D. Braund

NEGLECTED SLAVES

It is well known that the Black Sea region was a major source of the slaves who lived, worked and died in the Greek world. In particular, the recent work of N.A. Gavrilyuk has drawn valuable attention to the importance of the export of slaves from the north coast of the Black Sea. For it was slaves and a limited range of other goods (including especially another kind of skin, animal hides) that enabled the Scythians and other peoples of the region to obtain the goods of the Mediterranean world, including wine and cloth. A.N. Shcheglov's crucial demonstration that Scythians did not (at least by and large) obtain these goods by selling wheat serves to underline the importance of slave-export. For slaves – not wheat – were the high-value «commodities» sold out of the region[1]. And of course export from the region was only one possibility, however important: slaves were taken and exchanged all around the region, as the recent publication of a lead letter indicates, showing the slave Phaylles bought in or near Olbia and evidently taken to Phanagoria around the end of the sixth century BC[2].

Much remains unclear still. We may speculate, for example, that slaves in the Black Sea region were cheaper on the whole than they were in the markets of the Mediterranean. For there was a good supply close at hand. Moreover, we must suppose that traders from Athens, for example, had every chance to make a profit from their long and dangerous voyage to the Black Sea. Not that we can assume that traders gave a fair price for the slaves they obtained from the nomads, for example. The history of slavery is full of examples of elites selling the weak (often their own subjects) in return for cheap items: we may recall, for example, the later complaint at Olbia (according to Dio Chrys. 36. 25) that Greek traders come there with «cheap rags and foul wine».

The purpose of the present article is to contribute to the on-going discussion on enslavement and slave-export from the region by drawing attention to three kinds of evidence which seem not to have been given sufficient weight in the very full scholarly tradition on the subject. First, Hippocrates' comments, especially on Scythian slave-girls' reproduction. Secondly, the Scythian slave depicted as the skinner of Marsyas, from

[1] *Гаврилюк Н.А.* История экономики степной Скифии VI–III вв. до н.э. Киев, 1999; *Gavriliuk N.A.* The Graeco-Scythian Slave-Trade in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC // The Cauldron of Ariantas: Studies Presented to A.N. Shcheglov on His 70th Birthday. Aarhus, 2003. P. 75–85. She must be right that Sheglov's argument against Scythian wheat-export (см. *Щеглов А.Н.* Северопонтийская торговля хлебом во второй половине VII–V в. до н.э. // Причерноморье в VII–V вв. до н.э. Тбилиси, 1987. С. 99–122) requires that we consider these other exports, which are well enough attested in our sources. On the classical Greek slave-trade, see further *Braund D.* The Slave-Supply in Classical Greece // The Cambridge History of Slavery. 1. The Ancient World. Cambr. (forthcoming).

[2] SEG. 1998. 48. no. 1024, a lead letter from Phanagoria, with *Braund D.* Slaves, Ruddle and Salt // Северное Причерноморье в античное время. К 70-летию С.Д. Крыжицкого. Киев, 2002. С. 82–85; cf. SEG. 1998. 48. № 1012, possibly entailing slave-trading at Olbia.

Zeuxis of Heraclea onwards. Thirdly, the shipwrecks and impending slavery in two fragmentary novels about the Black Sea, *Ninus* and *Kalligone*[3].

HIPPOCRATIC SCYTHIANS: SCYTHIAN SLAVE-GIRLS AT ATHENS

The *Airs, Waters, Places* (probably completed c. 400 BC) provides a detailed, if idiosyncratic, account of Scythians' physical tendencies. Accordingly, it has attracted considerable attention, albeit more usually in its many parts rather than as a whole work. So too Hippocratic writing on Scythians in general[4].

In particular, one might be tempted to interpret the Hippocratic description of the processing of mare's milk (*Diseases* IV. 51) as closely linked to Herodotus' account of the process at the opening of the fourth book of his *Histories* (IV. 2). However, the temptation is to be resisted. In fact, the two accounts are strikingly different: they have in common only that they both entail Scythians and milk-processing. The outcome of the process is not at all the same. The point matters for two reasons. First, because the passages can therefore give no good reason to suppose that the Hippocratic account derived from the description in Herodotus, or even that both were heavily indebted to a specific source (e.g. Hecataeus). Second, and much more important, because the Hippocratic account is designed specifically to explain something else. The author seems to suppose that his audience will have some familiarity with Scythian milk-processing, albeit not after the manner of Herodotus. Evidently, there was a more general grasp in Greek society of Scythian milk-processing, well beyond Herodotus. Nor should that really be a surprise. For we have texts enough from Homer and Hesiod to Aeschylus to show that mare-milking was taken to be a curious characteristic of the cultures to the north of the Black Sea. Indeed, the polemical nature of Herodotus' account (sometimes very obvious)[5] only really makes sense against the background of significant literature and imaginings about the region. Meanwhile, however, we should also be aware that there may have been a particular medical interest in Scythian use of mare's milk, for the curative properties of milk seems to have been a notable matter of contention between the Hippocratic school of medicine and the Cnidian tradition. That may mean that the author of *Diseases* 4 could have particular confidence in his audience's familiarity with the Scythian process[6].

How much of this information came from slaves? Or indeed those who went in search of slaves? We cannot be sure about the answer, but there is a fair *prima facie* case that at least some masters spoke with at least some of their slaves and discussed, among other matters, the places and cultures from which they had come. We may recall the story of Salmoxis, which Herodotus claims to have heard from the Greeks of the Black Sea and Hellespont (IV. 94–96). This was the tale of a slave who had evidently prospered as the property of Pythagoras, returning home to Thrace with wealth and education, as it seems. Of course, we may doubt the literal historical truth of this particular case, but it seems nevertheless (even if we choose to be completely sceptical) to indicate that Greeks found

[3] As rightly observed by R. Thomas (see *Thomas R.* Herodotus in Context. Cambr., 2000. P. 57–61). However, the fact that both Herodotus and Hippocratic writers concern themselves with Scythia tells us nothing about any medical interest of Herodotus.

[4] On Scythians in Greek texts, see *Скржинская С.В.* Скифия глазами эллинов. СПб., 1998.

[5] E.g. Hdt. IV. 36 (maps), 77 (Anacharsis), 108–109 (Geloni); cf. 103 for different versions of the Taurians; Euripides' Iphigenia among the Taurians offers yet another version of their practices (not those in Herodotus, as sometimes claimed), albeit set in the distant and mythical past...

[6] On milk and dairy-products as a contentious medical issue, see *Jouanna J.* Hippocrates. Baltimore, 1999. P. 68.

it likely enough that such a slave could exist. Similarly, the Thracian slave-woman and courtesan, Rhodopis, who was said to have gained her freedom and sent a dedication to Delphi (Hdt. II. 134–135). Nor should we forget the tradition that Aesop himself was a slave: he certainly had a lot to say (e.g. Hdt. II. 134). All these stories seem to imply warm relationships of various kinds between at least some slaves and masters (albeit within the restrictive framework of slavery). Why should some masters not talk with their slaves about the practices in their own worlds? We may compare the epitaph of Atotas, a slave-miner from the region of Laurium, whose master was presumably responsible for the poetic references it contained to the slave's homeland in Paphlagonia[7]. It is worth giving serious consideration to the slave-trade as a source of geographical knowledge in the Greek world.

At the same time, the slave-trade also provided opportunities for doctors to make examinations and even to explore differences between the physiognomies of different peoples. Here it is worth drawing distinctions, for slaves included people at all stages of enslavement. For example, a Hippocratic treatise tells us of a newly-purchased female slave with serious health problems, which included in particular inappropriate menopausal symptoms. Her inability to reproduce was important not only for her general well-being, but probably also for her value to her master, as we shall see. The Hippocratic doctor was able to restore her to good health and to menstruation: she could have children again. Presumably, the slave-trade gave opportunities for doctors to examine men, women and children who were newly-arrived in the Greek world from non-Greek peoples. We may be sure enough, for example, that the doctors in the famous medical tradition of Cnidus had ample opportunities there for examination of the slaves brought to the coast from the hinterland of Caria, from where many slaves reached the Greek world[8]. However, I am unaware of any evidence to suggest that they used these opportunities: limits were set not only by general humanity but also by the expense of buying a slave, though it would be rash to assume that no-one in the classical Greek world ever abused their power over slaves in search of medical knowledge. More generally, the Hippocratic tradition seems to have held that there were no fundamental differences between peoples with regard to human health: a Libyan, a Greek of Delos or a Scythian were all in essence the same, save for the impact of external factors (notably their particular physical environment and cultural practice)[9]. That Hippocratic perspective no doubt explains the tendency in Hippocratic authors' case-studies to ignore slave-origins when describing the treatment of sick slaves, while regularly referring to patients' place of habitation and lifestyle.

With all that in mind, we may turn again to the *Airs, Waters, Places*. For here we find some further insight into the slave-trade, which has been neglected hitherto as a result of mistranslation, which itself may be the result of insufficient contemplation of the historical realities of slavery.

