

**ACTA MVSEI APVLENSIS**

**APULUM LVI**

series *ARCHAEOLOGICA ET ANTHROPOLOGICA*

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ION BERCIU

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www.mnuai.ro; www.muzeuluniriialba.ro; www.anuarulapulum.ro

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ISSN – 1013-428X

ISSN – 2247 – 8701

ISSN-L – 2247 – 8701

ACTA MVSEI APVLENSIS

# APVLVM

LVI

series *ARCHAEOLOGICA ET ANTHROPOLOGICA*



ALBA IULIA

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MMXIX

Tehnoredactare: RADU OTA

Traducerea și verificarea textelor în limba engleză: ADINA GOȘA

Textele nepublicate nu se restituie.

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**ARRIAN AND COLCHIS. SOME DATAS ABOUT THE RELIGION AND  
CULTURE OF COLCHIS IN THE EARLY 2<sup>ND</sup> CENTURY AD  
ACCORDING TO THE PERIPLUS BY FLAVIUS ARRIANUS**

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**Cuvinte cheie:** Arrian, râul Phasis (Rioni, Georgia), Phasiana, Rhea, regatul Colchidei, vechea religie greacă.

**Key words:** Arrian, Phasis river (Rioni, Georgia), Phasiana, Rhea, the Kingdom of Colchis, ancient Greek religion.

L. Flavius Arrianus or Arrian of Nicomedia (c. 95 - c. 175 AD) was a Roman politician, military commander and historian of Greek origin, born in Nicomedia of Bithynia province<sup>1</sup>. In his young age, Arrian studied in the school of Epictetus, the famous philosopher of his age, where Arrian had become lifelong friend of the later emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD). Due to this friendship, Arrian has established himself as an exceptional politician and soldier, moreover, he is considered as one of the most important historians of his time<sup>2</sup>. He was appointed as the consul of Rome in 129 AD, then he became the legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) of the province of Cappadocia at the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire between 131 and 137 AD. Upon his arrival to Cappadocia, his first task was the survey of the natural resources and the defense efficiency. Part of this survey, Arrian travelled around the coast of the Black Sea, as the northern borderline of his province. He wrote a report in Latin about this journey to Emperor Hadrian and he also composed a literary text in Greek in the popular style of the *periplus*, the travelogue of the antiquity – this is the *Periplus Pontu Euxeni* or the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* (Περίπλους τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου, *Periplus Maris Euxini*)<sup>3</sup>.

In the geographical literature of the classical antiquity, the actual existing sites were connected with old mythological stories, which were a unique part of the folklore of the antiquity. This paper deals with the description by

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<sup>1</sup> On the life, political and military career of Arrian see: Stadter 1980; Liddle 2003; Forisek 2013.

<sup>2</sup> For the literary activity of Arrian see: Bosworth 1972; Stadter 1980.

<sup>3</sup> The following source edition was used in writing this paper: A. G. Roos (ed.), *Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia*. II. vol. *Scripta minora et fragmenta*. Leipzig (1968). The *Periplus Pontu Euxini* has already been translated into many languages and has several bilingual editions, like the following: Liddle 2003; Arslan 2005. **In my study I cited Aidan Liddle's translation.** Commentary and analysis of the text see: Silberman 1993.

Arrian of the Phasis River in Colchis and its region, which is identical with the present-day Rioni River in Georgia, and which also was the legendary site of one of the most known Greek mythological stories, the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts. The Phasis was more than a geographical place of the ancient history: in the most ancient Greek literature it was considered as the borderline of the navigable seas, and the river itself was believed as the borderline between Europe and Asia<sup>4</sup>. Arrian himself was writing about the river and its surrounding area.

