in ihren eigenen Königreichen als Priester des Kaiserkultes tätig waren, sondern auch oft diese Rolle in benachbarten Provinzgebieten übernahmen.[110] Ganz ähnlich kann man auch im keltisch-germanischen Raum beobachten, wie die Römer Angehörige von lokalen Fürstenfamilien als Priester in den Kaiserkult einsetzten, wie es beispielsweise für den Germanen Segimundus überliefert ist.[111] Wie gesagt, erregen die Tempelstiftung und die Widmung an das göttliche Kaiserhaus den Verdacht, dass bei Cogidubnus ähnliche Verflechtung-

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[106] Vgl. Coskun 2014a.

[107] Vgl. Thonemann 2004.

[108] Neben der bloßen Existenz des Kultes in der frühen britannischen Provinz ist nur wenig über den britannischen Kaiserkult im 1. Jh. n.u.Z. bekannt, sodass auch die mit ihm verbundenen Priester und anderen Akteure bisher großteilig ein ungeklärtes Mysterium in der Forschung sind. Vgl. Fishwick 1961, 160-168.

[109] Vgl. Braund 1988, 79; Heinen 2008, 201-206.

[110] Vgl. Braund 1984b, 114; Roller 2003, 126f.; Schörner 2011, 115f.; Wilker 2015, 116f.; Nigdelis 2017.

[111] Segimundus war der Sohn des Cheruskerfürsten Segestes und fungierte zeitweilig als Kaiserpriester am Altar der Ubier. Vgl. Tac. *Ann.* 1.57.1-2, 1.59.4.

en zum Kaiserkult vorliegen könnten. In diesem Fall gäbe es erneut gar keinen Grund für die Annahme, dass dieser Dynast ein Königreich besaß oder überhaupt aus Britannien stammen müsste.

Zuletzt sei noch die Möglichkeit genannt, dass Cogidubnus mit einem Königshaus verwandt gewesen sein könnte und daher das Privileg genossen habe, einen Königstitel zu tragen. Ein bekanntes Beispiel für solch einen Privilegienträger ist der Orontide Gaius Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, der trotz seines Senatorenstandes und seines Suffektkonsulats im Jahr 109 n.u.Z. den Königstitel tragen durfte. Sein titulares Königtum fußte anscheinend auf seine Abstammung von den kommagenischen Königen.[112] Ein vergleichbarer Fall wurde von Strabon dokumentiert. Bei seiner Beschreibung von Ephesos erzählt er, dass dort eine Familie, der die Abstammung vom mythischen attischen König Kodros zugeschrieben wird, wegen ihrer Herkunft seit vielen Generationen königliche Privilegien genoss. Die Familienangehörigen wurden als Könige angesprochen und besaßen königliche Vorrechte, wie z.B. das Tragen von Purpur oder den Vorsitz bei Spielen.[113] Ähnliche Verwandtschaften zu Königshäusern sind auch für die eben erwähnten Personen Dexandros von Apameia und Zenon von Laodikeia vermutet worden.[114] Gleichartig könnte sich der Königstitel von Cogidubnus über solch ein royales familiäres Vermächtnis oder eine derartige Verwandtschaft konstituieren, wobei aber die Position in der Provinz noch unklar wäre.

Abschließend bleibt festzuhalten, dass in diesem Artikel gezeigt werden konnte, dass mehr Punkte gegen anstatt für das Königreich von Cogidubnus in Britannien sprechen und die bisherigen Forschungsansätze zu diesem postulierten Reich erhebliche logische Schwächen aufweisen. Daher scheint es umso erwägenswerter das Königtum und die Präsenz in der Provinz von dieser Person auf andere Weisen zu erklären. An den zahlreichen Vergleichen sollte zur Genüge deutlich geworden sein, dass im Imperium Romanum politische Akteure die

[112] Vgl. Sullivan 1977, 785-794; Kleiner 1983, 9-17; Baslez 1992; Facella 2006, 338-345.
[113] Vgl. Strab. 14.1.3.
[114] Vgl. Thonemann 2004; Coskun 2014a.

Titel und Ehren eines Königs besitzen konnten ohne in irgendeiner Form einem Königreich voranzustehen. Gleichermaßen sollten die präsentierten Fälle gezeigt haben, dass Könige, Dynasten und andere lokale Eliten in die Provinzialadministration eingebunden werden konnten, obwohl diese Regionen gar kein Teil ihrer Königreiche oder andersartig definierten Herrschaftsräume waren. Mit diesem Wissen sollte ebenso der Fall Cogidubnus mit äußerster Vorsicht behandelt werden und so scheint es doch lohnenswert sich für dessen Analyse an vergleichbaren Sonderfällen zu orientieren anstatt *ex silentio* ein komplettes Königreich zu konstruieren. In diesem Artikel sind dafür drei Lösungsansätze präsentiert worden. Erstens wäre es möglich, dass Cogidubnus in ganz ähnlicher Manier wie die Könige in den cottischen Alpen, die euryklidischen Dynasten in *Achaea* oder Adiatorx in *Pontus* gewisse Substrukturen oder einzelne Gemeinden innerhalb des Provinzapparates zur Administration und Betreuung anvertraut bekam. Er hätte demnach innerhalb der Provinz neben den römischen Magistraten koexistiert und wäre ein untergeordneter Bestandteil der Provinzverwaltung gewesen. Diese Interpretation würde auch gut mit den von Tacitus erwähnten *civitates,* dem Amt eines kaiserlichen Legaten und den restlichen Quelleninformationen harmonieren und scheint, um meine persönliche Meinung an dieser Stelle abzugeben, auch die wahrscheinlichste Variante zu sein. Zweitens könnte Cogidubnus den Königstitel als Ehrung für bestimmte Tätigkeiten in der Provinz oder sonstige Verdienste erhalten haben, so wie es auch für Dexandros von Apameia und Zenon von Laodikeia überliefert ist. Zuletzt könnte im Stile eines Philopappos auch der Königstitel durch die Herkunft aus einem royalen Geschlecht begründet sein, ohne dass eine zugehörige Herrschaft impliziert werden müsste.

Zwar könnten die drei ausgeführten möglichen Interpretationen des Königsstatus sowohl einzeln als auch als Kombination plausibel die Stellung des britannischen Dynasten ohne ein Königreich erklären, jedoch fehlen für eine Verifizierung dieser Deutungen oder für eine genaue Definition des Königtums essentielle Informationen zu Cogidubnus. Somit bleibt die spezifische royale Position von Cogidubnus in Britannien nebulös. Auch wenn diese nicht endgültig

aufgelöst werden kann, ist es wichtig, dass dieser Artikel demonstrieren konnte, wie problematisch das Quellenmaterial für das postulierte Königreich von Cogidubnus ist, und wie willkürlich ebendieses trotz der gravierenden Schwierigkeiten von der Forschung konstruiert worden ist. Umso erstaunlicher ist es, mit was für einer Selbstverständlichkeit die Existenz von diesem Königreich sowohl in Fachpublikationen als auch einschlägigen Nachschlagewerken präsentiert wurde und wird. Obwohl viele Punkte gegen das *regnum* und kaum Indizien dafür sprechen, hat sich die Idee eines Königsreiches im Süden des frühen römischen Britanniens in der althistorischen Forschung manifestiert. Somit wurde ein ganzes Königreich um die Stadt Chichester kreiert, das es wahrscheinlich in dieser Form nie gab. Zugegebenermaßen wird man anhand des raren Quellenmaterials wohl nie imstande sein, im Ranke'schen Sinne zu "sagen, wie es eigentlich gewesen"[115] ist. Eventuell besaß König Cogidubnus doch in irgendeiner Form irgendwo ein Königreich, jedoch sollte die vorangegangene Analyse verdeutlicht haben, dass sich sein Königstitel mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit andersartig definiert hat. So ist es in diesem Fall wohl wertvoller, die Ungewissheit über die Existenz dieses Königreiches und die sich daraus ergebenden potenziellen Zugänge zum königlichen Status von Cogidubnus und seiner Rolle in Britannien darzulegen und anzuerkennen, anstatt ein weiteres neues Narrativ zu konzipieren, welches ebenfalls ohne solide Quellenbasis dastünde.

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[115] von Ranke 1824, 6.

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# PHASIAN CONFUSION. NOTES ON KOLCHIAN, ARMENIAN AND PONTIC RIVER NAMES IN MYTH, HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY*

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*Abstract*. Due to its close link with the legendary kingdom of Aia, where the Argonauts found the Golden Fleece, the Kolchian Phasis is one of the most illustrious rivers in world literature. It is, at the same time, surrounded by several controversies, ancient as well as modern. The evidence seems to suggest that it was first pictured as part of the mythical landscape around 500 B.C. Mythical narratives, colonial ideologies, reports of explorers and geographical speculation led to a heterogeneous, in part fancy tradition, as is best exemplified by the Phasis/Tanaïs/Don, which was fathomed with a second outlet into the Baltic Sea. This notwithstanding, the concept of the Kolchian Phasis was quite sober. Eratosthenes, Strabo and the mainstream literary tradition identified it with the modern Rioni only as far as Rhodopolis/Geguti, whence its middle course equals the Kvirila River to Sarapa-

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na/Shoropani; its upper course, now the Barimela, connected it with its Armenian source. The knowledge that Herodotos and Xenophon had of the Phasis/Rioni and of the Araxes/Phasis/Aras was limited but not confused. Prokopios, however, describes the Boas/Akampsis as the upper course of the Phasis/Kvirila/Rioni in Book 2, but corrects this view in Book 8. His error stands in a broader tradition that ignored the Akampsis, possibly due to confusion with multiple rivers called Lykoi in the Argonautic and geographical literature. This insight will allow us to demystify Apollonios Rhodios' verses on the Phasis, Lykos and Araxes, and to appreciate the minor rivers of the riverscape of Aia: the Hippos, Kyaneos, Glaukos and Lykos, whose systematic study remains a desideratum.

## 1. GEOGRAPHY, MYTHOGRAPHY AND WATERWAYS – AN INTRODUCTION

Ancient Greek merchants, settlers and tourists (and not only these) had the thrilling adventures and exotic landscapes of their wandering heroes on their minds when exploring far-away lands, rivers and seas. The voyage of Jason and his Argonauts became the most influential for the Black Sea region: many of its rivers, settlements and landmarks were named after this legendary tradition. But since myth and geography are mutually transformative, some of the newly encountered waters, places and peoples gradually intruded into the old narratives as well. One stimulus that drove the flexible process of retelling the heroic plots and reframing the narrative space was the changing of geographical knowledge, which could grow, remain stable, or even shrink. Another factor was the rivalry between different groups of colonizers, who were not only vying for the best trade connections and settlement places, but also for tracing the most impressive vestiges of their heroic ancestors on their journeys and within their recently-occupied territories.[1]

[1] Cf. Gantz 1993, 340-373, esp. 362; Braund 1998. Dan (2015) presents an impressive case study of the Thermodon River, illustrating how mytho-geography could also permeate historical traditions. She concludes: "les τόποι ne sont pas seulement des conteneurs, ils sont aussi des participants à l'histoire et des symboles des individualités historiques. Ils forment des réseaux aussi bien au niveau physique – si l'on pense aux contacts directs entre les terres d' émigration et celles d'immigration – qu'au niveau symbolique – par l'identification des habi-

The Greeks' antagonism, creative imagination and bold drive for opportunities are, on the one hand, at the heart of the rich, nuanced and colourful "Classical" world that has been intriguing humankind for millennia. On the other hand, they imply serious obstacles to reconstructing the topography of the Euxine coastline, both in its physical shape and its mental conceptualization. Historical geographers are confronted with multiple difficulties. They have to determine which part of a mythical tradition is grounded in a "real-world" experience, which is likely to have at least a historical kernel (though perhaps somewhere else), and which is purely fictional. Moreover, a lot of our evidence is fragmentary and belongs to different and often rivalling versions of a multilayered mythical world. Even worse, when spun further, these distinct traditions could either be kept separate or intermingle into hybrids.

From early on, the rhapsodic and mythographic tradition evolved with a high degree of dynamism and flexibility. Homer's random references (ca. 730/710 B.C.) to the quest of Jason for the Golden Fleece leave open the whereabouts of the kingdom of Aïetes, although he may be thinking of a Mediterranean island. This is what Hesiod does (ca. 700 B.C.), who specifies that Jason and Medeia had their happy ending in the hero's hometown Iolkos.[2] Mimnermos (7th century B.C.) is the first to locate Aia, the land of Aïetes, in the Ocean, probably the Atlantic.[3] Most likely, it was the naval explorations of the Milesians that began to redirect the Argonautic quest towards the Black Sea, the centre of their colonial activities in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., before they began to settle on Kolchis for Aia

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tants des terres homonymes, en dépit des écarts chronologiques ou géographiques."

[2] Hom. *Il*. 2.850-855, 7.468f. (on Queen Hypsipyle on Lemnos); *Od*. 12.850-872. He does not yet name Aia, but Aïetes' sister Kirke was living on Aiaia: *Od*. 10.133-139. And Hes. *Theog*. 992-1002.

[3] Mimn. frr. 11 and 11a = Demetr. Skeps. F 50 = Strab. 1.2.40 (46f.C). Dräger (1996, 38) thinks of the eastern Ocean, Roller (2018, 39) of the western (without explanation). It seems that Mimnermos was pointing to the west with his reference to the Sun's bed chamber, whereas Demetrios (2nd century B.C.) relocated it in the east, given that the Kolchian scenary had become mainstream.

in the later part of the 6th century B.C.[4] The Korinthian epic cycle seemed to be the first to attest the equation with Kolchis, but also the relocation of some of the adventures into the Adriatic Sea, a focus of Korinthian colonial activities. But it has been demonstrated recently that the 8th-century-B.C. poet Eumelos is a highly artificial persona and that the works attributed to him may have been composed between the mid-7th and mid-4th centuries B.C. More specifically, the *Korinthiaka* should be dated to around 500 B.C.,[5] when independent attestations of Kolchis as the destination of Jason's quest began to multiply.[6]

But this is not where the development of the Argonautic plot and itinerary ended. The astonishing effect of synthesizing actually incompatible traditions is best illustrated by the fancy waterways that were gradually concocted. One particular conflation of these diverse traditions yielded an opaque river-route that connected the Istros/Danube with the Eridanos/Po, which empties into the Adriatic. Still in the 6th century A.D., Stephanos of Byzantion surmised this mysterious link for the Apsyrtides Islands: they are located in the Adriatic, but named after Medeia's butchered brother Apsyrtos.[7] The same fabrication had already fooled one of

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[4] Cf. Tsetskhladze 1998, 171f.; Dräger 2001, 16f.; West 2002, 130. *Pace* Braund 1994, 14f., and Lordkipanidze 1996, 38-41.

[5] For the reevaluation of Eumelos, see West 2002; Tausend 2012; cf. West 2003, 161. Other views which date Eumelos' testimony for Kolchis (Eumelos, *Korinthiaka* fr. 2 = Tzetz. *ad Lykophr*. 174 = Poltera 1997, 317 and Barnabé, *PEG* F 3 = Poltera 1997, 316) to the mid-8th or early-7th centuries can no longer be upheld: Braund 1994, 15f.; 1998, 289; Dräger 2001, 16f.; inconsistent is Tsetskhladze 1998, 6, 171f.

[6] Simon. *PMG* 545 (around 500 B.C., cf. West 2002, 130; also Poltera 1997, 319) and Pind. *Pyth*. 4.211-213: ἐς Φᾶσιν δ᾽ ἔπειτεν ἦλυθον: ἔνθα κελαινώπεσσι Κόλχοισιν βίαν μῖξαν Αἰήτᾳ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ (462 B.C.; cf. Dräger 2001, 19; West 2003, 157; Dan 2016, 250); cf. Hdt. 7.193: ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα (third quarter of the 5th century B.C.; cf. Dan 2016, 250).

[7] Ap. Rhod. 4.452-590; Strab. 7.5.5 [315C]; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Apsyrtides* (A579). The connection also seems to be implied in Plin. *HN* 3.22.144: *Olcinium, quod antea Colchinium dictum est a Colchis conditum* (ed. Rackham 1961). For an explicit refutation of the Danube-Eridanos link, see the (weak) argument by Diod. Sic. 4.56.7. Others locate the murder near Tomi/Constanta, i.e. not far from the Euxine estuary of the Danube (Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.9.24; Ov. *Tr*. 3.9). For a location near Apsaros

the sharpest minds the world has ever seen: in the 4th century B.C., Aristotle drew on the obscure river to explain that the trichiae can only be fished when swimming into the Danube or out of the Eridanos.[8] Apollonios of Rhodes enjoyed varying this tradition even further by construing a link between the Eridanos and the Rhodanus/Rhône.[9]

Another product of wild speculation was the direct access from the Tanaïs/Don to the northern Ocean or Baltic Sea, whence the Argo was believed to have reached the Pillars of Herakles/Straits of Gibraltar. The most elaborate description of this navigation has come down to us in the Late Antique *Orphic Argonautika*, but traces can be followed up once more to the 4th (rather than 6th) century B.C.[10] The same can be said for

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at the Akampsis estuary, see Arr. *PPE* 6.3f.; cf. Prokop. *Bell.* 8.2.2.12, 14, also Steph. Byz. s.v. *Apsyrtides* (A 579). The earliest versions we know place the murder of Apsyrtos in the palace of Aia and the disposal of his limbs on a river, which must be the Phasis. See Soph. *Kolchides* F 343 R; Eur. *Med.* 1334f.; Pherec. *FGH* 3 = *BNJ* 3, F 32. Cf. Gantz 1993, 362-364.

[8] Arist. *De animalibus* 7 (8). 13 = 598b.12-21 (ed. Balme and Gotthelf 2002): "The trichiae, however, only can be caught during their entry, but are never visible during their exit; in point of fact, when a trichia is caught in the neighbourhood of Byzantium, the fishermen are particularly careful to cleanse their nets, as they do not often swim out. The reason is that this fish alone swims northwards into the Ister, and then at the point of its bifurcation swims down into the Adriatic. And, as a proof that this theory is correct, the very opposite phenomenon presents itself in the Adriatic; that is to say, that they are not caught in that sea during their entry, but are caught during their exit." Trans. Barnes 1984.

[9] Ap. Rhod. 4.627-636. Cf. Dräger 2002, 537f.; Hunter 2015, 151, 167.

[10] *Arg. Orph*. 1036-1249, ed. Vian 1987 (with French trans.); cf. ed. Abel [1885] 1971; for an English translation, see Colavito 2011. For a discussion, see Vian 1987, 28-42; cf. Dan 2015, 184-186; 2016, 261-271 on the "northern" Phasis; also Lordkipanidze 2000, 16-18, who, however, confines the tradition of a "Scythian" Phasis to Roman Imperial or later authors. The most detailed historiographical account that has survived is by Diod. Sic. 4.56.3-6 (1st century B.C.), but he is rationalizing in that he admits that the Argo had to be carried over land for a bit; he vaguely mentions "ancient historians" and names Timaios (4th century B.C.), *FGH* 566 F 85. Even more detailed, but without explicit reference to the Argonautic myth or a Phasis River, is the discussion among ancient geographers on the extension of Europe. Strab. 2.4.1-8 (104-109C) rehearses the treatment of

another variation that fathomed a link between the northern Tanaïs or the Istros/Danube on the one hand and the southern Nile on the other, unless access to Egypt was pictured through the eastern Ocean.[11]

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Polyb. 34.4.5. They strongly reject the account of Pytheas of Massalia (4th or 3rd century B.C.), who claimed to have surrounded all of Europe by ship, among others by sailing through the Tanaïs (2.4.1, 5f.) as well as passing by Gades and through the Pillars of Herakles (2.4.1-5, 8). Strabo repeatedly mentions Dikaiarchos, Eratosthenes and Poseidonios, who are said to have rejected Pytheas' allegations in part or wholesale. The throng of the argument resides on Pytheas' lack of means to embark on such a long journey, that the distances he provides do not add up to a consistent itinerary and that the geometrical speculations contain inaccuracies, such as the extent and course of the Tanaïs, for which Strabo claims an extension from north to south, to merge into the Euxine, instead of a source to the north-east of the mouth (2.4.5f.). Interestingly, Strabo does not address that Pytheas' itinerary implies a link to the northern Ocean. Cf. the commentaries by Walbank 1979, 3.587-598 (suggesting on p. 591 that the Tanaïs may be the Elbe); Mariotta and Magnelli 2012, 195-199; Roller 2018, 95-101; also Radt 2006, 5.251-261 for further philological detail; none of the three commentators addresses a connection to the myth, for which see Dan 2016, as below.

[11] Ps.-Skylax, *Europe* 20 attests a connection through the Istros to Egypt in the 4th century B.C. (a textual corruption leaves the link open), as does Ap. Rhod. 4.257-293, who also calls Aia an Egyptian settlement. This concept has left various traces in ancient geography, such as the debate on the symmetrical structure of the Tanaïs and the Nile as divisions between the continents, for which see Strab. 2.4.6 (107f.C) and the references in the previous n., or the assumption of kinship between the Kolchians and Egyptians, for which see Strab. 11.2.17 (498C). Roller (2018, 641 referencing Hdt. 2.104f.), however, seems to be conflating traditions of the Sea Peoples, Philistines, Kimmerians and Scythians invading the Levant or attacking Egypt in the time of King Psammetichos. For a connection with the semi-legendary king Sesostris, also see Dan 2017, esp. 172, 193. Dan (2017, 180-187) also discusses the theory that the Tanaïs was connected with the Caspian Sea, which was occasionally viewed as a gulf of the eastern Ocean. Dan attributes this conception to Patrokles, the general of Seleukos I (around 300 B.C.), whose theory gained currency through Erathostenes. Cf. Kosmin 2014, 67-76, also on the ideological context. There is no need to follow the suggestion of Gantz (1993, 362) that the Phasis/Nile connection was already known to Hekataios and Sophokles; the evidence he produces is insufficient. Hunter (2015, 116-

While none of these fabrications ever formed the mainstream within our multivocal Argonautic tradition, it is unsurprising that scholars have claimed numerous cases of river confusion or conflation in Kolchis and its wider Euxine neighbourhood. Add to this the challenges that plurionymy and homonymy pose to researchers: two or more different names for the same river (or parts of its courses) were and are as widespread phenomena in hydronymy as the use of the same name for totally different rivers. As if this were not yet enough, natural causes for variation must not be underestimated either: sinking or rising water levels as well as the ever-changing riverbeds through the constant interplay of erosion and sedimentation were and are particularly strong features of the eastern-Euxine coastland.[12]

Our modern understanding of ancient hydronomy in general and the riverscapes of Kolchis in particular owes much to Otar Lordkipanidze and Anca Dan. The former has laid the ground by surveying the Graeco-Roman and Georgian literature on the landscape and waterways of ancient Kolchis; the latter has presented impressive case studies on the Thermodon and Phasis, and also a panoramic scrutiny of the conceptualization of rivers by geographers.[13] While being highly indebted to these scholars, the present study aims at some nuances that may enhance our understanding of how the ancients perceived the Phasis of Kolchis. After introducing into the modern debate on the ancient mytho-geographical concepts of this river, I shall discuss some key sections from Graeco-Roman geographers, historiographers and poets that relate to the source, course or tributaries of the Phasis. Despite some variation and even errors in our evidence, the overall picture that emerges is quite consistent, and several misunderstandings appear to be modern rather than ancient. The argument will conclude with a rereading of a section in Apollonios of

124) attributes the Egyptian theme to Hekataios of Abdera around 300 B.C. For other sources involving Egypt without a miraculous river connection, see, e.g., Hdt. 4.179; Mariotta and Magnelli 2012, 197f.

[12] For natural factors of change, see, e.g., Braund 1994, 102f.; Tsetskhladze 1998, 7; Dan 2016, 270f.

[13] Lordkipanidze 1996; 2000; Dan 2015; 2016; 2018. Also Nawotka 2005 for further literary evidence.

Rhodes' *Argonautika* (3rd century B.C.), whose verses have so far been regarded as the greatest Phasian Confusion. Two maps will assist the readers while navigating through the complex argument: Map 1 displays the Kolchian Plain with all its major rivers and settlements, Map 2 shows the Caucasian Region between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, including the courses of the Kyros/Mtkvari and Araxes/Aras in the east.

## 2. THE PHASIS RIVER AS A CONCEPT

The Phasis did not yet feature in the oldest versions of the Argonautic myth that have come down to us. As unfolded in the previous section, these located the home of King Aïetes and his daughter Medeia in Aia, which was gradually identified with a location somewhere in Kolchis in the later course of the 6th century B.C. Accepting this still leaves open a related question, namely whether the Phasis was an original part of the Greek myth or not yet. One might think that Lordkipanidze's argument for Kolchis and the Phasis as integral elements of the Argonautic story is the result of patriotism combined with optimism. But he has, among others, two strong advocates on his side: first, the geographer Strabo of Amaseia, who had a firm knowledge of the broad literary tradition when writing his books on history and geography largely under the monarchy of Augustus (31/27 B.C.-A.D. 14); and, second, David Braund, the author of the first and only English monograph that tries to synthesize the history of *Georgia in Antiquity*; the same Braund has also been in charge of the two maps covering Kolchis in the *Barrington Atlas*.[14] Regardless of this accumulated authority, I remain unconvinced. Lordkipanidze and Braund have not been able to give plausible explanations for the omissions and variations in our early literary tradition. In addition, they seem to have been misled by Strabo's (skewed) claim that Homer knew about Aia's location in Kolchis.

