



A New Inscription from Panticapaeum

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A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM PANTICAPAEUM¹

In 1985 non-archaeological excavation in Panticapaeum (Kerch, Ukraine) revealed a Greek inscription of considerable importance and interest. It consists of over 45 lines containing a speech in honor of a high official of the Bosporan kingdom in the period of the Roman Empire. The stone was already broken in antiquity, and the maximum measurements are now 82 cm. (height), 72 cm. (width), 14 cm. (thickness). The stone preserves only its left-hand and bottom edges, and is broken away at the top and on the right. However, the right-hand break is very small at the bottom, and the text of the last lines shows that the length of line was about 55 letters, though allowance must be made for the mason to have left blanks at the ends of some lines. Since the text (though not the syntax) seems incomplete at the end of line 47, it presumably continued on another slab.

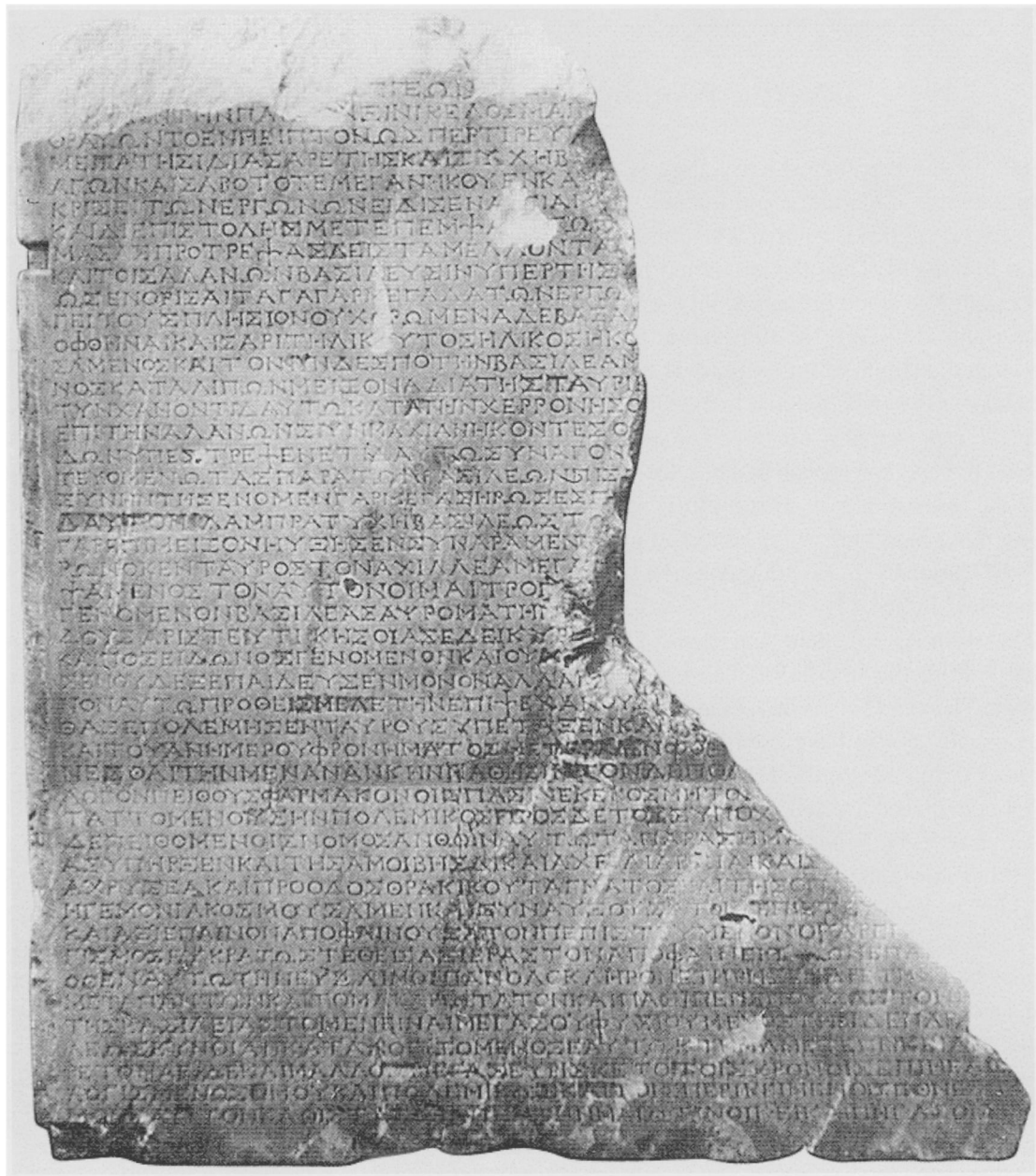
That the text is a speech and not, for example, the “considerations” of a decree follows from line 24, where the restoration τὸν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τροπ[ον] is virtually certain. The fact that the speaker only uses the past tense in talking of the honorand justifies the Russian editors in speaking of the text as a *laudatio funebris*. Curiously, at no point does the surviving text name the honorand, though it does name a “king Sauromates” in line 25.

The script is excellent and clear. The only unusual letter form is the psi, with arms extended sideways from the middle of the vertical. Theta is of the old-fashioned form, with a dot and not a crossbar. The crossbar of the alpha is straight. There are slight but not very marked serifs. The mason seems usually not to have used ligatures (though see below, on lines 1 and 38), nor does he indicate mute iota (“iota adscript”). He has taken such care that in a number of places (indicated below in the apparatus) he has corrected his errors by recutting certain letters or groups of letters.

The late Y. G. Vinogradov was to have published the inscription but did not live to complete work on it. It has now appeared in a brief article over his signature and that of S. A. Shestakov, to which S. Y. Saprykin has appended a long, mainly historical discussion, suggesting some changes in the text of Vinogradov. Saprykin’s article also gives a very legible photograph. Since both articles are in Russian, the present study is concerned to present the text to scholars who do not read that language and to advance consideration of this important text. At the same time, we have suggested some changes, usually in the direction of a more conservative version than that given in the *editio princeps*. We begin with a text stripped of much of the supplementation of the Russian editors, recalling what L. Robert wrote of Syll.³ 730, “le style recherché rend impossibles des restitutions et la plupart des suppléments admis ne sont que des bouche-trous” (Ann. Éc. Hautes Ét. 1971–1972, p. 239 = OMS V p. 1, cited Bull. épig. 1974, 379).

