

The Greeks and Romans in the Black Sea
and the Importance of the Pontic Region
for the Graeco-Roman World
(7th century BC-5th century AD):
20 Years On (1997-2017)

Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress
on Black Sea Antiquities
(Constanța – 18-22 September 2017)

Dedicated to Prof. Sir John Boardman to celebrate his
exceptional achievements and his 90th birthday

edited by

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and James Hargrave



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Principal Editor's Preface and Acknowledgements

First of all, may I express my gratitude to all the participants in the Constanța Congress for presenting papers (oral and poster). The Proceedings have been a challenge to assemble thanks to the sheer quantity of papers. Let me thank all those participants who have provided papers for publication. The editing of contributions to achieve (it is hoped) a high degree of consistency takes time, bearing in mind the need to unify styles, check footnotes and bibliographies, seek clarifications from authors and to make suggestions for the improvement of particular papers, etc. My co-editors deserve thanks for shouldering a large burden. We are sincerely grateful to David Davison, Rajka Makjanić and their colleagues at Archaeopress for agreeing to publish these Proceedings, for their technical help and their speedy production of the printed volume. It was a great pleasure that David Davison was able to attend in person and display a selection of Archaeopress's publications.

Much hard work goes on behind the scenes, both before and during the Congress. Thanks are due and most willingly given for their assistance, participation and support to Dr Traian Cliante (the then Director of the Museum of National History and Archaeology at Constanța), Dr Irina Sodoleanu (from the Museum, who cheerfully bore day-to-day responsibility for events in Constanța), Prof. Mircea Dumitru (Rector of the University of Bucharest, who provided a stimulating defence of a Liberal Arts education during the opening proceedings), Prof. Vlad Nistor (President of the Senate of the University from Bucharest), Assoc. Prof. Emanuel Plopeanu (Dean of the

Faculty of History and Political Sciences of Ovidius University in Constanța, which played host to the congress) and Dr Mircea Angelescu (Ministry of Culture and Archaeological Institute at Bucharest). In this regard, I should also like to thank my co-editors Prof. Alexandru Avram and Dr James Hargrave (both of whom read papers on behalf of absent colleagues and helped in numerous other ways), to the teams of student helpers from Ovidius University, and to the representatives of Expolitoral Turism (who organised accommodation and excursions).

Although the volume contains contributions in French and German, English predominates, thus various English-language typographical practices have been employed throughout. I hope that the authors of papers in other languages will show their forbearance.

The appendices contain the programme and the abstracts submitted. Inevitably, there are minor differences between some of the titles given there and those of the final version of the papers published in the body of the volume, just as some of those who sent abstracts were ultimately unable to attend, and some of those who attended and gave papers did not submit them for publication in this volume. The published papers have been arranged to accord with the Congress sessions, giving some structure to this large volume and easing cross-referencing with Appendix 1; the abstracts in Appendix 2 are strictly alphabetical by principal author.

Gocha R. Tsetsckhladze

Message from the President of the International Organising Committee

It would be fair to say that the virtual explosion of interest in Black Sea studies which scholars have enjoyed over the last generation owes much if not everything to the series of conferences and many publications inspired by the organisation which brings you together here today, and notably to Gocha Tsetskhladze, whose foresight and tireless energy have ensured that knowledge of the archaeology of Black Sea countries and their neighbours is as well documented as most in the classical world and outside it. And to this he has added the remarkable journal, *Ancient West and East*, which is by now a worldwide treasure for its articles and reviews, as well as the *Colloquia*.

My first visit to Romania was many years ago, under a different regime. It was a magnificent opportunity to travel the country and its archaeological sites in the company of Sir Ian Richmond and local scholars. Then, and in later visits to conferences, we were regaled with scholarly papers on archaeology and visits to memorable sites. It certainly expanded and concentrated my knowledge of the area and must have done the same for many scholars. Archaeology today has learned not to be too parochial, and we learn both from what has been found in distant places

and from the techniques of scholarship that have been employed to publish and explain them. At last we view Eurasia as an entity and can see what the steppes and the East have contributed to European civilisation and what we fondly call Classical culture. By now neither Scotland nor China seem totally irrelevant, and the Black Sea is an important pivot. Yet the old disciplines are still important – classification by style or subject, accurate reproduction by whatever means of appearance – scientific analysis. The computer age has added possibilities of universal record undreamed of in earlier years, but also, by its very richness, the possibility of confusion. Most of all, ease of travel (though times are difficult today) has opened the world to personal inspection.