In contrast, Anca Dan holds the view that the Phasis, not Kolchis, formed part of the Greek mytho-geographical tradition from its start,

[14] Lordkipanidze 1996, 38-41; less explicit is Lordkipanidze (2000, 9-36), who only claims it for the "vast Argonautic literature ... as well as ... in the major historical and geographical works" (p. 16). Cf. Braund 1994, 14f.; also Braund 2000, *BA* 88; Braund and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 87.

denoting a stream on the edge of the world. This is why its name could flexibly be superimposed on other rivers, though yielded its best fit for the Rioni: "The Phasis-Rioni was a credible limit of the powers of the south, the Persians to the east, the Roman<s> to the west (Strabo 6.4.2; Zosimus 2.33.1) and the Armenians in the middle..." Likewise, other rivers such as the Araxes/Aras or the Hypanis/Kuban could be addressed as Phasis.[15] In one regard, I would even go further than Dan and add to this list the mysterious Phasis on Taprobane, an island in the nebulous Far East which is most commonly equated with Sri-Lanka. Since the river has never been identified with any certainty, we cannot be sure about its actual name. Homonymy with the Greek or Graeco-Kolchian Phasis thus remains a theoretical possibility, but the *onus* of proof is entirely with those who claim that such a river indeed existed and that the Greeks did not impose the name *Phasis* themselves. The chances are very high that the Hellenic mythical conception has fed into the funky geographical construction of the Taprobanian Phasis.[16]

This said, Dan has so far convinced me only of the fact that some Greeks understood the Phasis in a generic way as the end-of-the-world river, and that this concept resulted in multiple rivers (also) called by this name. But she has not given me reason to believe that the Phasis had been genuine to the Argonautic landscape, or at least to any other ancient Greek myth of heroes migrating afar which might have been integrated into the Argonautic tradition sometime in the Archaic period. The evidence speaks against such a view, not least because *Phasis*

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[15] Dan 2016 *passim*, esp. 272 (quotation). Also see Lordkipanidze 2000, 24f., who rejects the view that the Tanaïs and Phasis were ever equated in antiquity.

[16] Ptol. *Geog*. 7.4.1-10 (7.4.7 mentions the *Phasis*) and Steph. Byz. s.v. *Phasis* (cf. s.v. *Argyra*). For the identity with Sri Lanka, see De Romanis 1997, 161; Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006, II: 734-739 (with further references, also considering Sumatra in n. 735) and 906f. (map); Schulz 2016, 79-83, 86; cf. Stein 1938, 1895f.; Starr 1956; Schwarz 1974. Dan 2016, 249 n. 9 (with further references) assumes that there was a river whose name sounded like *Phasis* in its vernacular language. I am grateful to Jean Coert for advising me on Taprobane.

seems to be based on the Georgian root *psa-* for "water."[17] The earliest attestation of the Phasis as part of the mythical narrative is roughly contemporary with the first mention of Kolchis in the early-5th century B.C.[18] Moreover, arguably the oldest site that Greeks claimed as Aia around the same time could do without a river called Phasis: Dioskourias/Aia, located in the north-eastern edge of the Black Sea on the Kolchian coast. This observation is linked with an even more complex problem of the historical geography of Kolchis: multiple cities are called Aia or the home of Aïetes and Medeia in our written sources, but most scholars have been inclined to regard the distinctive details as inaccurate, claiming that only one (or at the utmost two) such cities can be mapped.[19] As far as I see, our entire evidence is compatible with the view that Aia was first considered a far-away island, then located in Kolchis (probably identified with Dioskourias) and only in a third stage also connected with the Phasis from around 500 B.C. onwards.

To gain more clarity, we would have to differentiate the specific influence that certain colonial societies exerted in the process of naming or renaming rivers and we should further distinguish how Greek authors framed or reframed the mythical landscapes. Such a purpose, however, would by far exceed the scope of the present paper, which is confined to the concept that ancient geographers, historiographers and mythographers had of the Phasis in Kolchis. Much of my argument will be negative: not every discrepancy from our present geographical knowledge results from a confusion among ancient witnesses, not every instance of homonymy triggered the conflation of distinct riverbeds, not every poetical license represents a different spatial conception, and not every occasional inaccuracy that has come down to us by chance created a new topographic or hydronymic "tradition."[20]

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[17] This is the plausible argument of Lordkipanidze (2000, 10f.), although it is hardly compatible with his overall assumption that the Phasis had always been part of the Greek myth.

[18] Eumelos, *Korinthiaka* fr. 2 = Tzetz. *ad Lycophr*. 174 and Pind. *Pyth*. 4.211, quoted above, nn. 5f.

[19] Further detail is provided below, esp. in the final n.

[20] Cf. Coşkun, forthcoming a, b, e.

## 3. THE RIONI, THE PHASIS AND THE CHOICE BETWEEN A CAUCASIAN, AMARANTIAN OR ARMENIAN SOURCE

Springing in the Central Caucasus in the Racha-Lechkhumi-Kvemo Svaneti Planned National Park close to the Russian border, the Rioni first flows eastwards through the Kutaisi-Alpana-Mamisoni Pass, whence it takes a left-turn until Alpana and Tvishi in the southern slopes of the Greater Caucasus. From there, its course verges to the south, reaching the foothills at Zhoneti and plainer ground at Kutaisi. It bends westwards just past Geguti, which lies opposite Byzantine Rhodopolis, about 90 km (as the crow flies) inland from its estuary at Poti Harbour, close to the ancient city of Phasis. As the artery of the Kolchian plain, the Rioni's identification with the mytho-historical Phasis is now largely accepted,[21] in contrast to the site of the homonymous city.[22] Strabo of Amaseia, however, alleges an Armenian source for the Phasis, which conflicts with the course of the modern Rioni.[23] This might easily appear to be a random error at a first glance or a ramification of the multiple identifications of the Phasis at a second. Among others, Strabo's view differs from Aristotle's, who was convinced of the river's roots in the Main Caucasus. But it

[21] E.g., Braund 1994, 25; Lordkipanidze 1996, 228; 2000, 20; Braund and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 87 and *Directory*, p. 1227. For discussion, see Dan 2016.

[22] The site of Phasis City must be somewhere east of modern Poti, buried under layers of up to 12 m of alluvial sand: Tsetskhladze 1998, 7-11; 2013, 293f.; cf. Silberman 1995, 30; Lordkipanidze 1996, 228-232; 2000, 47-53; Nawotka 2005, 235. Braund and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 87 and *Directory*, p. 1227 recommend the results of underwater archaeology by Gamkrelidze 1992 for identifying the site largely in the Paleostomi Lake. See Coşkun, forthcoming b for further discussion.

[23] Strab. 11.2.17 (498C): διαῤῥεῖ δ᾽ αὐτὴν ὁ Φᾶσις, μέγας ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἀρμενίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων, δεχόμενος τόν τε Γλαῦκον καὶ τὸν Ἵππον ἐκ τῶν πλησίον ὀρῶν ἐκπίπτοντας. "Through it flows the Phasis, a large river having its sources in Armenia and receiving the waters of the Glaukos and the Hippos, which issue from the neighboring mountains." Greek text by Meineke 1877 (cf. Radt 2004), English translation adapted from Jones 1924 (cf. Roller 2014). The source is not worth a comment for Radt 2008, 254, 259 or Roller 2018, 641, 680.

is the understanding of the great philosopher that would remain isolated for the best part of antiquity.[24]

An alternative tradition that names the mountain *Amarantos* as its origin can be traced back to the poet Apollonios of Rhodes (3rd century B.C.). He puts its first mention into the mouth of the seer Phineus, who foretold to the Argonauts the way to the Golden Fleece in the kingdom of Aïetes:

> But travel by ship / until you reach the most remote part of the sea. / There, through the lands of Kytaïs, from the far-away / Amarantian Mountains, through the plains of Kirke, / the whirling Phasis pushes its large floods towards the sea.[25]

Aïetes was believed to be the brother of Kirke, one of the most famous witches of Greek mythology, whose profession would be continued by her niece Medeia. This must have been obvious to all ancient writers, not least because, as the sister of the king of *Aia* (Aïetes), Kirke ruled over *Aiaia*. In contrast, ancient and modern scholars alike cannot agree where to locate the Amarantos, whether in Pontos, Armenia, Kolchis or the Caucasus. Apollonios' geographical conception is not known to have influenced later poets, which makes his version even more difficult to map.[26] On the one hand, we cannot be certain whether he was envisag-

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[24] Arist. *Mete.* 1.13 F350a: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Καυκάσου ἄλλοι τε ῥέουσι πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερβάλλοντες, καὶ ὁ Φᾶσις. "From the Caucasus flow many (rivers) of excessive breadth and length, such as the Phasis." My translation. Cf. Lordkipanidze 1996, 102, 104 n. 157, and 2000, 21, with other Late Antique references following this view.

[25] Ap. Rhod. 2.397-401: ἀλλ᾽ ἐνὶ νηὶ / (400) πείρεθ᾽, ἕως μυχάτη κεν ἐνιχρίμψητε θαλάσσῃ. / ἔνθα δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἠπείροιο Κυταιίδος, ἠδ᾽ Ἀμαραντῶν / τηλόθεν ἐξ ὀρέων πεδίοιό τε Κιρκαίοιο / Φᾶσις δινήεις εὐρὺν ῥόον εἰς ἅλα βάλλει. Greek text by Mooney [1912] 1964 (cf. Perseus Collection); my translation; cf. Dräger 2002, 129. Fränkel [1961] 1964, 75 "corrects" δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἠπείροιο Κυταιίδος to δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἠπείροιο Κυταιίδος, but this would relocate the source of the Phasis from the Amarantian Mountains close to Kytaïs. Attractive, however, is the emendation by Vian 1987 (δι᾽ ἠπείροιο), which is followed by Glei and Natzel-Glei 1996, I: 178. Also see Ap. Rhod. 3.1220 for the mountain.

[26] Lordkipanidze (1996, 104 n. 157, and 2000, 21) further cites the Late Roman cataloguer of geographical names, Vibius Sequester, whose *De fluminibus* seems

ing a "real" mountain: if we are permitted to etymologize the name as Greek, it translates literally as "Never-Fading," thus alluding to the endless water supplies from any of the mountain ranges encompassing the Kolchian plain or to the imperishable green banks of the Phasis.[27] On the other hand, if we were to press the case and assume some direct or indirect topographical knowledge, the Main Caucasus would be the more obvious choice, since Kutaisi is situated just south of its foothills, and the river passing by, the Rheon/Rioni, came straight from the north. There may even have been an oral tradition locally, which escaped the attention of Greek scholars albeit,[28] including Apollonios, who does not seem to have been aware of any geographical implication.[29]

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to be drawing immediately on Apollonios without adding clarity though: he locates the Phasis in Kolchis and simply names the Amarantos as its source, without further specification. However, *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* (2.39) seems to be more specific, quoting the opinion of "some" who regard Amarantos as a Pontic city, while (allegedly) Ktesias (who lived around 400 B.C.) posits a Kolchian location for the mountain (thus also Dräger 2002, 463). This kind of knowledge appears to have been generated on the mere basis of the *Argonautika*. Lordkipanidze (1996, 244, n. 412, conflicting with p. 104, and 2000, 21) takes the mountain's identity with the Main Caucasus for granted.

[27] The latter view is ascribed to a certain Hegesistratos of Ephesos in *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 2.399 (ed. Wendel [1935] [3]1974, 163); cf. Lordkipanidze 1996, 104 n. 157; also Janssens 1969, 32. A similar concept is implied in the river *Anthemous* "Blossoming," which ran through *Aia/Dioskourias*; see Plin. *HN* 6.5.15. Interestingly, however, the scholiast rejects the etymologizing explanation, offering an even weaker instead: that Amarantos is the name of a *polis* "in Pontos," which means somewhere in the Black-Sea region (certainly not the Mithradatic Kingdom of Pontos in Asia Minor). When he further locates the Amarantian Mountains in Kolchis, he (or his source Herodian) simply writes out Apollonios' text, rather than drawing on any independent geographical knowledge.

[28] In a different context, Braund (1994, 28f.) narrates the myth of the Georgian warrior hero Amirani, who absorbed some elements of the figure of Prometheus and was closely connected to the Caucasus. I wonder if the name roots in an identification of (part of) the Main Caucasus with Apollonios' Amarantos. This would imply the existence of a now-lost oral tradition in Kolchis, which is, however, hypothetical at this stage.

[29] See below, section 9 on Ap. Rhod. 4.131-135.

At any rate, neither Aristotle nor Apollonios influenced how the subsequent generations of Greek poets and scholars would picture the Phasian riverbed. It was the famous geographer Eratosthenes of Kyrene who attributed an Armenian source to it. He was the authority that Strabo drew on, and not only once. Lordkipanidze has shown with all clarity that Strabo applied the same spatial construction consistently.[30] But this did not prevent the Georgian scholar from stating in a later publication that "the Graeco-Roman authors had no clear idea about the source of the Phasis. This must have been due to their inadequate knowledge of the inner regions of Kolchis..."[31] In a different chapter, the geographer of Amaseia lists the Phasis among the rivers of Armenia, besides the Lykos, both said to merge into the Black Sea; the Kyros and Araxes are mentioned as emptying into the Caspian Sea, whereas the estuaries of the Euphrates and Tigris are located in the Persian Gulf.[32] Further in line with this is Strabo's comment that the river was navigable until Sarapana/Shoropani, which is located some 40 km east of Geguti and Kutaisi.[33]

His description only conflicts with the modern equation of the Phasis and the Rioni, but it is in accordance with Prokopios, who calls the river coming from the north and passing by Kotaïs/Kutaisi "Rheon," appar-

[30] Lordkipanidze 1996, 101-105, also referencing *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 2.399 (ed. Wendel [1935] ³1974, 163), which mentions Eratosthenes for the assumption of an Armenian source.

[31] Lordkipanidze 2000, 22, regarding Xen. *An.* (see below) as the reason for Eratosthenes' confusion.

[32] Strab. 11.14.7 (529C). See below, section 5, for discussion.

[33] Strab. 11.2.17 (498C), also admitted by Lordkipanidze 1996, 247 (cf. 2000, 27) in his description of Sarapana. This is compatible with Plin. *HN* 6.4.13, according to whom the Phasis was navigable for 38.5 miles (until Sourion/Surium/Vani) for large ships and further for smaller vessels; cf. Liddle 2003, 100. Ps.-Skylax, *Asia* 81, however, says that one could sail upstream for 180 stades (ca. 36 km), but this is to locate the unnamed home town of Medeia (probably Aia, not yet Kytaion), rather than to limit the navigable course of the Phasis. I therefore hesitate (*pace* Dan 2016, 259, 261) to equate this information with the one provided by Strabo. I shall resume the discussion of the various Aiai elsewhere, see below, final n.

ently the early version of the modern name "Rioni."[34] Hence, we should not follow the nomenclature of the *Barrington Atlas*, which equates the Rheon with the middle and upper Phasis for antiquity.[35] The conception of Eratosthenes and Strabo requires us to regard the Barimela River as the upper course of the Phasis: originating in the Lesser Caucasus (i.e. in northern Armenia), it first meanders north-east before merging with the Dzirula River (an eastern tributary) to yield the Kvirila River as of Sarapana/Shoropani.[36]

## 4. PHASIAN "CONFUSION"

Regardless of the coherency of this picture, scholars have been prone to contextualize Strabo's assertion of an Armenian root among other instances of Phasian "confusion."[37] Affected are the Araxes (Turkish Aras), a tributary of the lower Kyros (Georgian Mtkvari), which, in turn, has its estuary in the Caspian Sea, the Lykos (normally identified with the modern Kelkit Çayı), which empties into the Iris (Yeşil Irmak), and the Boas or Akampsis (Tchorokhi in Georgian, Çoruh Nehri in Turkish). The latter merges into the Euxine at the Western foothills of the Lesser Caucasus, called the "Moschian Mountains" by Strabo.[38] A good example is the aforementioned Lordkipanidze. He admits that

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[34] Cf. Lordkipanidze 1996, 253, without references. In his discussion of Kytaïs (1996, 244-246, see previous n.), he quotes Prokop. *Bell*. 8.14.6.47f., who attests the river's name, referencing a now-lost work of Arrian; Lordkipanidze 1996, 246 n. 418 suggests a *Historia Alanica*.

[35] *Pace* Braund 1997/2000, *BA* 88 and *Directory*, pp. 1257, 1261.

[36] In his latest approach, Lordkipanidze (2000, 15, 19-23) addresses the Kvirila as the middle course of the Phasis, but renders the Dzirula as its upper course. This implies a source in the south-east of the Main Caucasus, thus outside of Armenia.

[37] E.g., Magie 1950, II: 1225, and Braund 1994, 158. And see below.

[38] See Strab. 11.2.1 (492C); 11.2.15 (497C); Plin. *HN* 6.10.28: *per convalles autem proximi Armeniae sunt Menobardi et Moscheni*; 6.10.29: *ultra sunt Colchicae solitudines, quarum a latere ad Ceraunios verso Armenochalybes habitant et Moschorum tractus ad Hiberum amnem in Cyrum defluentem et infra eos Sacasani et deinde Macerones ad flumen Absarrum* (ed. Rackham 1961); cf. König and Winkler 1996. Cf. Herrmann 1933, 351; Lordkipanidze 1996, 256-259; Roller 2018, 639, 642. On the Boas/Akampsis, see below, section 8.

Strabo seems to be identifying the Phasis with the Rioni in most cases, but then provides cumulative evidence for exceptions:

> An einer Stelle (XI, 14, 7) wird dieser Fluß zusammen mit dem Lykos (der heutige Fluß Kelkit-Çai in der Türkei) sowie jenen anderen Flüssen genannt, die in Armenien fließen (Kura und Araxes, Euphrat und Tigris ...). Daraus kann man schließen, daß hier mit dem Namen Phasis ein anderer Fluß bezeichnet wird, viel<l>eicht auch der Tschorochi ... Der in Abschnitt XI, 2, 17 enthaltene Satz: Phasis, ein ... in Armenien entspringender Fluß ... ist ein zusätzlicher Beweis dafür, daß Strabon auch den Fluß Schorochi mit dem Namen Phasis bezeichnet (gleich den anderen griechischen Autoren, die mit diesem Namen sowohl den Rioni als auch den Araxes bezeichnet haben).[39]

Lordkipanidze may have a potential case here as well, but the Phasis' mere association with other larger rivers in the region does not yet count for much in itself. Strabo clearly distinguishes the Phasis as a river merging into the Black Sea from the Araxes emptying into the Caspian. All the more relevant is therefore the evidence produced in the footnote, where Lordkipanidze discusses two other ancient authorities: Herodotos in the third quarter of the 5th century and Xenophon in the first third of the 4th century B.C.[40] More recently, Anca Dan has tried to reinforce the view that multiple confusion of riverbeds or names provide the best explanation for a seeming "Armenian" origin of the Phasis.[41] Besides Xenophon for the Araxes, she refers to Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) for the Lykos, Prokopios (6th century A.D.) for the Akampsis and Apollonios of Rhodes for an artful conflation of them all. It is worthwhile trying to disentangle this Phasian confusion by differentiating between homonymy, vicinity, imaginative construction and outright confusion, whether ancient or modern.

## 5. PHASIS AND ARAXES IN HERODOTOS

Somewhat surprisingly, Lordkipanidze concedes that both Herodotos and Xenophon actually denote the Rioni as Phasis in most instances, but

[39] Lordkipanidze 1996, 253; cf. 100f.
[40] Lordkipanidze 1996, 253, n. 425.
[41] Dan 2016, esp. 259f.

claims only a single discrepancy in each case.[42] For Herodotos, he references a section that mentions an alliance between the Scythians and the Spartans after Darius' failed Scythian campaign:

> The nomadic Scythians, after Darius had invaded their land, were eager for revenge, so they sent to Sparta and made an alliance. They agreed that the Scythians would attempt to invade Media by way of the Phasis River, and they urged the Spartans to set out and march inland from Ephesos and meet the Scythians.[43]

Lordkipanidze (cautiously) suggests that, in this instance, with Phasis "könnte auch der Araxes gemeint sein."[44] I am hesitant to follow, since Herodotos seems to be describing a route from the northern Black Sea littoral through the Kolchian plain (i.e. initially the riverbed of the Phasis) towards Media, most likely passing by Sarapanis to reach and then cross the Iberian mountains into the Kyros (Mtkvari) Valley. This is, by the way, the same route that the Father of History has described earlier in a different context, as the Georgian scholar has recognized in a later publication:[45]

> It is a thirty days' journey for an unencumbered man from the Maiotian Lake to the Phasis River and the land of the Kolchoi; from the Kolchoi, it is an easy matter to cross into Media: there is only one nation between, the Saspeireis; to pass these is to be in Media.[46]

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[42] Lordkipanidze 1996, 253, n. 425.

[43] Hdt. 6.84.2: Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπείτε σφι Δαρεῖον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώρην, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μιν τίσασθαι, πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχίην τε ποιέεσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἴη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὁρμωμένους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὠυτὸ ἀπαντᾶν. Greek text and translation adapted from Godley 1920.

[44] Lordkipanidze 1996, 253, n. 425.

[45] Lordkipanidze 2000, 18.

[46] Hdt. 1.104.1: ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ᾽ ἓν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. Text and transla-

George Mooney, a commentator of the *Argonautika* by Apollonios of Rhodes, is also convinced that the Phasis and Araxes got frequently confused. The example he provides is a reference to another section in Herodotos, where the course of the Araxes is described. The mention of Lesbos might in fact evoke associations with Jason's miraculous return to the Aegean. But Herodotos does no more than compare islands surrounded by the Araxes with the size of Lesbos. And after specifying that one arm of the Araxes Delta empties into the Caspian Sea (through a "channel," i.e. the lower Kyros), he further points out that there was no connection with the Ocean, such as there was for the Red Sea.[47]

## 6. PHASIS-ARAXES IN XENOPHON

Lordkipanidze and Dan also refer to a Phasis River which Xenophon encountered when marching the 10,000 mercenaries through the Armenian Mountains to the Black Sea in 401 B.C.[48] The Georgian scholar is convinced that here "wird eindeutig der Fluß Araxes Phasis genannt, und zwar seine Quelle."[49] The equation of the Araxes follows a widespread view, which is accepted by most (albeit not all) commentators of

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tion adapted from Godley 1920. For further details on this route, see Bryer and Winfield 1985, 58.

[47] Hdt. 1.202.1, 4. Cf. Mooney [1912] 1964, 309, commenting on Ap. Rhod. 1.133.

[48] Xen. *An*. 4.6.4: μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμοὺς ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. "After this they marched seven stages at the rate of five parasangs a day to the Phasis River, which was a plethrum (ca. 30 m) in width." Greek text by Marchant 1904, translation adapted from Brownson 1922. Note, however, that Brownson's preposition "to" is grammatically incorrect and misconstrues the itinerary, which rather followed "along" the Phasis for seven days (cf. also Breitenbach 1967, 1608 and Masqueray 1961, 33). This is the normal meaning of ἐπορεύθησαν ... παρὰ τὸν ... ποταμόν. Contrast this with the arrival at the Euphrates and its crossing in *Anab*. 4.5.2: ἐπορεύθησαν ... ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν.

[49] Lordkipanidze 1996, 253, n. 425, with reference to Xen. *An*. 4.6.4. Is it a slip or change of mind that Lordkipanidze (2000, 13, 16) lists this source among those relating to the Kolchian Phasis? His discussion on pp. 18f. is inconclusive, but tends to acknowledge that it was the Araxes, even if Xenophon may not have recognized it as such.

the *Anabasis*.[50] Although many questions concerning the itinerary are still open,[51] Xenophon is likely to denote a stretch of the upper Araxes as Phasis in Book 4. But only when he mentions Phasis (certainly the city, not the river) as a potential destination for a colonial settlement of the 10,000 in Book 5 does he explicitly locate it in Kolchis. It is in this latter context that he may be seen as alluding to an Argonautic connection by calling the king of his time a "grandson" of Aïetes.[52]

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[50] E.g., Diehl 1938, 1585, contradicting Herrmann (1938), who relates this passage to the Phasis in Kolchis; Magie 1950, II (map); Lendle 1995, 247-250; Dan 2014, 167f.; 2016, 257, 272. There is no reference to Xenophon's Phasis in Braund and Sinclair 1997/2000. Also see next n.

[51] See, on the one hand, Breitenbach 1967, 1579-1638 for a very cautious delineation of the itinerary, mentioning the Phasis in col. 1604 without comment or identification, and Lendle 1995 for a meticulous reconstruction of the itinerary, supported by several maps. Cf. Dan 2014, 164, who maps various reconstructions of Xenophon's itinerary, all including a section along the Araxes. Surprisingly, however, Lendle does not discuss the meaning of the *parasanga* nor does he try to account for the river names. It is likely that professional step counters (*bematistai*) were employed (see Tuplin 1997; cf. Dan 2014, 184), but they may not have been available for all sections of the march, or some of the according information may have been lost. Rood (2010; cf. Dan 2014, 164, 191) even suggests a high degree of manipulation for the sake of literary or rhetorical effects. Without denying the subjectivity of the author's perception and the selection and shaping of his information according to his multiple purposes, I am hesitant to accept that this involved arbitrary tweaking or fabrication of numbers. At any rate, too many questions remain open, so that the route of the 10,000 cannot be traced with certainty. Also see nn. 48, 52, 55, 71.

[52] Xen. *An*. 5.6.36f.: ... δοκοίη κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν, ἐπεὶ πλοῖα ἔστι, καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασιανῶν χώραν. / Αἰήτου δὲ ὑιδοῦς ἐτύγχανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν. "… thought it was best to sail to the Phasis, inasmuch as there were ships at hand, and seize the land of the Phasians. / Their king, as it chanced, was a grandson of Aïetes." Greek text by Marchant 1904, translation adapted from Brownson 1922. Perhaps this Aïetes was a contemporary of Perikles in the 430s B.C., see Braund 2005, 86f., 90. Also see Xen. *An*. 5.7.1: καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει ὡς Ξενοφῶν ἀναπεπεικὼς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς διανοεῖται ἄγειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξαπατήσας πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν. Brownson translates: "And Neon said that Xenophon had won over the other generals and was intending to de-

Xenophon thus seems to be able to tell the Kolchian and Armenian Phasis apart, despite their homonymy. Further noteworthy is the fact that the next source to attest the equation Araxes/Phasis is Constantine Porphyrogennetos in the 10th century A.D.[53] The Byzantine emperor also mentions the modern town of Pasinler (Hasankale), located between Erzurum (Theodosiopolis) and the bend of the upper Aras. This seems to be further confirmation for the view that the onomastic tradition was local,[54] and that Xenophon's account largely depended on written notes composed during the campaign and informed by guides from the ar-

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ceive the soldiers and lead them back to the Phasis." Lendle (1995, 349-351) takes for granted that this relates to the Kolchian Phasis and does not discuss any potential connection with the Araxes. Masqueray (1961, 77) rather understands that πάλιν expresses a contrast ("loin de la Grèce"), but admits a deliberate ambiguity in n. 1 (77f.): "Néon s'exprime de telle façon qu'on peut aussi bien comprendre, – à cause du double sens de πάλιν, retro, rursus, – que Xénophon veut ramener les Grecs en arrière, que les conduire une seconde fois vers le Phase d'Argonautes, qu'il confondrait, lui aussi, avec l'Araxès." But this is not what Xenophon had in mind. The backward movement is to be understood from the 10,000's perspective: they had just marched from Trapezus to Kotyora (5.3-5), a distance of nearly 300 km, as the crow flies. It was there that some generals put forward the plan to sail to Phasis (5.6.36f.), which would be to the north-east (rather than marching south-east to the Araxes). Xenophon tries to make it clear that he could barely deceive soldiers expecting to sail west towards Greece by taking them "backwards" (5.7.5-10). In addition, the lack of the article reveals that Xenophon is talking about Phasis City, not the Phasis River: there is hence even less potential for a misunderstanding or confusion.