„8. From there, we sailed into the Phasis, 90 stades from the Mogros, which supplies the lightest and the strangest-coloured water of any of the rivers I know. One may judge its lightness by means of a balance, and, more immediately, by the fact that it floats on the sea, not mixing with it, just as Homer said of the Titaesus, that floats 'on top of' the Peneus 'like oil'<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, if one should dip just beneath the surface, it is possible to draw out fresh water, but then, by sinking the cup deeper, to draw out salty water. Moreover, the whole Pontus has much fresher water than the sea outside it; the reason for this is its rivers, being so many and so great in volume. The proof of this freshness – if proof of perceptible phenomena be necessary – is that those who live around the sea lead all their cattle down to the sea and drink water from it; they seem to drink happily, and the opinion is that this watering spot is more beneficial to them than fresh water is<sup>6</sup>. The colour of the Phasis is that of water that has been tainted with lead or tin; but, being left to stand, it becomes extremely clear. Furthermore, those who sail in are traditionally forbidden from importing water into the Phasis, and as soon as they enter its stream they are ordered to pour out all water from outside that is on the ships. Those neglecting to do so, it is said, will not otherwise sail on favourably. And the water of the

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<sup>4</sup> E. g. the *Prometheus Bound* by Aeschylus, being mentioned by Arrian himself, see: Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 19. Herodotus claims, that either the Phasis of Colchis, or the Tanais River (the Don River) streaming to the Maeotian Sea (the Sea of Azov), or the Cimmerian Strait (the Kerch Strait) were the borderline between Europe and Asia. However, he also admits that nobody knew who determined these borders. (Her. IV. 45).

<sup>5</sup> Reference to Homer's *Illiad*: „To these were join'd who till the pleasant fields / Where Titaesus winds; the gentle flood / Pours into Peneus all his limpid stores, / But with the silver-eddied Peneus flows / Unmixt as oil...” (Hom. II. II. 920; translated by William Cowper).

<sup>6</sup> The Black Sea is actually made up of two, physically different layers of water. The upper layer of ca. 150 meters contains less salt, meanwhile the lower layer has a much higher degree of salt concentration. The sea itself has only one connection with the salty water of the oceans, and that is the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. There are four major (the Danube, the Dniester, the Dnieper, and the Don), and several smaller rivers nurturing the Black Sea, however, these rivers stream freshwater with low salt concentration, that is the explanation of this unique physical feature of the Black Sea and the two, unmixed water layers.

*Phasis does not stagnate, but remains unchanged for upwards of ten years – if anything, it becomes fresher*<sup>7</sup>.

9. *On the left-hand side of one entering the Phasis sits the goddess Phasiane. Judging by her attributes, she is Rhea*<sup>8</sup> *for she has a cymbal in her hand and lions beneath her throne, and sits just like the one by Phidias in the Athenian Metroön*<sup>9</sup>. *Here too is displayed the anchor from the Argo. This object, made of iron, does not look old to me – although it is not the size of modern anchors, and the shape has been altered in some way – but appears to be more recent. But also on display are some old fragments of a stone one, and it is rather these, one would guess, which are the remains of the anchor of the Argo*<sup>10</sup>. *But there is no other monument there to the legends about Jason. In any case, the fort itself, in which 400 select troops are quartered*<sup>11</sup>, *seemed to me, owing to the nature of its site, to be very secure, and to lie in the most convenient spot for the safety to those who sail this way. In addition, a double ditch has been put round the wall, each ditch as broad as the other. The wall used to be of earth, and wooden towers were set up above it; now both it and the towers are*

<sup>7</sup> These physical characteristics also appear in the works of other classical authors, see: Aristotle *Probl.* XXIII. 6., Polyb. IV. 42., Strabo *Geógr.* I. 3. 4., who explain these features by the many rivers streaming into the Black Sea. Liddle 2003, p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> Rhea is an ancient Greek goddess, the mother of all god and the mankind (called as the Great Goddess, *Megale Thea* in Greek and *Magna Mater* in Latin). Cf. Diod. Sic. V. 48. 2. According to the historiographical tradition, the cult of Cybele, the Phrygian goddess of the Earth and the fertility had appeared in Rome after the Second Punic War, see Livy XXIX. 4-11; Appian *Hann.* 56; Cicero *Har. resp.* 27.; Diod. Sic. XXXIV. 33. 2. Further literature: Takács 1999; Gesztelyi 2016; Tóth 2017. Arrian identifies the local goddess Phasiane with Rhea; Arrian himself was the priest of Demeter in his homeland Bithynia, and it is confirmed by Photius in his entry on the *Bithynika* of Arrian, see: <http://www.livius.org/ar/arz/arrarian/bithynica.html> (downloaded on 10-09-2018).