Unfortunately I cannot be with you today, but can envy you the possibility of renewing friendships, making new ones, and enjoying together the satisfaction that sharing knowledge, proposing new solutions, and the many other advances in scholarship always bring.

Personally, I am deeply honoured by finding that this Congress has been dedicated to me. I am indebted to you all.

John Boardman

Welcome by the Secretary-General

It is a great pleasure to see that we are still meeting, now 20 years since the first of these congresses.

It was in 1995, during my first visit to Bucharest, that in discussion with Prof. A. Avram, with whom I was staying (we had corresponded but hitherto not met), conversation turned to the possibility of organising some event in which all Black Sea scholars from West and East could participate. These discussions continued the following day in the office of the late Prof. P. Alexandrescu, Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest. The idea of holding a Black Sea congress, or Pontic congress as it was first called, was born there.

I shared this idea with Prof. Sir John Boardman upon my return to Britain. He showed a keen interest and promised to support it in any way he could. Moreover, he willingly agreed to become President of the International Organising Committee. Step by step prominent Black Sea scholars from West and East supported the idea and joined the committee.

Of course, we wanted to hold the first congress in Romania, but circumstances did not permit it. Instead, at the suggestion of the late Prof. A. Fol and through his enormous help and energy, it took place in 1997 in Varna, Bulgaria. The enthusiastic response of the many people who attended that congress suggested that we should hold more: the committee met and decided that future congresses should be held every four years, each in a different country. Archaeopress in Oxford agree to publish the volumes of proceedings,

I am sure that many believed that the first congress would be the last. Even I had my doubts. But four years later we met

again in Ankara, then in 2005 in Prague, 2009 in Istanbul and 2013 in Belgrade.

I hope that we shall be able to come together to celebrate 40 years of the congress, not a mere 20. In those 20 years we have lost several Black Sea colleagues who were members of the initial committee and instrumental in getting the congress off the ground: first of all, Prof. Alexandrescu, then Prof. Fol, without whom the idea would have been stillborn; and Dr M. Lazarov, Dr J. Hind, Prof. H. Heinen, Prof. A. Wasowicz and Prof. O. Lordkipanidze (and latterly Prof. J. Bouzek, in October 2020). They were not just fine scholars but caring individuals. We all are very grateful to them.

With the present congress we are celebrating not only 20 years, and finally holding it in Romania, but the 90th birthday of our President, Prof. Sir John Boardman. Unfortunately, he cannot be present. Sir John was one of the first Western Classical scholars to visit Eastern Europe in the 1950s, leading to a number of friendships with scholars, especially Prof. Alexandrescu and people at the Hermitage. He contributed a survey of 'Greek Archaeology on the Shore of the Black Sea' to *Archaeological Reports for 1962-63*. No words of gratitude are sufficient to express our debt for his help. As with all new projects, the road was sometimes rocky. His support was strong and his advice unfailingly wise.

We chose the subject of this conference deliberately to be the same as the that of the first, enabling us to focus on what has happened in the years since Varna, and to see what positive input the existence of this series of congresses has made.

It is my great pleasure to welcome all of you to our sixth congress. I wish you a successful time, and a pleasant stay in our host city, beautiful Constanța.