We have retained only those restorations that appear certain to us, and we have introduced four of our own in lines 7 ἀ[ρ]γίαν, 38 [π]επιστευ[μότα τὴν ἀρχήν], 39 ἐπ[ιεικῆς], 45–46 [λε]λογισμένως.

¹ Y. G. Vinogradov and S. A. Shestakov, *VDI* 2005, 2, 42–44 and S. Y. Saprykin, *ibid.* 45–80, in Russian, with photograph facing p. 64 (reproduced here) and English summary by Saprykin on p. 81. The authors are very grateful to Heinz Heinen for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article, and to Peter Golden for bibliographic guidance and comparative material.



Inscription from Panticapaeum

- [.....]..[.....]
- [.....]ίππέων[.....]
- [.....]ων τὴν παρά[τα]ξιν Ἴκελος ΜΑΝ[.....]
- 4 θραύων τὸ ἐνπείπτον ὥσπερ τι ρεῦμα [.....]
μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς καὶ τύχῃ βα[σιλέως] [.....]
ΑΓΩΝ Καίσαρ ὁ τότε μέγαν ἤκουεν ΚΑ[.....]
- 8 κρῖσει τῶν ἔργων ὠνείδισεν ἀ[ρ]γίαν [.....]
καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῆς μετεπέμψα[το] ΤΩ[.....]
ΜΑΣΑΣ προτρέψας δ' εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα [.....]
καὶ τοῖς Ἀλανῶν βασιλεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς [.....] ἠξί-
ωσεν ὀρίσαι. τὰ {γα} γὰρ μεγάλα τῶν ἔργων [.....]
- 12 ΓΕΙ τοὺς πλήσιον, οὐχ ὀρώμενα δὲ ΒΑΣΑ. [.....]
ὀφθῆναι Καίσαρι τηλικούτος ἠλίκος ΗΚΟ[.....]
ΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ καὶ τὸν νῦν δεσπότην βασιλέα μ[έγαν] [.....]
ΝΟΣ καταλιπὼν μείζονα διὰ τῆς Ταυρικ[ῆς] [.....]
- 16 τυγχάνοντι δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησο[ν] [.....]
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλανῶν συναχίαν ἤκοντες, Ο[.....]
ΔΩΝ ὑπέστρεψεν, ἔτι δ' αὐτῷ συνάγον[τι] [.....] στρα-
τευομένῳ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων πίστ[εις] [.....]
- 20 συνήνητησεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέγας ἦρος ΕΣΠ[.....]
δ' αὐτὸν λαμπρὰ τύχῃ βασιλέως ΤΩ[.....]
γὰρ ἔτι μείζον ἠὔξησεν συναραμένη [.....] Χεί-
ρων ὁ Κένταυρος τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ΜΕΓΑ[.....]
- 24 ΨΑΜΕΝΟΣ τὸν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τρόπ[ον] [.....]
γενόμενον βασιλέα Σαυρομάτην [.....] αἰ-
δοῦς ἀριστευτικῆς οἴας ἔδει κύριον [.....] ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους]
- 28 ΣΕΝ οὐδ' ἐξεπαίδευσεν μόνον ἀλλὰ κ[αὶ] [.....]
ΝΟΝ αὐτῷ προθεῖς μελέτην ἐπὶ Ψεχανοῦς [.....] Σκύ-
θας ἐπολέμησεν, Ταύρους ὑπέταξεν, καὶ [.....]
καὶ τοῦ ἀνημέρου φρονήματος μετέβαλεν φόβον [.....] ὥστε γε-
32 νέσθαι τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην πάθησιν τὸν δὲ πόλ[εμον] [.....]
λόγον πειθοῦς φάρμακον οἷς πᾶσιν ἐκεκόσμητο, [πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀντι-]
ταττομένους ἢν πολεμικός, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὑποχε[ι]οῦς [.....] τοῖς]
δὲ πειθομένοις νόμος, ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτῷ τὰ παράσημα [.....]
- 36 ΑΣ ὑπῆρξεν καὶ τῆς ἀμοιβῆς δίκαια χειλιαρχία καὶ ΣΤ[.....]
Α χρύσεια καὶ πρόοδος Θρακικοῦ τάγματος καὶ τῆς ὀπλει[τῶν τάξεως]
ἡγεμονία κοσμοῦσα μὲν καὶ συναύξουσα τὸν [π]επιστευ[κότα τὴν ἀρχὴν]
καὶ ἀξιέπαινον ἀποφαίνουσα τὸν πεπιστευμένον· ὁ γὰρ ἐπ[ι]εικῆς λο-
40 γισμὸς εὐκρατῶς τεθεῖς ἀξιέραστον ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἐπαι[νεθέντα.]
ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ὀλόκληρον ἐτήρησεν ἀρετὴ ΧΑ[.....]
μετὰ πάντων καὶ τὸ μακαριώτατον καὶ πᾶσι περισπούδαστον Η[.....]
τῆς βασιλείας· τὸ μὲν εἶναι μέγας οὐ φυσιούμενος, τὴν δὲ παρὰ [βασι-]
44 λέως εὐνοίαν καταλογιζόμενος ἑαυτῷ κτῆμα μετ' ἐπεικείας [αἰ-]
ρετόν· αἰεὶ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον μέγας εὐρίσκετο τοῖς χρόνοις ἐπινεάζω[ν, λε-]
λογισμένως ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμικῶς καὶ τοῖς περικειμένοις ἔθνεσιν ν[ό-]
μον ἑαυτὸν καθιστὰς ὅσα περὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν οἰκεί καὶ πηγὰς οἶδεν

Abbreviations: Vin. = the text of Vinogradov printed on pp. 43–44 of his article; Vin. 2 = suggestions (p. 44) of Vinogradov, not printed in the text of the inscription; Sap. = suggestions of Saprykin on pp. 47–80. Below is a very rough translation to serve as partial commentary. After that comes a line-by-line treatment of the main problems, and we consider in this section the editors' proposed dating to the reign of Domitian and after. In an excursus at the end we suggest an alternative interpretation.