After a long description of Scythia and its cold and wet climate, the Airs explores the impact of this environment upon the Scythians themselves. In so doing, he pays particular attention to Scythian reproduction. His general claim is that the Scythians do not reproduce well. We must note that the claim is rather curious in the context of the rather different view that the Scythians are a very numerous people: Thucydides stresses that perspective (II. 97. 6), and in doing so again indicates the plurality of Greek voices and notions about the region and its peoples. The contradiction (albeit not absolute) is all the more cu-

[7] IG II^2. 10051, discussed by Braund (forthcoming).

[8] On Carian slaves in the region see *Hornblower S.* Mausolus. Oxf., 1982. P. 9–11.

[9] *Prognosticon* 25, discussed by West S. Hippocrates' Scythian Sketches // Eirene. 1999. 35. P. 14–15. See further *Jouanna*. Op. cit. P. 112–116, esp. 116.

rious if we follow current orthodoxy and attribute to Thucydides too a substantial medical interest beyond what we find in his account of the Athenian plague. Yet in Hippocratic terms the Scythians' (supposedly) poor reproduction makes perfect sense. There are two reasons for it. First, an inactive lifestyle: both boys (at first, anyway) and girls spend far too much time sitting in wagons: the girls are therefore «remarkably flabby and torpid» (*Airs*. 20). This sort of nature (on the Hippocratic view) makes prolific reproduction impossible. On the one hand, the men do not desire sexual intercourse because of the wetness of their nature and because of the softness and coldness of their abdomen. Moreover, they suffer repeated damage from riding horses, so that they become weak for sexual intercourse. On the other hand, as to the women, the fatness and wetness of their flesh is the obstacle. The author explains:

οὐ γαρ δύνανται ἔτι ξυναρπάζειν αἱ μῆτραι τὸν γόνον. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιμήνιος κάθαρσις αὐτέῃσι γίγνεται ὡς χρεών ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον καὶ διὰ χρόνου. τό τε στόμα τῶν μητρέων ὑπὸ πιμελῆς ξυγκλείεται, καὶ οὐχ ὑποδέχεται τὸν γόνον. αὐταί τε ἀταλαίπωροι καὶ πίεραι, καὶ αἱ κοιλίαι ψυχραὶ καὶ μαλακαί. Καὶ ὑπὸ τουτέων τῶν ἀναγκέων οὐ πολύγονόν ἐστι τὸ γένος τὸ Σκυθικόν. Μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον αἱ οἰκέτιδες ποιέουσιν. οὐ γὰρ φθάνουσι παρὰ ἄνδρα ἀφικνεύμεναι, καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἴσχουσι διὰ τὴν ταλαιπωρίην καὶ ἰσχνότητα τῆς σαρκός.

«*For their wombs are unable to take the seed. For they do not have their monthly cleansing as is necessary, but only a little and late. And the mouth of their wombs is closed with fat and does not receive the seed. They do no work and are idle, and their abdomens are cold and soft. It is for these reasons that the Scythian race is not fertile. The great proof is the slave-girls. For they hardly come near a man without becoming pregnant, because of their work and the leanness of their flesh*» (Airs. 21).

The main question here must be: who are these slave-girls[10]? The Greek text is completely ambiguous: in principle, on purely linguistic grounds, «the slave-girls» might mean any slave-girls anywhere. However, the usual view is that these are slave-girls in Scythia, though the best translations retain something of the ambiguity of the original Greek, probably under the influence of the canonical edition of Littré, who in 1840 translated «Leurs esclaves femelles donnent une grand prevue». Jouanna's recent edition of the *Airs* improves on Littré, omitting «leurs», which is not in the Greek. However, Jouanna's discussion shows that – even so – he interprets our author to refer to slave-girls who are themselves Scythian and live in Scythia, presumably as the property of other Scythians. He acutely observes a corollary to that interpretation: our author would be saying that a life of hard work could counteract the malign effects of the Scythian climate upon reproduction. In itself, that makes sense enough, though we may wonder why our author does not make the point explicitly here[11]. But there exists a still better view of the passage, which has been advanced only rarely. The purpose of the present discussion is not only to call greater attention to this minority view, but also to show how and why it is in fact the better one[12].

[10] The Greek αἱ οἰκέτιδες is the routine term for female slaves, evidently here of child-bearing age. They cannot be free servants, unless we suppose that our author is being astonishingly misleading. Accordingly, translators and commentators insist on their slavery. Cf. Darius' οἰκετής intriguingly named Sciton (Hdt. III. 130): was he a male Scythian house-slave?

[11] *Littré É.* Oeuvres completes d'Hippocrate. P., 1840. P. 2, 75; *Jouanna.* Op. cit. P. 238, esp. note 2.

[12] As for the minority view (*Jacoby F.* Zu Hippokrates' ΠΕΡΙ ΑΕΠΡΩΝ, ΥΔΑΤΩΝ, ΤΟΠΩΝ // Hermes. 1911. 46. S. 520–521) makes the key observation, but evidently considered the matter so obvious as to need no extended discussion. *West* (Op. cit. P. 25–26) offers valuable discussion on the matter, further suggesting that the work included a contrast between the infertility of Scythians and the fertility of Egyptians.

Crucially, the Greek text remains ambiguous: that is beyond question. Moreover, the orthodox interpretation, since 1840 at least, raises a lot of questions. Who are these slave-girls in Scythia? We do not hear of them elsewhere. And what kind of proof do they provide. Are they themselves Scythian? It is vital that we assume that they are indeed Scythian, because otherwise no proof derived from them would have particular bearing on the Scythians' reproductive nature. However, if they are Scythian slave-girls, as required, why does our author not insist on this vital point rather than leave the ambiguity? Furthermore, why does he not expand on the key point (as it would be for him, on this view) that the hard-work of the slave-girls overcomes not only the effects of idleness but also the broader environmental context of cold, wet Scythia? Finally, how are we to imagine these Scythian slave-girls in Scythia itself? Is it no difficulty that they too are Scythians? Conceivably not: at least we are told that the Royal Scythians to the east of Scythia considered the rest of the Scythians as their slaves (Hdt. IV. 20), though talk of such an attitude is a long way from saying that even Royal Scythians actually had Scythian slave-girls.

Herodotus is sometimes taken to say elsewhere (IV. 72) that Scythians do not have slaves at all. That would make the Hippocratic observation peculiar, but it is not exactly what Herodotus says. He touches the matter in the context of the king's burial. There he is talking specifically about slaves who have been purchased, not slaves in general: his point is that the king has servants (*therapontes*) whom he calls to him from among his people. Herodotus clearly means (at least primarily) males, especially in view of their being mounted (stuffed) around his burial. It is in that context that he observes the absence of slaves who have been *purchased* (strictly, *purchased with silver*, i.e. money): he says nothing of slaves acquired in other ways, most obviously by violence, but also perhaps by barter[13]. That at least is clear. Much less clear, however, is the extent of their absence. The passage is regularly taken to mean that Scythians *in general* do not have purchased slaves. But that is not the only interpretation of the passage and it may not be the best one: translators take it differently[14]. For he may mean no more than that the royal household does not contain purchased slaves, affirming his main point about the *therapontes* with whom he is here most concerned. Certainly, if we retain the view that he *does* mean that Scythians in general have no purchased slaves, we must suppose that he has made the curious decision to locate that large and significant point (all the more significant to slave-owning Greek society) in the middle of a rather different kind of description (about royal burial practices), as a very brief aside or even afterthought. Of course, that may indeed be the case, but there is at least room for substantial doubt here[15]. In consequence, we may be sure that the passage offers important evidence on the status and background of those who served the kings of Scythia, but we cannot be at all sure that it has anything to tell us about the institution of slavery in Scythia at large. There, as we have seen, slave-selling was certainly practised, so that we are left to wonder what proportion of those sold had been taken by force and what proportion bought or bartered from others in the hinterland.

[13] On barter in the Scythian economy, see *Гаврилюк*. Ук. соч. С. 281–283.

[14] In support of the interpretation advanced here, see for example, *Grene D.* Herodotus: The History. Chicago, 1987. P. 306 («he (*sc.* the king) has no purchased slaves») or *Selincourt A. de.* Herodotus: The Histories. Rev. ed. L., 1996. P. 238 («the king has no bought slaves»). The passage recurs in studies of slavery in Scythia, on which see, for example, *Нейхардт А.А.* Скифский рассказ Геродота в отечественной историографии. Л., 1982. С. 163–173, surveying the previous scholarship on that subject.

[15] See for example the recent (mis)translation «there are no bought slaves in Scythia»: *Waterfield R.* Herodotus: The Histories. L., 1998, an important publication which – on this point – will mislead many English-speaking readers of Herodotus.