[53] Constant. Porphyr. *De Administrando Imperio* 45 for the explicit equation of the Erax (Araxes, Aras) with the Phasis, close to the place (*topos*) and territory (*chora*) of *Phasiane* (now Pasinler, formerly also Hasankale, east of Theodosiopolis/Erzurum), which was repeatedly devastated by the Romans when occupied by the Saracenes; the emperor finally took direct possession of the territory west of the Phasis and confirmed Iberian possession of the lands east of it.

[54] Thus, e.g., Kießling 1912, 2086; Bryer and Winfield 1985, 57, mentioning the Byzantine form *Phasianes*, without reference; Kroll, Roaf, Simpson, and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 89 and *Directory* p. 1277; Dan 2016, 257. See Const. Porphyr. *De Administrando Imperio* 45 for *Phasianoi*.

ea.[55] We have thus no reason to assume that Xenophon confused the two homonymous rivers. As far as I see, not a single author within our ancient literary tradition can be shown to have conflated the Kolchian Phasis and the Araxes because of Xenophon's *Anabasis*.[56]

## 7. LYKOS, GLAUKOS AND APSORROS (APSAROS)

In his aforementioned chapter on Armenia, Strabo lists the six most important rivers of the Armenian Mountains: the Phasis and Lykos, both said to merge into the Black Sea, the Kyros and Araxes, which empty into the Caspian Sea (after uniting into one), as well as the Euphrates and Tigris, which have their estuary in the Persian Gulf.[57] Scholars have taken issue with this catalogue not only because of the Phasis. The Lykos, if identified with the modern Kelkit Çayı (as is usual), runs parallel to the West-Pontic Mountain Range (Paryadres), to merge into the Iris (Yeşil Irmak); accordingly, it empties into the Black Sea (east of Amisos/Samsun) only indirectly.[58] The list is all the more of interest,

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[55] Xenophon's sources are admittedly contested. Stylianou (2004) suggests the use of literary (geographical) accounts to have informed the composition of the *Anabasis*. Fowler (2012, 61) disagrees, but goes as far as to deny even the use of diaries or memoires written by Xenophon himself or other participants during or shortly after the campaign. Rood (2010, 52, 61-64) remains undecided, whereas Rood (2011) suggests that Xenophon manipulated distances for rhetorical purposes (but see above, n. 51). Dan 2014, 190 considers that some of the metrical data could have been inserted later by a different hand. I think that some of the inconsistencies, especially the varied measuring by stades, parasangs or days, reflect the written reports Xenophon closely followed and that these largely drew on the various local guides or bematists in the first place.

[56] This is probably not even the case for Strab. 11.14.13 (531C): although he connects Jason with the Araxes, he does so for the (assumed) homonymy with the Thessalian river Peneios/Araxes (?). Jason is said to have dug a channel to let the water flow off from the flooded plains and empty into the Caspian Sea. Strabo does not name any authority to justify the equation Peneios/Araxes, and may be simply confused here, and desperate for any other link between Jason and Armenia; see Strab. 11.14.12 (530C); Roller 2018, 681f.

[57] Strab. 11.14.7 (529C).

[58] Strab. 12.3.15 (547C), though with some confusion (see next n.); Plin. *HN* 6.3.8-10; Plut. *Luc*. 15. Cf. Dan 2016, 258, with further references.

since Strabo specifies Eratosthenes as his source, if only to criticize him for confusing the Lykos with the Thermodon (modern Terme). The latter merges into the Black Sea at Themiskyra/Terme, between the Iris (to the west) and the city of Kotyora/Ordu (to the east).[59] Though much smaller than the Lykos or Iris, the Thermodon was also famous in Greek mytho-history, because the Amazons were believed to have lived at its banks, and Themiskyra was duly visited by the Argonauts.[60]

At any rate, can it be that Strabo identifies the "Armenian" Lykos with the Kelkit? Armenia was a very flexible toponym and could – probably as a result of Achaemenid and Mithradatic administrative terminology – be extended west as far as the Iris or even Halys (Kızılırmak).[61] While Strabo normally confines the sphere of Armenia proper to the east of the Euphrates, he concedes an additional stretch north-west of the upper Euphrates under the name *Armenia Mikra*/*Armenia Minor*. This lies opposite the mountain ranges that run parallel to the coast, and is divided from them by the Akampsis/Çoruh (Skydises Mountain) and Lykos/Kelkit (Paryadres Mountain).[62] Strabo's terminology varies, but

[59] Eratosth. F119 = Strab. 11.14.7 (529C). Lordkipanidze (1996, 101) concludes that this renders the identity of Phasis uncertain. Dan (2016, 260) assumes a "strong mythical reason" for Eratosthenes (also see below, next n.), though I cannot follow her suggestion for the conception of a Thermodon/Araxes River. Dan (2015) is interested in geographical questions relating the Thermodon in Greece, which is still relevant for all mythical connotations attached to the "Amazonian" river. Roller (2018, 680) mislocates the mouth of the Thermodon to Herakleia Pontike/Ereğli, whereas his comment on Strab. 12.3.15 (547C) (p. 702f.) does not draw any connection to Strab. 11.14.7 (529C), and thus fails to notice that Strabo here accepts Eratosthenes' version, letting the Iris merge into the Black Sea at Themiskyra.

[60] See, e.g., Strab. 11.5.1-4 (503-505C), 12.3.15 (547C); Plin. *HN* 6.3.10; Prokop. *Bell*. 8.2.1.2. Cf. Dan 2015, 278f.; Roller 2018, 648-650; also Mayor 2014, 162f., 272, 284f.

[61] See Ballesteros Pastor 2012 and 2016, though with some modification by Coşkun 2016, 851f. and forthcoming c.

[62] Strab. 12.3.18 (548C) mentions the Skydises (an extension of the Moschian Mountains) and Paryadres as lying opposite Armenia Minor; in 11.12.4 (521C), he calls the nearby mountains Paryadres and Moschian. The upper Euphrates before its turn to the south is the other boundary of Armenia Minor and Arme-

for the areas north of the rivers he either uses the aforesaid oronyms or more specific ethnics such as that of the Tibarenoi and Heptakometai, unless he classifies them more broadly as *Pontic Kappadokia* or variations thereof.[63] By this account, both the Kelkit and the Çoruh, together with their sources and tributaries, might have been catalogued as (Micro-) Armenian or Pontic (-Kappadokian). Be this as it may, when Strabo explicitly addresses the Lykos as the tributary of the Iris in his description of the hinterland of Themiskyra, he classifies it as Armenian.[64]

But we should not yet jump to a quick conclusion. The assumption that the Lykos directly merged into the Black Sea remains problematic.

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nia according to Strab. 11.12.3 (521C). Similarly, Paryadres, Skydises, the Euphrates, Lesser Armenia and Armenia (as well as Kappadokia and Kommagene further to the south) are mentioned in Strab. 11.14.1 (527C). More specific is Plin. *HN* 6.3.9: *a Neocaesarea supra dicta Minorem Armeniam Lycus amnis disterminat* (ed. Rackham 1961); cf. König and Winkler 1996 (with p. 162).

[63] Strab. 12.1.1 (533C) emphasizes that the extent of Kappadokia changed over time; the description that follows immediately includes the east-Pontic coast. A bit further down, in 12.1.3 (534C) he includes everything "within the Halys" into Kappadokia, before differentiating as follows in 12.1.4 (534C): περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἐροῦμεν ὕστερον. τὴν δὲ Καππαδοκίαν εἰς δύο σατραπείας μερισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν παραλαβόντες Μακεδόνες περιεῖδον τὰ μὲν ἑκόντες τὰ δ᾽ ἄκοντες εἰς βασιλείας ἀντὶ σατραπειῶν περιστᾶσαν: ὧν τὴν μὲν ἰδίως Καππαδοκίαν ὠνόμασαν καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καὶ νὴ Δία μεγάλην Καππαδοκίαν, τὴν δὲ Πόντον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Καππαδοκίαν. "The Macedonians obtained possession of Kappadokia after it had been divided by the Persians into two satrapies, and permitted, partly with and partly without the consent of the people, the satrapies to be altered to two kingdoms, one of which they called Kappadokia proper, Kappadokia near the Tauros, or Great Kappadokia; the other they called Pontos, but according to other writers, Kappadokia on the Pontos." Greek text by Meineke 1877; translation adapted from Hamilton and Falconer 1903-1906. Cf. Roller 2018, 685f. for various comments, though without discussion of the overlapping terminology. Further see Strab. 12.2.1-11 (535-540C) on Great Kappadokia, 12.3.1-12 (540-546C) on Paphlagonian Pontos and 12.3.13-42 (546-563C) on Kappadokian Pontos east of the Halys/Kızılırmak. Cf. the later bipartition under Roman provincial rule, according to which the Pontus Polemoniacus formed part of the Provincia Cappadoci(c)a: Ptol. *Geog*. 6.10f.

[64] Strab. 12.3.15 (547C).

In addition, it is noteworthy that Strabo nowhere mentions the Akampsis/Çoruh or the Apsaros/Acharistskali, which shares its lower course with the Akampsis, to merge into the Black Sea north of the fortress of Apsaros. The latter gradually developed into the homonymous city (now Gonio), just south of modern Batumi. I thus wonder if Strabo or more likely Eratosthenes, on whom he is depending here, would not rather regard the Akampsis/Çoruh as *Lykos*.

Claudius Ptolemy is pointing into the same direction. He begins his catalogue of the cities and rivers of the Roman province of Kappadokia with a list of names referring to the Pontic littoral, beginning with Ankon, a city of the Leukosyroi, and the estuary of the Iris in the west before moving eastwards along the coast. Towards the end figures (the fortress or town) *Apsorros*, misspelt for *Apsaros*, and the mouth of the *Apsorros* River. Before ending with Sebastopolis, a fortress that Ptolemy locates just north of the estuary,[65] he provides some more detailed information on the Apsorros River, namely that it is split up into (or rather has as its two main tributaries) the Glaukos and the Lykos. He even adds the coordinates for their sources (72° 45′/43° and 71° 15′/43° respectively). It has been taken for granted that Ptolemy is here confusing the Lykos/Kelkit with the Akampsis.[66] For Dan, Ptolemy's entry betrays an even more complex conflation of a Phasis-Apsaros-Lykos-Iris, which would thus have had two Black-Sea estuaries. The name Glaukos seems to give further support to this reconstruction, since it is one of the attested tributaries of the Kolchian Phasis. The Glaukos of Ptolemy is, however, unanimously identified with the Oltu Çayı, which springs in the Kargapazarlı Mountains north of Erzurum and merges into the

[65] Perhaps Batumistsikhe or Tsikhisdziri, see Coşkun, forthcoming a. König and Winkler 1996, 161 as well as Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006, II: 516f. with n. 99 confuse it with Sebastopolis/Karana/Sulusaray in the Tokat Province, Turkey. Braund 1994 as well as Braund and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 87 ignore it.

[66] Ptol. *Geog*. 5.6.7. See, e.g., Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006, II: 517. This Lykos has not been accounted for by Braund and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 87. Also see below, nn. 68f. for the omissions in *RE*.

Çoruh near Yusufeli.[67] In other words, there may have been a tradition which rendered the Akampsis as a backward-extension of the Lykos.

But caution is in place, not least because Ptolemy is the only witness for an arm of the Apsaros or Akampsis called *Glaukos*.[68] Moreover, the latter was a popular hydronym, as was *Lykos*,[69] and both occur repeatedly – and flexibly – in Argonautic (and Amazonian) landscapes along the southern and eastern coasts of the Euxine, just as Hippos and Kyaneos.[70] If we further consider Ptolemy's coordinates (they are conveniently mapped out by Alfred Stückelberger and Gerd Graßhoff), it is much more likely that Ptolemy identified the Glaukos with the Apsaros/Acharistskali, which has its sources in the north-western part of the Lesser Caucasus, rather than the Oltu Çayı. If so, then his Lykos, whose source Ptolemy locates south of Rhizous/Rhizaion/Rize, becomes the upper and middle course of the Akampsis/Çoruh.

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[67] Thus also Bürchner and Ruge 1910, 1408 (Glaukos 5); Bryer and Winfield 1985, 58; Braund and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 87, with *Directory*, p. 1232; Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006, II: 517; Dan 2016, 260.

[68] Bürchner and Ruge 1910, 1407f. list seven different rivers called *Glaukoi*, not yet included the tributary of the Kolchian Phasis, on which see Strab. 11.2.17 (498C, as below) and Plin. *HN* 6.4.13. Also see below, section 12, for further references.

[69] Bürchner et al. 1927 list 14 *Lykoi* Rivers, without taking Ptol. *Geog*. 5.6.7 into account. Also see below, sections 11-12.

[70] E.g., Plin. *HN* 6.4.13: *maxime autem inclaruit Aea, XV (milia passuum) a mari, ubi Hippos et Cyaneos vasti amnes e diverso in eum (sc. Phasim) confluunt*. "The most famous was Aia, 15 miles from the sea, where two very large tributaries join (the Phasis) from opposite directions, the Hippos and the Kyaneos." (Latin text and translation [adapted] from Rackham 1961; cf. König and Winkler 1996); Ptol. *Geog*. 5.10.2; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Aia* (A 86). On the Hippos and Kyaneos Rivers, also see Kießling 1913 (cf. Honigmann 1922) and below, section 12. I suggest adding to the list of Hippoi the Hyp(p)ios in Bithynia, as attested by Arr. *PPE* 13.2 and in *Tab. Peut*. A fuller understanding of the Kyaneai Rivers can only be gained by also considering the Kyaneai/Symplegades normally identified with the Thracian Bosporos, see Ap. Rhod. 1.3; Strab. 1.2.10 (21C); cf. Ruge 1922, 2236; Gantz 1993, 356-358; Roller 2018, 80f. That the Glaukos and the Kyaneos were rivers of the mythical landscape is also understood by König and Winkler 1996, 18, 166f.

Hence, Ptolemy does not endorse the view that the Lykos or the Akampsis were ever confused with the Kolchian (or Armenian) Phasis, nor does his testimony confirm the vision of a Lykos-Akampsis or Lykos-Phasis with two Black Sea estuaries. All of this melts down to a modern misconception. The accounts of Strabo and Ptolemy rather lend mutual support to my suggestion that there was one ancient tradition which named the Akampsis *Lykos*. As we shall see below, Apollonios of Rhodes reflects the same tradition. Beforehand, some further questions relating to the Akampsis need to be addressed.

## 8. THE BOAS/PHASIS IN PROKOPIOS' *WARS*

It is largely believed that the Akampsis is called *Harpasos* by Xenophon (4th century B.C.). I have my reservations against this equation, but they need not be unfolded here, since the name was never repeated in our ancient evidence, nor has its description affected other extant representations of the Akampsis (or Phasis).[71]

More important is the testimony that the 6th-century-A.D. historiographer Prokopios of Gaza provides. In the first two books of his *Wars of Justinian*, he states explicitly that the upper course of the Phasis was called *Boas*, and indeed construes a Boas/Phasis. For the river's source, he claims the area around Pharangion (probably near Ispır on the Çoruh) in the border zone between the Roman subjects of the Tzani and Persarmenia, although it is more than a hundred km too far east, but still several hundred km too far west from any potential Armenian source of the Phasis.[72] After mentioning Pharangion, Prokopios becomes vague. He sur-

[71] Xen. *An*. 4.7.18. For its equation with the Boas/Akampsis, see, e.g., Baumgartner 1912, quoting Xenophon for its qualification of "vier Plethren breit;" Kießling 1912, 2086; Janssen and Cobet 1944 (map); Masqueray 1961, 180f., 203; Janssens 1969, 36; Lendle 1995, 270-272; cf. Plontke-Lüning 2004. Mather and Hewitt (1962, map and p. 420) remain uncommitted. For more on Xenophon's itinerary, see above, n. 51.

[72] Prokop. *Bell.* 2.29.3.14; see Braund and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 87 as well as Dewing and Kaldellis 2014, xxiv (map) on Pharangion; also Prokop. *Bell*. 1.15.3.18-1.15.4.27. A location closer to the sources of the Akampsis, e.g., in the plain of Bayburt (Sinclair 1989, 275) is incompatible with Prokopios' description. Also avoid confusion with the Phanaroia, the plain in which the Lykos/Kelkit merges into the Iris/Yeşil Irmak: Strab. 12.3.14 (547C).

mises a far turn to the right after a three-day march, in order to pick up the river again close to Iberian territory opposite the end of the Caucasus. Receiving further tributaries finally renders the river navigable, and hence the Boas is called Phasis.[73] The latter part of the description clearly points to Sarapana; the "opposite" mountain thus appears to be the Main Caucasus here. Less clear is where the imagined link between the Boas/Akampsis and Boas/Phasis should be located: I leave it open whether Prokopios was thinking of the abovementioned Oltu Çayı or the Berta Suyu, which empties into the Çoruh further north-west at Artvin. Most likely, however, the Byzantine historiographer did not have any clear understanding of this (imaginary) part of the river course. Later on, in his Book 8, Prokopios explicitly tells us that the upper course of the *Akampsis* was called *Boas*, which seems to find support in its Armenian name "Voh."[74] Based on this, Dan suggests:

> Or, if, for Procopius, the Phasis-Rioni became navigable at the level of the fortress of Sarapanis ... and if he supposed any link between the Boas-Phasis and the Boas-Akampsis (which, in this case, would be the same river and not only an homonym), then this connection should correspond to an imaginary water channel, in fact one of the passes of the Southern Caucasus. ... Accordingly, for Procopius, it would not have been impossible to imagine a Boas river, as a segment of the Phasis, which would have linked not only the

[73] Prokop. *Bell.* 2.29.3.14, 16: "The river Boas rises close to the boundary of the Tzanoi by the Armenians who dwell around Pharangion. Its course inclines at first to the right for a long distance; its stream is small and can be forded by anyone with no trouble as far as the place where the boundaries of the Iberians lie on the right, and the Caucasus ends directly opposite. ... But when this river reaches the limits of the Caucasus and of Iberia as well, there other waters are added to it and it becomes much larger and from there flows on bearing the name of **Phasis** instead of **Boas**; it becomes a navigable stream as far as the Black Sea into which it empties; and on either side of it there lies Lazike." Trans. Dewing and Kaldellis 2014.

[74] Prokop. *Bell.* 8.2.1.5-9 and Dan 2016, 258, who, however, confuses the Apsaros ("southernmost") and the Akampsis on p. 259.

> Çoruh and the Rioni, but also the Kyros-Mtkvari (and, implicitly, its tributary Araxes/Aras).[75]

Admitting to a serious confusion by Prokopios here, I think that the error can be narrowed down. The evidence seems to imply to me that he had a relatively thorough understanding of the Phasis, but, while writing Books 1 and 2, did not yet know of the Akampsis and thus conflated his limited information on the Boas with that on the Phasis, or rather conceptualized the Boas as a backwards extension of the Phasis. Occasionally, this also distorted his narrative on the Persian-Roman War, as far as its campaigns took place in Kolchis. Most affected are the sections that involve the fortress of Petra (Pia Iustiniana), which Prokopios knew stood close to a river estuary. Some passages convey the impression that Petra is located close to the Akampsis, which has induced most scholars to identify it with the ruins near Tsikhisdziri. But a reevaluation of the complete evidence strongly speaks in favour of a location just south of the Phasis mouth.[76]

At any rate, when Prokopios later worked on Book 8, he implicitly corrected himself by equating the Boas with the Akampsis, without further specifying its relation to the Phasis. They appear as two distinct rivers, as we shall see in the next section. I thus wonder whether any of the upper tributaries, such as the Barimela, was really a namesake of the Boas/Akampsis. While this is possible in theory, the fact that the Boas/Akampsis and the Phasis were known to have Armenian sources and further to empty into the Black Sea as huge navigable rivers might have sufficed to induce Prokopios' error.

## 9. AKAMPSIS AND PHASIS IN THE WORKS OF PROKOPIOS, PLINY AND PTOLEMY

Much clearer and straightforward are the references to the rivers in Prokopios' Book 8: the Boas has its origin among the Tzani (who lived in the Eastern Pontic Mountains) and merges into the Black Sea under the name *Akampsis* after having come very close to the Lazian territory.

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[75] Dan 2016, 259, referencing Prokop. "*Wars* 2. 29. 14, 16; cf. 1. 15. 21, 2. 30. 36-37, 8. 2. 2-9."

[76] Prokop. *Bell.* 2.15.2.9-13; 2.17.1.1-2.17.2.13; 2.17.2.18; 2.17.3.19-28; 2.19.6.47f.; 2.29.1.1; 2.29.3.19, 21, 23-25; 2.29.4.27; 8.2.2.29; 8.2.4.21, 29. See Coşkun, forthcoming a.

Later on, he locates the Phasis far-east from Pseudo-Kolchis (around Trapezus).[77] Another section is admittedly somewhat opaque, but still resists the equation suggested by Dan:[78] first, Prokopios speaks of the Meschians (sc. Moschoi) as mountain dwellers and neighbours of the Lazoi and Iberians as well as subjects of the latter (§ 24f.); the high mountains adjacent to them are called "Caucasian," whereby Iberia and Persarmenia are located "behind them towards the east" (§ 26). Next the Phasis is mentioned as flowing "through these mountains, having its spring in the Caucasus" and emptying into the Black Sea where its coast recedes the farthest to the east (§ 26, also § 32). The latter detail is not entirely accurate, but would be just as inadequate for the Akampsis. Modern maps rather tell us that the much smaller Isis/Natanebi or Akinases/Kintrishi in-between the Phasis and the Akampsis have their estuaries in the easternmost "ditch" of the Black Sea.[79] At any rate, Prokopios' Caucasus apparently includes the Lesser Caucasus,[80] and thus aligns with Strabo's attribution of an Armenian source to the Phasis.

Prokopios' description becomes even clearer when compared with Pliny the Elder and Claudius Ptolemy. Pliny still seems to be following the onomastic tradition underlying Strabo's account. He claims the eth-

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[77] Prokop. *Bell*. 8.2.1.5-9. On Pseudo-Kolchis, see 8.2.3.15; cf. Xen. *An*. 4.8.22: ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμοὺς παρασάγγας ἑπτά, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρᾳ. Also see the slight variation in Arr. *PPE* 11.1: Τραπεζουντίοις μέν, καθάπερ καὶ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, Κόλχοι ὅμοροι; cf. 7.1. For further ancient sources and scholarly discussion, see Braund 1994, 132-135; Silberman 1995, 9 n. 75; Lordkipanidze 1996, 71-76; Tsetskhladze 1998, 107. The extent of the problem has in fact been underestimated: it is connected with a confused cartographical tradition of Trapezus, see Podossinov 2012, 205f. and Coşkun, forthcoming e.

[78] Prokop. *Bell*. 8.2.4.24-33.

[79] On the rivers, see esp. Ps.-Skylax, *Asia* 81; Plin. *HN* 6.4.12; Arr. *PPE* 7.5; cf. Braund and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 87; also Coşkun, forthcoming b. On Dioskourias, see below, section 12.

[80] This also becomes clear in Prokop. *Bell*. 1.15.3.18-1.15.4.27 (location of Pharangion near the Phasis, mistaken for the Boas/Akampsis) and 2.29.3.16 (course of the Boas/Phasis).

nic *Moschi* (probably meant to denote the Lesser Caucasus, just as Strabo's *Moschike*) as the source of the Phasis.[81] In contrast, the maps of Asia by Ptolemy are more consistent with Prokopios' divisions.[82] His coordinates show the Phasis estuary in the easternmost bay of the Black Sea; Kolchis is neighboured by the Iberians to the east, though separated by the Caucasus; the Moschian Mountains have been shifted south-west, reaching as far as the hinterland of Trapezus (Strabo calls this mountain range *Skydises*) and provide the sources for the abovementioned "Lykos" (i.e. Akampsis) and the Glaukos (i.e. Apsaros). We can thus trace a gradual shift of the oronyms to the south beginning with Ptolemy. At any rate, all three, Pliny, Ptolemy and Prokopios (in his Book 8) regard the Phasis as springing from the (Lesser) Caucasus, which is compatible with Strabo's assertion of its Armenian origin.

## 10. TANAÏS, PHASIS AND THE MYTHO-GEOGRAPHY OF LAZIA ACCORDING TO PROKOPIOS

Further on, Prokopios reports the "opinion" that the Phasis divided Europe and Asia.[83] This is not a mere confusion with the Tanaïs (Don), which is admittedly the more widely accepted boundary.[84] Prokopios drew on an ancient tradition traceable to Herodotos, if not beyond.[85]

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[81] Plin. *HN* 6.4.12f.: *oritur in Moschis* (ed. Rackham 1961); cf. König and Winkler 1996. Thus also admitted by Lordkipanidze 1996, 103, who further adduces Solin. *Collectanea* 15.19 (sc. *Mirabilia* 15.19): *Heniochorum montes Araxen, Moschorum Phasidem fundunt* (Latin text drawn from *The Latin Library*). Solin may be quoting Pliny. On Strabo and the Moschoi, see above, nn. 38 and 62.