..... the battle, like ... shattering the onslaught like some stream ... with his own valor and (by?) the good fortune of the king ... the then Caesar heard of the great ... (and) by (his) judgment of the deeds reproved the idleness ... and by letter he summoned ... urging (him) on to the forthcoming ... and (to?) the kings of the Alans about (?) the ... to determine ... for those deeds that are great ... those nearby, but those that are not observed put to the test (?) ... to appear to Caesar as great as he was reported ... and the present lord, the great (?) King ... leaving (him?) greater, through the Tauric (region) ... When he was in the area of Chersonese ... coming to the alliance of the Alani ... turned back. But while he was still mustering ... (and) campaigning, it turned out (that) he ... the guarantees from the kings. For the mighty hero ... and the king's glorious fortune ... him. For ... raised him ever higher, aiding ... (As) the Centaur Cheiron ... Achilles great (?) ..., in the same way, I believe, ... Sauromates, having become king ... of noble modesty, such as a lord ... descended (from Heracles) and Poseidon ought. And not only ... or educate him, but also ... placing ... before him as an exercise (?), ... against the Psechani ... he fought against the Scythians, subdued the Tauri, and ... altered the fear of their savage disposition, (so that) necessity became endurance, war ..., and discourse a medicine inducing persuasion, with all of which things he had been endowed ... To those who were opposed to him he was warlike, towards those subjected to him he was ..., and to those who obeyed him he was law. In return for all this, the insignia of ... belonged to him as the privileges of reward, appointments to chiliarchies and golden ..., the headship (?) of the Thracian cohort, and the leadership of the infantry, which adorned and exalted the one who had entrusted ... and made worthy of praise the one who was so entrusted, for a restrained assessment, when judiciously made, makes the one who has been praised worthy of affection. Consequently, his valor preserved his good fortune undiminished ... with everything the most blissful and universally coveted ... of the kingdom. Not being puffed up as to the fact of his greatness, and considering the king's goodwill a possession that is desirable with moderation, he was found to be ever more great, rejoicing youthfully in the times, both prudently and forcefully making himself a law to the border tribes that live about Lake Maeotis and know the sources (of the Don? ...).

1 [..... πεινήσα[ς] Vin. The photograph shows virtually nothing, but since Vinogradov also read letters that are not now visible in line 2, it seems that a piece of the stone has come away since he saw it. None of the authors mentions this. For convenience we have retained Vinogradov's line-numbering.

2 [..... ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππέων ἐλειφ[θη] Vin., but the photograph shows only a initial trace, (possibly iota) and then the letters ΠΠΕΩΝ, with the second pi in ligature with the epsilon (cf. line 38). The elaborate discussion of Saprykin, involving the honorand being deserted by cavalry in the heat of battle, seems misplaced (pp. 49–50).

2/3 [e.g. κατακόπτ]ων τὴν παρά[τ]αξιν ἵκελος μαν[ομένω] ποταμῶ] Vin. The photograph suggests that about six letters are lost on the left, not four as Vinogradov assumes, and shows MAN, not MAIN, at the right end. We suspect a descriptive adjective such as μαν[ικῶ], since μαίνομαι is frequent in Homer for the fury of a warrior in battle. The word ἵκελος is poetic, one of many indications that the speaker was aiming at a high style, which Vinogradov called "Asiatic" (p. 43). For this inflated style see below on lines 43 (φυσιώω) and 45 (ἐπινεάζω), and on the parallel triads in lines 32–35. For the importation of Asiatic rhetoric into the Bosporean Kingdom see Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 1. 25 (p. 535 Olearius), reporting that an unnamed Bosporean king, evidently in the early part of the second century, paid court to the great sophist Polemo in Smyrna.

3/4 [e.g. κατα]/θραύων τὸ ἐνπείπτον ὡσπερ τι ῥεῦμα[α φερόμενον] Vin., though he appears later (Vin. 2) to have renounced φερόμενον. While any restoration must be uncertain, Vinogradov seems certainly right to understand a reference to a military charge or attack.

5 βα[σιλέως] Vin.; βα[σιλέως Ῥησκουπόριδος] or βα[σιλέως βασιλέων Ῥησκουπόριδος], Sap. p. 59. If the unnamed Caesar mentioned in line 6 is Domitian, as Saprykin believes, only two kings are in question: Rhescuporis I, whose coins run from 67/68 to 91/92 (PIR I 512) and his son, Sauro-mates I, whose coins run from 93/94 to 123/124 (PIR I 550). Further, the text later seems to talk of the honorand playing the role of Cheiron to the Achilles of Sauro-mates (lines 22–24). This might, but need not, mean that this king had recently ascended the throne. So if the speaker is recounting the honorand's career in chronological order, the time would still be in the reign of Rhescuporis. But it is equally possible that the king in line 5 is the reigning king at the time of the inscription. The tutelage implied by the Cheiron-Achilles parallel could have come anytime before. On Achilles in the Black Sea region see Anna S. Rusayeva, *The Temple of Achilles on the Island of Leuke in the Black Sea, Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 9, 1–2 (2002) 1–16, also H. Hommel, *Der Gott Achilleus* (Heidelberg, 1980) on the cult of Achilleus Pontarches.

5/6 [δι]/άγων Καίσαρ ὁ τότε μέγαν ἤκουεν κα[ι] Vin., [δι]/άγων Καίσαρ ὁ τότε μέγαν ἤκουεν κα[ταπραπτόμενον εἶναι] Vin. 2. The expression, “the then Caesar”, would fit Domitian after his *damnatio memoriae* in September, 96, as Saprykin observes (pp. 48–49). A comparable euphemism appears in the inscription of a centurion honored for his service in the emperor's Suebo-Sarmatian War of 92, who received his decorations *a prior(ibus) princ(ipibus)* (CIL XI 5992; R. Syme, *Roman Papers* III 1044 n. 2; similarly Ann. épig. 1998. 1435). Starting from the restoration of intransitive [δι]/άγων, “spending time”, “tarrying”, Saprykin in a long discussion (pp. 50–53) infers that Domitian must have been in Lower Moesia when he issued his summons, either for one of his two Dacian campaigns in 86 and 89 (Syme, *CAH* XI 171, 175–6) or for his last war in 92, called in inscriptions *bellum Suebicum* (or *Germanicum*) *item* (or *et*) *Sarmaticum* (ILS 1017, 2719, CIL XI 5992: Syme, *ibid.*, 177–8). But Domitian is not the only possible candidate for the unnamed emperor (see our excursus at the end).

In the words after Caesar is named, μέγαν ἤκουεν ΚΑ, the masculine accusative might represent a direct object of ἤκουεν or part of an indirect statement. Saprykin, p. 50, takes it in the sense “heard of the great deed” (услышал о великом деянии), but that does not accord with the masculine, at least if πρᾶγμα or ἔργον is the intended complement. Heinen suggests provisionally that ΚΑ at the end of line 6 may be the honorand's name, for instance Kallikrates.