Meanwhile, how would we imagine the lifestyles of the female slaves of the Hippocratic *Air*? Would they not also sit in the wagons: do they only walk? Do we suppose that they are excepted from the general statement of Herodotus that the Scythians blind all their slaves (4.2)? And what is the context for their reproduction with men? If those men were Scythians, then the Scythian fertility problem would presumably have been solved at a stroke, despite the low fertility of Scythian males: hyper-fertile Scythian slave-girls would reproduce well enough, one imagines, even with Scythian men. So where then is the problem of Scythian fertility, about which our author has so much to say? Is the problem only that free Scythian men cannot reproduce well with free Scythian women? Perhaps, but that is not what our author says: it is the Scythian race in general which cannot reproduce in Scythia, according to him.

These and other awkward questions may perhaps be evaded in one way or another, though they are hard to navigate when taken all together. However, they vanish immediately if we interpret the passage differently, as the Greek allows (if it does not actually demand). The point of the passage is not that Scythian slave-girls reproduce well in Scythia, but that Scythian females are very fertile indeed when they are (a) removed from the cold wetness of Scythia, and especially (b) made to work hard. When our author says simply «the slave-girls», he evidently expects his Greek audience to understand something which was obvious to him and to them, namely that there were very many Scythian female slaves in the Greek world. Moreover, author and audience alike also knew something else about which modern scholarship has been rather reluctant to consider enough: Greeks saw an economic advantage (and other practical benefits) in allowing their slaves to reproduce. Xenophon, in whose lifetime the *Airs* was completed, not only assumes the normality of slave-breeding in Greek society (with the male being another slave or the master), but sets out what he considers to be the best practice in managing the process[16]. The fertility of the slave-woman mattered to her master.

Accordingly, the slave-girls who provide a «great proof» of the claims in the *Airs* are indeed of Scythian ethnicity (or believed to be so), as the Hippocratic argument requires. But they do not display their fertility in Scythia: they are in the Greek world. There they are in a climate which the Hippocratic writers consider generally balanced and beneficial to health. Moreover, as slaves, they work and they do not get fat like the Scythian females of Scythia itself. Consequently, in Greece they are known to be very fertile.

Yet we must also account for the ambiguity, which has caused such trouble? Surely we can only suppose that our Hippocratic author assumed that his Greek audience would know about the fertility of Scythian slave-girls, for that is why he appeals to the «proof» in the first place. We may recall the Hippocratic use of Scythian milk-processing to explain rheumatology: the Greek audience was expected to be familiar enough with that too, though in that case presumably from the accounts of others (written and oral, including slaves'), not from everyday experience as with the slave-girls. If that is right, we may infer a little more. For, given that slave-breeding was an established practice and that Scythian slave-girls were thought especially fertile, it seems to follow that females from Scythia (or said to come from Scythia) might command a rather better price than some other females on sale from other regions of the ancient world. That in turn raises the familiar question of their numbers, for which our evidence cannot currently provide any kind of satisfactory evidence. Only rarely do we hear of the origin of a slave, such as the Scythian slave-girl who appears in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (herself a comic creation perhaps intended to provide a female counterpart to the Scythian archer-police in this

[16] *Xen.* Oecon. 9.5, with *Pomeroy S.* Xenophon. Oeconomicus: A Social and Historical Commentary. Oxf., 1994. P. 297–300.

comedy of sex and gender)[17]. Meanwhile, we may suspect that almost any slave from the Black Sea region might be marketed as a «Scythian» if that gave the dealer a better profit: in that sense we are lucky to have an allusion to a Sindian slave-girl in Hipponax. Characteristically (both for Hipponax and for female slavery), that allusion refers to her sexual organs and in that sense to her ability to reproduce[18]. In all likelihood we shall never have significant statistics on the origins of slaves even in well-attested Athens (some stunning finds would be needed), but we do at least have Polybius' very clear affirmation (even if one wishes to limit its relevance to the Hellenistic period alone) that the slaves from the Black Sea region are «the most numerous and best». Numerous, certainly: no-one would seriously doubt that a substantial proportion of the slaves of the Greek world came from the Pontic regions. But in what sense also «best»? If the explanation of the Hippocratic passage discussed here is accepted, the concept must include (however unpalatably) «best for use in breeding».

ZEUXIS' SCYTHIAN SLAVE: THE SKINNER OF MARSYAS

The origin of the painter Zeuxis has attracted some scholarly discussion, as has his wide-ranging biography in general. He appears in Athenian contexts by 425 BC, familiar to the circle of Socrates[19]. Indeed, his arrival and work in Athens evidently caused a sensation, even against the unpromising background of the Peloponnesian War. We may reasonably wonder whether his arrival contributed to the development of Plato's concern with art: certainly, Plato mentions him often enough[20]. He is described simply as a Heracleote: it is the number of cities called Heraclea that gives rise to disputes about his place of origin. However, in the absence of other evidence, it is usual enough to take a Heracleote in Athens in this period to be a citizen of Heraclea Pontica. In this case, there is particular reason to do so, since the name Zeuxis seems to fit well with the personal names we know from the south Black Sea and from Megara, whence Heraclea Pontica was founded. While we cannot be completely sure on the matter, it seems reasonable to consider that this was Zeuxis' Heraclea. It is easy enough to suppose that a special figure from Heraclea Pontica came and worked in Athens, particularly in the aftermath of Pericles' Pontic expedition of the earlier 430s BC, which clearly embraced the city in its activities[21].

---

[17] *Arr.* Lys. 184; cf. the Scythian female in Alexis, fr. 332 K–A. On the Scythian archers, see *Bäbler B.* Bobbies or Boobies? The Scythian Police Force in Classical Athens // Scythians and Greeks / Ed. D. Braund. Exeter, 2005 (forthcoming); *Ivanchik A.I.* Who Were the «Scythian» Archers on Archaic Attic Vases? // Ibid.

[18] *Тохтасьев С.Р.* ΣΙΝΔΙΚΑ // Таманская старина. 2003. Вып. 4. С. 10–32, who correctly interprets the Greek. Of course, we have no indication whether the (fragmentary) allusion is simply sexual or includes also specific interest in reproduction.

[19] *Aristoph.* Acharn. 992 supports 425 BC as a *terminus ante quem*; cf. *Olson S.D.* Aristophanes: Acharnians. Oxf., 2002. P. 316.

[20] On the sensation caused by Zeuxis, see e.g. *Dodds E.R.* Plato: Gordias. Oxf., 1959. P. 204. For a broad consideration of the artist in the community, see *Tanner J.* Culture, Social Structure and the Status of Visual Artists in Classical Greece // Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society. 1999. 45. P. 136–175, with some comment on Zeuxis.

[21] See now *Ameling W.* Prosopographia Heracleotica // *Jones L.* The Inscriptions of Heraclea Pontica. Bonn, 1994. P. 138, with bibliography and further detail on citations of Zeuxis (alias Zeuxippus); *Keuls E.* Plato and Greek Painting. Leiden, 1978. P. 90 observes that, if we press the historical setting of *Protagoras* 318b, we would have Zeuxis (as Zeuxippus) at Athens by around 430 BC. For Pericles' expedition, see *Braund D.* Pericles, Cleon and the Pontus: the Black Sea in Athens c. 440–421 // Scythians and Greeks... P. 80–100.

He gained a reputation for – *inter alia* – innovation in the themes he chose for his painting (notably, Lucian. *Zeuxis*. 3–7)[22]. It is one of those themes that concerns the present discussion, for it seems to entail a Scythian slave. This is the punishment of Marsyas of Phrygia, who had been proud and foolish enough to challenge the god Apollo to a contest in music. Having defeated him, Apollo set about his punishment: Marsyas was bound and hung from a tree, where the skin was cut from his body. The myth was well known: Xenophon, Zeuxis' contemporary (and his acquaintance in the circle of Socrates), expects the audience of the *Anabasis* to know of it[23]. However, in choosing to paint Marsyas' punishment, Zeuxis seems to have been innovating not only in theme but also in the persons included in the myth. Of course, caution is necessary; for we know so little about Greek art that there is an immediate risk in exploring any kind of innovation. However, the fact remains that Zeuxis showed not only the key figures of Apollo and Marsyas, but also a third figure: he is taken to be a Scythian slave[24].

Subsequently, the figure recurs in the iconography of Marsyas' punishment, sometimes wielding a knife or even whetting it to give it a sharp edge (notably, in the *Imagines* of the younger Philostratus (2.1), where he is simply a «barbarian»). Artistically, the figure had a particular value in drawing attention to the flaying that Marsyas was about to receive. However, he requires explanation nevertheless. Is he indeed a Scythian? Arguably, he might be a Phrygian. For the scene is set in Phrygia, after all, and a Phrygian might help to draw attention to the location. Barbarian representations often give no room for certainty as to the specific ethnic group intended. However, since the figure is not identified as a Phrygian in antiquity (or indeed more recently, it seems), it is hard to suppose that he was introduced precisely to draw attention to his and by extension Marsyas' «Phrygianness». Nor does this kind of activity fit at all well with the stereotypes of Phrygians, who tend more usually to be associated with luxury and what may be considered an excess of culture, as notably in Euripides' *Orestes*.