[82] See Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006, II: 847, 853.

[83] Prokop. *Bell*. 8.2.4.28.

[84] E.g., Ps.-Skylax, *Europa* 68: ποταμὸς Τάναις, ὃς ὁρίζει Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην; Diod. 2.2.1; Strab. 7.4.5 (310C); 11.1.1-5 (490f.C); 11.2.1 (492C); Arr. *PPE* 19.1; Ptol. *Geog*. 5.9.1; 8 map 2 (Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006, II: 850). Cf. Lordkipanidze 2000, 23-26; Liddle 2003, 123; Heinen 2005; Roller 2018, 629-631. *Schol. Ap.* 2.399-401 (ed. Wendel [1935] ³1974, 162f.) attests an interesting case of conflation: he believes that there was one Asian Kytaïs in Kolchis and one European in the land of the Scythians, but both should be one and the same.

[85] E.g., Hdt. 4.45.2; cf. 1.104.2. Dan (2016, 261-263, 267-269) argues instead for a Scythian Phasis, which equals the Tanaïs, although she also discusses further

That he remains consistent with this geographical division emerges from the fact that he assigns the Lazoi to the European side, i.e. north of the Phasis/Rioni, instead of south of the Tanaïs (§ 29).

At the end of his account on the Lazian territory, Prokopios briefly digresses (once more) on the Argonautic tradition.[86] He reports the claim of the locals that Jason had found the Golden Fleece somewhere in "this part of Lazika" (τὴν Λαζικῆς μοῖραν). The immediately preceding words seem to relate this to the unsettled territory south of the Phasis.[87] But the previous description confined the effective living space of the Lazoi to the "European" μοῖρα (§ 28) in the north. In addition, only the latter interpretation renders the subsequent argument (poor as it may be) formally logical. Prokopios rejects the local tradition, because it is incompatible with the Argonauts' safe withdrawal in secrecy from Aïetes' kingdom; in his eyes, at least, the fleece must have been kept in an area that was separated by the Phasis from the "royal palace and the houses of the Kolchoi."

While this may appear awkward to us, Prokopios' criticism seems to be directed against those who located Aia along the north-west coast of Kolchis. Ptolemy and Stephanos provide explicit evidence for such claims, the former by placing a city of Aia somewhere between Phasis City and Dioskourias/Sebastopolis, the latter by identifying Dioskourias with Aia. Apparently, the Greek settlers in Kolchis or their descendants created a variety of Argonautic landscapes. They framed their new territory as the mythical kingdom of Aia surrounded by the rivers Hippos and Kyaneos and perhaps not too far from the Glaukos and Lykos either. Ptolemy, Stephanos and indirectly also Prokopios demonstrate that the Phasis, the most famous of all Kolchian rivers, could still be

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potential evidence for the rendering of other "major North Caucasian rivers like the Kuban" as Phasis, which she suggests identifying further with the ancient Hypanis or Hybristes (263-271).

[86] Prokop. *Bell*. 8.2.4.30-32. He previously addressed the Argonauts, e.g., in the context of Apsaros/Absyrtos and Trapezus (*Bell*. 8.2.2.12-8.2.3.15).

[87] This is the understanding of the German translation by Veh ²1978, 725.

ignored in the Roman and Byzantine periods.[88] The Homeric tradition which envisaged Aia located on a sea coast had not been forgotten and maintained its potential validity.[89]

Be this as it may, those living along the Phasis successfully claimed Aia for themselves. At least from the early-5th century B.C. on, the mainstream of our tradition accepted that the kingdom of Aïetes was to be found somewhere on the bank of this river.[90] For Prokopios, however, this seemed to imply that the grove of Phrixos was located on the opposite side, which means south of the Phasis. He no longer pictured the royal residence on an island or in a city called Aia, but recognized it in the ruins at Kotaïs/Kytaïs, today's Kutaisi on the middle course of the Rheon/Rioni. Kutaisi has been introduced above as being located some 90 km inland, overseeing the Caucasian foothills to its north and the juncture of the Rheon/Rioni and the Phasis/Kvirila at Rhodopolis/Geguti to its south. It also provides a scene for the Argonautic plot as the royal city in the land of Aia and the home of Aïetes. In this sense,

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[88] Steph. Byz. s.v. *Dioskourias* (Δ 93) on Dioskourias/Sebastopolis/Aia. And Ptol. *Geog*. 5.10.2; cf. Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006, II: 854 map 3. It is unclear which of the two Aiai Steph. Byz. s.v. *Aia* (A 86) mentions as enclosed by the Hippos and Kyaneos. On the rivers, see above, nn. 66-70 and below, final n.

[89] See above, with n. 2, on the Homeric tradition.

[90] Eumelos and Pindar: see above, sections 1-2. Ps.-Skylax, *Asia* 81 locates Medeia's unnamed hometown 180 stades = ca. 32 km inland. Apollonios is treated above in section 2 and below in section 11. Plin. *HN* 6.4.12 knows one Aia 15 miles = ca. 22.5 km inland. The Phasis is mentioned repeatedly, though without indication of the distance, by Val. Flacc. 2.379, 3.501, cf. 2.597, 3.306, 3.662, etc. Also see Pompon. Mela 1.19.108: *Hic sunt Colchi, huc Phasis erumpit, hic eodem nomine quo amnis est a Themistagora Milesio deductum oppidum, hic Phrixi templum et lucus, fabula vetere pellis aureae nobilis*. "Here live the Kolchians, into this land the Phasis pours out, here is the town which the Milesian Themistagoras settled under the same name as the river, here are the temple and grove of Phrixos, distinguished through the old legend of the Golden Fleece." Latin text by Frick 1967; my translation. The location of the temple and grove are disputed, but, *pace* Lordkipanidze 2000, 98f., Mela does not allow us to disconnect the grove from the Phasis; see Val. Flacc. 2.596-600; Coşkun, forthcoming d. For other Aiai not said to be located on the Phasis, see below, final n.

Kytaïs is first attested by Apollonios of Rhodes in the 3rd century B.C. It is to his testimony that we are turning now.[91]

## 11. PHASIAN CONFUSION IN APOLLONIOS OF RHODES

Apollonios of Rhodes is adduced for the most complex mytho-geographical conflation of the rivers in the region. The context is one of the most thrilling moments of the story, Jason's discovery of the Golden Fleece and his encounter with its guardian dragon. The beast's monstruous hissing was echoed by the river (i.e. the Phasis) and the sacred grove (where Phrixos had sacrificed the ram) – and far beyond. Since the text is not easy to understand, I first quote its Greek original, then its English translation by Anca Dan and third its German translation by Paul Dräger:

> ἔκλυον οἳ καὶ πολλὸν ἑκὰς Τιτηνίδος Αἴης / Κολχίδα γῆν ἐνέμοντο παρὰ προχοῇσι Λύκοιο, / ὅς τ᾽ ἀποκιδνάμενος ποταμοῦ κελάδοντος Ἀράξεω / Φάσιδι συμφέρεται ἱερὸν ῥόον: οἱ δὲ συνάμφω / Καυκασίην ἅλαδ᾽ εἰς ἓν ἐλαυνόμενοι προχέουσιν.[92]
>
> Those heard it who dwelt in the Colchian land very far from Titanian Aea, near the outfall of Lykos, the river which parts from loud-roaring Araxes and blends his sacred stream with Phasis, and they twain flow on together in one and pour their waters into the Caucasian Sea.[93]

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[91] Prokop. *Bell*. 8.14.6.47f.; cf. Ap. Rhod. 2.399-407; also 2.1093-1095, 1266f.; 3.228; 4.511. Moreover, see Kallim. F7 = Strab. 1.2.39 (46C). Cf. Lordkipanidze 1996, 243-246; Dan 2016, 256.

[92] Ap. Rhod. 4.131-135. My text follows Dräger 2002 (300, 430), who maintains the transmitted reading together with the older editions (e.g., Mooney [1912] 1964). The Oxford ed. by Fränkel ([1961] 1964, 174) "corrects" the last word to προορέουσιν, which is accepted, e.g., by Glei and Natzel-Glei 1996, II: 86 (without mention in the critical notes, p. 210) as well as Hunter 2015, 36, 100: "The transmitted προχέουσιν would require ῥόον to be understood from 134, and that seems very awkward." But this is not necessary, since Καυκασίην ἅλαδ᾽ is the object; see below.

[93] Dan 2016, 258.

> Es hörten sogar die, die das kolchische Land weit entfernt vom Titanischen Aia an den Fluten des Lykos bewohnten – dieser zweigt vom rauschenden Fluss Araxes ab und vereinigt seine heilige Strömung mit dem Phasis, und beide zusammen ergießen sich in eins verbunden ins kaukasische Meer.[94]

Just as Dan and Dräger, Mooney and Lordkipanidze believe that Apollonios pictures the courses of the three rivers as mystically connected. And so did the anonymous scholiast: his paraphrase describes the Lykos as diverging from the Araxes to empty into the Phasis, and to merge into the sea together with this.[95] Dräger's commentary adds further details:

> Der Lykos ist die Verbindung zwischen dem in das Kaspische Meer mündenden Araxes und dem in das Schwarze (Ostteil: Kaukasische) Meer mündenden Phasis; Flüsse sind "heilig" (V. 134) wegen der Flussgötter. Der geographische Exkurs in V. 131-134 betont Aïetes' Größe und Macht. Vom kolchischen Lykos ist der bithynische (2,724) zu unterscheiden.

Interestingly, none of the aforementioned interpreters thinks of a real confusion of the Phasis with the Araxes, whose waters empty into the Caspian Sea. While "Caucasian Sea" is ambiguous, the stream of the Phasis and its estuary make it clear that the Euxine is denoted here. Both translations further agree that the Lykos estuary was inside the kingdom of Kolchis, though far away from its centre (Aia or Kytaïs). But accepting this, Dräger feels the need to comment that Apollonios is here referring to a different Lykos than the (only) one that has been mentioned before in his poem. Dan differs in that she does not address the first occurrence of the Lykos in the *Argonautika*, but explains regardless:

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[94] Dräger 2002, 301.

[95] For the scholion, see Wendel [1935] [3]1974, 268: ὁ δε Λύκος ποταμὸς ἀπὸ Ἀράξου φερόμενος συνκίρναται Φάσιδι, καὶ οὕτως ἀπολέσας τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν; this sentence is followed by a parallel (Onochonos, Peneios, Pamisos). Likewise, Glei and Natzel-Glei 1996, II: 87. Cf. Mooney [1912] 1964, 309, who distinguishes the Lykos from its Bithynian namesake, as Dräger does, see below.

> Apollonios probably never referred to the Kelkit Çayı but rather to another course flowing into a river called Phasis. Judging by Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.6.7) who presents the Lykos as the tributary of the Apsorros along with the Glaukos (modern Oltu Çay), this watercourse should correspond to the Çoruh Ne<hr>i.[96]

While my result concurs with Dan's, my explanation does not. At its first occurrence in Apollonios' poem, the Lykos clearly did not equal the abovementioned Kelkit, which merges into the Iris/Yeşil Irmak. It figured as a parallel river to the Sangarios/Sakarya, which, in turn, is known to have its origin in Phrygia and to empty into the Black Sea in Bithynia near Adapazarı.[97] The Lykos in its neighbourhood should be the one which Arrian attests 80 stades west of Herakleia Pontike/Ereğli. Or should we better locate it closer to the famous Megarite colony, as Pliny suggests us to do? Xenophon, too, situates it in the territory of the Herakleiots.[98] Scholarly opinion about its identification is divided,[99] but this need not surprise us, since there appear to be multiple Argonautic landscapes also along the north-western coast of the Black Sea, and thus potentially shifting or rivalling onomastic traditions.

No matter where exactly this Lykos was located or where precisely Apollonios imagined its course, I would suggest that the "narrative grammar" of the *Argonautika* discourages a distinction between the two Lykoi: in the mythical world of the Argonauts, there was only one river called Lykos. Indirectly, Apollonios seems to be attesting to the older epic tradition which delimited the kingdom (or perhaps the extended empire) of Aïetes by a Lykos River merging into the Black Sea. As such, he either consciously denoted or subconsciously alluded to the Akampsis-Lykos, which formed the southern boundary of Kolchis throughout much of

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[96] Dan 2016, 258.

[97] Ap. Rhod. 2.272-274.

[98] Arr. *PPE* 13.2, 3; Plin. *HN* 6.1.4: *Sangarius … oritur in Phrygia … Coralius, a quo incipiunt Mariandyni, sinus oppidumque Heraclea Lyco flumini adpositum* (Latin text from König and Winkler 1996; Rackham 1961); Xen. *An*. 6.2.3.

[99] Foss 2000, *BA* 86 with *Directory*, p. 1221: Gürünç Su. – Silberman 1995, 40 n. 114: Kiliçe Su. – Liddle 2003, 110: Gülüç Çayı by Herakleia Pontike/Ereğli; cf. Magie 1950, II (map).

antiquity.[100] At the same time, we have seen that many scholars – geographers and probably poets alike – were simply unaware of its existence. Strabo and Prokopios have been named above, and I assume that Eratosthenes forms part of this negative tradition.

Apollonios thus had a very blurry picture of the Lykos (and other parts of the Euxine littoral), but the intended meaning of his abovequoted verses emerges more clearly now. Supernatural are the dragon and its terrifying hisses, which reached the last corners of the great Kolchian realm in mysterious ways. But, at least in the present section, the poet does not expect his readers to believe in geographical miracles beyond that: the waters of the Lykos and the Phasis do merge, but only in the salty water of the Black Sea, not in any one obscure riverbed, as the proleptic relative clause ὅς ... Φάσιδι συμφέρεται may mislead us to understand. The point of this expression is to illustrate the supremacy of the Phasis and, in this way, to characterize the Lykos/Akampsis as a river on the kingdom's margins.[101] That Φάσιδι συμφέρεται indeed looks at their future mixing becomes clear not only through the plural of (συνάμφω) ... προχέουσιν, which points to two separate estuaries, and of ἐλαυνόμενοι, which reflects the two separate courses; it is also revealed by the fact that only after merging into the sea they become one (εἰς ἓν ... προχέουσιν). The inner object (Καυκασίην ἅλαδ᾽) of the predicate (προχέουσιν) is once

[100] See esp. Ps.-Skylax, *Asia* 81 (cf. Lordkipanidze 1996, 71-76); App. *Mith*. 101.463-468. Also see the strategic location of the fortress of Apsaros in Plin. *HN* 6.4.12 and Arr. *PPE* 6. Ptol. *Geog*. 5.6.7 can be added here, although this includes a further Roman stronghold (Sebastopolis) just north of the Akampsis/Apsorros. Despite some confusion, even Strab. 11.2.14 (497C); 11.2.17 (498C); 12.3.13 (547C); Prokop. *Bell*. 8.1.1.7-11; 8.2.1.5-9 (see above, section 9) support the case. Cf. Coşkun, forthcoming a, c, d, e.

[101] For a different nuance, see Glei and Natzel-Glei 1996, II: 191 (quoting Fränkel), who read the geographical digression as reminder of the "gewaltige Macht des orientalischen Despoten Aietes..., der selbst Hellas durchaus gefährlich werden könnte."

more proleptic in that it already qualifies the waters of the Phasis and Lykos as the "salt water of the Caucasian Sea."[102]

Since the latter denotes the Euxine beyond any doubt, there is no need to suppose that the beds of the Phasis and Araxes physically met (in the mysterious world of the poet). Otherwise, one would have to understand ἀποκίδναμαι in the narrowest sense and regard the Lykos as a distributary of the Araxes, in order to see Araxean and Phasian waters run together. But such thinking would be beyond the point that Apollonios is making, because his emphasis is on the relation between the Phasis and the Lykos. The Araxes is only introduced to provide his readers with background on the Lykos. While I cannot exclude that the poet had a confused geographical concept of the latter two rivers, we are not even compelled to accept this. *LSJ* translate the verb ἀποκίδναμαι as "spread abroad from a place." This does not require the two rivers to originate from a single source or riverbed.[103] Both the Lykos/Akampsis and the Araxes were assumed to hail from Armenia, but to take opposite directions from there: the one turning north-west to empty into the Black Sea, the other following a north-eastern course towards the Caspian

[102] Apollonios may be varying quite deliberately a similar expression used earlier (1.38f.), which more clearly described the merger of two rivers into one bed: ἔνθα μὲν Ἀπιδανός τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ἐνιπεὺς / **ἄμφω συμφορέονται**, ἀπόπροθεν **εἰς ἓν ἰόντες**. A closer parallel is Aratus, *Phaen*. 362-366: he describes a blending (though not of rivers, but of imaginery lines of constellations) with the same words and also implies that they unite only at the end point of their movement: δεσμοὶ δ' οὐραῖοι, τοῖς Ἰχθύες ἄκροι ἔχονται, / **ἄμφω συμφορέονται** ἀπ' οὐραίων κατιόντες, / κητείης δ' ὄπιθεν λοφίης ἐπιμὶξ φορέονται / **εἰς ἓν ἐλαυνόμενοι**, ἑνὶ δ' ἀστέρι πειραίνονται, / Κήτεος ὃς κείνου πρώτη ἐπίκειται ἀκάνθη. Kidd (1997) translates: "the tail-chains, by which the extremities of the Fishes are held, both come together as they descend from the tail-parts, and behind the Monster's back-fin move jointly as they converge, and terminate in a single star that lies close to the top of the Monster's spine."

[103] *LSJ* s.v. (p. 202) references Ap. Rhod. 4.133, besides Aratus 735, see 733-736: οὐχ ὁράᾳς; ὀλίγη μὲν ὅταν κεράεσσι σελήνη / ἑσπερόθεν φαίνηται, ἀεξομένοιο διδάσκει / 735 μηνός: ὅτε πρώτη ἀποκίδναται αὐτόθεν αὐγή, / ὅσσον ἐπισκιάειν, ἐπὶ τέτρατον ἦμαρ ἰοῦσα.

Sea.[104] And it is in the Black Sea that the floods of the Lykos mix together with the waters of the Phasis, which, as we have seen above in section 3, the poet fathomed to originate in the Amarantian Mountains (Main Caucasus). Apollonios thus surmises a consistent Kolchian riverscape.

## 12. WATERS AROUND AIA

Most of the diverse observations made throughout this paper imply only minor corrections and need not be summed up here. But in two regards, they seem to be adding up to further-reaching conclusions. As far as the Kolchian Phasis is concerned, it seems that the mainstream of the geographical and mythographical literature had a solid understanding of the river: having one of its sources in Armenia, it becomes the horizontal artery of the Kolchian plain, which empties into the Black Sea. This course is consistent with most of our evidence from the 5th century B.C. until Late Antiquity, and it is at least compatible with modern topography. Miraculous river courses seem to focus on the Ister/Danube, Tanaïs/Don or Hypanis/Kuban and originate as late as the 4th century B.C., without affecting the bulk of the geographical or mythographical tradition.

This is not to say that there was no confusion of waterways in and around Kolchis. I have repeatedly referred to four other rivers which form part of the myth's fluvial landscape: Hippos, Kyaneos, Glaukos and Lykos. Two or three of them, though never the Lykos, are included in the brief descriptions of Strabo, Pliny and Stephanos. Claudius Ptolemy is the only prose text to have them all, though disconnected in two pairs, the former attributed to Kolchis, the latter to the Roman province of Kappadokia. The multiple Lykoi in northern Asia Minor cannot be coincidental, considering the river's role in the epic tradition as an important stage on the way to Aia. The gradual occupation of the Euxine coastline by Greek colonists and further their strife for hegemony in the area resulted in multiple Aiai. Proliferation of homonyms, confusion and uncertainty were further side-effects. And this was even worsened by the omission of the Akampsis/Lykos in one branch of the tradition.

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[104] There is no hint that Apollonios might have seen the two Phaseis of Xenophon as one.

A systematic study of these secondary rivers will not only help us better understand the gradual design of Argonautic landscapes up the stream of the Phasis, but also pave the way to locating the first city of Kolchis declared to be Aia by Milesian settlers. Small surprise that this Aia will be identified with Dioskourias. More novel will be my identification of its site: instead of modern Sukhumi, I shall argue for the harbour district of Ochamchire, as revealed by the Hippos and Kyaneos Rivers surrounding it.[105]

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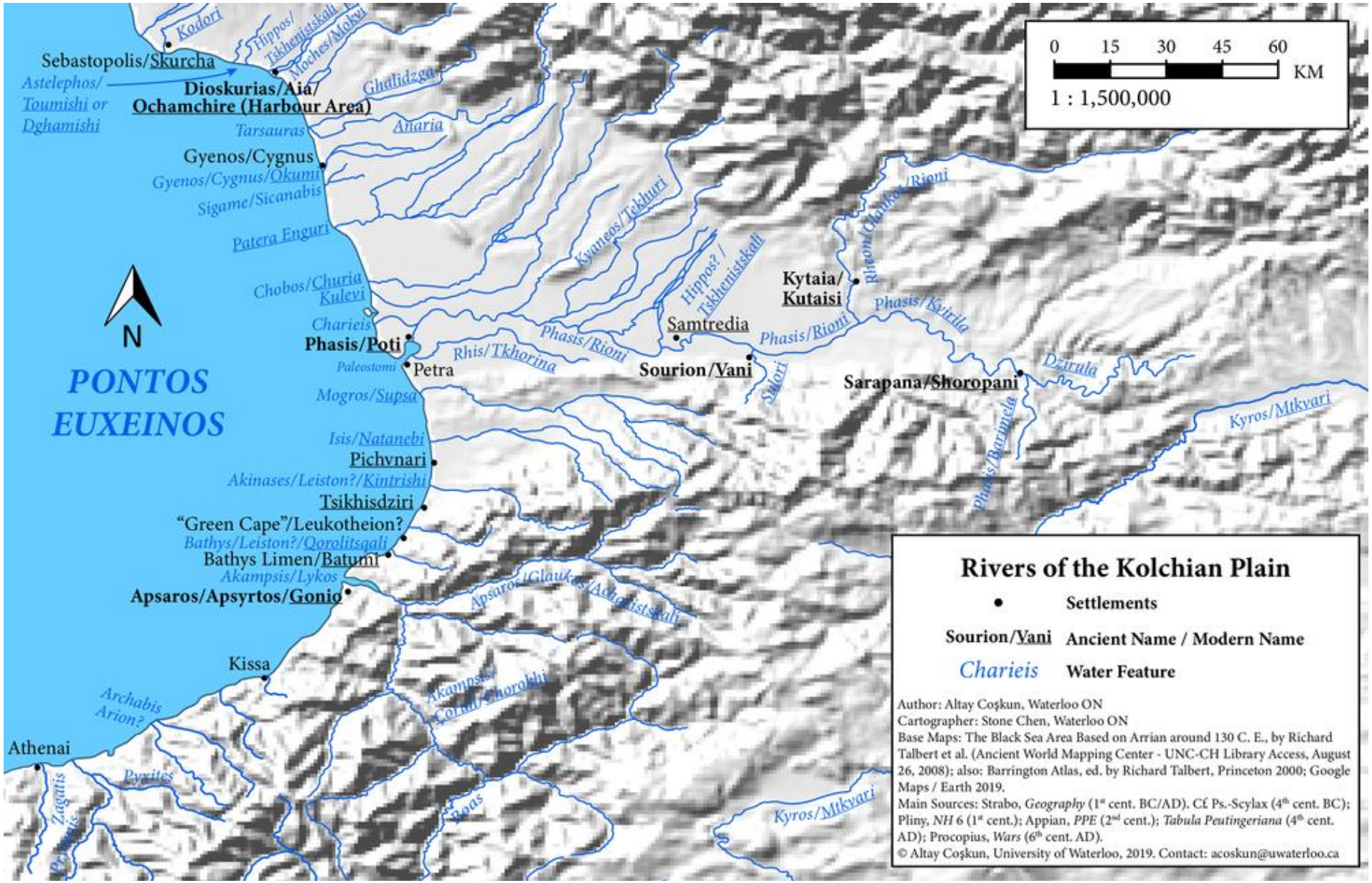
[105] In fact, the locations of Gyenos, Dioskourias, Sebastopolis, and Pityus are at stake, see Map 1. The standard views (e.g., Braund 1994; Lordkipanidze 1996; Braund and Sinclair 2000, *BA* 87; Tsetskhladze 1998; Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004) anchor in the identification of Dioskourias/Sebastopolis/Sukhumi. This results in rejecting much information of the relatively consistent literary tradition, whereas the material evidence remains entirely inconclusive. The reevalution will take more closely into account the specific riverscapes of Aia (see above, nn. 27, 33, 66-70 and 90) and the references to the recess of the coastline (Ap. Rhod. 2.399, 1261; Strab. 1.2.10 [21C], 1.2.40 [46f.C], 11.2.14 [297C]; Ptol. *Geog*. 5.10.2; Arr. *PPE* 11.4; cf. Prokop. *Bell.* 4.2.4.21, 32). See Coşkun, forthcoming b. For updates and further maps, see my website *Dr. Altay Coşkun – Black Sea – Maps*. http://www.altaycoskun.com/.