6/7 [καὶ δια]/κρίσει Vin.; [καὶ ἐπὶ δια]/κρίσει Vin. 2. Saprykin, p. 46, translates “in his judgment of affairs censured the blame” ([и при] решении дел порицал вину). The word α[ι]τίαν, which Saprykin has translated at the end of line 7, cannot be right. The photograph shows too much space for an iota before the alleged tau, and the tau itself is not certain. Furthermore, “censuring blame” makes little sense. We propose ἀ[ρ]γίαν, assuming that the reference is to other commanders, perhaps Roman ones, less energetic than the honorand.

8/9 καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῆς μετεμέμψα[το] τῷ Κ[αίσαρι, ὃς τὰ μὲν παρόντα? δοκι]/μάσας, Vin.; κ. δ. ε. μ. τῷ Κ[αίσαρι, ὃς τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα? δοκι]/μάσας Vin. 2. (the second sigma of ἐπιστολῆς is in rasura). Saprykin (p. 46) appears to understand a supplement such as τὰ προχθέντα, “and by means of a letter summoned (him) to Caesar, who, approving (what had happened)” (и письмом пригласил к цезарю, [который], одоблив [происходящее]). But if the Caesar is the subject of the verb, as both Vinogradov and Saprykin appear to understand, the expression μετεμέμψατο τῷ Καίσαρι would be very odd. Moreover, while the ΤΩ is fairly clear (the tau less so), the last letter is scarcely visible. While [δοκι]μάσας might be right, there are other verbs ending in -άζω, for example ἀτιμάζω, ὀνομάζω.

10/11 καὶ τοῖς Ἀλανῶν βασιλεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς [αἰτίας ξημῶν δικαίαν? ἤξι]ωσεν ὀρίσαι Vin. Saprykin translates, “And for the kings of the Alani he considered it necessary to determine (the right punishment) for their guilt” (и царям аланов за [вину их ?] счел нужным определить [справедливое наказание ?]). The preposition ὑπὲρ can hardly bear this meaning, although [ἤξι]ωσεν ὀρίσαι seems

reasonable. The sense might be, “he consented (LSJ ἄξιόω III. 2) to make a determination for the kings of the Alans concerning the ...”

The Alans are a group of nomadic tribes, apparently originating from east-central Asia, who start to appear in Greek and Roman sources in the first century of our era.² At this time they still appear to have been situated east of the Tanais (Don) and north of the Caucasus, through which they broke into Greater Armenia early in the reign of Vespasian (Jos., BJ VII 7.4, 244–251). This event presumably precipitated the request that the Parthian king made to Vespasian for help against the Alani. According to Suetonius (*Dom.* 2.2), Domitian wanted to be chosen general in the campaign, which for unknown reasons came to nothing,³ but an inscription from Mc‘xet‘a (Harmozica), near Tblisi, dated to 75, shows Roman troops building walls inside the Iberian kingdom (Syme, CAH XI 143; OGIS 379; IGR 3. 133; ILS 8795; SEG 20, 112; D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity* [Oxford, 1994], pp. 227–229). In Domitian’s own reign, his two campaigns against the Sarmatae Iazyges in 89 and 92 (Syme, CAH XI 175–8) did not so far as is known involve contact, hostile or peaceful, with the Alani. In the second century, Antoninus Pius “many times checked the Alans when they were making trouble” (*Alanos molientis saepe refrenauit*, HA Pius 5.5). One of the sets of Byzantine excerpts from Cassius Dio’s History reports a settlement between Commodus and “the others” (οἱ ἄλλοι), where Bekker proposed “the Alans” (οἱ Ἄλανοί --- Dio 73.3.2, IX pp. 74 Cary, Loeb). The excerpt is sandwiched between Commodus’ abandonment of Marcus’ German conquests at the beginning of the new reign and an event early in the reign of Severus (Alemany, pp. 85–6), so that it is not necessarily anchored to a date early in that of Commodus (Bachrach, 13). Thereafter there seems no evidence of conflict between Rome and the Alans until the reign of Gordian III (HA Gordiani Tres, 34.4).

The Bosporan kingdom, as a buffer-state between the Scyths on the northwest and the Alani on the northeast, eventually with an important outpost at Tanais at the mouth of the Don, must sooner or later have come into contact with the Alani, though as it happens Alani are not mentioned among the various tribes that Bosporan kings claim to have conquered either in the first century or the second (so Rostovtzeff, CAH XI 95–96, confirmed by the index to CIRB). In the first and early second century they appear from our sources not yet to have migrated west of the northern Caucasus. They appear only once in the epigraphy of the Bosporan kingdom – in the early third century (CIRB no. 1053) in the title ἀρχερχομηνεὺς (ἡραx) Ἄλανῶν. The new Kerch inscription suggests that the Alani had several kings (lines 10 and 19), but these could have been local chieftains called kings by Bosporan hellenophones. The alliance mentioned in line 17 could just as well refer to an alliance of different Alani rulers among themselves as to an alliance of Alani with the Bosporans.

The inscription reveals (lines 16–17) that the honorand was in the region of Chersonese (presumably the city in the south-west extremity of the Crimean peninsula rather than the peninsula itself, cf. l. 15 διὰ τῆς Ταυρικῆς) and that when there he encountered forces “who were coming against / into (ἐπί) the alliance of the Alani”; the text seems to imply that he stopped them before he turned back, perhaps by diplomacy rather than war. Neither passage, however, proves that Rome or the Bosporan kingdom was on hostile terms with the Alani.

11/12 [ἐμφανιζόμενα μὲν δημαγω]/γεί, 12 βασαν[ίξει] Vin. The speaker must be making some general reflection on the action of the honorand towards the kings of the Alani. If βασαν[ίξει] is right (the A is sure, the N less so), it should mean something more than “disturb” (беспокоят, Saprykin p. 46), and a preferable translation might be “put to the test”, “try”. There seems to be some connection

² W. Tomaschek, RE 1 (1893) 1282–1285; M. I. Rostovtzeff, CAH XI 94–97; Bernard S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West* (1973); T. A. Gabuyev, *Ранняя История Алан* (1999); Agustí Alemany, *Sources on the Alans. A Critical Compilation* (2000), which mentions our inscription on p. 111 as unpublished.

³ It therefore seems unlikely that we have an allusion to Roman operations against the Alani ca. 75 in an inscription from Saepinum: [exercit]us qui in A[lanos?], as suggested by M. Torelli, JRS 58 (1968), 173 [Ann. épig. 1968. 145].

with what is said in this sentence about things “not seen” and the honorand “appearing as great to Caesar as ...”