By contrast, a Scythian works rather better. We may still wonder where he comes from, though it helps a little that Apollo was associated with the Hyperboreans beyond Scythia. Presumably, it is the Scythians' propensity for skinning, mutilation and other butchery which makes this Scythian work in the way that a Phrygian would not. It is sufficient to recall Herodotus' several references to this macabre Scythian tendency in the fourth book of his *Histories*. There mutilation of all kinds is a recurrent theme in the account of Scythian culture: slaves are blinded, captives are dismembered, heads are gathered and scraped for cups, enemy scalps are displayed with pride, humans and horses are disembowelled and stuffed and false soothsayers are torn apart. We should recall also in that regard the Spartan claim (as Herodotus has it) that Cleomenes was driven to skin himself alive as the ultimate outcome of his drinking with Scythians on a mission to Sparta (6.75 with 84). And there is also Herodotus' story of the Scythians who served Cyaxares, until they took such excessive umbrage at his disrespect for them that they chopped up and fed him a young boy who had been (rather unwisely) entrusted to their care (Hdt. I. 73). This was the kind of person needed to flay Marsyas alive.

All this has a considerable relevance to Scythian slaves more generally. Scythians were evidently known as skinners, not least because hides formed such a large part of

[22] On Zeuxis' works, see *Schörner G.* Ἡ θηλεία ἱπποκένταυρος des Zeuxis – Familiarisierung des Fremden? // Boreas. 2002. 25. S. 97–124, with full bibliography.

[23] *Xen.* Anab. I. 28, on Celaenae where the contest was located and from where the river Marsyas took its name, sprung from his blood.

[24] *Weis A.* Marsyas I // LIMC. 1992. 6.1. S. 366–378. for a detailed review of the known iconography of Marsyas and Zeuxis' place within that.

their exports, as we have seen in the previous section. In that regard, I have suggested elsewhere even that the regular Athenian jibes at Cleon as a «leather–worker» may have been encouraged by his association with the Black Sea region[25]. Accordingly, Scythian slaves obtained by the Athenian democratic state in the middle of the fifth century BC had a fearsome reputation for the application of violence, as well as a rather different (though not contradictory) reputation for obedience to law in its various forms[26]. It was that combination (together, no doubt, with their striking appearance and general otherness) that made Scythians so effective as a means of democratic control that they were retained (and evidently replaced) for almost a century at the expense of the state.

It was suggested some two centuries ago[27] that Zeuxis' Scythian might be derived from Athenian drama, notably from Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, which was first produced in 411 BC. The suggestion has much to recommend it, for in that play we see a Scythian public slave (as usual under the direction of an officer of the democracy) inflicting punishment on a man who by his presence has violated the female festival of the Thesmophoria. Indeed, although the Scythian there does not skin the criminal, he does (and the point is not always understood by modern scholars) set about the extended process of execution known as *apotumpanismos*, whereby the criminal is effectively crucified on a plank[28]. There is a broad similarity between the activities of Aristophanes' Scythian and the Scythian of Zeuxis. Both inflict a slow and very painful death on a man strung up for religious violation: in that sense, Marsyas' tree is a more natural form of the Athenian plank. And each slave is acting on the orders of a higher authority, whether Apollo or a magistrate.

And yet there is no reason why we should look for Zeuxis' inspiration only to drama. The action of Aristophanes' play is itself a direct reflection of Athenian practice: we need be in no doubt that Scythians did indeed play a role in executions (though not necessarily all executions) in Athens. That was consistent with their broader role as muscular enforcers of order in the democracy. Although we are not told explicitly, that consistency and the evidence of the play in question are sufficient to suggest that they were the servants not only of the magistrate in this play (a prytanis; in *Lysistrata* a *proboulos*) but also of the Eleven, who oversaw executions. Nor need we suppose that this arrangement was peculiar to Athens alone in the later fifth century: there is every reason to believe that at least some of the Athens-sponsored democracies of the empire at large also had Scythian public slaves to perform this kind of grisly task. Elsewhere, it is perhaps worth noting that Cleomenes, who was held in some form of stocks, was guarded there by a kind of slave, a helot, whom he manages to intimidate into giving him the knife with which he tries to flay himself (Hdt. VI. 75). While there is no sign that the helot (or anyone else) was to execute Cleomenes, it is at least interesting to observe a certain overlap in practice between the Athenian democracy and the arrangements in Sparta.

Zeuxis had certainly become familiar with Athenian practice. We cannot gauge the extent to which it was known more generally around the Aegean and beyond, but Athens was important enough to attract a lot of attention. Moreover, if it is right that the practice was mirrored elsewhere in the empire, we should be especially confident that Athens' use of Scythian slaves was well-known far afield. In that regard it is worth recalling too that

[25] *Braund.* Pericles... P. 80–100.

[26] On the justice of Scythians, see *Bäbler.* Op. cit.

[27] See *Weiss J.* Marsyas (6) // RE. 1930. Bd. 14. 2. S. 1991, citing work more than a century before his own.

[28] *Olson.* Op. cit. P. 294 sees the harsh reality very clearly.

Heraclea Pontica was very much part[29] of the Athenian empire in the closing decades of the fifth century, so that Zeuxis himself will have known about Scythians in this role not only in Athens or through a general knowledge, but even through his local knowledge of his own city, if such Heraclea really was. In any event, of course, from a perspective in Heraclea Pontica, Scythians were not so far away, all the more so if we consider Heraclea's foundation in the south-west Crimea, the city of Chersonesus[30].

It would be very helpful indeed to know where and for whom Zeuxis painted his Marsyas. The elder Pliny is clear that it came to reside in the temple of Concordia at Rome, but in view of the long history of that temple there are all too many possible contexts for the painting's arrival, doubtless as booty from somewhere[31]. Meanwhile, since the rich anecdotal tradition on Zeuxis has him travelling extensively (no doubt in pursuit of patronage and good commissions), we cannot hope to be clear about the place for which he painted Marsyas. The presence of the Scythian slave could be understood anywhere in the Greek world, as is indicated by the retention of such a figure in later iconography, well after the end of the Scythian force in Athens in the earlier fourth century. Indeed, the Scythian became so familiar a presence in scenes of Marsyas punishment that a second Scythian might sometimes be added[32]. A striking case is a Roman imperial inscription from Syrian Apamea, where Marsyas had long been important. The inscription shows that there the Scythian was still understood as precisely that – a Scythian, not a Phrygian or a non-specific barbarian – even in the second century AD far away in time and space from classical Athens, for all the classicizing yearnings of the Second Sophistic. Indeed, the Scythian at Apamea, so far from being a triviality or filler, is listed as a principal figure in the composition: he seems to have been accorded, like the other principals, his own bronze statue[33].

However, for all that, our evidence indicates that Zeuxis spent a significant period in Athens, so that we may well wonder (in all caution) whether Athens indeed was the city where Zeuxis painted his *Marsyas* and from which (by whatever route) it had found a new home in Rome's temple of Concordia by the time that Pliny completed his *Natural History* in AD 77. While the Scythian slave could be widely appreciated, it also remains true that he had a strong significance within Athens. Meanwhile, Marsyas himself was welcome enough in Athens: quite apart from red-figure vase-painting, we happen to know that Myron's treatment of him later stood on the Athenian acropolis[34]. Accordingly, when evidence is collected and discussed for the Scythian force at Athens, it is worth including (however provisionally) the Scythian skinner of Marsyas. Moreover, when we consider the Scythian trade in skins, we must keep in mind the Scythian who cut the skin

[29] *Braund D.* Scythian Archers, Athenian Democracy and a Fragmentary Inscription from Erythrae // Античный мир, Византия. Харьков, 1997. С. 48–56: explores possible forces in the eastern Aegean.

[30] Cf. *Сапрыкин С.Ю.* Гераклея Понтийская и Херсонес Таврический. М., 1986.

[31] On the significances of Marsyas in Italy and Rome (not least as claimed progenitor of the Marcii), see *Wiseman T.P.* Satyrs in Rome? The Background to Horace's Ars Poetica // JRS. 1988. 78. P. 1–14.

[32] As for late and different contexts, consider the Scythian on a mosaic in Spain c. AD 400: Weis. Marsyas I. S. 375. For a second Scythian see *Weis A.* The Hanging Marsas and Its Copies: Roman Innovations in a Hellenistic Sculptural Tradition. Rome, 1992. P. 93, n. 453; cf. P. 219–221.

[33] Rey-Coquais 1973 publishes the inscription with full discussion; cf. *Weis.* The Hanging Marsyas... P. 88, n. 423 citing the key clause in Greek, «...after he had dedicated in the same baths bronze statuary: Theseus and Minotaur, and Apollo and Olympus and Scythian and Marsyas». Olympus is an associate or pupil of Marsyas. The juxtaposition of Theseus and the Minotaur (so evocative of Athens) with the Marsyas group may encourage suspicions about the Athenian evocations of the latter too.

[34] *Weis.* Marsyas I. S. 366–378, who collects and discusses the evidence.

off Marsyas. If Zeuxis was indeed the artist who first introduced the Scythian into the story – and if he was from Heraclea Pontica and painted the scene in Athens – that is a matter of some interest, but the main issue remains, however we imagine Zeuxis' role: Scythians were known as skinners.