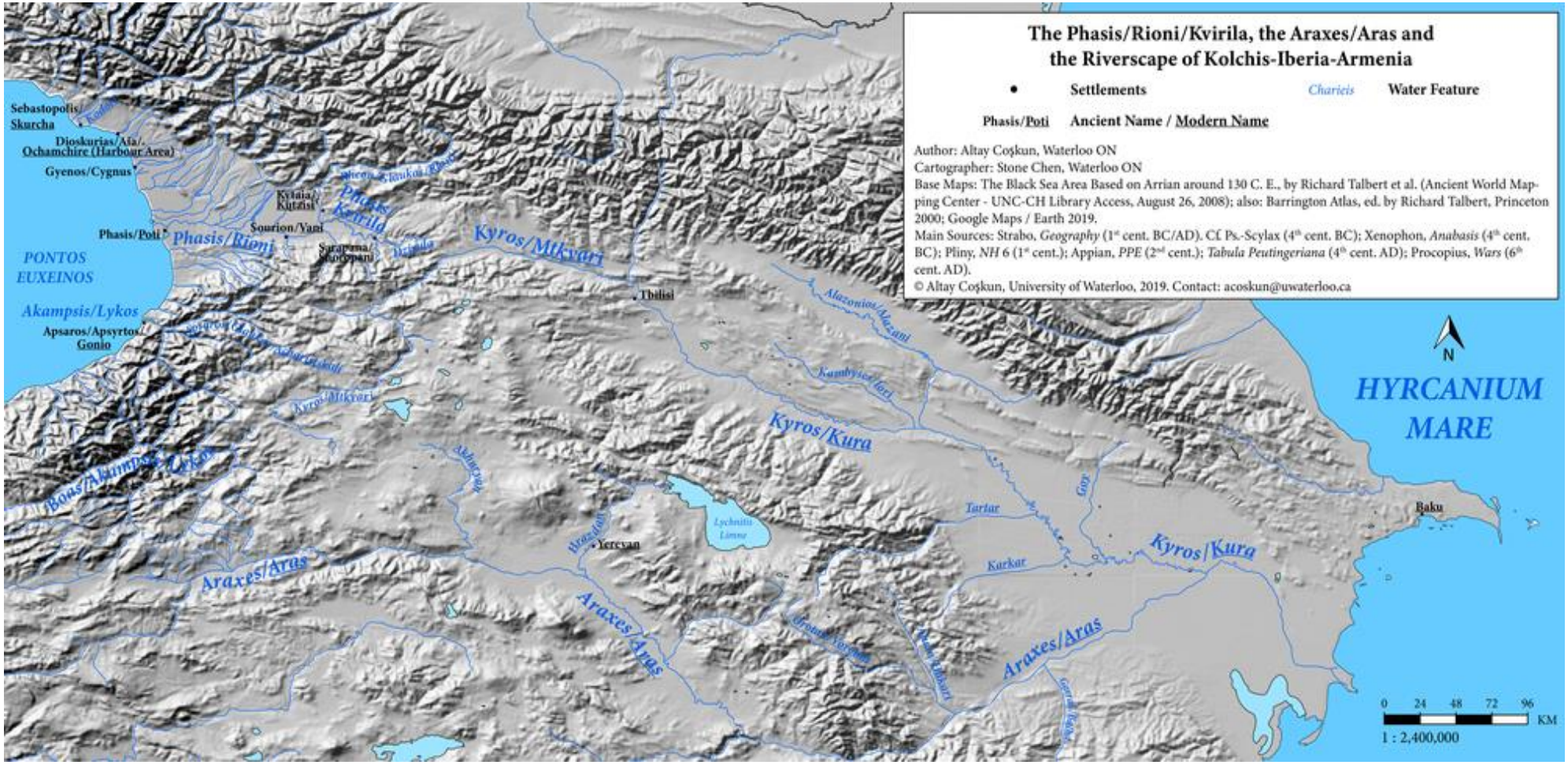



## Rivers of the Kolchian Plain

- • Settlements
- Sourion/Vani — Ancient Name / Modern Name
- *Charieis* — Water Feature

Author: Altay Coşkun, Waterloo ON
Cartographer: Stone Chen, Waterloo ON
Base Maps: The Black Sea Area Based on Arrian around 130 C. E., by Richard Talbert et al. (Ancient World Mapping Center - UNC-CH Library Access, August 26, 2008); also: Barrington Atlas, ed. by Richard Talbert, Princeton 2000; Google Maps / Earth 2019.
Main Sources: Strabo, *Geography* (1st cent. BC/AD). Cf. Ps.-Scylax (4th cent. BC); Pliny, *NH* 6 (1st cent.); Appian, *PPE* (2nd cent.); *Tabula Peutingeriana* (4th cent. AD); Procopius, *Wars* (6th cent. AD).


MAP 1


The Phasis/Rioni/Kvirila, the Araxes/Aras and the Riverscape of Kolchis-Iberia-Armenia
Settlements
Charieis
Water Feature
Phasis/Poti
Ancient Name / Modern Name
Author: Altay Coşkun, Waterloo ON
Cartographer: Stone Chen, Waterloo ON
Base Maps: The Black Sea Area Based on Arrian around 130 C. E., by Richard Talbert et al. (Ancient World Mapping Center - UNC-CH Library Access, August 26, 2008); also: Barrington Atlas, ed. by Richard Talbert, Princeton 2000; Google Maps / Earth 2019.
Main Sources: Strabo, Geography (1st cent. BC/AD). Cf. Ps.-Scylax (4th cent. BC); Xenophon, Anabasis (4th cent. BC); Pliny, NH 6 (1st cent.); Appian, PPE (2nd cent.); Tabula Peutingeriana (4th cent. AD); Procopius, Wars (6th cent. AD).
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Sebastopolis/ Skurcha
Dioskurias/Aia/. Ochamchire (Harbour Area)
Gyenos/Cygnus
Kytaia/ Kutaisi
Phasis/Poti
Phasis/Rioni
Sourion/Yani
Phasis/ Kvirila
Kyros/Mtkvari
PONTOS EUXEINOS
Akampsis/Lykos
Apsaros/Apsyrtos/ Gonio
Tbilisi
Alazonios/Alazani
Kambyses' fort
Kyros/Kura
HYRCANIUM MARE
N
Boas/Akampsis/Lykos
Araxes/Aras
Yerevan
Lychnitis Limne
Tartar
Kurkar
Baku
0 24 48 72 96 KM
1 : 2,400,000

MAP 2

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Phasis 21-22, 2019

# THE METAMORPHOSIS OF DAPHNIS FROM THEOCRITUS TO VIRGIL

PAOLA GAGLIARDI

*Abstract*. The character of Daphnis, who has intriguing significance in folklore and religion, becomes an important literary figure in Theocritus, who, in his narrative of Daphnis' death, makes him the founding figure of his new genre, bucolic poetry. Theocritus' successors, Bion of Smyrna in his *Adonidis Epitaphium*, and the anonymous author of *Bionis Epitaphium*, refer to Daphnis – inevitably the Theocritean Daphnis – and transform his figure, adapting it to the themes and purposes of their poems. After them, in founding Latin bucolic poetry, Virgil appropriates Daphnis, not only in order to pay tribute to the previous literary tradition, but as a point of departure (and of arrival) in his reflection on bucolic poetry and his relationship with his great Syracusan predecessor. The paper aims to retrace the path of Daphnis, to understand, in the treatment reserved for him by each poet, the elements of vitality and originality that his great *inventor* Theocritus gave him and that his successors developed at different levels. Virgil, in particular, is able to employ the figure of Daphnis and charge it with a new significance, in order to highlight the great difference between his own poetry and Theocritus' bucolic production.

Although lack of evidence renders the origin of bucolic poetry inscrutable,[1] rooted as it is in ancient oral folk culture, in remote and undefinable times, the creation of this genre was attributed in antiquity to a definite *inventor*, the Syracusan Theocritus, who transformed hints and suggestions coming from folk heritage into everlasting masterpieces. In his poetry, apparently simple and lightweight, but in reality deeply learned, he succeeded in combining the demands of a refined culture and the spiritual requirements of his times, and brought to life an idealized world of shepherds, seemingly reviving the primeval innocence of the Golden Age.[2]

In order to summarize and symbolize his art, Theocritus chooses the mythical Daphnis, a figure based perhaps on Sicilian folklore, to which he gives original features. Although Theocritus presents Daphnis in his *Idylls* only a few times, this character has a central role in his poetry, so much so that it influenced Theocritus' Greek imitators, namely Moschus, Bion and the anonymous author of the *Bionis Epitaphium*.[3] His greatest successor, Virgil, will confront Theocritus' figure of Daphnis when reworking the poetry of his predecessor. For these reasons, by following the metamorphosis of Daphnis throughout ancient bucolic poetry, we can retrace the path of the genre from its origin to the unparalleled achievements of Virgil's *Eclogues*.

The origin of Daphnis is mysterious.[4] Perhaps he is an Eastern divine figure, similar to the deities of vegetation who die each year (Tammuz-Dumuzi, Baal, Osiris, and Adonis).[5] One possibility is that Phoenician merchants brought such a figure to Sicily and that there he be-

[1] On the history of the topic, see Halperin 1983, and Vara and Weatherby 1992.
[2] Segal 1981, 12.
[3] It is possible that Daphnis figured in the poetry of Philetas. See Bowie 1985, arguing that both Lycidas in Theoc. 7 and "Philetas" in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* reflect the poet Philetas. This would provide a convenient explanation for the elliptical nature of Theocritus' account in Theoc. 7: there will have already been a well-known version and acknowledgement of Philetas would then be a natural part of Theocritus' programmatic manifesto.
[4] See Scholl 2014.
[5] Cf. Berg 1974, 12-22; *contra*, Halperin 1983, 186.

came a local variant of this divine prototype.[6] In fact, Daphnis shares many features with Adonis,[7] in particular, such as his relationship with Aphrodite and his untimely death.[8] Another possibility is that Daphnis was a local Sicilian god, adopted by Greek colonists when they settled on the island.[9]

The story of Daphnis is similarly unclear and enigmatic. Theocritus in *Id*. 1 is intentionally vague.[10] Some later sources may have been written precisely to explain Theocritus' mysterious version.[11] Daphnis is referred to several times in Theocritean and pseudo-Theocritean *Idylls*, but his most important occurrence is in *Id*. 1, which is to be read as a "manifesto" of Theocritean bucolic poetry because of its programmatic nature and significance.[12] This complex poem begins with an exchange of compliments between the shepherd Thyrsis and an anonymous goatherd (1-23), continues with the ἔκφρασις of a bowl (24-60) and the song of Thyrsis (64-145), and ends with compliments and a farewell (146-152): Thyrsis sings the death of Daphnis, lamented by nature, and the visit of Hermes and Priapos, who sympathize with him, and of Aphrodite, who seems to have caused his death. Daphnis addresses his last words to her, reaffirms his hostility toward love, bids farewell to nature, symbolically consigns his pipes to Pan, and dies.

The reasons for his death and for Aphrodite's enmity remain vague,[13] and the girl who obstinately wanders through the mountains

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[6] Cf. Halperin 1983, 191-192; Müller 2000, 27-29, 33.

[7] On Daphnis and Adonis, see Hermann 1853, 19-24; Segal 1981, 66-72; Halperin 1983, 185; Hunter 1999, 68; Müller 2000, 26-28.

[8] Halperin 1983, 200.

[9] Scholl 2014, 293-420.

[10] For an analysis of the sources, see Segal 1981, 26; Hunter 1999, 63-66. The reconstruction of Daphnis' story based on the *Idyll* is difficult. See Alpers 1979, 223; Walker 1980, 39.

[11] Hunter 1999, 63-64. The sources on the myth of Daphnis are analyzed by Scholl 2014, 63-291.

[12] In general on *Id*. 1, see Ogilvie 1962, 106-110; Segal 1981, 25-46. On its programmatic nature, see Hunter 1999, 60-61.

[13] Segal 1981, 25, 35 (on the death of Daphnis, see 46-65); Hunter 1999, 66-67.

searching for Daphnis is mysterious. All these unexplained elements make interpretation of the *Idyll* difficult. Some scholars see Daphnis as a symbol of winter, about to die when spring arrives,[14] or the annual cycle of vegetation (like Adonis[15]), or bucolic poetry itself, seen as an impossible aspiration to an all-encompassing harmony of gods, mankind and nature, cruelly defeated by the hard fate of the death.[16] While a number of these features may be attributed to the mythical Daphnis, other aspects are Theocritus' own emphasis,[17] and these should be the focus of our study. In my opinion, it is at the literary level that the most important significance attributed by Theocritus to Daphnis is to be found, this being the foremost area of interest in the work of learned Alexandrian poets.

## DAPHNIS AS A SYMBOL OF BUCOLIC POETRY

Theocritus' Daphnis symbolically expresses the features of Theocritean bucolic poetry: *in primis*, an elaborately careful style – a crucial aspect of learned Alexandrian poetry – defined by Theocritus as ἁδύ, which, not by chance, is the first word of the *Idyll*.[18] The purpose of poetry is aesthetic pleasure (ἀσυχία), obtained through the beauty of song, free from concern about the content. A good poet can tell sorrowful stories without troubling his readers.[19] Theocritus does this in *Id*. 1, where Daphnis' pains (τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγεα, 19), the founding theme of pastoral song, do not disturb the readers' enjoyment of the

[14] Hermann 1853, 19-24.

[15] According to Frazer, on which see Halperin 1983, 185 and n. 9.

[16] Segal 1981, 16-17.

[17] According to Halperin (1983, 199), we can only imagine a vague religious continuity between the Daphnis of *Id*. 1 and eastern or Phoenician gods, or a tenacious mythical and ritual substrate.

[18] On the literary meaning of ἁδύ, see Hunter 1999, 60, 70; Breed 2006, 111-112.

[19] Serrao (1990, 115) thinks that the Theocritean ἀσυχία is represented in *Id*. 7 and considers ἀσυχία an expression of the Stoic and Epicurean σοφός (see also Serrao 1971, 67; Rosenmeyer 1969, passim, but especially 70-73); Hunter (1999, 16-17) prefers to relate both the philosophical σοφός and the Theocritean ἀσυχία to the contemporary mentality and sensitivity.

elegance and gracefulness of the verses.[20] The mournful story of Daphnis, which is presented as the subject of an already known song renowned among shepherds, is related with a crucial sense of detachment. The same effect is achieved through the refrain (Ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς Μοῖσαι φίλαι ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς, 64-89, then Ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς Μοῖσαι, πάλιν ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς, 94-122, and Λήγετε βουκολικᾶς Μοῖσαι, ἴτε λήγετ' ἀοιδᾶς, 142), in which the repeated invocation of bucolic Muses emphasizes the presence of Thyrsis as the singer, preventing the audience from fully identifying with the narrative. Even the final dialogue between Thyrsis and the goatherd has the effect of transforming the verses on Daphnis into a song within a song, distant and unrelated in time and space.

So in *Id*. 1 Daphnis appears as a marvellous synthesis of Theocritus' aims and poetics: Daphnis himself is a poet (141), the founder of pastoral song, as showed by the imaginary delivery of his pipes to Pan (123-129), with the suggestion that he had received them from the god, while his sufferings become a topic for the bucolic tradition.[21] The Δάφνιδος ἄλγεα, transformed into a beautiful song, convey only aesthetic pleasure, and symbolize poetry which is able to make pleasant that which in real life causes tears: this theme recurs often in the *Idylls* (e.g., 11; 2). Also, by choosing a traditional Sicilian figure and setting (Thyrsis, who is somehow comparable to Theocritus himself, comes from Sicily) Theocritus defines his homeland as the cradle of bucolic poetry and makes his claim to be *inventor* of it.

Many additional observations could be made (and have been made) on Daphnis in *Id*. 1, but I want to highlight his literary importance as a symbol of a typically Alexandrian view of bucolic poetry. Theocritus reaffirms his poetics through Daphnis also in the second "manifesto" of his poetics (*Id*. 7).[22] Here the scene of Theocritus's poetical investiture is particularly remarkable.[23] Daphnis appears in the song of

[20] See Hunter 1999, 61, 70, with bibliography.
[21] Cf. Hunter 1999, 75; Breed 2006, 112, 118.
[22] On the programmatic nature of *Id*. 7, cf. Hunter 1999, 149, and Serrao 1990, 114.
[23] On the likely identification Theocritus/Simichidas, see Hunter 1999, 146.

Lycidas, a highly valued poet in the text. After delivering a *propemptikon* for the departure of his beloved boy, Lycidas finds his own rest in a banquet and in the song of two poets, one of whom sings the mortal suffering of Daphnis. Here too the mythical shepherd wastes away, lamented by nature, while his beloved girl desperately searches for him. Again, the story of Daphnis appears as a foundation myth of bucolic poetry, and the Sicilian setting reaffims the Theocritus' authorship.[24] Here too, in spite of the tragic subject, the death of Daphnis, in the pleasant context of the banquet, provides relief from the sorrow for the departure of the beloved. So in *Id*. 1 and *Id*. 7, the most important texts for Theocritus' poetics, Daphnis summarizes the main qualities of this concept of art, and expresses Theocritus' pride for the genre he has invented.

## DAPHNIS IN THEOCRITUS' IMITATORS

The importance of Daphnis in Theocritus influenced his followers, who made him a protagonist of their bucolic poems. In the anonymous *Id*. 8 (an imitation of Theoc. 6), Daphnis is a shepherd-poet in a singing contest with Menalcas. More interesting (also for its influence on Virgil) are the allusions to the Theocritean Daphnis in the *Epitaphia* for Adonis and Bion, two poems that continue the bucolic tradition of conflating stories of love and death in a pastoral landscape in a style which is highly influenced by Theocritus. The attention paid to Daphnis in these texts confirms not only the importance of Theoc. 1 and 7, but also the vitality of Daphnis, his symbols and meanings.

The two epitaphia are clearly linked: the death of Bion, the supposed author of the *Adonidis Epitaphium*, is lamented in the *Bionis Epitaphium*, written by an anonymous follower, imitating the style, language and scenes of the *Adonidis Epitaphium*.[25] In the *AE*, the pastoral setting is downplayed, and its bucolic features are mainly stylistic and lexical.[26]

[24] Hunter 1999, 175-176 (vv. 78-79).

[25] On the relationship between the two poems, see Legrand 1927, 156, and n. 2; 193; Fantuzzi 1985, 139-140; Schmidt 1972, 69-91. The quotations of the *AE* in the *BÉ* are evidence for the attribution of the *AE* to Bion.

[26] Reed 1997, 6-8.

From Theocritus come the analogies between Adonis and Daphnis, and their death in a natural landscape, lamented by nature. In many ways the dead Adonis recalls Daphnis in *Id*. 1, revealing this poem as the main model for the *AE*.[27] Of course, in the *AE* Adonis is already dead, we do not hear his voice, and his presence is entirely passive, whereas the Theocritean Daphnis speaks his last words. But the complaint of nature and the disorderly list of mourning animals are similar to *Id*. 1, even if Bion imitates with a certain elegance an allusion to weeping oaks in Theoc. 7 (74). In extending weeping to inanimate beings, however, the poet is unable to maintain Theocritus' moderation and includes a very long and confusing list of Loves, dogs, Nymphs, mountains, oaks, rivers, springs, flowers, Graces, and Muses.[28] Typically Theocritean is the image of Adonis lying on the ground, surrounded by mourning beings, as well as the presence of Aphrodite, although in Theoc. 1 the goddess is Daphnis' enemy and causes his death, whereas here she loves Adonis and is overhelmed with grief. But Bion understands the numerous analogies between the two figures at the mythical level: the relationship with an important goddess, the connection with erotic themes, untimely death, activity as shepherds,[29] emotional ties with nature, and their eastern origins, supposed also for Daphnis.[30] Theocritus gracefully evokes this relationship in the words of Daphnis (*Id*. 1.109-110), and describes Adonis as a shepherd (*Id*. 3.46-48),[31] adapting him to bucolic poetry. Bion evidently thinks of this connection when chooses Daphnis as his Theocritean model, rather than the Adonis of Theoc. 15.

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[27] Reed 1997, 22.

[28] On the *Mitempfindung der Natur* in *AE*, see texts and bibliography in Fantuzzi 1985, 66-67.

[29] Adonis too is often represented as a shepherd: Theocritus highlights this feature, showing the mythical youth in this role at *Id*. 1.109-110 and 3.46-48, and so does Virgil in *Ecl*. 10.18.

[30] Müller 2000, passim.

[31] This was perhaps a primeval characterization of him. See Müller 2000, 27, 30.

The anonymous author of the *Bionis Epitaphium*,[32] who presents himself as a pupil and admirer of Bion, imitates the *AE* very closely, making comparison inevitable with the Theocritean passages reworked there. Of course, there are fewer analogies between the dead Bion and Daphnis of Theoc. 1 than between Daphnis and Adonis, but the anonymous poet recognizes the essential importance of Theocritus' poem for the definition of the bucolic genre, and therefore comes to terms with it, sometimes with maladroitness, sometimes with greater elegance. In order to recall Theoc. 1, he uses a refrain (Ἄρχετε, Σικελικαί, τῶ πένθεος ἄρχετε, Μοῖσαι), imitating Thyrsis' song, and a list of the inanimate beings that weep over the dead poet (but the model here is more *AE* than Theoc. 1). However, this poet is inclined to exaggeration, and increases enormously (even hilariously) the number and variety of participants, creating a long list of cities and homelands of poets (26-49; 86-93). Another proof of his desire to surpass his predecessors is the figure of Pan, recalled from Theoc. 1 (123-129): evoking the symbolic restitution of the pipes to the god from Daphnis (123-129), the author promises to deliver himself the pipes of Bion to Pan (55), but he hyperbolically adds that perhaps the god will not receive them, worrying about being inferior to the dead poet (56). The compliment looks excessive and questionable, but the emphasis on Daphnis as a poet is interesting, because this feature is not a point of emphasis in Theoc. 1, while is useful for the author of the *Epitaphium* to create an analogy between Bion, who is a poet, and the mythical Daphnis.

So the two Greek post-Theocritean bucolic poems acknowledge the importance of Daphnis and the crucial role of Theoc. 1 for the definition of bucolic poetics. For this reason, their *Epitaphia*, in varying ways, consciously refer to Daphnis and hint at Thyrsis' song. They are undoubtedly prompted by the funereal subject of their poems, but other analogies between Daphnis and their protagonists are emphasized: in particular, the religious background with Adonis and the common poetic activity with Bion. In this way, these two authors bring to the

[32] On *BÉ* and the identification of the author, see Reed 1997, 59-60, with bibliography.

foreground their own main characters, while underlining their poems' place in the bucolic genre, and try to show their own independence from Theocritus, but also loyalty to his precepts.

VIRGIL AND THEOCRITUS

The same logic, but with greater results and a much deeper message, is followed by Virgil, Theocritus' most important successor. Virgil fully appreciates the significance of Daphnis in Theocritus, and uses him as a symbol of Theocritean poetry. This clearly appears in the quotation of Theoc. 1.1 at the *incipit* of *Ecl*. 1, in which Virgil recalls the sound and the effect of ἁδύ.[33] But in *Ecl*. 1, the image of Tityrus lying in a peaceful natural setting seems to overturn, more than to recall, the dying Daphnis of Theoc. 1. In the *Eclogues*, mention of Daphnis always comes in passages imitating Theocritean poems: in *Ecl*. 2, the model of the Theocritean Cyclops conflates with the shepherd of Theoc. 3; in *Ecl*. 3, the name of Daphnis is quoted in passing; in *Ecl*. 7, Daphnis appears in a Theocritean context, while in *Ecl*. 8 his name belongs to a lover that the sorceress tries to bring back, imitating Theoc. 2. But Daphnis has a much greater significance in *Ecl*. 5 and 10, closing the two halves of Virgil's work with his name, in dialogue with Theocritus.

A constant feature of Daphnis' presence in the *Eclogues* is his connection with Cornelius Gallus, the elegist and friend with whom Virgil enters into a poetic dialogue, now more apparent thanks to the discovery of verses of Gallus at Qaṣr Ibrîm.[34] Allusions to these couplets in the *Eclogues* reveal an intense literary discussion about the value of

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[33] As in the initial verses of Theoc. 1 (Ἁδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἁ πίτυς αἰπόλε τήνα / ἁ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσδεται, ἁδὺ δὲ καὶ τὺ / συρίσδες..., 1-3), the sound of a flute is imitated by means of repetition of ι and υ (Hunter 1999, 1-11, 69), also in Virg. *Ecl*. 1.1 (*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi...*), the repetition of *t* and *u* reproduces the sweet sound of the *tenuis avena;* see Cucchiarelli 2012, at *Ecl*. 1.1, 1.136. According to many scholars, even the choice of the name Tityrus may have been made because of its sound; see the bibliography in Lipka 2001, 182.

[34] On the relationship between Virgilian and Gallan poetry and on the allusions to the Qaṣr Ibrîm verses in the *Eclogues*, see Gagliardi 2011, 676-696; 2015, 508-524.

poetry and its ability to ease suffering, so that Gallus, given his modern and original idea of art, can be considered, along with Theocritus, as an important model for the *Bucolics*.[35] Unfortunately, we cannot reconstruct this dialogue because of the almost complete absence of Gallus' poetry, but Virgil hints at its main points, in such a way that we can deduce that he shares with Gallus the idea of poetry which is not detached from the suffering of its characters, as in Alexandrian authors, but rather involved in it. The poet identifies with their sorrow and engages his readers in their stories. In Latin love elegy, of which Gallus is considered the *inventor*,[36] this *sympatheia* with the characters is expressed through a "subjectivity" (the poet shows himsef as the protagonist of his poems) that creates deep *sympatheia* in the reader. Virgil applies this technique to bucolic poetry and, although the identification with the characters is not complete, it reaches the point of seeming as though the protagonists are speaking directly, which is really moving.[37] Virgil, therefore, creates an opposition to Theocritus in this idea of art: Theocritus is Virgil's starting point, right from the start of *Ecl*. 1, but the Latin poet immediately moves beyond Theocritus, in that the sufferings of Meliboeus arouse much more sympathy than the "Theocritean" detachment of Tityrus.

Virgil consistently connects allusions to Gallus with close imitations of Theocritus and references to Daphnis, making clear the link between these figures as symbols of two opposing concepts of art and suffering. Except for *Ecl*. 3.12, in fact, in which the name of Daphnis is intended to characterize the poem in a "Theocritean" sense (as the initial quotation of Theoc. 4 confirms), all other mentions of the mythical shepherd are somehow linked to Gallus. Thus, in *Ecl*. 2, the words of Corydon, while recalling at times the verses of Polyphemus in Theoc. 11, mention

[35] See Gagliardi 2014a, passim.

[36] See Ov. *Tr*. 4.10.53-54 and Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.93.

[37] For this reason, ancient grammarians had the impression that in characters and situations of the *Eclogues* autobiographical treats of Virgil could be recognized: think, for example, of the land confiscations, or the alleged love of Virgil for the young slave Alexandros.