13 ἤκο[υσμένος ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τιμη]/σάμενος Vin.; ἤκο[υσμένος ἦν καὶ ἐφ’ οἷς τιμη]/-σάμενος Vin. 2; Saprykin translates, “He, when the emperor had seen him to be such as he had heard about him, was honored (for those things by Caesar)”: он, (после того как) цезарь увидел его таким, каким он о нем услышал, был почтен (цезарем за эти дела). The very rare perfect passive of ἀκούω is unnecessary, since in all periods intransitive ἀκούω can mean “be heard to be”, “be reputed as” (LSJ s.v. III 2). Here, therefore, ἤκο[υεν] is to be preferred. The aorist middle τιμησάμενος can obviously not mean “was honored”.

14/15 καὶ τὸν νῦν δεσπότην βασιλέα μ[έγαν Σαυρομάτην συναράμε]/νος καταλιπὼν μείζονα, διὰ τῆς Ταυρικ[ῆς ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Σκύθας] Vin., translated by Saprykin as “and (giving assistance) to the present sovereign, the Great king (Sauromates), abandoning a greater ruler, he carried out a military campaign against the Scyths across the Tauris” (и, [оказав содействие] нынешнему владыке Великому царю [Савромату], покинув более великого государя, [совершил военный поход на скифов] через Таврику). But συναράμοι (middle) cannot take an accusative of the person helped, only a dative. Moreover, it is hard to see what “abandoning a greater ruler” could mean, though Saprykin understands that the honorand had served on the staff of Domitian but had now returned to his previous service with the Bosporan king (p. 65). This seems impossibly elliptical. Cf. line 22.

16–18 τυγχάνοντι δ’ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησο[ν συνήντησαν? βασιλεῖς οἱ] / ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄλανῶν συναμάχοντες ἤκοντες, οἷς αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἐλπί/δων ὑπέστρεψεν Vin. There is no reason to think that the kings themselves came to the honorand nor is the sense of ἐπὶ apparent. It is not the same as εἰς. It might conceivably mean “for the purpose of” (LSJ ἐπί C III), sc. an alliance with the Alani. But with the multiple chieftains (βασιλεῖς) of the Alani the reference may be to an alliance of Alani tribes among themselves. Furthermore, the restoration of line 17 will not do: αὐτὸς has no visible function, and ὑπέστρεψεν cannot mean “to turn somebody from something”; in prose of all periods, ὑποστρέφω is intransitive, “turn back”. “return”. The omicron before the break could represent ὁ [δὲ] as easily as ο[ὗς], and the ΔΩΝ might be the last syllable of an aorist participle such as [ὑπερι]δῶν.

18 [συνάγοντι δύναμιν καὶ ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρα]/τευομένῳ Vin.

19 πίστ[εις θεῶν καὶ τὰ ὄρκια? λαβεῖν] Vin.; πίστ[εις ἐνχειρισθείσας λαβεῖν] Vin. 2.

20 συναντάω means either “meet” or is impersonal with the dative, “happen to one” (to do something., e.g.). Here συνήντησεν might have its impersonal meaning, as understood by the editors, but the personal one is not excluded.

21 ΔΑΥΤΟΝ in rasura: at end τῷ[ν?] Vin. Sap., p. 59, prefers omicron, probably rightly, and suggests το[ῦ σύμπαντος Βοσπόρου Σαυρομάτου] or το[ῦ Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Σαυρομάτου] (but the latter is doubtful, especially the article τοῦ). At end αὐτῆ[ς?] Vin.

22 συναραμένη Vin., συναραμένη[ν] Sap. Cf. on lines 14/15.

22/23 [οὕτως γὰρ Χεί]/ρων Vin.

23/24 μέγα[ν ἤρωα ἐξεπαιδευσεν προτρε]/ψάμενος Vin. But ΜΕΓΑ could represent the adverbial μέγα or conceivably some form of the verb μεγαλύνω.

24/25 τὸν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τρόπ[ον, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς τὸν δεσπότην μέγαν] γενόμενον βασιλέα Σαυρομάτην Vin.; Sap. proposes [προτρε]/ψάμενος τὸν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τρόπ[αιον] and translates (p. 47) “inciting him to think about turning the enemy to flight” (побудив его думать об обращении врагов в бегство)! Apparently Saprykin understood οἶμαι to be an infinitive.

25/26 [καὶ τῆς αἰ]/δοῦς ἀριστευτικῆς Vin.; ἀριστευτικός is cited in LSJ only from Plut., *De fort. Rom.* 319 B and Max. Tyr., *Dial.* 4. 7b and 23. 1d.

26 κύριον τὸν ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους] Vin. Cf. CIRB 53. 2–3, 980. 1–2, 1048. 1–2.

27–29 καὶ οὐχ [ὑφήγηται τὰ καλακάγαθὰ οὐδ’ ἠύξη]/σεν οὐδ’ ἐξεπαιδευσεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ κ[αὶ προτρέψατο τὸν ἐκπαιδευμέ]/νον αὐτῷ προθεῖς μελέτην ἐπὶ Ψεχανοῦς, Vin. Line 27 must have contained one or more verbs in the aorist tense (hardly the perfect ὑφήγηται), but in neither

27 or 28 are these supplements convincing: in particular, the NON at the beginning of 29 might represent a noun governed by προθεῖς; observe for instance Thuc. 2.46 (Pericles' Funeral Oration), ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδέ τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγῶνων προτιθεῖσα. Taking προθεῖς and μελέτην together, Saprykin interprets this line as “proposing to him a concern in connection with the Psechani” (определив ему заботу по отношению к псеханам). This is surely impossible, since μελέτη means “practice”, “exercise”, “drill”, not “care” or “concern”, and ἐπί with the accusative should mean “against”, “towards”; moreover, the position of αὐτῷ suggests that μελέτην goes with the words following, for example μελέτην ἐπὶ Ψεχανοὺς [ἐποίησατο], giving μελέτη here its military sense as in Thucydides 1.18, εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμα καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι (cf. LSJ s.v. μελέτη II b). The implication is surely that these Psechanoi are a people against which either the honorand, the king himself, or both together now undertook a military campaign. That inference is strengthened by an inscription found in Phanagoria, on the Asiatic side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus strait (CIRB 1048: previously CIG II 2123; IosPE II 358 (= IGR I 907); SEG 50, 694). First observed in the early nineteenth century, but now lost and known only from an old photograph, it was a statue base in honor of Sauromates I. Since the text is important also for other parts of the present discussion, we give it as it appears in the standard edition of Bosporan inscriptions (the first line was in larger letters than the rest):