READING BLACK SEA NOVELS

We are all in the debt of those who have laboured to read the papyrus-fragments of Greek novels. The present brief discussion is only possible thanks to their efforts. The work continues, as we shall see, and more fragments may be hoped for, but already enough has been done to provide a basis for discussion of these fragments with regard to slavery, shipwreck and the more general image of the Black Sea region in antiquity. Here two particular novels are primarily at issue, *Ninus* and *Kalligone*. Since many readers of VDI will not have ready access to the now-standard collection of Stephens and Winkler, it seems best to present here the text and translations they print, with my own minor changes as indicated below: I include here all *Kalligone* but only the relevant part (Fragment C) of *Ninus*. Their collection is to be consulted for detailed commentary, matters of papyrology and much else besides[35].

Meanwhile, there is no reason for surprise that the Black Sea region occurs as a setting for some of the action in novels. Rather the contrary. For travel, under a range of circumstances, is a characteristic and central feature of novels. It is to be expected that novels should include travel in a region renowned for curiosities – peoples, places, climate, myths, dangerous sea, social and political systems and more besides. The Black Sea region was an obvious setting (though not of course the only one) for shipwreck, piracy, conflict and enslavement. All the more so since the region had commanded a place in canonical texts – most notably Herodotus' *Histories* – and in the geographical tradition too. Strabo's citations illustrate the point well enough, for he has a wealth of material to call upon from Homer through Aeschylus, Herodotus and Ephorus and on into a flurry of Hellenistic works of a broadly historical, geographical and philosophical nature. All this, together with its marginality and even strangeness to later Greek sensibilities (as evidenced by Dio Chrys. XXXVI) made the Black Sea region an obvious option for the novelist to choose.

(a) Ninus

This is not so much a Black Sea novel as a novel which contained a Black Sea section, whose importance to the work as a whole is hard to gauge on the present evidence. Intriguingly, however, this portion of *Ninus* links with enslavement and the kind of flaying which Marsyas received. For Ninus was king of Assyria in Greek tradition, the husband of Semiramis. He was believed to have mounted a campaign in the Black Sea region, which brought the conquest of Bithynia, Cappadocia and all the barbarian peoples settled on the Black Sea as far as the Tanais (Diod. II. 2. 3): evidently the campaign took in all the south coast and at Colchis in the east continued north along the coast to Maeotis, now the Sea of Azov. This was to complete the conquest of Asia, for which the Tanais marked the great divide from Europe. It is usual to believe that Diodorus has derived his information from Ctesias of Cnidus, who wrote c. 400 BC. Accordingly, we may be confident enough in supposing that tales of Ninus were circulating already by this date, contributing

[35] Stephens and Winkler 1995; cf. also the important survey by J.R. Morgan *(Morgan J.R.* On the Fringes of the Canon: Work on the Canon of Ancient Greek Fiction (1936–94) // ANRW. 1998. II. 34. 4. P. 3293 suiv.), which offers a wealth of bibliography and precise information on papyrological matters, in particular. See also *Kussl R.* Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane. Tubingen, 1991, though he does not include *Kalligone*.

to the development of the novel, with which is usually associated also the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon, Ctesias' contemporary. After all, Herodotus not only writes of Ninus' successes but also links them with a Scythian tale (Hdt. I. 103–104). For Herodotus relates how Cyaxares (whose unpalatable dealings with Scythians have been mentioned) was well-placed to overcome Ninus when he found himself set upon by an enormous Scythian army under a Scythian King Madyes, which had come down the western shore of the Caspian Sea instead (as Herodotus notes) of taking a route through Colchis, further west. Whether by accident or design, this force saved Ninus from Cyaxares, and proceeded to establish a short-lived domination of Asia. We may conclude that not only Ctesias but also (in a rather different fashion) Herodotus associates Ninus with the Black Sea world. Evidently, the roots of *Ninus* are deep, while the novel itself is regarded as at or near the beginning of the genre proper.

For dating *Ninus* we depend on papyri whose hand may be dated around AD 50–75, which is therefore a firm *terminus ante quem*. Just how early the novel was composed remains much more opaque. There is little enough hard evidence (though much scholarly opinion of various kinds) about the dating of the genre as a whole. The broad continuity of Hellenistic culture well into the Roman period is part of the problem. So too is the scholarly tendency to approach dating of novels *en bloc*, with perhaps overmuch concern for the (dated) position of Petronius within the genre. Finally, of course, the main difficulty: the fragmentary novels, in particular, offer scant indications (at most) of the specific circumstances of their composition. There is much to be said for a sceptical position which avoids close dating entirely[36].

The Black Sea campaign formed only a part of the novel which was centred upon Ninus' imagined life. In a single fragment (Fragment C) we find him and his companions shipwrecked off the coast of Colchis[37]:

]... δ' ἐπ' ἀκτῆς Ἵππου[ί
..] περι[...
δαστε γύναι μοι καλ[...
.ια, καθάπερ ἐδηλ[...
ἀνειληφυῖα μετα[...
...ετα[.]...τον....[
τονεν[..] ἐπικουρ[...
ναύτου καὶ ἐπιστή[μονος]
κυβερνήτου. οὐδ[εἰς]
[γ]ὰρ ἄλλος ἀσφαλέσ[τε-]
ρος πρὸ τῆς βορείας
μεταβολῆς εἰς τὴν [τῆς]
[Κ]ολχίδος ἀκτὴν ε[...
[..].....δερ...ο .[
]εκ γαρ...ω...[

[36] Nevertheless, dating has been a major concern: Swain's admirable survey of the issue seems most to show that *Ninus* (for example) could be dated at any stage within some 300 years or so before AD 75, though he himself would place it close to the *terminus*: *Swain S.* A Century and More of the Greek Novel // Oxford Reading in the Greek Novel. Oxf., 1999. P. 18: «there is no need to date it (sc. *Ninus*) very long before our papyri». True enough, but there is also no need *not* to do so. Meanwhile, G.R. Morgan (Op. cit. P. 3336) is attracted by a date around 50 BC.

[37] Which is of course *not* «in Armenia», as Stephens and Winkler assert. They are therefore right (and need not hesitate) to dissociate his Black Sea campaign from his Armenian adventures mentioned elsewhere in the novel.

]ετω...αν κειμενο[...
].....ου μηκ[...
[η]ϊών καὶ ἄλσος ὑπὲρ
[α]ὐτῆς σκιερόν· οὗ κατ [αὐ-]
[τὸ] τὸ μέσον εἰς ῥεῖθρον
[ἐ]παρκοῦσα πηγὴ μέ-
[χρι] τῆς κυματωγῆς κα-
[τε]ρρήγνυτο. τὸ μὲν οὖν
[σ]κάφος. οὐ γὰρ ἀγχιβα-
θὴς ἦν ἡ ἀκτή. πρός τ[...
σιν ὑφάλοις ταινίαις ἐξ...
κεῖλαν διε[σ]αλεύετο κα...
δῆλον ἦν [ὡς] ταῖς ἐμβο-
λαῖς κυ[μάτω]ν ἀπολού-
μενον· οἱ δ[' ἐ]ξέναινον
[α]ὑτὸν εἰς ἄκρους μαζοὺς
κλυζόμενοι · καὶ πάντα
τὰ ἐν τῇ νηὶ διασώσαν-
τες, ἱδρύθησαν ἐπὶ τῆς
ἠϊόνος. ἐν μὲν οὖν
τῷ πελάγει πάντ' ἐ[π]ε-
[ν]όουν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρ[ί-]
[α]ς, διασωθέντες δ' ἐπ[ε-]
θύμουν θανάτου. καὶ ο[ἱ]
μὲν ἄλλοι μετριώτε-
[ρο]ν τὴν μεταβολὴν
[ἔφ]ερον. ὁ δὲ Νίνος ἀ-
[θλ]ίως αὐτῆς ἤσθετο· πρὸ
[...]ων μὲν ἡμερῶν ἡγεμὼν
[το]σαύτης δυνάμεως
[....].ης ἐπὶ πᾶσαν
[....]... στρατεῦσαι
[....].. θάλατταν· τοτε
[.....] ναυαγὸς
[.....]θείσης δορικτη-

On the shore of the Hippus...
...about(?)...
...woman, to me call(?)...
as...showed...
when she took up...
...
...ally...
of the sailor and skilled
helmsman. For no-one
else was safer
before the northern
shift into the
shore of Colchis...

...
...lying...
...of the length
a beach and a grove above
it, full of shade. Where in the very
midst into a good stream
broke a spring as far
as the waves.
And so the
vessel – for the seashore was not
deep close in – was caught
on underwater strands
and was tossed about. And
clearly it would be destroyed
by the wedges of the waves.
they got off,
pounded to the tops of
their chests. And having
saved everything on ship,
they set themselves up on
the beach. So in the
open sea they devised
everything for their safety,
but, once safe, they formed
a desire for death. And
while the rest more moderately
bore the change of fortune,
Ninus grievously
took it to heart. A few(?)
days before the commander
of so great a force
...over all
...to campaign
...the sea. Then
...shipwrecked
...captured in warfare.