<sup>9</sup> Arrian mentions the Metroon in the *Anabasis* (III. 16. 8.), although without mentioning the shrine at the Phasis. Pausanias claims that the statue in the Metroon was created by Phidias, see Paus. I. 3. 4.

<sup>10</sup> The antiquarian literature was highly popular in the time of Arrian, describing and presenting the ancient traditions and the memories of the ancient history. One of the most known and most popular work of this genre is the *Attic Nights (Noctes Atticae)* by Aulus Gellius. Arrian was well aware that the steel anchor was unknown in the mythical age of the Argonauts.

<sup>11</sup> Arrian mentions in his *Periplus* three garrisons outside of the Eastern *limes*: Apsaros, Phasis and Sebastopolis. Apsaros (the present-day Gonio in Georgia) was laying in the forefront of the Cappadocian *limes*, where five cohorts were stationing (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 6); the number of the garrison of Sebastopolis (originally Dioskourias, present-day Suhumi, Georgia) is left without mentioning (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 10). The garrison in Phasis must have been either an elite unit of 400 selected legionnaires (Pelham 1911, p. 633, Speidel 1986, p. 659-660), or an elite unit of an auxiliary force (Polybios VI. 26. 6-8). About the Cappadocian *limes* see Mitford 1980, p. 1169-1228, especially 1192-1194 on the three garrisons mentioned above and the Roman military presence in the Caucasia.

*made of baked brick*<sup>12</sup>. And its foundations are firm, and war engines are installed – and in short, it is fully equipped to prevent any of the barbarians from even approaching it, let alone to protect the garrison there against the danger of a siege<sup>13</sup>. But since the mooring-place for the ships must also be secure, as well as the whole area outside the fort settled by veterans of the army, various merchants and others, I decided to construct another ditch from the double ditch that surrounds the wall as far as the river, which would enclose both the harbour and the houses outside the walls”.

The Phasis is mentioned in the works of several classical authors; on the etymology of name of the river we can find a description in the work of Pseudo-Plutarch titled as *De fluviorum et montium nominibus*<sup>14</sup>. According to this story, the name of the Phasis was *Arktourus* previously, referring to the cold territories where the river takes its source from. Phasis was the name of the child of Helios, the god of the Sun, and Ocyrrhoe, the daughter of Oceanus; Phasis killed his mother upon the discovery of her adultery. Fleeing from the Furies, Phasis threw himself into the Arktourus, which was named later after him.

The scholars of Arrian and his work may ask with good reason, why were such mythological themes and loci involved in the storytelling of a work with such practical purpose, namely the discovery of the Black Sea. The answer is obvious: the mythological stories and subjects were essential part of the *periplus* as literary genre, correlating with the taste and demands of the educated elite of Arrian's time. According to Braund, the geographical concepts of the antiquity may give an explanation, why the mythological elements were included in these description, because Jason, as the first Greek voyager into the Caucasus, must be mentioned in any case<sup>15</sup>. The territory of Colchis was of great

<sup>12</sup> The archeological remains of the fort are not found because of the changes of the coast. Therefore description of Arrian is paramount because the construction of the fortress had different phases, and it is possible that in his time and under the reign of Hadrian the fort was rebuilt and reinforced as part of the defense strategy of Hadrian. During the late antique period there was only a wooden stronghold on the site of the fortification (Braund 1989, p. 35). Mitford claims that the underwater archeological explorations found a brickwork under the sea (Mitford 1980, p. 1192, note 52).

<sup>13</sup> There are many hypotheses about the possible threat on the fortress and its surrounding region. One argument claims that Pharasmenes, King of Iberia, who previously was the ally of Trajan, later became the enemy of Rome under the reign of Hadrian and he meant a clear and present danger on the region of the Phasis (Braund 1989, p. 35; idem 1991, p. 208-219; Syme 1981, p. 280). According to the *Ektaxis* of Arrian, the Alans can be considered as potential enemies (Liddle 2003, p. 101), however, Arrian did not mention the Alans or their hostile intentions against Rome in the *Periplus*. On the advance of the Alans see: Forisek 2013, p. 25-52; Bosworth 1977.

<sup>14</sup> *Plutarch's Morals*. Translated from the Greek by several hands. Corrected and revised by William W. Goodwin. Cambridge (1874), 5.