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

List of Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique.</i>
BA	N. Badoud, P. Dupont, Y. Garlan et A. Marangou-Lerat, 'Bulletin amphorique. Amphores et timbres amphoriques grecs (2007-2011)'. <i>Revue des études grecques</i> 125.1 (2012), 159-271.
BMC	<i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum.</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
Catalogue Palin	<i>Catalogue des médailles grecques et romaines composant la collection M. le Comte de Palin, ancien Ministre de Suède à Constantinople (Paris 1859).</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
CIRB	V.V. Struve et al., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani/Korpus bosporskikh nadpisei</i> (Moscow/Leningrad 1965).
CNT	<i>Corpus Nummorum Thracorum</i> (Berlin) (https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/).
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> (1922-). Individual volumes not listed: see now https://www.cvaonline.org/cva/browse.htm .
DGE	E. Schwyzer, <i>Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora</i> (Leipzig 1923).
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin/Leiden 1923-58).
FHG	K. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (Paris 1848-73, etc.).
GDI	<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> (Göttingen 1884-1915).
GGM	K. Müller, <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> (Paris 1855-61).
HGC VII	O.D. Hoover, <i>The Handbook of Coins of Northern and Central Anatolia. Pontos, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lykaonia, and Kappadokia (with Kolchis and the Kimmerian Bosporos), Fifth to First Centuries BC</i> (Lancaster, PA 2012).
Hunterian II	G. MacDonald, <i>Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow 2: Northwestern Greece, Central Greece, Southern Greece, and Asia Minor</i> (Glasgow 1901).
IAegThr	L.D. Loukopoulou, M.G. Parissaki, S. Psoma and A. Zournatzi, <i>Epigrafes tes Thrakes tou Aigaiou: metaxy ton potamon Nestou kai Ebrou (nomoi Xanthes, Rodopes kai Ebrou)</i> (Athens 2005).
IByzantion	A. Łajtar, <i>Die Inschriften von Byzantion</i> (Bonn 2000).
I.Didyma	A. Rehm, <i>Didyma 2: Die Inschriften</i> (Berlin 1958).
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> (Bucharest/Paris 1975-).
IEphesos	H. Engelmann, H. Wankel and R. Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> (Bonn 1979-84).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin 1903-).
IGB	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> (Sofia 1958-97; 1 ² : 1970).
IGCH	M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm and C.M. Kraay, <i>An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards</i> (New York 1973).
IGDOP	L. Dubois, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont</i> (Geneva 1996).
IGR	R. Cagnat et al., <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> (Paris 1906-27).
Iİznik	S. Şahin, <i>Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von İznik (Nikaia)</i> (Bonn 1979, 1987).
ILB I.2	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae I.2: Inscriptiones inter Oescum et Iatrum repertae</i> (Sofia 1989).
ILD	C.C. Petolescu, <i>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> (Bucharest 2005).
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> (Berlin 1892-1916).

IOlbia	T.N. Knipovich and E.I. Levi, <i>Inscriptiones Olbiae/Nadpisi Olvii (1917-1965)</i> (Leningrad 1968).
IOSPE	V.V. Latyshev, <i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae</i> (St Petersburg 1885-1901; I ² : Petrograd 1916).
IPerinthos	M.H. Sayar, <i>Perinthos-Herakleia (Marmara Ereğlisi) und Umgebung. Geschichte, Testimonien, griechische und lateinische Inschriften</i> (Vienna).
ISinope	D.H. French, <i>The Inscriptions of Sinope</i> (Bonn 2004).
ISM I	D.M. Pippidi, <i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine I. Histria și împrejurimile</i> (Bucharest 1983).
ISM II	I. Stoian, <i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine II. Tomis și teritoriul său</i> (Bucharest 1987).
ISM III	A. Avram, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie mineure III. Callatis et son territoire</i> (Bucharest/Paris 1999).
ISM IV	E. Popescu, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure IV. Tropaeum – Durostorum – Axiopolis</i> (Bucharest/Paris 2015).
ISM V	E. Doruțiu Boilă, <i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine V. Capidava – Troesmis – Noviodunum</i> (Bucharest 1980).
ISM VI.2	A. Avram, M. Bărbulescu and L. Buzoianu, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure VI.2. Tomis et son territoire</i> (Bucharest/Paris 2017).
ISM suppl.	A. Avram, 'Le corpus des inscriptions d'Istros revisité'. <i>Dacia</i> n.s. 51 (2007), 79-132.
LGPN	P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> (Oxford 1987–2013).
LIMC	<i>Lexikon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> (Zurich 1981-).
Milet I.3	A. Rehm, <i>Milet I.3: Das Delphinion in Milet</i> (Berlin 1914).
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century</i> (Oxford 1969; rev. ed. 1988).
NGCT	D. Jordan, 'New Greek Curse Tablets (1985-2000)'. <i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i> 41 (2000), 5-46.
NP	<i>Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> (Stuttgart 1996-2003).
PPEE	A. Avram, <i>Prosopographia Ponti Euxini Externa</i> (Leuven 2013).
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart/Munich 1893-1978).
Rec. Gén.	<i>Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie mineure 1.1: Pont et Paphlagonie</i> , 2nd ed. (Paris 1925).
RIB I	R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain 1: Inscriptions on Stone</i> (Oxford 1965).
RIC	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (London 1924-94). Now see: http://www.ric.mom.fr/en/ .
RMD	M.M. Roxan et al., <i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> (London 1978-).
RMM	B. Pferdehirt, <i>Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> (Mainz 2004).
RSC	H.A. Seaby, <i>Roman Silver Coins 1: The Republic to Augustus; 2: Tiberius to Commodus</i> (London 1952; 3rd ed. revised by D.S. Sear and R. Loosley: London 1989).
SB	F. Preisigke, F. Bilabel et al., <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> (Berlin etc. 1915-).
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden/Amsterdam 1923-).
SGDI	H. Collitz, F. Bechtel et al., <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> (Göttingen 1884-1915).
SNG	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> (1931-).
Syll	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd ed. (Leipzig 1915-24).
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (Vienna 1901-).
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> .