(*PSI* 1305 = *Ninus*, fr.3 = Stephens and Winkler 1995, 64–67, whose translation has been adapted here).

This fragment, found at Oxyrhynchus in 1932, was first published in 1945. It shows an imagined shipwreck off Colchis. The author evidently has some grasp of the geography of the region, for we find a River Hippus, which is real enough (notably attested by Arrian: *Periplus*, 10. 2, east of Dioscurias-Sebastopolis) and a more general awareness of the northward turn in the eastern shore of the Black Sea where Colchis is located. Meanwhile, the description of the shoals of the Colchian coast is so vague as to be beyond serious challenge.

The fragment shows Ninus assailed by a sudden change of fortune such as occurs in Greek novels. The Black Sea and the Colchian shore have conspired to turn him from a

great leader of a mighty force into a victim of shipwreck. This sea was especially known for its perils and the likelihood of wreck, whether (as here) for natural causes or, as could happen elsewhere in the region, through the activities of wreckers, notably the Salmydessians of the south-western Black Sea[38]. What fate awaited a victim of shipwreck here? Taurians of the Crimea or the Achaei to the north of Colchis were thought to show no mercy[39]. Ninus' expectations are veiled by the increasingly fragmentary nature of the text until it breaks off completely. However, enslavement was clearly one prospect, if not the main one: he would shift from being a great commander to a shipwreck-victim and on to being «spear-won», i.e. a person enslaved violently[40].

It is no surprise that Ninus should be so struck by his complete reversal of fortunes. His companions had also suffered, but they at least would not fall from such an exalted height. And yet how far might they fall? For enslavement was by no means the worst option. The Aristotelian tradition (as presented in a fragment of Heraclides Lembus) held that in Ninus' day, well before Greek settlement in the region, at least some of the inhabitants of Colchis in fact skinned those wrecked on their shores. Indeed, there is every possibility that the notion was widespread, at least when Colchis was considered at all. It is worth recalling that Ovid, far across the sea at Tomis, expressed his fears of Colchian raids. Be that as it may, the Aristotelian tradition is still more specific: the skinners are named Heniochi, a people usually located in the north west of Colchis, around the city of Dioscurias (modern Sukhumi). It is at least worth noting that Ninus' shipwreck is located off the River Hippus, which is precisely in that part of Colchis. If Ninus did not anticipate the possibility of being flayed, he evidently should have done[41].

(b) Kalligone

Here we have a novel whose principal focus, and very possibly whose all action, was set in the Black Sea region. The surviving portion consisting of two closely-adjoining fragments, given below, has now been augmented by two further unpublished fragmentary columns, which resist close reading, but which seem to explain something more of the story (these columns form fragment *P. Oxy. ined.* 112 / 130(a))[42]. Here we have another shipwreck, now on the coast of the Amazons: again there may well have been fear of enslavement or worse, but (as also with Ninus, who lives to fight another day) the outcome is much better than that. The heroine, Kalligone, and the ship's crew (on whom, more below) are brought before the Amazon queen, named Themisto. The queen «admires Kalligone for her beauty and stature»: she must have been a striking figure to get such a reaction from an Amazon queen. Kalligone proceeds to recount her lineage to Themisto: she mentions Borysthenes, which gives good reason to suggest that she came from Olbia. As we shall see, she was certainly a Greek. Further, the fragment mentions also the Maeotians, and a people «whom a woman also rules». An impending military expedition is also indicated.

The published fragment (*PSI* 981) certainly comes after the events of the opaque unpublished text, for it contains mention of the Amazon queen Themisto, whom Kalligone

[38] *Stronk J.P.* The Ten Thousand in Thrace. Amsterdam, 1995. P. 245–246, commenting also on Pontic shoals.

[39] *Asheri D.* The Achaeans and the Heniochi. Reflections on the Origins and History of a Greek Rhetorical Topos // The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area (Historia. Einzelschriften, 121) / Ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze. Stuttgart, 1998. P. 265-285.

[40] The final line of the fragment is often taken to indicate that a female captive is involved: that is by no means a necessary assumption. Ninus is the obvious candidate. Cf. *Kussl.* Op. cit. S. 66–67.

[41] *Braund D.* Georgia in Antiquity. Oxf., 1994.

[42] I am grateful to Peter Parsons for the (rather disappointing) advice that the text is unlikely to be published fully in the near future, since its reading is so problematic.

first meets in the unpublished fragment. It may very well show a part of the expedition which Kalligone had mentioned to Themisto, a conflict evidently located somewhere in the northern confines of the extended Bosporan kingdom around the upper or eastern parts of the Maeotis (Sea of Azov). We do not have the narrative to explain Kalligone's voyage (but see below). However, we do know that she is consumed with passionate love for a certain Erasinus, evidently a man whom she had first seen at a hunt, presumably in Olbia. He could well be an Olbian too, though we cannot rule out the possibility that he participated in the hunt as a distinguished visitor, for example from the Bosporus. In either case, he seems to have gone to the Maeotian region. Such a man might well have gone to join in a war there, presumably in support of the Bosporans. That would provide good reason for Kalligone to mention the conflict to Themisto, though we can hardly suppose that such a lady had set off (for all her passion) to pursue her beloved onto the distant battlefield. Meanwhile, it is perhaps worth observing Olbian interest in the region to the north of the Maeotis, for a land-route seems to have offered short passage above the Crimea, an alternative to the circuitous and hazardous route by sea, past the Taurians. It is perhaps unwise to look hard for specific historical realities in the background of fiction, but the existence of a real Olbian concern with the upper Maeotis would help to explain something of the setting of *Kalligone*[43].

Kalligone's shipwreck, off the shore of the Amazons, is best located in their traditional home, the region of Themiscyra on the southern shore to the east of Sinope and south across the sea from the Bosporus. Certainly, it is hard to take the Amazons in *Kalligone* to be located in the region of Maeotis, for the Amazon queen (in the unpublished fragment) seems to know nothing about that region. In particular, those ruled by a woman whom she does mention to Themisto are probably Sauromatians (or possibly a Maeoatian people), who were regularly described as «ruled by women»[44]. Kalligone explains them to her in a way which would make no sense at all if these Amazons themselves lived in the region of Maeotis. Therefore, we may be sure enough that these Amazons are at Themiscyra, the principal Amazon land[45].

The published fragments follow, after events whose nature and duration we cannot know. However, Kalligone has somehow made her way to the war-zone, as it seems. The Amazonian queen presumably assisted her: after all, Kalligone was another woman, so that we may recall the help from Amazons which the female Io was also to receive in *Prometheus Bound*[46]. Much fun could have been had with Themisto's views on Kalligone's devotion to Erasinus, but here we are in the realms of speculation. The published text begins with Kalligone in a very agitated state of mind:

1 παντελῶς τὴν γνώμην
διασεσεισμένη. ἐλθοῦσα
σὴ ἐπὶ σκηνὴν καὶ ῥίψα-
4 σα ἑαυτὴν ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος

[43] *Медведев А.П.* Река Танаис в системе историко-археологических реалий скифского времени // Античная цивилизация и варварский мир. Ч. 2. Новочеркасск, 1992. С. 127–137; *он же.* Ольвийские торговые пути и степень достоверности этногеографических данных Геродота // Археологія. 1997. 4. С. 24–287.

[44] E.g. *Ps.-Scymn.* 878–885, citing Ephorus, on the Iazamatae/Ixomatae, showing that they may be taken to be either Maeotians or Sauromatians.

[45] Stephens and Winkler. 1995. P. 269–270 are rather confused on these matters.

[46] *Prom.* 722–727. These Amazons are at Themiscyra, as usual, but the Salmydessian shoals seem to be mislocated there too (not in the south-west Black Sea where they should be). The linkage may have been relevant to our novel's story of shipwreck among the Amazons.