<sup>15</sup> Braund 1986, p. 38-39.

interest for Arrian because of the mythological story of the Argonauts, one of the most prevalent stories of the Greek mythology adapted and referred by many works of the antique literature<sup>16</sup>.

The Phasis River is mentioned in most literary works as the site of the story of the Argonauts. The two epics by Apollonius of Rhodes<sup>17</sup> and Valerius Flaccus<sup>18</sup>, both titled as *Argonautica*, the works of Euripides<sup>19</sup>, Pindarus<sup>20</sup> Apollodorus of Athens<sup>21</sup>, as well the introduction of *The Histories* of Herodotus referring to the kidnapping of Medea as one of the reasons of conflict between Europe and Asia, thus are alluding to mythological stories as well<sup>22</sup>. Among the Roman authors, Catullus mentions the Argonauts in the description of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis<sup>23</sup>.

In 404 BC, during the classical period of the antiquity, Xenophon also travelled to the region of the Phasis while marching with the ten thousand Greek. In his *Anabasis*, Xenophon described this journey in details, and his account also was summarized by Diodorus Siculus in his monumental work, the *Bibliotheca historica*<sup>24</sup>.

Strabo, the major Greek geographer of the age of Emperor Augustus, described the territory of Colchis and the region of Phasis in his work thoroughly<sup>25</sup>.

*„The greater part of the rest of Colchis lies upon the sea. The Phasis, a large river, flows through it. It has its source in Armenia, and receives the Glaucus, and the Hippius, which issue from the neighbouring mountains. Vessels ascend it as far as the fortress of Sarapana, which is capable of containing the population even of a city. Persons proceed thence by land to the Cyrus in four days along a carriage road. Upon the Phasis is a city of the same name, a mart of the Colchians, bounded on one side by the river, on another by a lake, on the third by the sea. Thence it is a voyage of three or two days to Amisus and*

<sup>16</sup> On the different versions of the story of the Argonauts see Kerényi 1997, p. 299-310. Kerényi also summarizes the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the myth of the Argonauts and its attached stories. The most important research synthesis on Colchis see: Braund 1994.

<sup>17</sup> Ap. Rhod. Argon. II. 1261.: „they reached broad-flowing Phasis, and the utmost bourne of the sea”, see Strab. XI. 2. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Ap. Rhod. Argon. I. 2. A heroic site for the Argonauts to seek for the Golden Fleece and for the Romans to build a fortification there, see Liddle 2003, p. 23-25, introduction.

<sup>19</sup> Eur. Andr. 642.

<sup>20</sup> Pind. Isthm. I. 2. and Pyth. 4.; the poem is writing on the story of the Argonauts and the „dark-skinned” Colchians.

<sup>21</sup> Apollod. Bibl. IX. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Hdt. I. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Catull. Carm. 64.

<sup>24</sup> Diod. Sic. XIV. 29.

<sup>25</sup> Strab. XI. 2. 17-18. (Translated by H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer) The citation is found in the chapter 17.

*Sinope, on account of the softness of the shores caused by the discharge of rivers.*

*The country is fertile and its produce is good, except the honey, which has generally a bitter taste. It furnishes all materials for ship-building. It produces them in great plenty, and they are conveyed down by its rivers. It supplies flax, hemp, wax, and pitch, in great abundance. Its linen manufacture is celebrated, for it was exported to foreign parts; and those who wish to establish an affinity of race between the Colchians and the Ægyptians, advance this as a proof of it''<sup>26</sup>.*

Later in his book, Strabo also gives a detailed account of the source of the Phasis and its upper streams as well in the description of Iberia<sup>27</sup>.

Most of the Greek and Roman authors only mention the Phasis, that is referred not only as a river but also the territory alongside the river as well. For some authors the Phasis became the synonym of a remote territory. In the *Theogony* of Hesiod the rivers, including the Phasis, are the children of Oceanus and Thetis<sup>28</sup>. Vitruvius in his *De architectura* enumerates the great rivers of the Earth that take their sources in the mountains of the cold North, including the Phasis of Colchis (VIII. 2). According to Ovid, the Phasis is one of the biggest rivers of the world<sup>29</sup>. Virgil mentions it amongst the fast watercourses<sup>30</sup>. The Phasis is only mentioned in the biographies of Lucullus and Pompey in the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch<sup>31</sup>. Pliny the Elder reports of the Phasis *in extenso*, mentioning, that it is a big, navigable river with 120 bridges and many cities along its banks, the most important ones are Tyndaris, Cyrcaeus, Cygnus, as well Phasis in the delta of the river, and the city of Aea, where the Hippius and Cynaesus rivers are joining the Phasis<sup>32</sup>. During the period of the highlight of the Roman Empire, the notorious orator of the 2nd century AD, Aelius Aristides, refers to the Phasis as one of the four cornerstones of the Empire besides the Euphrates, Aithiopia and Britannia<sup>33</sup>. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Emperor Julian was visited and paid homage to by several peoples of distant