[τὸν ἀπὸ Π]οσειδῶνος κα[ὶ]
 [ἀφ' Ἡρακλ]έους βασιλέα βασιλέων μέγαν το[ῦ]
 [σύμπα]ντος Βοοσπόρου Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον
 4 [Σαυρομ]άτην, υἱὸν βασιλέως Ῥησκουπόρι[δος,]
 [φιλο]καίσαρα καὶ φιλορῶμ[αιον], εὐ[σεβή,]
 [-----]σαντα τὰ κατὰ Ψεχανῶ[ν? -- τὸ]ν ἴδι[ον]
 [θεὸν? καὶ σω]τήρα εὐξ[άμ]ενος καθιέρω[σεν]
 8 ὁ δεῖνα Διοφάντου Παντ[ικ]απαε[ύς]

Recently I. V. Levchenko (in A. V. Podosinov, Древние Государства Восточной Европы 1996–1997 [Moscow 1999]; SEG 50, 694) has observed that the Psechani appear under the name “Psaccani” in the Tabula Peutingeriana in two places to the east and west of the Alani, north-east of Lake Maeotis and north of the Caspian (Seg. VIII). Levchenko also proposes [νικήσαν]τα τὰ κατὰ Ψεχανῶν στρατε[ύ-ματα] in line 6 of CIRB 1048 (naming Sauromates I), and Saprykin (p. 68) now finds support for his interpretation of the new text by a “hypothetical” supplement of the same line, [μελετήσαν]τα τὰ κατὰ Ψεχανῶν χώρα[ν ἔθνη καὶ αὐτῶν σω]τήρα, which is presumably intended to mean “caring for the tribes in the land of the Psechani and their savior”. But the stone was damaged in the nineteenth century, and the photograph shows virtually nothing after the omega;⁴ moreover, such widely divergent readings as [τὸ]ν ἴδι[ον], χώρα[ν] and στρατε[suggest that the surface had become illegible. Levchenko has also identified a possible reference to this same tribe in a mutilated inscription of Tanais in which the letters ΧΑΝΩΝ have hitherto been taken to be part of the name Ἐπιτυγχανῶν (CIRB 1240; previously CIG II 2132b, IosPE II 426; SEG 50, 711).

Saprykin further finds it “likely” (скопее всего, p. 68) that the Psechanoi are identical with the Pseoi or Pseoi already known as subjects of the Spartocid Leucon I in the fourth century BCE (CIRB 6 [CIG II 2134a; Syll.³ 211]; cf. CIRB 6a), and much later as subjects of king Aspurgos who ruled from 16/17 to 30/31 (CIRB 39, 40; PIR A 1265), and from a number of geographical authors including Ptolemy. These appear to have moved several times, mainly to the south and east of the Bosporan kingdom (H. Treidler, RE 23, 1959, 1357–59; Barrington Atlas 84 B 2). There seems no merit in this suggestion.

⁴ Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani. Album imaginum, Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana, Petropoli 2004, ed. A. Gavrilov, no. 1048.

28/29 κ[αὶ προτρέψατο τὸν ἐκπαιδευμέ]/νον Vin.

29 ἸΣΜΕΛ in προθεῖς μελέτην *in rasura*.

29/30 [Σκύ]/θας Vin.

30 [καὶ ὑποστρέψας, τῆς ὕβρεως?] Vin.

31/32 φόβο[ν μέγαν, ὥστε γε]/νέσθαι Vin.; φόβο[ν μέγαν, ὅτι μὴ γε]/νέσθαι Vin. 2.

32 πάθησις very rare, “passivity” or “disease”, here perhaps “endurance”, i.e. what is forced (ἀνάνκη) becomes something to be patiently endured. At end, πόλ[εμον ἡσυχίαν, τὸν δὲ] Vin. A noun is clearly needed after πόλεμον, but εἰρήνην might also be thought of.

33 to right, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀντι/ταπτομένους Vin.

34 at end, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὑποχε[ιρίους ἐπεικῆς, τοῖς] Vin.

32/35 The rhetorical structure of these lines is clear, even if the precise restorations are not. A triad of paired nouns describing the positive impact of external forces (ἀνάνκη as πάθησις, πόλεμος as ἡσυχία vel sim., λόγος as φάρμακον) is matched by a parallel triad in which the honorand exemplifies these forces (πολεμικός, ἐπεικῆς vel sim., νόμος). 1) Force becomes an experience endured as the honorand conducts war against his enemy. 2) War itself becomes a kind of humane solution (calm or peace) as the honorand acts justly or generously towards the defeated. 3) Speech is the medicine that induces persuasion as the honorand becomes the personification of law for those who obey him. For λόγος as φάρμακον, e.g. Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* 614 C, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ νηπενθὲς φάρμακον καὶ ἀνώδυνον (Hom. *Od.* 4.220), λόγος ἔχων καιρὸν ἀρμοζοντα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πάθει καὶ πράγμασι; Himerius *Or.* 16.1, λόγος ἡδὺς καὶ πάνσοφος, φαρμάκου δίκην σβέσαι δυνάμενος θυμόν, κτλ. For the concept of a ruler as personified law, see E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris, 1938), p. 11.

35–38 ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτῷ τὰ παράσημα [τῆς μεγαλοψυχί]/ας ὑπῆρξεν καὶ τῆς ἀμοιβῆς δίκαια χειλιαρχία καὶ στ[ρατοῦ ἀριστεί]/α χρύσεια καὶ πρόοδος Θρακικοῦ τάγματος καὶ τῆς ὀπλε[ιτῶν τάξεως] ἡγεμονία κοσμοῦσα μὲν καὶ συναύξουσα τὸν [π]επιστευ[θέντα ἦδε] καὶ ἀξιέπαινον ἀποφαίνουσα τὸν πεπιστευμένον, Vin.; Sap. prefers ὀπλε[ιτικῆς] in line 37.

While the general structure is clear, once again the details are uncertain. Saprykin translates the words from τὰ παράσημα to δίκαια as “for this he had well-deserved honors of distinction, [magnanimity] and gratitude”, (за это у него были заслуженные знаки отличия [великодушия] и благодарности), but the word order suggests that both τὰ παράσημα and δίκαια are the subjects of ὑπῆρξεν, “the marks of --- and the rights of recompense”, the latter phrase presumably meaning the privileges due to the honorand in return for his services. The actual privileges then follow in apposition.