ἀνωλόλυξεν μέγα καὶ διω-
λύγιον, καὶ δάκρυα ἐξέρ[ρ]εον
ἀθρόα· κατερρήξατό τε τὸν χι-
τῶνα. ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ ὁ Εὐ-
βίοτος μηδένα παρείναι
ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, ἀλλ' ἐξήλαυ-
νεν ἅπαντας ὡς ἄν τινων
δυσχερῶν αὐτῇ περὶ Σαυ-
ροματῶν ἠγγελμένων.
ἡ δὲ ἀνωλοφύρετο καὶ ἐ-
κώκυεν καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο
μὲν ἐκείνῃ τῇι ἡμέρηι,
ἐν ᾗ τὸν Ἐρασεῖνον εἶδεν
ἐν τῇι θήρᾳ, ἐλοιδορεῖτο
δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τοῖς αὐτῆς ὀ-
φθαλμοῖς· ἐ[μ]έμφετο δὲ
[κ]αὶ τὴν [῾ Αρ]τεμιν .[..].με
[.].[.....]α
[.....]υ
[.....]ιρ[.]
[..]. καὶ ἐν τοιαύτ[αι]ς ξ[υμ-]
[φο]ραῖς στρεφομένη ἴει
[τὴ]ν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὸ ἐγχειρί-
διον· ἐτύγχανεν δὲ αὐτὸ
[ὁ] Εὐβίοτος ε[ὐθ]ὺ κατὰ τὴν
[ἔφ]οδον σπασόμενος ἐκ
[το]ῦ κολεοῦ καὶ λαθών· ἡ δὲ
[ἐπ]ιβλέψασα πρὸς αὐτὸν
[λέ]γει· ὦ πάντων ἀνθρώ-
[π]ων κάκιστε, ὅς ἔτλης [ἅ]ψα-
[σθ]αι τοῦ ἐμοῦ ξίφους· εἰμὶ
[μ]ὲν γὰρ οὐκ Ἀμαζὼν οὐ-
[δὲ] Θεμιστώ, ἀλλ' Ἑλληνὶς
[καὶ] Καλλιγόνη, οὐδεμιᾶς
[δὲ]' Αμαζόνων τὸν θυμὸν
[ἀσ]θενεστέρα. ἴθι μοι τὸ ξί-
[φο]ς κόμιζε, μὴ [κ]αὶ σὲ ταῖς
[χε]ρσὶν ἄγχουσ' ἀποκτει-

...her mind completely
in upheaval, she went
to the tent and threw
herself on the mattress.
She gave out a loud, piercing
Wailing and her tears poured forth
In abundance. She shredded her
Tunic. But Eubiotus took care
that no-one stayed
in the tent: he drove

them all out by claiming
that she had had some bad
news about Sauromatae.
And she was bemoaning and
Bewailing and cursing
That day when
she had seen Erasinus
at the hunt. And she cursed
too her own
eyes. And she blamed
even Artemis...
...
...
...
...amid such disastrous
events distraught, she reached
her hand for the
dagger. But actually
Eubiotus, just as she came in,
Had taken it
From its sheath, unnoticed.
With a glance at him she
Said: «You, of all mankind
The worst, who dared
To touch my sword!
I am no Amazon nor
Themisto, but a Greek,
Kalligone. But my spirit is
No weaker than any Amazon!
Come on, give me my
Sword – or with these bare
Hands I'll throttle you to death...

(*PSI* 981 = *Kalligone* = Stephens and Winkler. 1995. 272–275, whose translation has been adapted here).

Themisto had admired Kalligone's physique, evidently strong enough to threaten Eubiotus with a throttling. Her status is less clear, but her whole behaviour implies that she came from a leading family, which would suit her name also: that in turn would explain the fact that, in the unpublished fragment, she recounts her lineage to Themisto. Evidently there was something substantial to report, perhaps giving a particular reason for both her status and her stature.

Less clear is the cause of Kalligone's great distress. Clearly, we need not take too seriously Eubiotus' ruse to empty the tent, that bad news had been given our heroine concerning the Sauromatae. However, that is not to say that the Sauromatae were not relevant at all. It is surely apparent that Kalligone has been thrown into a state of violent despair by bad news of Erasinus. She had been told no doubt that he had been lost in battle. That is why her response is attempted suicide: she too seeks to die, as her beloved. But lost in battle against whom? Surely those against whom the campaign had been launched.

But who are they? They can hardly be Bosporans, especially as Eubiotus seems to be a Bosporan (unless we go so far as to imagine a civil war there)[47]. In principle, they might be Sauromatae, for they were substantial enough to be a plausible enemy. But they do not suit the details we have. For Eubiotus clears the tent for Kalligone (evidently disguised) by claiming that she has had bad news about Sauromatae. Since these lines seem to suggest that only she would be sent into despair (or even much interested) by that supposed news[48], we can hardly imagine that the rest of the force there was at war with this people. It seems much easier to suppose that Kalligone was disguised as someone linked with the Sauromatae, and that they were marginal to the story (at least at this stage of the narrative). Another enemy has to be found: the unpublished fragment gives reason enough to consider the Maeotians.

We may compare not only the various peoples found in Lucian's *Toxaris*, but also the stories collected by his contemporary, Polyaenus in his *Stratagems*. Here we find campaigns in the region which at least shed light on the possible campaign in *Kalligone*. It is encouraging to find Maeotians as principal participants: for Polyaenus recounts the derring-do of a Maeotian lady named Tirgitao (8. 55). Her novelistic tale, very compressed into a short narrative, culminates with her victory over the neighbouring Sindians and their Bosporan allies. Herself a Maeotian, she orchestrates an army of «warlike peoples of the Macotis». This kind of Maeotian grouping may well be the enemy envisaged in *Kalligone*. There, of course, the leading lady appears on the other side, allied with the Bosporans against the Maeotians, as it seems.

However, it remains unclear how and why Kalligone is disguised.The nature of the disguise is suggested by the surviving text. For our heroine declares that she is not the Amazon queen Themisto, but the Greek Kalligone. That gives substantial reason to think that she is dressed as an Amazon. In fact, she may very well be posing as Themisto herself. The unpublished fragment may be helpful on this. Evidently, Kalligone had explained the woman-ruled Sauromatae (or perhaps Maeotians) to an ignorant Themisto and had suggested that they had something in common, namely rule by women. Conceivably she had also set out the genealogy found in Herodotus (IV. 110–117), where the Sauromatae are descended from the union of Scythian men and Amazon women. That accounts for Eubiotus' ruse: an Amazon (their queen, indeed) might well be thought to be closely concerned about the Sauromatae, whether simply because they too were women-ruled or also because they were kin. The reader's memory of the real Themisto's ignorance is no obstacle to the ruse: on the contrary, it makes the ruse much more interesting for the reader, who knows more than the minor characters in the story. They are fooled by Eubiotus' ruse, but the reader knows better.

Obviously, Kalligone was not the real Themisto. Had the Amazon queen, very aware of Kalligone's stature, even suggested the pretence? Very possibly, but we need to know more about the transition from the land of the Amazons to the campaign-tent. However, the purpose of that disguise is not far to seek. Eubiotus not only moves freely about, it seems, but holds a position of some authority in the army (for the tent suggests the campaign is under way). Kalligone is disguised, but still apparently among friends. Is she dressed as an Amazon (maybe Themisto) so as to be allowed a place on campaign at all? Certainly, a Greek lady would be much more out-of-place with a Greek army than would an Amazon ally.

[47] *Luc.* Tox. 51 has a Eubiotus who is the illegitimate son of a Bosporan king: see Stephens and Winkler. 1995. P. 268–269 confident that our Eubiotus is a Bosporan, not unreasonably.

[48] Stephens and Winkler. 1995. P. 267 see that the news must be important only to Kalligone, but they do not suggest how.

If these ruminations have any value, the outline of the story of *Kalligone* seems to be as follows. Kalligone, a grand young lady of Olbia, falls in love with Erasinus at a hunt. He goes on campaign in the Maeotian region (for reasons unknown). Kalligone finds herself at sea (for reasons unknown) and is shipwrecked off Themiscyra. There the Amazon queen, Themisto, hears her story. Perhaps with Themisto's help, she finds herself with a Bosporan force, disguised as an Amazon (probably Themisto herself). She hears that Erasinus has died and tries to kill herself. Eubiotus, who knows her secret (how?) and is sympathetic, foils the attempted suicide. Certainly, Erasinus has not in fact died and the two will be united in what follows.

Of course, any detail not explicit in the text is open to challenge. Even so, we may well wonder whether a novel wholly set in the Black Sea region would miss the opportunity to exploit the theme of slavery. I suggest not: indeed, the shipwreck all but shows as much. But even before that, the story as we have it lacks any satisfactory explanation for Kalligone's voyage from Olbia. Conceivably she had set off in pursuit of Erasinus: her story seems to turn into an attempt to join him. However, that would be a curious choice for an Olbian lady, even a passionate one in a novel. It would be much easier to suppose that she had been seized by raiders at some moment of vulnerability outside the city. Piratical seizure is common enough in the novels. If that is right, the shipwreck was not a turn for the worse (as with Ninus) but one for the better. We may recall Herodotus' story (IV. 116–117) of the captured Amazons who escape from a voyage into subjection or slavery by seizing the ship, which is soon wrecked in the Maeotis, so that they become ancestresses of the Sauromatae (Hdt. IV. 116–117). Moreover, if Kalligone had been seized and saved by the shipwreck, that would give greater point to her description of her lineage before Themisto: she was not just another slave, but an aristocrat.