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Hdt. II. 103-105. According to Herodotus, Sesostris, the ancient king of Egypt, settled down soldiers at the region of the Phasis during his campaigning into Asia. To the analysis of this story see Armayor 1980.

<sup>27</sup> Strab. XI. 4. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Hesi. Theog. 337-345 (Phasis 340.)

<sup>29</sup> Ov. Met. II. 193.

<sup>30</sup> Verg. G. IV. 333.

<sup>31</sup> Plut. Vit. Luc. 33., Luc. et Cim. 3.; Plut. Vit. Pomp. 34.

<sup>32</sup> Plin. HN. VI. 12. names the Phasis as *clarissimus*, referring obviously to its mythological role. The 120 bridges over the Phasis is also mentioned by Strabo (see note 25), indicating that the fast streaming of the river did not allow to cross it without bridges.

<sup>33</sup> Ael. Ar. Rhóm. 82.

territories because of his military fame, including the peoples living in the territory at the Phasis<sup>34</sup>.

There are three interesting facts about the Phasis: in the *Satyricon* the pheasant of Colchis is displayed as a real delicacy. The original habitat of the pheasant was the western part of the Caucasus, and it was brought to Europe in that time. The taxonomical name of the pheasant is the *Phasianus colchicus*, referring to original domain of the bird<sup>35</sup>. Pausanias mentions another curiosity: there are no fishes in the rivers of Hellas that are dangerous to the men, like in other rivers, including the Phasis, which „indeed produce man-eating creatures of the worst, in shape resembling the catfish of the Hermos and Maeander, but of darker color and stronger”<sup>36</sup>. Many other antique authors mention that the region of the Phasis was the homeland of the mythological Amazons. Demosthenes accounts in one of his orations, praising the old deeds of the Athenians, that Theseus expelled the race of the Amazons beyond the Phasis. Diodorus of Sicily reports of the story about Alexander the Great, when the king arrived to Hyrcania where he was visited by Thallestris, queen of the Amazons, ruling over the territory between the Phasis and the Thermodon rivers, with three hundred armed Amazons. The queen was a uniquely beautiful and battle-hardened woman, who asked Alexander to have a child together, whose parents will be the best and most excellent people<sup>37</sup>.

Dionysus, the god of wine and ecstasy has also some connection with the Caucasus region among the many mythological figures, since he returned to this region upon his arrival from India, as claimed by his myth<sup>38</sup>. The *Periplus* of Arrian also mentions one of the most known Greek myths, the punishment and chaining of Prometheus, which also has some connection to the Caucasia. The author describes the territory along the coastline where the peak of the Caucasus called Strobilos is located (non identical with the modern-day Aspat or Çifit Kalesi in Turkey); the myth claims that the Strobilos was the rock where Hephaestus was ordered by Zeus to chain Prometheus to<sup>39</sup>.

One of the greatest, actual living historical examples of Arrian, Alexander the Great has also some connection to the region of Colchis, although he never visited the Caucasus<sup>40</sup>. Arrian claims that Alexander was stopped only

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<sup>34</sup> Amm. Marc. XXII. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Petron. Sat. 93.

<sup>36</sup> Paus. IV. 34.

<sup>37</sup> Diod. Sic. XXVII. 77.

<sup>38</sup> Nonn. XXI. 198; cf. 309-310. Beside the rich literary references, we also have a large number of archeological findings on the range and popularity of the cult of Dionysus in the Caucasus, see Lordkipanidze 1979, p. 203-205.

<sup>39</sup> Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 16, see Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* II. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Diod. XVII. 75; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 44; Plin. *HN* IV. 39.

by the death in his intention to conquer the territory between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea<sup>41</sup>.