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Opening Lectures

Pontic studies twenty years on: *terra incognita*?

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze
(*Ancient West and East*)

With this congress we celebrate 20 years since the first was held (in Varna in 1997). Thus it seems appropriate to glance at the state of Black Sea studies in the West. Often, when I meet colleagues and students, I am told that while the Black Sea is a very important area for their studies because of the wealth of material it provides, the language barrier is a great hindrance: everything is published in Russian.¹ I would remark that only Russian colleagues publish in Russian: Bulgarian colleagues publish in Bulgarian, Romanians in Romanian, Ukrainians in Ukrainian, Georgians in Georgian and Turks in Turkish. This may be an unparalleled situation for the West but it is far from as hopeless as has been made out. Is so little published in the West or in Western European languages? The main aim of this paper is to reveal the comparative wealth of Western publications, thus to disprove this complaint and to demonstrate that there is no great barrier to those who wish to acquaint themselves with Black Sea archaeology.

In this paper I shall concentrate on monographs, collections of articles and conference proceedings. Even here I must be selective. My wish to be comprehensive would take me far beyond the space available. Also, I am not concerned with individual articles in journals: these are far too numerous to tackle in one piece. I take an historical perspective stretching beyond the last 20 years, since the first Black Sea congress was not a chance event but one grounded on what had already been done before 1997.²

I shall start with a lengthy quotation from the late Heinz Heinen, a long-term friend to Black Sea Studies in the West, especially in Germany, and one of those present at that first congress. Writing some 20 years ago, he noted that:

The history of the Greeks and their relationship with the native peoples of the Ukraine and southern Russia is, if not completely unknown to classical students in the West, no more than a theme of rather moderate interest (notwithstanding that one of the most important monographs on the subject was written by a British scholar, E.H. Minns [*Scythians and Greeks: A Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (Cambridge)] in 1913). This lack of interest may be the consequence of

the peripheral setting of the northern Black Sea coast from the point of view of classical studies, traditionally concentrated on the Mediterranean world. But there is more to it than pure geographical distance. There are other factors, no less important, that contribute to create some kind of psychological distance. Language and mentality make Russia and the Ukraine appear far away, as a different world. Moreover, the barriers often raised by the former Soviet Union have added to the difficulties, hampering Western contacts with these regions and with the scholars working there. The situation has undergone considerable changes in recent years.³

Having mentioned Minns, we should not forget the great M.I. Rostovtzeff, an outstanding specialist in the history of South Russia in antiquity.⁴ Left destitute in Oxford after the Russian revolution,⁵ he moved to the United States to become one of the(ir) most celebrated of ancient historians.⁶

Romania and Bulgaria shared the same fate as Soviet satellites after the Second World War, cut off from Western scholarship. At the same time, with the establishment of NATO, Turkey began intensive construction of military installations on its Black Sea coast, often at the location of ancient sites – Amisos, for instance. Thereby much of the coast became inaccessible to archaeologists and excavation. The situation changed after 1990: now we find local universities where once were military bases, and the inauguration of an ever-increasing number of archaeological projects.⁷

In 1958, a group of Oxford historians visited Romania. One was John Boardman, and since then he has enjoyed a strong interest in Black Sea archaeology, making lifetime friendships with local specialists. Later he journeyed to the Soviet Union and forged equally strong links with colleagues at the Hermitage. He inaugurated in *Archaeological Reports* publication of general accounts of work being done around the Black Sea.⁸ The first edition of his *Greek Overseas*⁹ contained a short Black Sea chapter, expanded with each subsequent edition,¹⁰ and the Black Sea has found a prominent place in his other works.¹¹ Another Briton to experience the Soviet Union at this time was the late John Hind, whose doctoral research took him to Leningrad State University for a year.

¹ At least this is what monoglot Anglo-Saxon students falsely believe. One such came to my office wanting to write a PhD on Italy and was surprised when I asked about the state of her knowledge of Italian, fondly believing that everything necessary would be available in English.

² My concern in this paper is mainly with archaeology and ancient history. On epigraphy, see A. Avram's paper immediately following. On numismatics, see, for instance, Frolova and Ireland 2002; Abramzon and Frolova 2019; and Kovalenko's two *Colloquia Antiqua* volumes (nos. 3 and 11) given below at p. 4.