(c) Roots

The *Kalligone* was first published in 1927. Therefore, in the 1931 German edition of his major survey of the literary and archaeological evidence for the North Black Sea (*Skythien und der Bosporus*), Rostovtzeff was able to offer an insightful discussion of the adjoining published fragments. Unfortunately, however, the publication in 1927 came too late for the Russian edition: in consequence, his important treatment of the *Kalligone* is easily overlooked[49]. He sees that Kalligone was disguised as Themisto, implying (though he does not labour the point) that she might be using the Amazon queen's name without necessarily presenting herself as the queen herself. That is indeed a possibility. He notes also the link between Amazons and Sauromatians, though he does not develop the point. Moreover, much concerned with Lucian's *Toxaris*, Rostovtzeff insists also that Eubiotus is a royal Bosporan, which may well be right, even if we hesitate (as we surely should) to hang too much on a name. However, his principal conclusion here is: «I have not the slightest doubt that Lucian read many such romances and used them for his Scythian dialogues. How far back in time the earliest of these romances went is hard to tell. I have already indicated my view that the roots are Hellenistic»[50]. There is every reason for doubt (though we cannot rule out the possibility) that the stories in Lucian are simply culled from earlier accounts, or (a still bolder claim) from local stories known in the Black Sea region. But there is every reason also to accept the accompanying argument that the roots of the novel (including those with Black Sea elements) run deep.

Rostovzeff could not know the more recent fragment of the novel, which remains unpublished. Nor could he know the fragment of *Ninus*, discussed above. However, we may be sure enough that they contain nothing to change his opinion and, indeed, would proba-

[49] Rostovtzeff himself notes the inevitable omission from the Russian edition (*Rostowzew M.* Skythien und der Bosporus. I. B., 1931. S. 98).

[50] Ibid. S. 99.

bly make his view still firmer. Even with their support, however, his claim of Hellenistic origins is vulnerable for the reason that we do not have the works which he posits. However, it is worth insisting on the point made above that the dating of novels is at best provisional and uncertain. The *Ninus* is taken to be early and to belong to the early Roman empire (or at least the late Republic), but that common view is not to be regarded as fact. Meanwhile, the *Kalligone* has a *terminus ante quem* around AD150, the date of the handwriting on the papyrus, but we do not know when it was written.

There are also other stories which have something of the novel about them, though they are not novels. Some of these entail the Black Sea. We may wonder about the story of Gykia at Crimean Chersonesus, which *inter alia* offers an aetiology for an aspect of the cult of Parthenos in the city[51] and the stories collected by Polyaenus and others. Even the apparently historical material on the Hellenistic North Black Sea can have still more of the novel about it than we might expect in historical writing[52]. And what of the Scythians in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, which is often taken to have contributed to the development of the novel? Or indeed the Scythians of Ctesias, who has also been linked with the early stages of the genre?

ὅτι ἐπιτάσσει Δαρεῖος Ἀριαράμνῃ τῶι σατράπῃ Καππαδοκίας ἐπὶ Σκύθας διαβῆναι, καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναικας αἰχμαλωτίσαι· ὁ δὲ διαβὰς πεντηκοντόροις λ, ἠιχμαλώτισε. συνέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σκυθῶν Μαρσαγέτην, ἐπὶ κακώσει εὑρὼν παρὰ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀδελφοῦ δεδεμένον. Σκυθάρβης δὲ ὁ Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς ὀργισθείς, ἔγραψεν ὑβρίζων Δαρεῖον, καὶ ἀντεγράφη αὐτῶι ὁμοίως.

«*...that Darius orders Ariaramnes, the satrap of Cappadocia, to cross against the Scythians and to take men and women captive. When he had crossed with 30 penteconters, he took captives. And he even seized the brother of the king of the Scythians, Marsagetes, whom he had found in bonds, mistreated by his own brother. The king of the Scythians, Scytharbes, was enraged and wrote an insulting missive to Darius, who wrote back to him in the same way*».

(*Ctesias*. 688 F. 13. 20)

In Ctesias' version this is the cause of Darius' subsequent invasion of Scythia. Needless to say, this is no novel. Yet the exchange of letters and personal, family disputes combine with the theme of slave-raiding to make this little episode (which we have here only in epitomized form) tend to the fictional. Meanwhile, here again we find Scythian slaves, for whom the satrap of Capadocia goes north to raid, at Darius' command. We may recall Darius' slave, perhaps a Scythian, named Sciton (above n. 9).

Rostovtzeff's strong belief in his hypothesis is entirely understandable. In fact, the more one reflects upon it, the more modest the hypothesis becomes: Lucian surely did have a body of novelistic work at his disposal which had Hellenistic roots, or even earlier ones as with Xenophon and his contemporary Ctesias. The only significant doubt must be the extent to which we can be sure that he read them and consciously took material from them into his dialogues. Rostovtzeff has probably overstated that, as most scholars now seem to believe[53].

In that regard, to give a rather different kind of insight into the roots of *Kalligone*, for example, it is worth outlining the similarities between its story (or as much as we have of it) and that of Panthea in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, though this is not the place to explore

[51] On Gykia, who survives in a Byzantine context (DAI 53), see *Сапрыкин С.Ю.* Асандр и Херсонс (К достоверности легенды о Гикии) // СА. 1987. № 1. С. 48–57, arguing that the story gives insight into the actual dealings of Bosporan king Asander with the city of Chersonesus.

[52] For example, *Diod.* XX. 22–26.

[53] *Morgan*. Op. cit. P. 350 and the literature he gathers.

the matter in great detail. The two heroines have something in common: both are separated from their men and display their love through their stories. Both are taken captive in their different ways: while Kalligone is brought before a queen, Panthea is brought before a king (Cyrus). They both make a striking impression: Panthea too is remarkable for her stature, nobility and other charms, despite her humble dress (*Cyrop.* V. 1. 5–7). Having been shipwrecked, Kalligone would have been no better attired: the unpublished fragment shows the impact of her stature at least upon the Amazon queen. Panthea too has a guardian, after the manner of Kalligone's Eubiotus. Panthea's finally weakens and wants her for himself: we may wonder whether Eubiotus may have had a similar experience in a lost part of the story (*Cyrop.* VI. 1. 32–34). Both are re-united after adventures. Panthea's tale ends with her husband's death: she commits suicide with a sword after becoming angry with someone close (her nurse) who tries to stop her (*Cyrop.* VII. 3. 14). Again, we may compare Kalligone's suicidal intent and anger at being stopped. We may be sure that she too will be united with her beloved, perhaps more happily. The narratives are of course different, but they also show similarities. The story in Xenophon is firmly pre-Hellenistic, so that the story of *Kalligone* may be claimed as having roots which take it back at least to Xenophon's day and perhaps earlier still. That has no real bearing on the date at which *Kaligone* was written, but it does serve to support much of Rostovtzeff's hypothesis. There is no good reason to doubt that this «Black Sea novel» had roots which reached down across centuries, through the Hellenistic period and beyond. The fact that it also has much in common with other novels in no way detracts from that simple point.

РАБЫ, КОТОРЫМИ ПРЕНЕБРЕГЛИ

Д. Браунд

Статья посвящена анализу сообщений литературных источников о рабском статусе отдельных персоналий, о которых сохранились известия у античных авторов, до сего дня не ставшие объектом внимания ученых. Во-первых, это свидетельство Гиппократа и его комментаторов о воспроизводстве скифских девочек-рабынь; во-вторых, известие о скифском рабе Зевксиса Гераклейского, о котором легенды повествуют как о человеке, содравшем с Марсия кожу. В-третьих, отрывочные рассказы о кораблекрушениях и рабской доле чудом выживших в этих катастрофах, имена которых сохранились на папирусах, не получивших освещения в современной историографии. Это предания о Нине и Каллигоне.

В статье подробно анализируется трактат псевдо-Гиппократа, особенно те его пассажи, в которых раскрывается влияние климатических условий Скифии на деторождение. Собственно речь идет о девушках–рабынях, способных забеременеть от любой близости с мужчинами. На основании анализа Геродотовой традиции и других авторов, Д. Браунд приходит к выводу, что в Скифии как таковой рабыни не могли быть столь репродуктивны, как в Греции. Так что данный пассаж следует понимать как указание на повсеместное использование скифских рабов в эллинском мире в качестве «лучшего средства для воспроизводства».

Второй источник о рабе-скифе Зевксиса, лишившем Марсия кожи, восходит, по мнению Браунда, к местной понтийской традиции (из Гераклеи Понтийской). Данный рассказ, сохранившийся у Лукиана (Zeuxis. 3–7), перекликается с тем, что мы знаем о занятиях скифов скорняжным делом и исполнении ими полицейских функций в Аттике. Таким образом, предание об этом рабе-скифе, связанном с изображением Марсия у Зевсиса, уходит своими корнями в эпоху классических Афин, откуда в дальнейшем попадает в Рим.

Третья часть статьи – анализ преданий о Нине, мифическом ассирийском царе, плавание которого завершилось кораблекрушением у берегов Колхиды, и рассказ о Каллигоне, гречанке, оказавшейся у амазонок также в результате кораблекрушения. Уцелевшие на папирусных фрагментах легенды, восходящие к эллинистическо-римской новеллистической литературе, стали популярными в эпоху ранней Римской империи, находясь в одном ряду с преданиями Лукиана и Полиена – важнейших источников по истории Северного Причерноморья.