The famous animals and luxuries of the Caucasus also attracted the Romans. As it was already presented, the Phasis of Colchis was the original habitat of the pheasant, as a very popular food of the elite<sup>42</sup>, as well the symbol of luxury<sup>43</sup>, and the foreign resplendency<sup>44</sup>. A large, hunting dog, that was very popular among the Romans, can be traced back to the Caucasia as well<sup>45</sup>. Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* describes the most common minerals of the Caucasus, including the cinnabar<sup>46</sup>, the topaz<sup>47</sup>, the jasper<sup>48</sup> and of course the gold, that could be collected allegedly in the rivers of Iberia with free-handedly<sup>49</sup>.

These factors mentioned above explain why the Romans were interested in the region of the Caucasus for a long time past. However, they had no accurate informations about this region even in the time of Arrian whatsoever; for instance, they extremely over-estimated the size of the region, imagined it ranging from the Black Sea to the „big mountains” (probably the Himalayas)<sup>50</sup>.

Beside the perspective economic advantages, the ideological motives were also important for the Roman political and military motivations toward the Caucasus. As we know, Nero had the idea about the end of his reign to conquer the Caucasus, therefore he recruited a new legion named *legio I Italica*, where such soldiers taller than six feet were able to be conscripted only, and the emperor called this legion as „phalanx of Alexander the Great”<sup>51</sup>. The emperor suffering from heavy personality disorder wanted to carry out a military operation which could have been compared to the greatest conqueror of the history. This *imitatio Alexandri Magni* instigated Nero for conquering a territory, where Alexander had never been, thus achieving a huge personal glory, larger than that of the king of Macedonia.

<sup>41</sup> Arr. *Anab.* IV. 15; 5. 3, Braund 1986, p. 40.

<sup>42</sup> Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 10.

<sup>43</sup> Athén. IX. 387.

<sup>44</sup> Plin. *HN* XIX. 52; Juv. II. 59.

<sup>45</sup> Plin. *HN* VIII. 149; Oppian. *Cyn.* I. 397; Nemes. *Cyn.* 228; Calp. *Sic.* VI. 4; Braund 1986, p. 42.

<sup>46</sup> Theophr. VII. 58; Plin. *HN* XXXIII. 113-114.

<sup>47</sup> Plin. *HN* XXXVII. 110.

<sup>48</sup> Plin. *HN* XXXVII. 35.

<sup>49</sup> Strab. XV. 1. 57 (711).

<sup>50</sup> Arr. *Anab.* V. 3. 1; Philostr. *VA* I. 2-3; Oros. I. 36. On the errors in their geographical knowledge see Braund 1986, p. 43.

<sup>51</sup> Suet. *Ner.* 19. 4; Braund 1986, p. 45.

**ARRIAN ȘI COLCHIDA. CÂTEVA DATE DESPRE RELIGIA ȘI CULTURA  
COLCHIDEI LA ÎNCEPUTUL SEC. II P. CHR. DUPĂ PERIPLUS DE FLAVIUS  
ARRIANUS**

REZUMAT

Articolul analizează *Periplul Pontului Euxin* (Περίπλους τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου) scris de istoricul L. Flavius Arrianus (cca. 95 – cca. 175 cca. p. Chr). De fapt, acest articol este un raport militar atribuit împăratului Hadrian, care descrie teritoriul de la sud-est de Pontul Euxin. Pe lângă importanța sa deosebită ca sursă narativă despre istoria militară romană, această lucrare poate fi considerată o referință importantă despre mitologia și viața religioasă din regiunea Euxinului din sec. II p. Chr. Arrian, aristocrat sofisticat și de asemenea expert în tradițiile religioase greco-romane și autor anticar, a descris statuia zeței Phasiana (interpretată ca Rhea sau Magna Mater) la estuarul râului Phasis (astăzi Rioni, Georgia) precum și două ”ancore” ale navei *Argo* de la gura aceluiași râu. *Periplul* lui Arrian este o dovadă importantă ce evidențiază îmbinarea cultelor vechi indigene din sec. al II-lea p. Chr., Asia Minor, cu diferite straturi ale religiei grecești, combinate, de asemenea, cu noi caracteristici ale religiei romane.

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