Daphnis as an example of beauty,[38] and, interestingly, the context of the mention of Daphnis is an imitation of a Gallan passage,[39] consistently with Virgil's intention to develop a literary dialogue with Gallus about erotic poetry and representation of characters.[40] Also in *Ecl*. 9, the quotation of Daphnis is a close Theocritean imitation,[41] in which a reference to Gallus has been identified.[42]

Something similar happens in *Ecl*. 8, where the Daphnis mentioned is not the mythical shepherd, but a namesake. The first half of this *Eclogue* is the lament of a shepherd betrayed by his beloved girl and determined to kill himself, and the second song describes the spell of a sorceress who tries to bring back her unfaithful lover, Daphnis. The main model of this song is Theoc. 2, in which Simaetha tries to regain the love of Delphis, whose name shares with Daphnis the Apollonian origin. Also in *Ecl*. 8, there are hints of Gallan poetry in the "elegiac" attitude of the dying shepherd and in the statement of 62-63 which evokes a phrase of Gallus (PQI 1.6-7).[43] The topic of this *Ecl.* is a comparison between Theocritean and Gallan poetics on the capability of art to ease suffering, praising the artistic and psychological excellence of poetry able to express sorrow by immersion into characters and their tragedies. In this perspective, the shepherd of the first half, similar to elegiac characters, is shown to be obviously superior to the less

[38] Theocritus lacks any reference to the aesthetic appearance of Daphnis. But this detail, repeated by Virgil at *Ecl*. 5.43-44, is in Parthenius of Nicaea (*Amat. narr.* 29.1-2, and Lightfoot 1999 ad loc.), a poet closely linked to Gallus; so one might suspect that Gallus presented Daphnis in his poems, highlighting his physical beauty. This would better explain the treatment of Daphnis and his close link to Gallus in Virgil's *Eclogues*.

[39] Cf. *Ecl*. 2.26-27 (*... non ego Daphnim / iudice te metuam...*) and PQI1.8-9 (*non ego, Visce, ... / ... Kato, iudice te vereor*). On the chronological priority of the Gallan verses, see Morelli and Tandoi 1984, 104-106.

[40] About this reading of *Ecl*. 2 and the Gallan influence on it, see Gagliardi 2011, passim.

[41] Cf. Theoc. 7.37-41 and *Ecl*. 9.32-36.

[42] Cf. Hinds 1984, 44.

[43] See Gagliardi 2012, 52-73.

characterized sorceress of the second half (a shortcoming which is, of course, deliberate).[44]

Finally, in *Ecl*. 7 Gallus' influence seems to be recognizable in lexical and stylistic features. At v. 40, the word *cura* has the erotic sense of "beloved person," as in other occurrences linked to Gallus;[45] at v. 21, the so-called "parenthetic apposition" is a word order probably used by Gallus, as the learned epithet *Libethrides* may also have been;[46] there are also many allusions to the "elegiac" *Ecl*. 2. Equally important is the possible connection of Gallus with Arcadia, often underlined in the *Eclogues* and perhaps affirmed here by the definition of *Arcades ambo* (4), which may refer to Virgil's and Gallus' defence of a shared view of art.[47] Also, in this *Eclogue*, which is similar in many ways to *Ecl*. 5, dedicated to Daphnis, the Sicilian shepherd is presented under a pretext (he invites the narrator to attend a singing competition), giving readers the impression that he has nothing to do with the story narrated in the poem, and is mentioned only to develop the poetic dialogue.

In these brief appareances in the *Eclogues*, Daphnis is never a protagonist and he often seems unrelated to the context. He is, however, presented in a very different way in the two poems which symmetrically close the two halves of the *liber*, *Ecl*. 5 and *Ecl.* 10. *Ecl*. 5 is dedicated in its entirety to Daphnis, with a lament for his death sung by Mopsus, and joy for his apotheosis described by Menalcas. The poem has the traditional bucolic structure of an exchange of songs between shepherds, while in *Ecl*. 10 the description of the protagonist Gallus in Arcadia evokes the *incipit* of Thyrsis' song in Theoc. 1. Virgil clearly in-

[44] The song of the anonymous sorceress has always been considered by the scholars inferior to its Theocritean model of *Id*. 2: in comparison to the psychological representation of the Theocritean woman, Virgil maintains only the description of the magic ritual. See Garson 1971, 202 n. 1; Richter 1970, 82-84; Segal 1987, 167.

[45] Cf. especially *Ecl*. 10.22, on which see Gagliardi 2014 ad loc., 138-141.

[46] On the parenthetic apposition, see Gagliardi 2016a; on *Libethrides* cf. Canetta 2008, and Magnelli 2010; on a likely Gallan employ of the epithet, see Kennedy 1987, 54-55.

[47] Cucchiarelli 2012, 385 (v. 22); Kennedy 1987, 56-57; Gagliardi 2016b, 99-114.

tends to create a connection between the two halves of his own *liber* in order to present an assessment of his own work in comparison with Theocritus (whose poetry is symbolized by Daphnis) and Gallus, the main character in *Ecl*. 10, perhaps alluded to also in *Ecl*. 5.[48] In this poem, scholarly attention has mainly been paid to the point that the apotheosis of Daphnis conceals reference to the potential apotheosis of Julius Caesar, as suggested by the ancient scholars.[49] This seems likely at a general level, if we do not search for close correspondences,[50] and scholars have often emphasized the skill of Virgil in deploying a character in the bucolic tradition for Octavian's propaganda.[51] On this view, the deification of Daphnis, which is a theme absent from Theocritus and probably from the original myth itself and, therefore, seemingly a Virgilian invention, acquires crucial significance.[52] While the political implications of Daphnis' apotheosis are undoubtedly a key to Daphnis' treatment in this *Eclogue*, nevertheless, in my view, the literary aspects of the appearance of the mythical shepherd also deserve attention.

Since *Ecl*. 5 closes the first half of Virgil's *liber* and must function somehow as a reflection on his work, engagement with Theocritus is inevitable. Daphnis, the embodiment of Theocritean poetics, allows Virgil to compare his own idea of art with that of Theocritus, who inspired it, although he has moved in a different direction. It cannot be an accident that Virgil's protagonists begin their songs where Theocritus had stopped, with the death of Daphnis.[53] The Sicilian shepherd,

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[48] Cucchiarelli (2012, 283) glimpses it; Torlone (2003, 206-207) recognizes in *Ecl*. 5 remarkable elegiac features. It is intriguing that DuQuesnay (1977) identifies Gallus as the source for an (Eastern) triumph poem for Julius Caesar lying behind *Ecl*. 5, even before the discovery of the Qasr Ibrm papyrus.

[49] Cf. Serv. ad *Ecl*. 5.20, 29, 34, 44, 56.

[50] See Coleman [8]2001, 174; Cucchiarelli 2012, 281. Some scholars admit the reference to Caesar (Conington and Nettleship 2007, 64; Coleman [8]2001, 173; Otis 1964, 135; Klingner 1967, 96; Hubbard 1998, 98-99), while others deny it (Clausen 1994, 152 n. 4).

[51] Cf. Müller 2000, 32, and Coleman [8]2001, 174.

[52] Cf. Müller 2000, 26-27, 30, 32.

[53] Conington and Nettleship 2007, 64; Clausen 1994, 152; Cucchiarelli 2012, 280.

who in Theoc. 1 had an active role, is merely the object of shared mourning here. As usual, Virgil writes under the influence by Theocritus, but direct literal imitation is rare. Thus, the song of Mopsus (20-44), which is a lament for the death of Daphnis, is both indebted to its Theocritean model (alluding specifically to Theoc. 1)[54], but, at the same time, shows an eagerness to surpass its model. However, Mopsus' poetry is not new; rather it represents the highest point attainable for art in the Theocritean register. This is emphasized by the final judgement of Menalcas, who uses phrases and images recalling the *incipit* of Theoc. 1 in order to praise Mopsus' song.[55] Mopsus has written a poem at the level of the Theocritean Thyrsis,[56] but this poetry is not much different from Theocritus as is confirmed by the similarities between Mopsus and another emblematic Virgilian shepherd, whose name declares his Theocritean origin: Thyrsis of *Ecl*. 7, who, like Mopsus, loves harsh words and dark images.[57]

Menalcas (56-80), the second protagonist, and his song are very different: he is a mature poet who has written a fully original text in comparison to tradition, although in Theocritus his name is connected to Daphnis.[58] His song is remarkable for the novelty of its subject, the ascent of Daphnis to the heavens, which does not appear in Theocritus,[59] and also for its striking reference to contemporary events (if in the deification of Daphnis we are to see reference to the apotheosis of Caesar). The models for Menalcas' verses are also original: Theocri-

[54] Close similarities are underlined by Clausen 1994, 155-173, and Coleman [8]2001, 154-171.

[55] Cf. Theoc. 1, 1-3, and Virg. *Ecl*. 5.45-47.

[56] Cucchiarelli 2012, 45-47, 305.

[57] For this characterization of Thyrsis, see Fantazzi and Querbach 1985, 360-364; Coleman [8]2001, 226; on Mopsus, see Cucchiarelli 2012, 280, 315.

[58] In the ps.-Theocritean *Id*. 8 and *Id.* 9, that Virgil considered authentic (Serrao 1990, 111), Menalcas seems to be the lover of Daphnis (cf. 8.91; 9.22-27), and maybe this love story was treated by Hermesian. fr. 2 Pow. Virgil alludes perhaps to it at *Ecl*. 5.52 (... *amavit nos quoque Daphnis*), according to Cucchiarelli 2012, at *Ecl*. 10.20, 492.

[59] On the novelty of the *Eclogue* in this sense, see Müller 2000, 30, 32.

tus,[60] of course, but also encomiastic Hellenistic poetry, and Lucretius.[61] Perhaps Virgil himself can be seen through Menalcas to be staking a claim to the novelty of his own poetry. In *Ecl*. 5 and *Ecl.* 9, in fact (and perhaps also in *Ecl*. 10), Virgil himself seems to lie behind Menalcas. In *Ecl*. 5, the authorship of *Ecl*. 2 and *Ecl.* 3 is attributed to Menalcas, while in *Ecl*. 9 he is mentioned in a Mantuan scene and his songs are typical of Virgilian style.[62] For these reasons, the ancient grammarians thought that Virgil had represented himself in Menalcas.[63] Further, in the Greek bucolic tradition Menalcas competes with Daphnis in singing contests, and in Theoc. 6 the competition ends without a winner. This strengthens the suspicion that Virgil wanted to show himself as a competitor of Theocritus, able to match his illustrious model. So, if Menalcas can be seen in this way, Virgil's claim of his own novelty becomes clear; the most original features of his bucolic production are in fact the allusions to authors and genres different from pastoral ones (however, they do not destroy the nature of his poems) and the references to contemporary times allow the author to speak about anxieties and fears of his own generation. In this *Eclogue* all these features are skillfully summarized in a learned comparison with Theocritean poetry, as symbolized by Daphnis.

The use of Daphnis as the embodiment of Theocritus' poetry and as a point of comparison for Virgil's new poetics is further developed in *Ecl*. 10, at the end of the *liber*. The presence of Daphnis creates a direct link with *Ecl*. 5, and Virgil's choice of Theoc. 1 as a model is not surprising. The Roman poet aims to reflect back upon the poems which he has written in dialogue with Theocritus, the original standard, and with Gallus, who shares the most original features of his poetry, and to

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[60] There are less references to Theocritean poetry in Menalcas' song than in Mopsus'. See Clausen 1994, 153.

[61] Cucchiarelli 2012, 282. Coleman ([8]2001, 172-173) sees analogies also with the *Bionis Epitaphium*, in the complaint that becomes praise. See also Clausen 1994, 160 (v. 26).a

[62] See Conington and Nettleship 2007, 72 (v. 86); Clausen 1994, 154-155; Coleman [8]2001, 273-274.

[63] See Quint. 8.6.46-47; Serv. *ad Ecl*. 9.1; Powell 2008, 198-199.

whom he dedicates the last *Eclogue.* Affirming that he wants to write for him, and perhaps alluding to his elegiac production, Virgil makes Gallus the protagonist of a scene (9-30) based on, but also overturning, Daphnis' death in Theoc. 1. Whereas Daphnis dies because he has struggled against love and his lover desperately searchs for him, Gallus, by contrast, suffers because his beloved has abandoned him for another lover; like Daphnis, Gallus is visited by shepherds and gods, and nature weeps for him. But Virgil's close imitation of Theocritus is on occasion interrupted by brief and meaningful changes, and when Gallus directly speaks (31-69), the Theocritean model is completely abandoned, except for a few allusions, in a learned and complex series of hints.

In the *Eclogue's* final verses (70-77) Virgil speaks in first person, revealing the described situation as a song within a song, like in Theoc. 1, but Gallus is not merely the object of others' poetry, he is the author of part of the poem. His attempt to entrust his sufferings to the Arcadians (31-34), who could make it sublime in their verses, fails when he starts speaking and conflates the roles of subject and author. In this way, he eliminates the convenient distance between the poet and the theme of his poem, which is needed to make sorrow a pleasant subject.[64] This is the most important difference between Virgilian and Theocritean poetics, and, in this respect, the choice of Daphnis as a symbol of Theocritean art can be understood. In the figure of Daphnis, in fact, Theocritus had established the distance between subject and author of the poem, but Gallus, the new Daphnis, cannot assume the standpoint of that tradition; on the contrary, he marks the end of the Virgilian bucolic poetry, because of his failure in finding relief from his pains.[65] In this way, Gallus overturns Daphnis and explains Virgil's choice to abandon bucolic poetry. Daphnis, starting point of that tradition, compared to Gallus, the "new Daphnis," closes the whole of

[64] On this passage, see Gagliardi 2014a ad loc.

[65] These features of *Ecl*. 10 can be traced back to Gallan love elegy and indeed the whole monologue of Gallus is characterized by elegiac feeling and language. See Klingner 1967, 171-172; Snell [2]2002, 408.

Greek and Latin bucolic poetry, and highlights the differences between Theocritus and Virgil.

The Theocritean Daphnis affirms Virgil's originality also in another way. In Virgil's imitation of Thyrsis' song (9-30), the poet remarkably changes his model and presents Gallus not in Sicily, but in Arcadia, the homeland of bucolic poetry, invented by the Arcadian god Pan.[66] Furthermore, while in Theoc. 1 the dying Daphnis invokes Pan to come from distant Arcadia to give him his pipes, in *Ecl*. 10 the god spontaneously comes to Gallus, honouring the "new Daphnis," who is now in Pan's own homeland, and proposes a means of relief for his pains which is typically Virgilian (28-30). Specifically, Virgil alludes to a primeval bucolic poetry, which places the genre invented by Theocritus before the time of the Syracusan poet. Thus, while Theocritus, *inventor* of the genre, referred to bucolic poetry as already existing beforehand, Virgil places it in a mythical, pre-Theocritean time. By rooting bucolic poetry in myth, Virgil characterizes his own production as going beyond his Greek model: his Daphnis (Gallus) is a different poet, whose art is based on his capability to express sorrow. Although his work originates from Theocritus, it surpasses him and goes back to the mythical origins of the genre; Theocritus is no longer the only standard of comparison, but merely a moment in the creation of a poetics able to overcome his views, claiming its origin in the founding myth of the genre. Virgil's bucolic poetry is thus placed on the same level as Theocritus', and its greatness is attested by Pan himself. Its direct relationship with the source of the genre, without the Theocritean mediation, is affirmed by a brief but meaningful phrase, in which the narrator says that he himself has seen the god coming to Gallus (*quem vidimus ipsi*, 26).

As we can see, Daphnis, the symbol of Theocritus' poetry and essential standpoint for each change and innovation, affords the best means of affirming all these ideas. When Virgil chooses to "refound" bucolic poetry in *Ecl*. 10, Daphnis assumes new features. The enemy of Aphrodite and Love becomes victim of this god and the bucolic singer be-

[66] For this interpretation of the Arcadia in *Ecl*. 10, see Gagliardi 2014b, passim.

comes an elegiac poet. As such, he cannot maintain detachment from his subject and obtain Theocritean ἀσυχία, but remains involved in the sufferings he narrates. In this way, the new Daphnis completely overturns the essence of bucolic poetry and changes his own role from founder to destroyer of it.

## CONCLUSION

With Virgil's audacious reversal, Daphnis finishes his journey through ancient bucolic poetry: Virgil becomes the main model of the genre instead of Theocritus, and subsequent bucolic poets cease to refer to the mythical shepherd in their works. On his journey, Daphnis, symbol of pastoral poetry in Theocritus, appears in the *Epitaphia* of Adonis and Bion, which do not fully exploit his literary potential, but understand his importance and allude to him through analogies to his situation. Only Virgil gives the character new meanings and new life, exploring and exploiting his features in a metapoetic manner, continuing a dialogue with his predecessor and showing the novelty of his own art, but also his great debt to Theocritus. After assuming the role of Adonis and Bion, in Virgil Daphnis becomes Gallus, representing a new idea of art, far from the Alexandrian one, in which he was conceived. In all of these metamorphoses Daphnis attests to the greatness of his *inventor*, remaining a vital figure, surviving through changing times, and suggesting to poets the right response to the anguish and distress of their generations.

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# THE LATE ANTIQUE CHURCH AT NAPURVALA HILL (PICHVNARI, WESTERN GEORGIA) AND ITS ASSOCIATED CEMETERY. A REAPPRAISAL BASED ON SURVIVING EVIDENCE AT THE BATUMI ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM*

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*Abstract*. This article presents the artefacts found during the excavation of a building at Napurvala Hill, Pichvnari, in the 1960s and 1970s and now at the Batumi Archaeological Museum (BAM). Besides discussing the bulk finds, some of which were already published in 1980 by Chkhaidze, this contribution provides, for the first time, a study of a small white marble

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cross found during the excavation and now on display at the BAM. It will conclude that, although the interpretation of the building as a church remains sound, the chronology of the artefacts is problematic as their dating ranges from the Hellenistic to the Medieval periods.

In 1966 and 1967, during the excavation of a 5th-century-B.C. cemetery at Pichvnari, loc. Napurvala Hill, excavators brought to light an unexpected collection of Late Antique artefacts, including pottery, fragmented glass windows, roof tiles and brick fragments.[1] After a stoppage of eight years, excavation at this spot resumed in 1975 and continued to 1978, when burials, the foundations of a rectangular building and associated material broadly dated to Late Antiquity were found. This report aims to re-examine the material of this assemblage and the nature of the building based on unpublished archival data now at the Batumi Archaeological Museum (henceforth, BAM). The study of this assemblage, which was brought to light not using modern stratigraphic techniques, is, admittedly, problematic. Nevertheless, its material is important as it provides clues about the renewed significance of Pichvnari and the level of permeability of the Colchian coast to foreign goods in the Late Antique period.

## THE SITE AND ITS ENVIRONS

Pichvnari is situated 10 km to the north of Kobuleti in western Georgia, at the confluence of the Choloki and Ochkhamuri rivers.[2] The site has attracted archaeological interest since the 1960s and, between 1998 and 2008, underwent systematic investigations by a joint Georgian-British archaeological team (Batumi Archaeological Museum, Niko Berdzenishvili Batumi Research Institute and Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford) directed by Amiran Kakhidze and Michael Vickers. In the past decade, excavations have continued under the direction of Amiran

[1] All dates are A.D. if not otherwise specified.

[2] Literature on this site is vast. See especially Vickers and Kakhidze 2004; Kakhidze 2007; Kakhidze and Vashakidze 2010; Kakhidze and Shalikadze 2009; Kakhidze and Kakhidze 2014; Kakhidze and Vickers 2014; Kakhidze 2016; a summary description of the results of the excavation is in Kakhidze and Mamuladze 2016, 144-151, 175-177.

Kakhidze. Although Pichvnari has a long history dating back to the 2nd millennium B.C., the attention that this site has generated is linked to the existence of two burial sites; one a 5th-century-B.C. Colchian cemetery, and the other a contemporary necropolis of Greek settlers. The coexistence of Colchian and Greek cemeteries, alongside the presence of rich imported goods from Greece, suggests peaceful interactions between the two cultures and the multitude of connections between the eastern coast of the Black Sea and the West.[3] Imports from the West seem to have continued well into the Hellenistic period, as proved by the goods found in the graves of a third necropolis dated between the 4th and 1st centuries B.C.

Less documented at Pichvnari is a limited phase of reuse of the old Colchian and Greek necropoleis in Late Antiquity. The Georgian-British archaeological team brought this phase to light in 1998-1999 and 2005-2007 when it discovered a total of ten burials dated to this period.[4] Whilst the existence of these burials suggests the presence of a Late Antique settlement in the area, this has yet to be confirmed. All the Late Antique inhumation burials are in east-west oriented graves, suggesting that the community at Pichvnari may have already adopted Christianity – although as in other archaeological contexts, east-west orientation alone cannot prove that a grave belonged to a Christian.[5] The graves are rectangular with rounded corners and are found some 1 m below modern ground.[6] Within these graves, pottery, glass vessels, weapons (iron axes, knives and spears), coins, bronze buckles, iron fibulae and pieces of jewelry, such as beads, silver and gold rings, and earrings, were found.

Before the Georgian-British archaeologists would bring to light the Late Antique cemetery, a concentration of Late Antique graves associated with a building had already been discovered in the 1960s in Napurvala Hill. This was fully excavated in the 1970s (Fig. 1). As opposed to other Late Antique finds at Pichvnari, the collection of artefacts brought

[3] Kakhidze, Tavamaishili and Vickers 2002.
[4] Vickers and Kakhidze 2004, 209-214; Kakhidze and Vickers 2014, 239.
[5] See for instance the case of the burials in Sopianae: Gábor and Győr 2017.
[6] Vickers and Kakhidze 2004, 210.

to light in that occasion has yet to receive the attention it deserves. Most of the material from the Late Antique building at Pichvnari, with the exclusion of grave goods, some potsherds, glass fragments, and a small marble crucifix (discussed below), have been published, in Georgian, by Lili Chkhaidze.[7] Short reports of the 1966-1967, 1975-1976 and 1978 excavations of the Late Antique building at Napurvala Hill, which are based on the conclusions reached by Chkhaidze, are also available.[8] Most part of this Late Antique assemblage is now housed at the BAM, with the exception of at least one piece that resides at the Khariton Akhvlediani Adjara State Museum in Batumi. However, many artefacts that make up this small Late Antique collection appear to be lost.

The Late Antique material from Pichvnari is one of the many testimonies to the renewed importance of the Colchian coast in the Late Antique period, a time in which Rome was struggling to control the eastern and southeastern coast of the Black Sea against the Persian threat.[9] The renewed Roman control in the region is exemplified by the remains of the fortifications at Tsikhisdziri, which are situated some 14 km to the south of Pichvnari as the crow flies. The site has often been identified with the city of Petra Pia Iustiniana, which was reported by Procopius to have been founded by order of emperor Justinian and to have been the object of major fights between the Roman and Persian armies during the Lazic war.[10] Although Procopius claims that the site was destroyed during the war, the remains at Tsikhisdziri show significant later evidence of occupation, including restorations of the fortification walls[11] and lead seals of Byzantine officials dated 9th-11th centuries.[12] According to the conciliar records, the city remained the seat of a bishop well into the 9th century.[13] Besides probably hosting a harbour, and,

[7] Chkhaidze 1980.

[8] Kakhidze and Mamuladze 2016, 175-176; Kakhidze 2016, 41-43.

[9] On the events in Lazica, see Braund 1994, 238-314; on Tzanica, Intagliata 2018.

[10] Braund 1994, 238-314.

[11] Intagliata, Naskidashvili and Snyder, forthcoming. On the remains at Tsikhisdziri, see mostly Inaishvili 1993.

[12] Iashvili and Seibt 2006.

[13] Darrouzés 1981, 212, 227, 241, 259; Fedalto 1988, 403.

thus, being a gateway for goods shipped into Lazica, Tsikhisdziri would have controlled the land traffic along the coastal route, where the remains at Pichvnari may have been situated.

## THE BUILDING AT NAPURVALA HILL AND ITS ASSOCIATED BURIALS: AN OVERVIEW

Only one plan of the building at Napurvala Hill and its associated cemetery is known (Fig. 1 – scanned from the BAM's archive). This has been reproduced in a number of publications[14] and shows the wall boundaries of the building and a scatter of burials, some of which probably belonging to an earlier, 5th-century-B.C. cemetery. It does not clarify the location of the Late Antique burials in relation to the building.

In plan, the building is oriented south-west to north-east and consists of two sections, namely a rectangular entrance porch (2 m long and 1,75 m wide) and a rectangular room (12 m wide; full length not preserved; maximum length is ca. 12 m). The eastern wall is not preserved and, therefore, it cannot be determined whether an apse in this building existed. Only the foundations of the walls (ca. 70 cm wide) were still in place when the building was excavated. The foundations were made of two faces of rough, uncut stones and lime mortar. According to the excavators, the floor of this building could have consisted of gravel and a wooden roof system with clay tiles may have covered the interior. No support system for the roof has been found, suggesting that the room was a simple single hall. The excavation of this building in the 1970s was conducted to the highest archaeological standards of the time but did not follow a stratigraphic methodology. As a consequence, the exact find-spot of much of the material discovered is now unknown, including a white marble crucifix discussed in this essay. However, it is certain that the building was constructed immediately on top of an earlier 5th-century-B.C. Colchian cemetery, suggesting a lack of activity within this area lasting about one millennium.

[14] E.g., Chkhaidze 1980, fig. 1; Kakhidze 2016, folded plan. The latter provides a north arrow and the location of Burial 54.

The building has been interpreted by its excavators as a church due to its orientation, the existence of an associated cemetery, the glass window fragments and the discovery of a small, white marble crucifix.[15] To this evidence, one could also add the presence of an entrance porch, which has relevant parallels to other Late Antique churches in the region, as will be discussed below.

Much uncertainty shrouds the associated cemetery. A total of twelve Late Antique burials were brought to light within, and in close proximity of the church. One was found within the building (Burial 54), while the others outside the church, close to its northern corner. With the exception of Burial 54, the exact position of the other burials in the surviving plan remains unclear, as these have never been discussed in literature. No photographs exist to show the way the bodies were interred, but it is likely that they were placed in simple pits rather than stone cists, as plans of the cemetery do not show any details on this regard.[16] The use of wooden coffins at the time is also doubtful; existence of iron nails with square heads has been reported,[17] but these might have originated from the fill of the church.