As for the first of these, χειλιαρχία/χειλίαρχος/χειλιάρχη as a term for a rank in the Bosphoran army was already attested in an inscription from Kerch dated to 216, in which a *chiliarches* called Ulpius Antisthenes honors the king Rhescuporis II as his “savior and master” (IosPE II 41; CIRB 53). It is generally agreed that words such as χειλίαρχος or τάγμα (see below), when used in Bosphoran inscriptions of the high empire, refer to units of the local army and not to Roman detachments, even though Greek authors such as Plutarch use them as translations of Roman military terms (so H. Heinen, *Cahiers Centre Gustave Glotz* 7 [1996], 89–90; Saprykin, 77–79). In fact, the title of chiliarch is attested precisely five times in the extant epigraphy of the Bosphorus, and all attestations date from the Severan age or later. This suggests that the awarding of this honor as a kind of decoration for valorous service may have been introduced by Sauromates II. At any rate an occurrence under Sauromates I would antedate by nearly a century all the other instances.

The next honor is restored by Vinogradov as στ[ρατοῦ ἀριστεί]/α χρύσεια, which would mean something like “the army’s golden prizes of valor”, but this seems very strained. Saprykin (p. 76) proposes στ[εφανηφορί]/α χρύσεια, understanding it as “the right to wear a gold wreath” (право ношения золотого венка). LSJ certainly give “the right of wearing a wreath” as a meaning of στεφανηφορία, but the adjective “golden” demands a concrete object, not an abstract right. We tentatively propose στ[ρεπτόν] or στ[ρεπτά], followed by some other noun in the neuter plural – possibly ψέλια (cf. Ael.

Aristid., Panath. 107). Heinen has drawn attention to the statue of Neokles, son of Herodorus, found at Gorgippia (modern Anapa) and now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. The date is probably, but not quite certainly, 186 (Heinen, art. cit. 89–94, discussing CIRB 1119 A and B). The honorand wears a torque round his neck on which Heinen comments as follows: “Ce personnage est détenteur d’un insigne qui, à première vue, est fait pour surprendre chez un représentant de la culture grecque. En effet, il porte à son cou une sorte de collier, un *torques*, avec, au milieu, une tête de taureau. Le *torques* est très typique des peuples barbares. Fameux chez les Celtes, il se rencontre également et de manière courante chez les peuples des steppes. De là, le *torques* a pénétré les milieux grecs et romains comme marque d’honneur et comme récompense pour des exploits militaires. Tout donne à penser que Néoklès porte le *torques* comme marque de sa haute position ou comme décoration pour une prestation, peut-être d’ordre militaire” (Heinen, p. 94). Heinen also points to inscriptions of Olbia in which local *strategoï* dedicate a gold torque, στρεπτὸν χρύσειον (IosPE I² 80, 85, 91, 94 [= IOlbia 81]).

The following phrase, πρόοδος Θρακικοῦ τάγματος, is difficult. Saprykin (p. 77) takes πρόοδος in a personal sense, understanding that the honorand had served as a guide or scout for a unit of Thracians. Xenophon (*Eq. Mag.* 4. 5) uses the masculine plural πρόοδοι for scouts performing reconnaissance, but in this context of honorifics the word must be the abstract feminine, even though none of the usual senses, “advance”, “progression”, “procession” fits precisely. We propose tentatively “leadership”, command of”.

The word [ταγμ]ατάρχης is restored in an inscription of Gorgippia datable between 103 and 203 (IosPE IV 431; CIRB 1213) and a Thracian “division” or “legion” (Θρακικὸν τάγμα) appears in an unpublished inscription from Tanais (Sap. 77 n. 69).

Finally, the honorand received the command of an infantry unit, τῆς ὀπλε[ιτῶν τάξεως?] ἡγεμονία. This seems to be the first mention of “hoplites” in Bosphoran inscriptions, though the use of such troops is not surprising.

38–39 κοσμοῦσα μὲν καὶ συναύξουσα τὸν [π]επιστευ[θέντα ἦδε] / καὶ ἀξιέπαινον ἀποφαίνουσα τὸν πεπιστευμένον Vin. The photograph seems to show a tau in ligature with epsilon where Vin. reads [π]ε-, though pi rather than tau looks possible. Vin. seems right in thinking that the sense requires “the one who entrusted ...” (того, кто доверил Sap.), but πιστεύω does not have a “middle-passive” form, and the epic and archaic ἦδε is very unlikely. The best solution is to read τὸν [π]επιστευ[κότα], perhaps followed by a noun such as τὴν ἀρχήν. The orator is playing grandly on forms beginning with πεπιστευ- in a good Asianic manner.

39/40 ἐγλ[εκτὸς λο]γισμὸς Vin., but the photograph seems to show only epsilon followed by a letter that could be gamma or pi; Saprykin proposes ἐπ[ι] αὐτὸν λο]γισμὸς, but ἐπί followed by the accusative cannot mean “about”, “concerning”. We suggest ἐπ[ιεικῆς], with Saprykin’s suggestion of τὸν ἐπαι[νεθέντα] in line 40, “for a restrained assessment, when judiciously made, makes the one who has been praised worthy of affection”. LSJ cite ἀξιέραστος from Xenophon, and in later Greek from Plutarch, Lucian, and Aristaenetus.

41 χα[ρισμάτων] Vin., but the photograph becomes progressively more difficult to read towards the bottom; χα[ρισσάμενη] is tempting, “granting (him) together with everything else ...”

42 ἡ[συσμα] Vin., presumably a misprint for ἡ[δυσμα]; Saprykin translates “adornment” (украшение), but the meaning is rather “relish”, which is hardly possible. We prefer not to restore.

43 φυσιοῦμενος, “being puffed up”: φυσιώω “puff up (with pride)” is a late word, first cited from Philodemus. It passed from Paul at *Cor.* I. 4, 6 et al. into Christian use (cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* p. 1496, φυσιώω A).

43/44 παρὰ [βασι]λέως Vin.

44/45 [αί]ρετόν Vin.

45 τοῖς χρόνοις ἐπινεάζων; LSJ cite only once from Pollux 10.53, ἀνδρειοτέρῳ κινήσει ἐπινεάζων, “taking youthful pleasure in a more manly movement” (of someone riding horseback); so here, “taking youthful pleasure in the times”, not “in all years” (во все годы), as edd.: L. Robert, OMS

V 604 [CRAI 1968, 588], quoting N. Piccolos, “χρόνος dans le sens de *an, année*, est d’un usage plus moderne”.