The high acidity of the sandy soil at Pichvnari meant the majority of the human bones had almost entirely decomposed by the time they were excavated by archaeologists. The most that was found was a number of skull fragments, which, upon further examination, have not been enough to figure out the sex and age of the body. Chkhaidze provides a short list of the material found in these burials; namely pottery, glass vessels, beads, fibulae, belt fragments, and iron and silver rings.[18]

Burial 54 is the only grave that has a known location within the church.[19] One unpublished photograph shows the cover of the burial after its discovery (Fig. 2). Unlike the other simple pits found in close

[15] Chkhaidze 1980, 40. The presence of the cross is not, however, indicative of the nature of the building in Late Antiquity. In fact, the object might be later than originally thought by the excavators. See discussion below.

[16] Kakhidze 2016, folded plan; fig. X.

[17] Chkhaidze 1980, 50.

[18] Chkhaidze 1980, 53.

[19] Kakhidze 2016, folded plan.

proximity to the church, this grave was covered by 16 horizontally-placed bricks. Of these 16, only six are now on display at the BAM, with the current location of the remaining 10 unknown. According to a final report, the interior, walls and floor of the burial were covered in clay.[20] The use of bricks to cover Burial 54 could reflect the desire of its builders to separate this grave from the others. However, this still is not unique to the graves of the times. In the Late Antique Caucasus, whilst Christians were normally interred in stone cists made of large slates, wooden coffins or simple pits,[21] burials in bricks were also frequent.[22] When excavating the grave, archaeologists uncovered human remains in a secondary deposition. This suggests that the individual buried, who was presumably of a high religious or social status, died elsewhere and the remains were later transferred to Pichvnari. In terms of grave goods from this burial, only one glass vessel remains (Fig. 5).[23]

## THE ASSEMBLAGE

Chkhaidze has discussed the pottery and glass fragments from the church at Pichvnari to some extent, and approximated a rough 4th-6th century chronology for them based on regional comparanda.[24] The necessity to re-present this assemblage is given by the fact that some of the material have never been published or discussed in the secondary literature. As most of the artefacts published by Chkhaidze have been since lost, and because the authors have not had the opportunity to examine them, this brief report will mostly limit the discussion to the articles still preserved at the BAM. The reader is invited to consult the Chkhaidze's work for more information on the remaining pieces.[25]

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[20] Kakhidze 2016, 43.

[21] Mgaloblishvili and Gagoshidze 2013.

[22] Khroushkova 2006, 49.

[23] Kakhidze and Shalikadze 2009, 78.

[24] Chkhaidze 1980.

[25] The inventory numbers of the pieces reported in the illustrations are those given by the excavators on 1975; for unknown reasons, some numbers are repeated (e.g., cf. glass vessels and glass windows).

*Pottery*

The usefulness of the ceramic material recovered from the building at Napurvala Hill and stored at the BAM is limited by the lack of documentation regarding their context of provenance and the absence of typological ceramic studies for this region. Nonetheless, the pottery will briefly be presented here, with some general remarks on its chronology and provenance.

Among the local table and kitchen wares, only three potsherds from Napurvala Hill – two handles and one fragmentary neck of a jug – appear to share the same fabric. This is characterized by a light reddish yellow colour throughout (7.5YR 7/8), small voids and small white and black inclusions. The neck of the jug, which was found in the topsoil (fig. 3.75/191),[26] is the most diagnostic of the three. The rim, which must have been upturned and rounded, does not survive in its entirety, as its upper edge is chipped away. Chkhaidze identifies it as a piece of local cooking ware, and believes that it has similarities with material from Vardistsikhe (4th-6th centuries).[27] Five other fragments have all different fabrics and have not been published. These include the flat base of a cooking pot (fig. 3.75/241), characterized by a distinctive dark brownish grey fabric (2.5YR 2/3) with numerous white inclusions, the base of a large bowl (fig. 3.75/246 – outside and inside: 7.5YR 4/3; core: 5YR 6/8) two rims of bowls (fig. 3.75/175 – 7.5YR 7/6; fig. 3.75/238 – 5YR 5/6) and the body sherd of a storage container.

As for imported table ware, out of the two red-slipped fragments of rims published by Chkhaidze, only one survives at the BAM. This is part of a bowl with a rim having two concentric grooves on its upper part (fig. 3.75/184). Three incised lines run roughly parallel on the outer surface of the vessel just below the rim for about 10 cm. The fabric is reddish yellow throughout (5YR 7/8), includes sporadic fine white inclusions and is covered by a worn light red slip (10R 6/10). Again,

[26] BAM records 75/184. This fragment was published by Chkhaidze (1980, fig. 3.4).

[27] Chkhaidze 1980, 48 n. 25.

Chkhaidze's dating for this piece is generically Late Antique; the sherd finds comparanda in the Caucasus and the northern Black Sea.[28]

Finally, two fragments of transport containers are still stored at the BAM. One of these fragments, a body sherd, is currently unpublished. This is not a diagnostic piece, but the fragment's light pinkish red fabric (5YR 7/6), with small black inclusions point to a production area around the southern Black Sea – indeed, it is reported as "Sinopean" in the BAM's records.[29] Sinopean amphorae "à paté rosée" are common throughout the Hellenistic period around the Black Sea up until the 3rd century. A later, Late Antique production of Sinopean amphora "à paté rouge," with numerous types and variants, existed between the 4th and early 6th centuries.[30] Our specimen, which might be residual, most likely belongs to the former "paté." Unfortunately, the date cannot be pin-pointed with certainty due to the absence of diagnostic features. The second fragment, already published,[31] is a body sherd bearing wide grooves (5 mm wide on average) on its outer surface (fig. 3.75/233). The presence of a corrugated surface has been used by Chkhaidze to give the object a generic Late Antique dating.[32] However, a later chronology cannot be excluded.

*Glass*

Thirteen fragments of glass vessels from the church at Pichvnari, are still held at the BAM, six of which have already been published by Chkhaidze (two – figs. 5.5 and 5.6 – may be Hellenistic – fig. 4.75/212; fig. 4.75/220;[33] the fragment shown in fig. 5.3 in Chkhaidze's article is now lost).[34] The remaining unpublished pieces include a small rim

[28] Chkhaidze 1980, 45, fig. 3.2.

[29] BAM records 75/179.

[30] Kassab Tezgör 2010, 120-141; on the eastern Black Sea coast, see especially Inaishvili and Vashakidze 2010, 152; Kassab Tezgör, Kebuladze, Lomitashvili and Zamtaradze 2007.

[31] Chkhaidze 1980, 45, fig. 3.4.

[32] Chkhaidze 1980, 45.

[33] We are grateful to Tamar Partenadze for her help in identifying the pieces.

[34] Chkhaidze 1980, 51, fig. 5.1, 5.2, 5.4-5.7, 5.8.

sherd of a bowl (fig. 4.75/224), the base of the stem of a caliche (fig. 4.75/226), and five body sherds. Most of the fragments are transparent light blue in colour, but there are exceptions. One body sherd, which bears the remains of a decoration in relief (fig. 4.75/213) has a characteristic transparent brownish green colour, which resembles that of other glass vessels dated to the 1st and 4th centuries,[35] while fig. 4.75/226 and fig. 4.75/223 are opaque, not completely transparent. Reaching a chronology for these pieces is difficult, given the lack of systematic studies for the region. However, one should note that one of them (fig. 4.75/218) has comparanda dated to the 4th century[36] and that two fragments (fig. 4.75/207 and 75/223) certainly belong to 5th-6th century glass lamps – frequently found in churches in western Caucasus.[37]

The most significant specimen of the assemblage is now held at the Khariton Akhvlediani Adjara State Museum – not at BAM – and has been published several times.[38] This is a glass bottle with a concave base, a globular body, and a cylindrical neck slightly tapering towards the rim (Fig. 5 – height: 13 cm; max. width: 10.5 cm). Its colour is a transparent light blue, despite being described as a "light greenish/yellowish" by the excavators.[39] The importance of this piece is associated with its context; it is the only piece that we can confidently associate with the sealed Late Antique grave Burial 54. The vessel has been dated to the 4th century.[40] One should note, however, that this type of vessel seems to have been mass produced throughout Late Antiquity and beyond. Glass vessels of this kind appear to be frequent in Christian burial assemblages and were used to hold aromatic substances. A similar piece, but with a bulge at the joint of the neck and a hemispherical body has been found at Lesnoe, near Sochi, and dated to the 6th cen-

[35] Kakhidze and Shalikadze 2009, 58, 78; pl. XIX.60; XIX.89.
[36] Kakhidze and Shalikadze 2009, 82
[37] Khrushkova 2006, 73.
[38] Chkhaidze 1980, 53, 51, fig. 5; Kakhidze and Shalikadze 2009, 78-79, pl. XX.90. The authors did not have the opportunity to analyse it.
[39] Kakhidze and Shalikadze 2009, 78-79.
[40] Kakhidze and Shalikadze 2009, 78 with further bibliography.

tury.[41] Similar pieces found at Panticapaeum have been dated to the Late Antique period until the 7th century.[42]

In addition to the material discussed above, a small collection of two distinctive groups of glass window fragments was discovered in the southeastern and northeastern corners of the building during surface cleaning in 1975 (Fig. 3). The majority of the fragments are opaque, light brownish-grey in colour and 0.3 cm thick. One small fragment (75/222) shows on one side an iridescent patina. The remaining fragments have the same colour, but are transparent and much thinner – generally between 0.1 and 0.2 cm in thickness. The chronology is uncertain, but their direct association with the building in discussion remains likely.

*Building Material*

Among the bricks recovered from the excavation of the church are three fragmentary pieces, the fabric of which are light brownish red in colour, with numerous small white inclusions and infrequent large dark red inclusions. Two of these fragments exhibit finger impressions on one surface. A fourth brick fragment is made of a different fabric, far paler with a light yellow colour and is one that also contains a wider variety of inclusions, including large pebbles. Their thickness is comprised between 4.1 cm and 5.5 cm. The museum still keeps a record of the dimension of a fifth brick "in pinkish colour," which is now lost, with measurements of: 25 cm x 34-35 cm x 3.5 cm.[43] The origin of these bricks is unknown. If coming from this building, it can be presumed that they were adopted as brick bonding for either its walls or *synthronon* – if there was one. Brick bonding was a widespread building technique in western Caucasus.[44] The bricks, as well as the stones used for the construction of the walls, may have been removed at a later time.

The bricks used to cover Burial 54, six of which are displayed at the BAM, come in three different sizes: 1. 33.5 cm x 13.7 cm x 5 cm (fig. 7.75/552); 2. 30.5 cm x 26.5 cm x 5 cm (roughly double the size of no. 1 –

[41] Khrushkova and Vasilinenko 2012, 147, fig. 18.

[42] Zasetskaya 2003.

[43] BAM record, 76/556.

[44] For church architecture, see Khroushkova 1989, 119-120.

fig. 775/551); 3). 35.5 cm x 25.5 cm x 6 cm (fig. 7.75/550). Their fabric consists of a light reddish colour throughout with very fine inclusions and voids, and sporadic large red inclusions. The surface is gritty and has a multitude of long cracks, suggesting that the bricks were not left to sundry for sufficient time before being placed into the kiln. Types 1 and 3 have finger impressions running through one or two surfaces. One type of brick in both the *synthronon* and the walls of the church at Vashnari has similar dimensions and the same fabric to the Type 1 described above (30 cm x 25 cm x 5 cm). Widespread in the region, the 28 cm x 28 cm x 3 cm Early Byzantine brick type is absent from Pichvnari, but the adoption of finger impressions on brick surfaces point towards a Late Antique chronological horizon for these specimens.

Two roof tiles remain. The most complete one is a flanged *tegula*. The fabric is the same as the brick found during surface cleaning but has a small number of larger voids in the fracture, some reaching 5 mm (fig. 7.75/194). One should also note that Chkhaidze reports the existence of one imbrex from the site, which is now lost.[45] Whether the roof of the church was tiled is difficult to postulate with the data at hand, but nevertheless remains likely.

*The Marble Cross*

In 1976, during the opening of the second season of excavation of the church complex at Napurvala Hill, archaeologists discovered white marble cross (or more precisely, crucifix) approximately 30 cm below the ground.[46] The small dimensions of the object (3 cm in height, 0.4 cm thick) indicate that it could have been used as an item for personal devotion, although the nature of the damage it has sustained (with chips to the edges, the left arm now almost completely missing, and blackening on the flat reverse side) suggests that, either originally or at a later point in its history, the object was attached to a support such that it might have provided a decorative element of a larger object. The corpus of Jesus, carved in low relief, is represented draped in a loin-cloth, at-

[45] Chkhaidze 1980, 48, fig. 4.4.

[46] The BAM records (75/206) report that the crucifix was found after just one blow of mattock.

tached to the front side of the Latin-shaped cross. Although photographs of this side of the crucifix have been published,[47] the iconography has not been discussed (Fig. 8). The back is published here for the first time (Fig. 8b).

In the absence of excavation diaries, and with no detailed information recorded or published about the excavation of the object, it is impossible to reach any conclusions about its date from the archaeological context. We are thus reliant on an analysis of iconography and other features to furnish information about when it might have been produced.

The iconography recalls that of the *Christus triumphans* developed in the 4th and 5th centuries across the Mediterranean basin and used in different pictorial contexts for the representation of Jesus alive on his cross – although from the carving it is not clear whether the eyes are open or closed. From the surviving evidence, the *triumphans* iconography is first attested in the 4th century in the miniature arts on engraved gemstones produced in the Eastern Mediterranean. Two examples are known to survive, and in each case Jesus is shown nude in strict frontality standing, with legs side by side and arms outstretched at right angles, against the cross flanked by the twelve apostles.[48] In the 5th century, a further development of the iconography is preserved in relief sculpture, both monumental and portable. The crucified Jesus is alive (his head facing the viewer, his eyes open), showing no signs of physical suffering, and now wearing a narrow loin cloth. He is flanked either by the two thieves (as on a panel of the carved wooden doors of the Roman church of Santa Sabina, ca. 432, still in situ),[49] or by figures mentioned in the Johannine gospel narrative as being present at the crucifixion (namely Mary and John, as on an ivory relief in the British Museum, possibly produced in Rome or Northern

[47] Most recently in Kakhidze and Mamuladze 2016, pl. 139.

[48] One example, a carnelian intaglio (13.5 mm x 10.5 mm) reportedly found in Constanza, Romania, and possibly made in Syria, is now in the collection of the British Museum, London (reg. nr. 1895,1113,1). A second carnelian, almost identical in size (19 mm x 14 mm), shape and design, formerly in a private collection, is now lost: Harley-McGowan 2011, pls. 1 and 2.

[49] For the doors, see Foletti and Gianandrea, 2016, with discussion of the crucifixion panel 153-157 (with the bibliography), tav. VI.

Italy ca. 420-430).[50] While the body of Jesus as carved on the Pichvnari cross compares very well with this iconography (in that it is upright, legs side by side, clad only in a loin cloth, the head erect and facing the viewer, arms rigidly placed at right angles to the body – which exhibits no signs of suffering), there are fundamental differences.

Stylistically and iconographically, the handling of the body does not accord with what we know from extant evidence about the representation of the crucified body of Jesus in Late Antiquity. The style and length of the loin cloth (sitting low on the hips, being rolled at the top and the hem extending down to the knees) and the concurrent treatment of the chest (an elongated torso, in stark contrast to the stockier body of Jesus as extant in 5th century art, and one that is carefully modelled with clearly delineated musculature) is distinctive and betrays knowledge of artistic trends that emerged later, by the 9th century. Specifically, this treatment of the torso and loin cloth is well attested in the Carolingian period between the late 8th and early 9th century, a time when heated theological discussions were in progress about the death of Jesus. These debates, as in other periods in the history of art, are integral to and so lie behind the iconographic developments we witness in the visual arts.[51] Comparanda for the body of Jesus on a Latin-shaped cross can be found among a variety of media in this period, including the miniature arts (ivory reliefs, engraved crystals – similar in style to some German monumental crucifixes of the 10th century for instance – manuscript illumination and metal work), as well as monumental art (notably wall painting).[52] As on our object, in these examples the cruci-

[50] The "Maskell" Crucifixion ivory (77 mm x 102 mm), British Museum, London, inv. nr. 1856,0623.5. For this ivory and the Santa Sabina panel, see further Harley-McGowan 2018, 301-304, figs. 18.9 and 18.10, with bibliography.

[51] The fundamental study remains that by Chazelle 2001. For the impact of theological debate on iconographic change in the representation of the crucifixion at different periods, see Kartsonis 1986, 33-39; Harley-McGowan 2019.

[52] One of the best surveys of this evidence, and so helpful sources to compare the iconography, is Schiller 1972, with examples illustrated across figs. 345-348, 354-380, and discussion about iconographic development in the West from the 7th through to the 11th century, 99-117.

fied Jesus is represented as though attached to a Latin-shaped cross with legs side by side, arms extended horizontally and the loin cloth low and long. The same iconography appears in Byzantine art, attesting to the stability and circulation of the type geographically and over several centuries.[53] In its careful attention to the positioning, clothing and modelling of the body, the Pichvnari cross thus betrays knowledge of an iconographic type that emerged by the 9th century and continued to exert an influence in a variety of cultures and historical contexts.

In terms of securing an approximate date for its production, an additional factor to consider is the fact that there is no surviving material or literary evidence to indicate that the crucifix (that is a cross bearing the fully modelled body of Jesus that could function as a portable and independent instrument of devotion) existed as a class of object before the 6th century. Literary evidence suggests that plain crosses were worn as personal jewelry, suspended as pendants on necklaces, by the mid-4th century although the earliest datable examples come from the late 5th or 6th century.[54] Yet as material objects, crucifixes are unknown in Late Antiquity and rare in Byzantine art, emerging from the 6th and 7th centuries at a time when the relation between viewer and religious object began to become more direct and intimate.[55] Moreover, the earliest pendant or

[53] One example will serve to illustrate this: a pyramid shaped intaglio seal in New York, likely manufactured between the 9th and 11th century to be hung from a chain and worn around the neck (to thus function both as a seal and an amuletic device). It carries a representation of Jesus crucified between the Virgin and St. John: Rock crystal, 20 x 18 x 24 mm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nr. 86.11.38. Kornbluth 1995, 11-13, figs. 33.1, 33.2. In Carolingian art the head of Jesus is normally encircled by a nimbus and is often inclined, however in this example the head is without nimbus and is erect, although turned in profile to look towards the Virgin.

[54] A key piece of evidence is the report of Gregory of Nyssa that on her death, his sister Macrina (ca. 330-379) was found to be wearing an iron cross around her neck (Greg. Nyss. *V. Macr*. 30.238-242, ed. and trans. P. Maraval, Paris 1971). Dölger 1932, is important, analysing the text in relation to material evidence.

[55] On this change, developing from the middle of the 6th century through to the 8th century, see Kitzinger 1979, 148. On the emergence of the crucifix as a new

reliquary crosses that depict the corpus of Jesus are Byzantine and consistently show Jesus robed in the full-length *colobium*, not the loincloth.[56] Later Byzantine processional crosses are also known and well documented; yet none that appear to have been decorated with the addition of small crucifixes such as the one in marble found at Pichvnari, or in other media, are known.[57] Therefore the very form of the object speaks against the likelihood that it can be assigned a Late Antique date.

In addition to the iconography, style, and the distinctive form, the medium is also highly unusual in Late Antiquity, and we have been unable to find comparanda. Further study of the marble may offer new and interesting lines of enquiry regarding a likely place and time of production, as well as trade routes, given evidence for the later occupation of the site noted at the beginning of our essay. However, from a preliminary assessment of the form, style, iconography, size and medium we must conclude that the crucifix, which consciously emulates an early Christian style for the body of Jesus, cannot date from before the 8th century, and so is considerably later than that of the majority of the material discussed so far.

## REMARKS ON THE CHRONOLOGY AND NATURE OF THE BUILDING

Chkhaidze has suggested a 4th-6th century chronology for the construction of the building and its frequentation. Based on the study of the artefacts, she also has pointed out the high level of connectivity of the Colchidian western coast with several trading and production centres of the Black Sea and beyond, and found comparanda with material from a number of regional coastal and inland settlements including Vardistsikhe, Bichvinta, Poti, Sokhumi, Bobokvati, Ochamchire, Tsikhisdziri and Apsaros.

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class of object, see Peers 2004, 13-14. Still relevant is the distinction Orazio Marucchi made between two phases in the development of the crucifix: 6th-12/13th century, when the figure was mostly triumphant or alive; and 13th century onwards, when an interest in realism in the depiction of Christ's suffering emerges: see Marucchi 1908, 529.

[56] See the comprehensive catalogue and discussion of these by Pitarakis 2006.

[57] A good overview of the development of figural processional crosses remains Cotsonis 1995.

We are inclined to agree on Chkhaidze's general conclusions and her arguments do not need to be repeated here. However, given the state of the evidence, it is difficult to pinpoint a more accurate chronology. Most of the objects are, as documented by the BAM records, from the topsoil. As also attested from the mixed nature of the finds that include Hellenistic, Roman and later Medieval material (glass, the Sinopean amphora fragment and the white marble cross), the context of discovery is disturbed, and therefore not useful when determining an exact dating for the construction of the building.

The only diagnostic artefact coming from a known sealed deposit is the globular glass bottle from Burial 54, dated in modern literature to the 4th century – although, as seen above, a wider chronology cannot be excluded. A 4th-century chronology would be in line with the Late Antique burials discovered at Pichvnari by the Georgian-British archaeological team in 1998-1999 and 2005-2007, which have consistently been dated to the 4th and 5th centuries.[58] One glass fragment (fig. 4.75/218) can also be dated to the same chronological horizon. If the building was constructed together with Burial 54, then, a Late Antique chronology for it would be in order.

Evidence suggests the function of the building was that of a small chapel or church.[59] This theory is confirmed by its overall plan and, more specifically, the presence of an entrance porch to which important comparisons within the region can be made. A similar space is found in the church at Vashnari, which is dated to the second half of the 6th century. At Vashnari, the space protrudes like an appendix from the back wall of the naos and is in line with the apse of the church.[60] Another parallel is found at the entrance of the three-aisled basilica church at Tsandripshi (Gantiadi). The original construction date for this building lie between 527 and 542, and subsequent construction includes two major restorations until the 10th century.[61] In plan, the church at Pichvnari falls generally within a

[58] Vickers and Kakhidze 2004, 209-214; Kakhidze and Vickers 2014, 239.
[59] Chkhaidze 1980, 39-41; Kakhidze 2007, 42.
[60] Khroushkova 1989, 106 and fig. 31.
[61] Khroushkova 1989, 89-90 and figs. 1, 2.

large architectural group known as "à nef unique." The churches of this group are characterized by the presence of simple rectangular naoi ending with semi-circular, U-shaped or polygonal apses to the east. In some cases, the churches may have lateral annexed buildings and a narthex. Revelant examples of churches within this group include the buildings at Pitiunt (N1, N6), Mramba, Archaeopolis ("Misaroni") and Guenos.[62]

## CONCLUSION

This article presented and reassessed the material and documentation of a Late Antique building and its associated cemetery at Napurvala Hill, Pichvnari. The material from the fill of this complex is varied. At the BAM, a limited selection of these artefacts still survive. Although determining an accurate chronology is prevented due to gaps in research and excavation data, the majority of the material from the church fill, as originally postulated by Chkhaidze, can mostly be dated to Late Antiquity. Yet, the context is chronologically mixed and include also Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval material. A preliminary assessment of the iconography of the white marble cross points to a later period. Although lacking the eastern wall, and, thus, the apse, it is reasonable to conclude that the building was a small church or chapel, as first suggested by the excavators. The church falls in the group of buildings known within Khroushkova's typology as "à nef unique." These buildings have a longstanding tradition in the Caucasus area, from Late Antiquity up to and throughout the Medieval period.

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[62] Khroushkova 1989, 110-111.

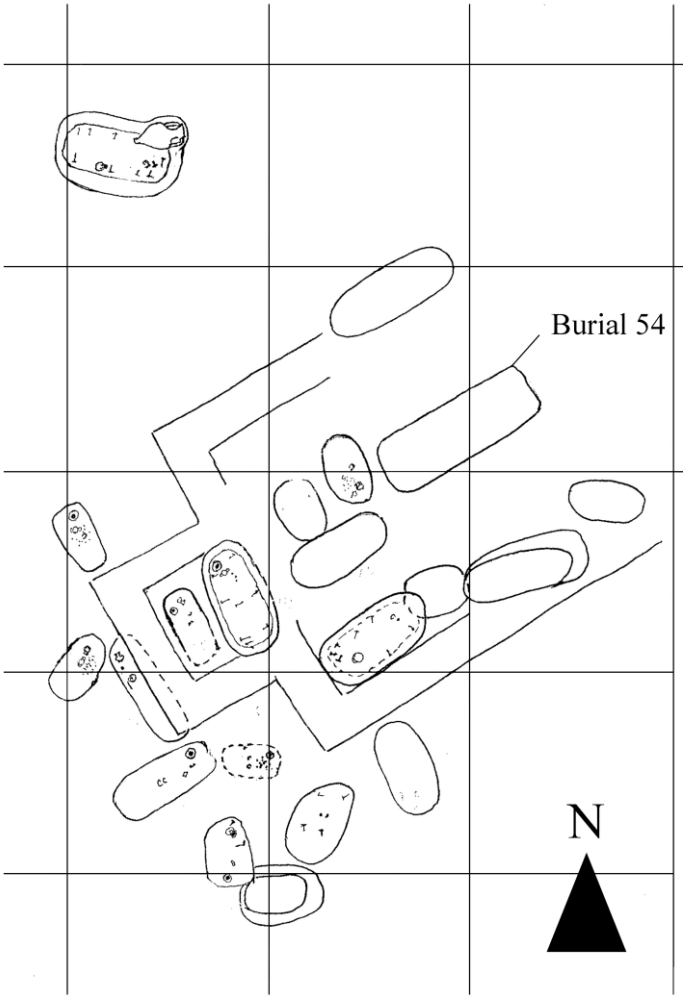


Figure 1. Plan of the church at Napurvala hill and associated cemetery (BAM archive).

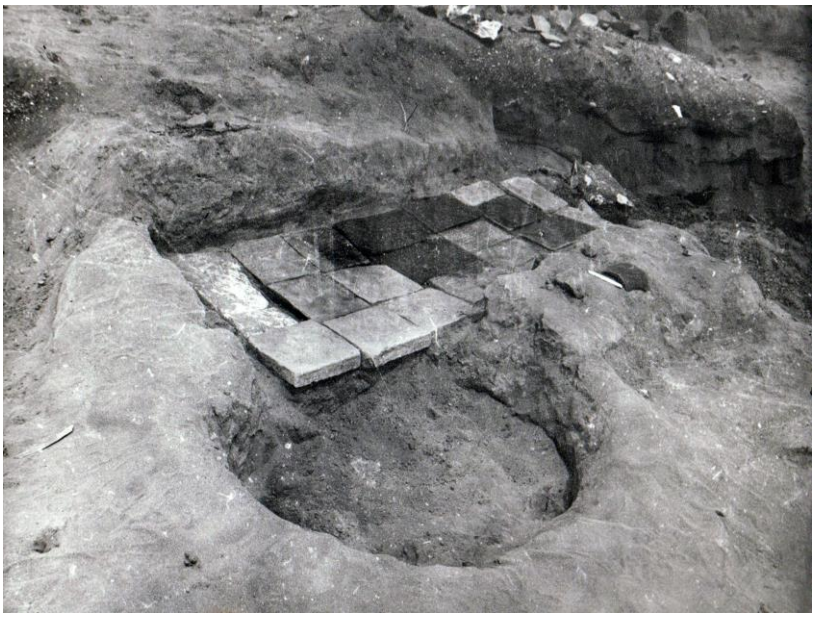

Figure 2. Burial 54 at the time of excavation (BAM archive).

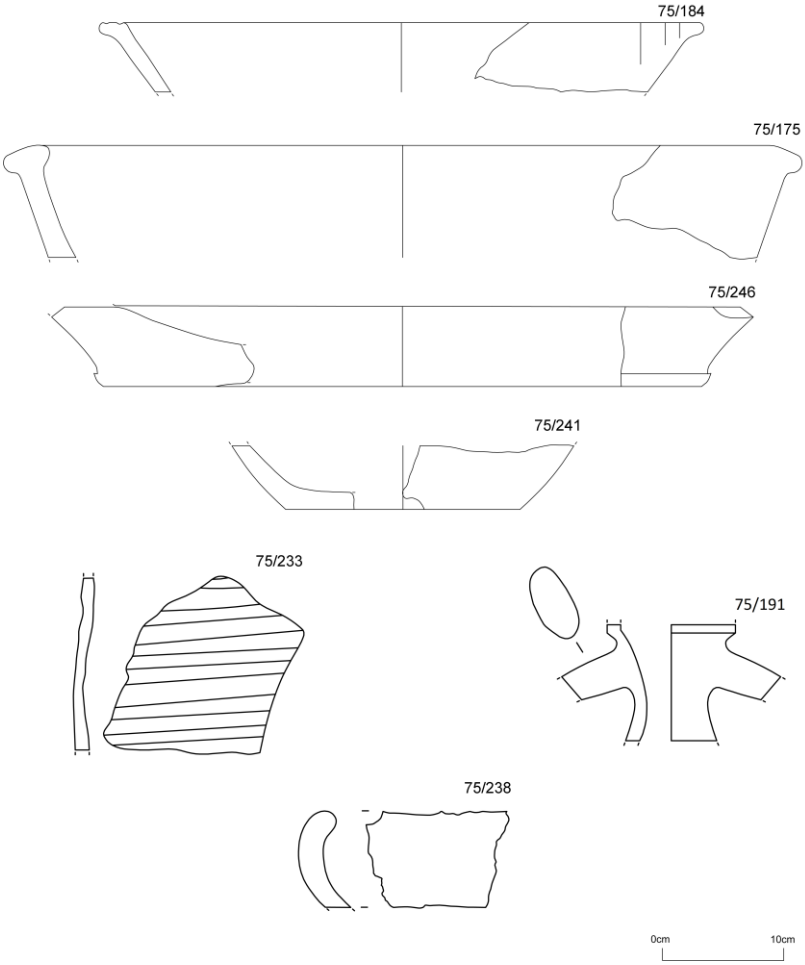


Figure 3. Pottery (drawn by E. E. Intagliata and M. C. Ravizza).

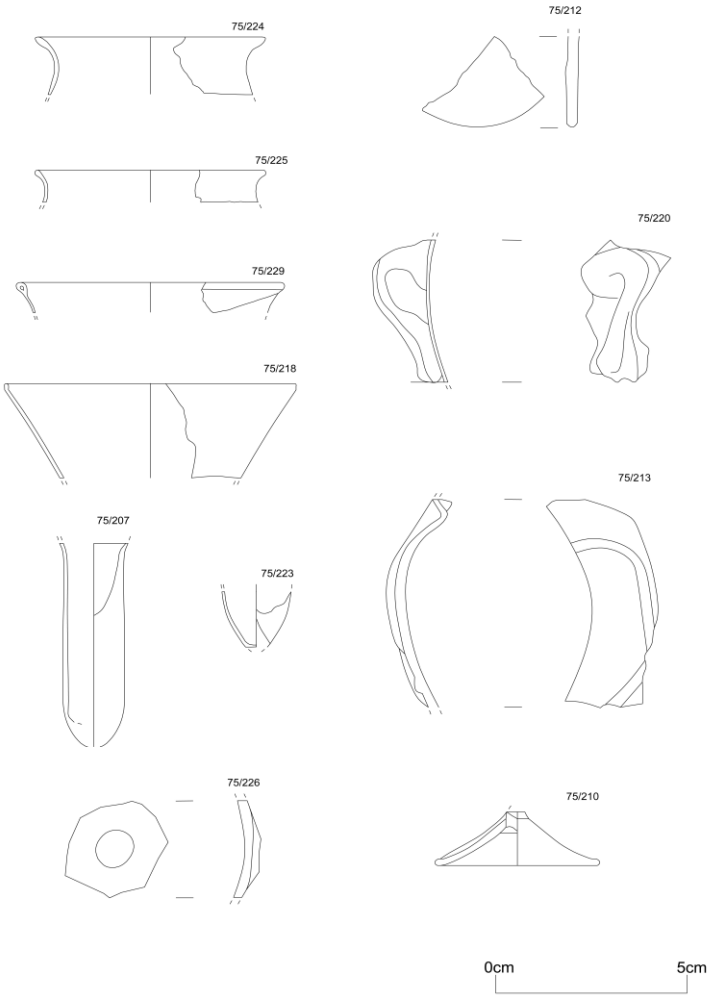


Figure 4. Glass (drawn by E. E. Intagliata and M. C. Ravizza).

Figure 5. Glass vessel from Burial 54
(from Kakhidze and Shalikadze 2011, pl. XXIV.97).

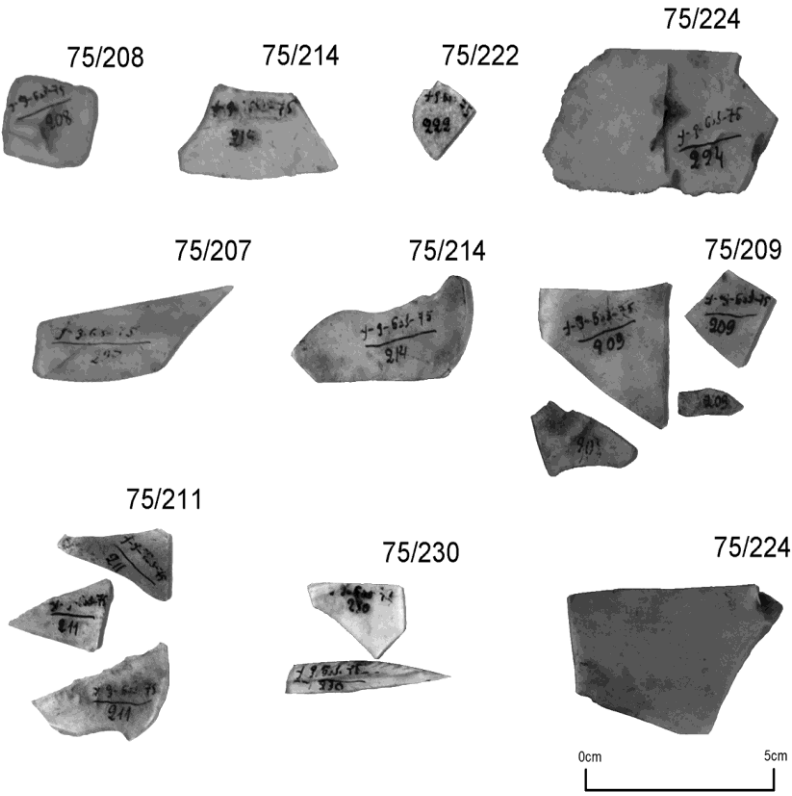


Figure 6. Fragmentary glass windows (photo by E. E. Intagliata).

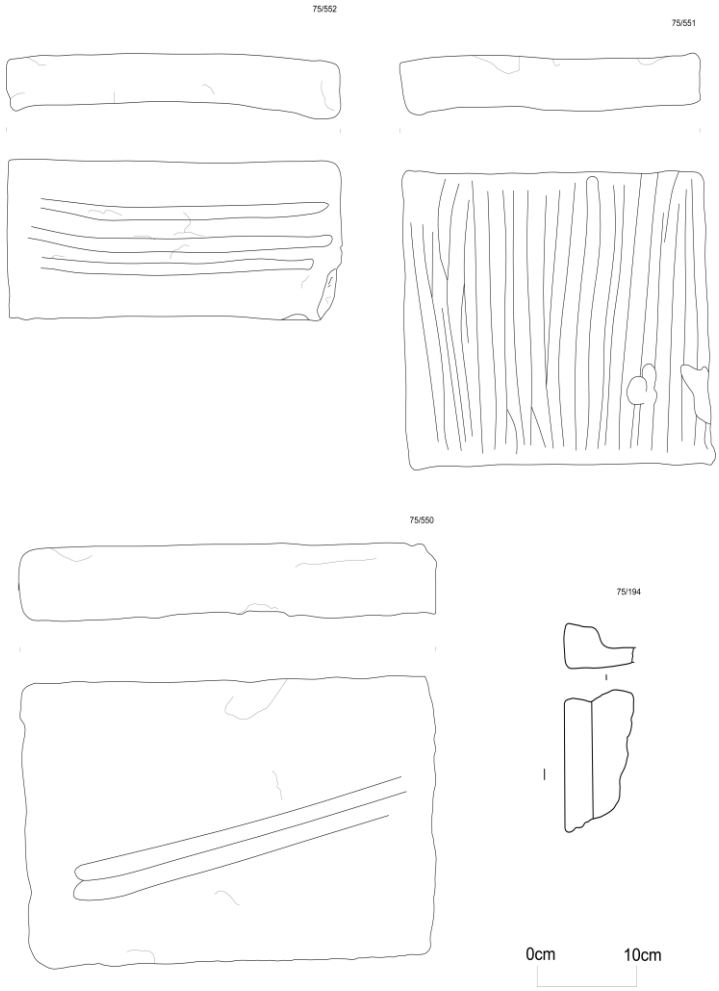


Figure 7. Building material (drawn by E. E. Intagliata and M. C. Ravizza).

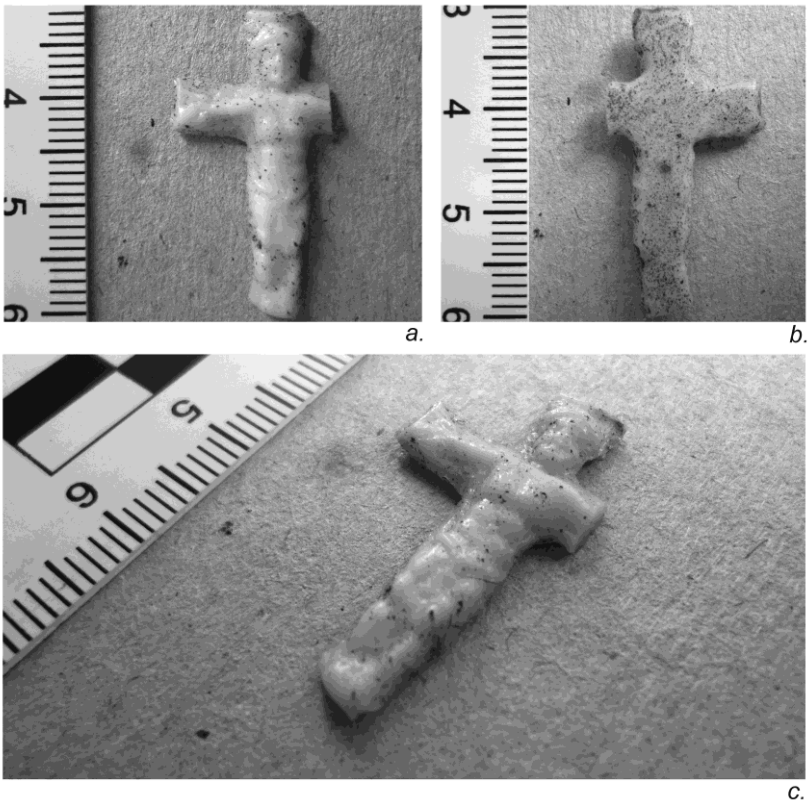


Figure 8. The white marble cross. Frontal (a.) back (b.) and lateral view (c.) (photos by E. E. Intagliata).

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Phasis 21-22, 2019

# BOOK REVIEW

*Iberien zwischen Rom und Iran. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Transkaukasiens in der Antike.* Hrsg. Udo Hartmann, Timo Stickler und Frank Schleicher. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2019. 356 pages.

*Iberien zwischen Rom und Iran von Pompeius bis Herakleios* war das Thema einer Tagung, die vom 7. bis 9. Juli 2016 an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena stattgefunden hat. Der Sammelband der Tagung ist vor kurzem erschienen und ist ein gutes Geschenk für jeden, der sich für Geschichte und Kultur Georgiens interessiert.

Vom Standpunkt eines georgischen Historikers ist es begrüßenswert, dass die Geschichte Iberiens im Kontext der Weltgeschichte bzw. der römisch-persischen Beziehungen und aufgrund der breiten Quellenbasis behandelt wird. Das hat der kartwelologischen Forschung lange Zeit gefehlt.

Der Sammelband umfasst sehr interessante und wertvolle Artikel, die historische, kulturelle, religiöse und archäologische Aspekte der modernen Forschung behandeln. Sie ergänzen sich wechselseitig und bilden so ein quasi-einheitliches Werk, das man auch als ein Iberien-Handbuch betrachten könnte.

In der Publikation findet man wichtige methodologische Beobachtungen, Information über neue Funde und viele neue Interpretationen von bisher bereits bekannten bzw. erforschten Quellen und Fakten. In dieser kurzen Übersicht möchte ich nicht in die Einzelheiten vertiefen und werde mich nur auf einige allgemeinen Bemerkungen beschränken.

1. Die lateinische Transkription der georgischen Namen ist bekanntlich ein großes Problem, in erster Linie deswegen, weil die georgischen Laute, für die es keine entsprechenden lateinischen Buchstaben gibt, in verschiedenen europäischen Sprachen unterschiedlich geschrieben werden. Sogar im relativ einfachen Fall meines eigenen Namens gibt es mehrere Varianten, in anderen kann sich das leicht multiplizieren. Prinzipiell gibt es zwei mögliche Lösungen: entweder eine einheitliche lateinische Schreibung oder jeweils eine Anpassung an die entsprechenden Sprachen. Die Herausgeber des Bandes folgen dem ersten Prinzip und bieten uns ein System, das weitgehend dem von Stephen Rapp entspricht (S. 11). Ich bin nicht überzeugt, dass das die beste Lösung war. Einerseits ist es nicht gelungen, den Band in dieser Hinsicht völlig zu vereinheitlichen, andererseits,

erleichtert dieses System die Identifikation der Namen kaum. Für mich persönlich waren sowohl *K'art'lis c'xovreba*, *Mc'xet'a*, *Lort'k'ip'anize*, etc. als auch *Lixi* etwas verwirrend. Die eindeutige und genaue Wiedergabe der georgischen Laute wäre eher in einem sprachwissenschaftlichen Werk wichtig, in einer historischen Studie könnte man auch eine simplifizierte, aber leicht erkennbare Transkription verwenden. Und im Fall von verschiedenen Schreibungen könnte ein Namenregister bei der Identifikation helfen.

2. Das andere Problem, das auch gut bekannt, aber kaum zu lösen ist, ist die Terminologie, mit der wir die Begriffe der Schriftquellen übersetzen oder interpretieren. Unser terminologisches System passt oft gar nicht dem der Texte. Eine genaue Wiedergabe aller Nuancen ist praktisch unmöglich und in jedem konkreten Fall gibt es verschiedene Möglichkeiten: Entweder kann man die Originalbezeichnung des Textes behalten und sie im Kommentar ausführlich besprechen oder eine relativ nahestehende Übersetzung finden. Die zweite Lösung kommt häufiger vor, sowohl in den Werken, die für das breitere Publikum vorgesehen sind, als auch dann in der Forschung, wenn die Bestimmung der genauen Bedeutung nicht das Hauptziel ist. Die Aufgabe wird noch komplizierter bei der Übersetzung bzw. Interpretation von Texten, in denen antike Autoren fremde Völker beschreiben. Ein Sonderfall, den ich hier besprechen möchte, bilden die Kollektivbezeichnungen von Menschenmengen (z.B., *Albaner*, *Armenier*, *Iberer*, *Lazen*, aber auch *Apsilier*, *Misimianen*, etc.). Solche Bezeichnungen werden heute gewöhnlich als Ethnonyme verstanden, die "Völker" und "Stämme" charakterisieren sollen. Das entspricht auch in der Sache grundsätzlich der griechischen Weltsicht. Unsere Vorstellungen von Ethnizität leiten sich nämlich von den griechischen (s. z.B. Hdt. 8.144) her; gelegentlich werden dort Menschengruppen wie die exemplarisch genannten ausdrücklich als Ethnien bezeichnet. Meines Erachtens haben aber ethnische Identitäten in diesem Sinne weder im antiken noch auch im spätantiken oder frühchristlichen Kaukasien eine Rolle gespielt. Man wird eher mit Identitäten im Hinblick darauf rechnen zu rechnen haben, dass die vermeintlichen Etnien einer politischen bzw. geographischen Einheit zugehören. Entsprechend bezeichnen solche "Ethnonyme" eher die Untertanen eines Königs, die Bevölkerung eines Reiches, einer Region oder eines Tales als Nationen, Ethnien und Stämme. Als umfassender und allgemeiner Begriff scheint mir "Volk" nach wie vor am besten geeignet zu sein, wobei man sich freilich immer bewusst machen muss, dass dieses Wort

heute auch leicht als ethnische Identität verstanden und dann so für die hier betrachteten Probleme missverstanden werden kann.

3. Die Glaubwürdigkeit der georgischen mittelalterlichen Schriftquellen, insbesondere für Erforschung der antiken Geschichte Georgiens, wurde seit dem 19. Jahrhundert oft diskutiert. Das hyperkritische Urteil, das noch vom Gründer der modernen georgischen historischen Schule, Iwane Dschawachischwili, stammt, teilen auch den Autoren des Sammelbandes. Ich stimme zu, dass diese Texte keine sicheren Quellen sind, die man deswegen nur sehr vorsichtig und im Zusammenhang mit anderen Quellen benutzen darf. Aber ich halte es für übertrieben, sie völlig zu ignorieren oder ihnen *a priori* immer die fremdsprachigen Texte vorzuziehen, selbst wenn sie zeitlich den beschriebenen Ereignissen näherstehen. Die georgischen Chroniken und Hagiographie sind natürlich stark ideologisiert; sie waren aber kein Ergebnis der Phantasie ihrer Verfasser. Wahrscheinlich gab es historische Traditionen, vielleicht auch schriftliche, die bei der Kompilation der bis heute erhaltenen Werke verwendet wurden. So könnte man m.E. aus diesen Werken zuverlässige Informationen gewinnen, wenn man den historischen Kontext ihrer Entstehung und ihre Gattungscharakteristika berücksichtigt und so ihre Darstellung differenziert analysiert.

4. Ein gutes Beispiel für die Einschätzung der Quellen ist das Problem der Erfindung des georgischen Alphabets. Die weltweit akzeptierte Version stammt bekanntlich von der Vita des Mesrop Maschtoz und scheint auch darauf begründet zu sein, dass die ältesten, relativ genau datierten georgischen Inschriften ins 5. Jh. gehören. Auch die Autoren des Sammelbandes folgen dieser Tradition, und nur Stephen Rapp erwähnt in einer Fußnote ("The Christianization of Eastern Georgia." In *Iberien zwischen Rom und Iran*, S. 183, Anm. 9.), dass es auch andere mögliche Datierung für die Entstehung der georgischen Schrift gibt.

Laut der georgischen mittelalterlichen historischen Tradition, die lange Zeit in Georgien vorherrschend war, wurde die Schrift vom ersten iberischen König Pharnawas erfunden. In der letzten Zeit hat diese Ansicht auch in Georgien immer weniger Anhänger, aber sogar diejenigen georgischen Forscher, die die Kreation der Schrift mit der Christianisierung Iberiens verbinden, suchen nach Argumenten, um Mesrop diese Leistung nicht zuerkennen zu müssen.

M.E. verdienen beide Überlieferungen kritisches Vertrauen. Für die christlichen Autoren war die Schriftlichkeit ein wichtiges Element der

Zivilisation. Entsprechend war die Erfindung bzw. Etablierung der Schrift sowohl für einen Gründungsmythos des iberischen Staates als auch für die Vita eines kulturtragenden Heiligen nötig. Im Fall von Pharnawas könnte die Entstehung einer staatlichen Buchhaltung gemeint sein, unabhängig davon, welche Sprache und welche Schrift dafür verwendet wurden. Das Ergebnis von Mesrops Tätigkeit war die christliche Literatur in den süd-kaukasischen Nationalsprachen. Ist das aber mit der Erfindung der georgischen Schrift, des georgischen Alphabets identisch? Nicht unbedingt. Bei der Schaffung der armenischen Schrift hat Mesrop, laut Koriun, ein existierendes Schriftsystem überarbeitet und verbessert. Ähnliches könnte auch beim Georgischen der Fall sein.

Sowohl Anfang des dritten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts als auch Wende vom vierten zum fünften Jahrhundert waren Perioden der Globalisation. Beide passen gut zur Übernahme oder Verbreitung der Schriftlichkeit. Aber unabhängig davon, welches Datum wir bevorzugen, bleiben offene Fragen:

a. Woher kommt die Form der Buchstaben? Warum sollte man bei der Übernahme der Idee der Schrift von den Griechen neue Zeichen erfinden?

b. Warum hat man die Reihenfolge und Laute dem vorklassischen griechischen Alphabet angepasst?

c. Wozu brauchte man im Georgischen drei verschiedene Arten des Alphabets?

Meiner Meinung nach spricht alles dafür, dass es ein lokales Schriftsystem gab, das unter griechischem Einfluss allmählich in das spätestens im 5. Jh. bezeugte Alphabet transformiert wurde.

Am Ende möchte ich mich bei den Organisatoren der Tagung und den Herausgebern des Sammelbandes für die schöne Arbeit herzlich bedanken und die Hoffnung ausdrücken, dass unsere Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Iberischen Geschichte weitergeführt wird.

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**THE THEOLOGY OF THE TOTAL MOVEMENT: INNOVATION AND TRADITION IN GREGORY OF NYSSA'S THOUGHT**

*(in Georgian with a summary in German)*

**TINA DOLIDZE**

2018: 130x190: 169 pages

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The monography is an attempt to find access to the re-reading of Gregory of Nyssa's theology through the concept of movement as expressed by the generic term *kinesis* and its grammatical and conceptual derivatives. The regular use of these formatives in St. Gregory's writings brings the author to the idea that one has to deal with the coherent doctrine of the nature of movement in Nyssen's thought. The author considers it to be defined as a doctrine of spiritual movement, since there is a systematic tendency of exploring any type of physical motion in terms of spiritual dynamics. In regard to this, the purpose of this study is not to present the types and functions of physical motions per se, but to question the spiritual aspect of the movement and to understand its modification types on the different ontological levels. Since the questions related to this are concentrated around the central theme of the interrelation between universe, human and Divine, the book reflects on the investigation in three chapters with the corresponding problem area: I. The Types of Movement in the Creation according to Gregory von Nyssa; II. The Category of Movement in Gregory of Nyssa's Anthropology; III. The Movement as a Divine Predicate: Late Platonic Premises and the Cappadocian Innovation. Although the author systematically provides links between St. Gregory's teaching on the spiritual movement and the philosophical doctrines, predominantly, that of Late Platonism, she nevertheless argues that the doctrine of spiritual movement in Cappadocian Father has an authentic character as he rethinks the inherited philosophical ideas according to the biblical model of the relation between God, man and universe.

**PLATO IN THE CONTEXT OF MODERN SCIENTIFIC HYPOTHESIS**
*(in Georgian)*

**RISMAG GORDEZIANI**

2018: 140x200: 43 pages
978-9941-468-58-2

Platonic thought has repeatedly undergone revival and reception in subsequent ages. The 20th-21th centuries should be reckoned among such periods, as Platonic ideas have been supported even by scientists who rely on research findings and experimental results when dealing with the philosopher's theories debated throughout centuries. To illustrate this viewpoint, the author dwells on several aspect of Platonic thought: the theory of ideas; the demiurge; the elementary particles; the immortality of the soul; the uniqueness of the universe; and the cult of mathematics.

# EVENTS 2018

On 28-30 May 2018, the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University hosted an international conference *Plato's Philosophy in Interdisciplinary Context.* The conference was dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the University. More than fifty papers were presented at the conference by the scholars from twenty-two different countries. The conference covered various areas of classical studies, including classics, philosophy, religious studies, and history. Within the auspices of the conference, several thematic exhibitions were also organized: an exhibition of Gia Bugadze's artworks *Bibliodrama Anamorphosis;* a photo exhibition *Plato's Dialogues on Stage*; and a book exhibition *Plato in Georgian.*