46 λογισμένος (one word) Vin., but there is no such form, and the supposed second omicron looks very like the omega of the following πολεμικώς. We propose [λε]λογισμένως, cf. Plut. *Galba* 5, ὀρθῶς καὶ λελογισμένως, “rightly and prudently”. This suggests that the line-length was slightly greater than Vin. assumed, perhaps because the mason left blanks after some words.

46/47 ν[ό]/μον Vin.

Presumably the text continued on a new slab, and the river of which these tribes “knew the sources” (πηγὰς οἶδεν) is conceivably the Don (Tanais).

Excursus on an alternative interpretation

Four points may be advanced in support of a date for the new Kerch inscription under Sauromates II in 194 or 195 (the years of the damnatio memoriae of Commodus). 1) The Bosporean honorific title chiliarch is not attested before this period but is found five times after it (CIRB 36A, 53, 58, 984, 1049). 2) The Alani appear only once in Bosporean epigraphy, when a chief translator for the Alani appears in an inscription of the early third century (CIRB 1053, dated 208). 3) The term δεσπότης, applied to the ruler in line 14 of the new inscription, appears for no Bosporean king before Sauromates II. But in CIRB 1049 Sauromates II is called both Great King, like his predecessors, and δεσπότης. His son and successor Rhescuporis III is likewise called by this title in CIRB 53. 4) The parallel with Neokles’ torque, discussed above, has a probable date of 183.

CIRB 1237, dated to 193, documents a great Bosporean campaign in that year or shortly before it: πολ[ε]μήσας δὲ καὶ Σιραχούς καὶ Σκύθας καὶ τὴν Ταυρικὴν ὑπόσπονδον λα(β)ών. The stone is lost, and its whereabouts was already unknown to Latyshev.

CIRB 1122, from Anapa, displays an epigraphic hand that is almost identical to that of the new Kerch stone.⁵ It is undated, but in its second line it names Tiberius Julius Sauromates as the reigning king and praises him for rebuilding the city’s walls. He is described as a high priest of the Roman emperors for life and a benefactor of the city. The eighth line of this inscription, after the name of a local curator (who has the very common Bosporean name of Pothos), is deeply gouged out in an obvious case of *damnatio*. Although the editors of CIRB thought, for no expressed reason, that this line simply contained names of additional local curators, it seems likely that the erasure contained the name of a Roman emperor as sponsor of the project. If this is the case, the king could be either Sauromates I with Domitian’s name erased, or Sauromates II with Commodus’ name erased. The latter solution would fit better with the argument advanced above for a date of the Kerch stone between 193 and 195. See also above on Commodus’ possible dealings with the Alani.

Only one text can be invoked in support of a Domitianic date for the Kerch inscription. That is CIRB 1048 (above), built into an 18th century fortress at Phanagoria. It mentions the Psechanoi in an honorific inscription to Sauromates I, guaranteed as the honorand by the naming of his father Rhescuporis. Apart from the new inscription, this is the only certain epigraphic attestation of the Psechanoi in Bosporean or any other epigraphy. As suggested by the Peutinger Table, they dwelt west of the Alani and east of the Sea of Azov (Lake Maeotis). This was an area into which the Alani would eventually migrate, but current evidence does not show them there so early as Domitian. (See, above all, Gabuyev and Alemany, cited above in n. 2). They may have subdued or joined the Psechanoi later. CIRB 1048 does not mention Alani, although the scrappy condition of the stone makes it inadvisable to place much weight on that omission.

But it is more significant that Arrian in his *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, written in 131/2 to instruct Hadrian on the whole Black Sea region in case he decided upon an expedition there, says nothing about the Alani. In 135 Arrian himself encountered these people when he was governor in Cappadocia and

⁵ Op. cit. (n. 3 above), no. 1122.

composed his work, now largely lost, on the battle order against the Alani (Ἐκταξις κατ' Ἀλανῶν). They had passed over the Caucasus, evidently at the invitation of the Iberian king Pharasmanes II, and presumably started from their camps east of the Sea of Azov. There is, even at this date, still no unambiguous indication of their presence at Tanais or farther west. We can make no inference from the reference to Alani in Dionysius Periegetes' poem of 124 (l. 305; Alemany, p. 87). The poet is not moving systematically from west to east, as Alemany suggests, since the territory of the Dacians is placed after the Getae, Sarmatians, and Bastarnae.

A remarkable bilingual inscription, discovered in 1940 at Armazi near Mc'xet'a in the vicinity of Tbilisi in Georgia, is an epitaph in Greek and local Aramaic from the next generation after Arrian's campaign.⁶ The Iberian king who appears there is Pharasmanes' successor. It reveals a certain Iodmangan, who is said to have achieved many victories (πολλὰς νείκας) while serving as ἐπίτροπος of the king. The title is partially transliterated in the Aramaic expression רב הרבך, and it may be an equivalent of the Iranian title *πατιάξης*. This is given in the Greek text as the matching title for a certain Agrippa, who is called רב הרבך in the Aramaic. It has been reasonably assumed that the victories in question were won over the Alani, although the region of the victories is still obviously the Caucasus. But more interesting, perhaps, in relation to the new Kerch text, is the great warrior ἐπίτροπος of the king. His role looks comparable to that of the honorand at Kerch in relation to his king. We suggest that our hero may have been a Bosphoran ἐπίτροπος of the generation after the one in Iberia.⁷ Both men may have been examples of the phenomenon of royal warrior-counsellor-mentor known later among the Seljuks as *atabeg* (*Encyclopedia of Islam* I [1960], 731–32, “Atabak [Atabeg]”).⁸

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⁶ See Alemany (n. 2 above), pp. 338–40 with A. B. Bosworth, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* 81 (1977), 219 and 230–1 and D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 213–4. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épig.* 1944. 192 and F. Canali De Rossi, *Iscrizioni dello estremo oriente greco* (Bonn, 2004), IGSK vol. 65, no. 4 (p. 3). The text with an excellent photograph of the stone is available on the web at <http://www.osgf.ge/armazi/armazibl.htm>

⁷ For another high Bosphoran dignitary called ἐπίτροπος, note, as Heinen points out to us, Asandros under Pharnaces, son of Mithridates VI Eupator (Cass. Dio 42.46.4).

⁸ We are grateful to Peter Golden for alerting us to this parallel.