³ Heinen 2001, 1-3. See also Heinen 2006.

⁴ See, for instance, Rostowzew 1993.

⁵ On his time in Oxford, see Bongard-Levin 1999.

⁶ For the translation into French of one of his major works, see Rostovtseff 2004.

⁷ For the southern Black Sea coast, see Kassab Tezgör 2013. On the northern Black Sea, see Tsetskhladze 2001.

⁸ Boardman 1963.

⁹ Boardman 1964, 245-53.

¹⁰ For the latest, see Boardman 1999, 238-64, 281-82.

¹¹ For example, Boardman 1994, 182-224.

Since 1963, several surveys of archaeological discoveries have appeared, mainly in *Archaeological Reports*,¹² one in the *American Journal of Archaeology*,¹³ a few in other collections of articles.¹⁴ *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* publishes annually the results of joint Franco-Bulgarian and Franco-Romanian projects. In 1971 came the German translation of V.F. Gaidukevich's hefty volume on the Bosporan kingdom, still the best ever written about this polity;¹⁵ and four years later, from Besançon, a volume on Olbia Pontica.¹⁶ A very important year for Soviet-Western collaboration was 1980, thanks to the publication of Heinen's German translation of several articles by Soviet scholars, revealing to the West the depth and extent of their scholastic achievement.¹⁷ The 1980s and 1990s added many publication projects to the tally. The late Wolfgang Schuller of the University of Konstanz established *Xenia: Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen* as a departmental publication. The first volume (in 1981) was a paper by Y.G. Vinogradov. Further Black Sea-related material followed:

1. J.G. Vinogradov, *Olbia: Geschichte einer altgriechischen Stadt am Schwarzen Meer* (1981).
14. O.D. Lordkipanidze, *Das alte Kolchis und seine Beziehungen zur griechischen Welt vom 6. zum 4. Jh. v. Chr.* (1985).
19. A.V. Podossinov, *Ovids Dichtung als Quelle für die Geschichte des Schwarzmeergebiets* (1987).
25. P. Alexandrescu and W. Schuller (eds.), *Histria. Eine Griechenstadt an der rumänischen Schwarzmeerküste* (1990).

Subsequently, Schuller established a new series, *Schwarzmeer-Studien*, published in Amsterdam. Seven monograph volumes appeared, all bringing Eastern scholarship to the West:

1. O.D. Lordkipanidze, *Das alte Georgien (Kolchis und Iberien) in Strabons Geographie: neue Scholien* (1996).
2. J.G. Vinogradov, *Griechen und Barbaren am Nordufer des Pontos Euxeniis* (1997).
3. G.R. Tsetschladze, *Die Griechen in der Kolchis (historisch-archäologischer Abriss)* (1998).
4. K.D. Nawotka, *The Western Pontic Cities: History and Political Organization* (1998).
6. N. Gudea, *Porolissum: Ausschnitte aus dem Leben einer dakisch-römischen Grenzsiedlung aus dem Nordwesten der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis* (1998).
7. A. Avram, *Der Vertrag zwischen Rom und Kallatis: ein Beitrag zum römischen Völkerrecht* (1999).
8. V. Spinei, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (2006).

John Fossey also started his own series, also published in Amsterdam: *Antiquitates Proponticae, Circumponticae et Caucasicae*. Only two volumes appeared.¹⁸

The contribution of the late Pierre Lévêque and his centre in Besançon must be given due prominence. He published three

volumes on Georgia plus other Black Sea material¹⁹ (see below for Besançon conference publications).

More prolific was the University of Halle (MLU), with joint projects in Romania and Georgia. Its series, *Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes*, published in Langenweißbach, produced 22 works, a mixture of collections and monographs:

1. M. Wendel (ed.), *Karasura: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Thrakien. I: 15 Jahre Ausgrabungen in Karasura (Internationales Symposium Tchirpan/Bulgarien 1996)* (2001).
2. M. Oppermann, *Die westpontischen Poleis und ihr indigenes Umfeld in vorrömischer Zeit* (2004).
3. M. Wendel (ed.), *Karasura: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Thrakien. II: Die prähistorischen Funde und die Münzen (1981-1997)* (2002).
4. R. Milčeva, *Antike Skulptur in Bulgarien. I: Römische Porträts im Archäologischen Nationalmuseum Sofia* (2005).
5. I. Gatsov and H. Schwarzberg (eds.), *Aegean, Marmara, Black Sea. Present State of Research on the Early Neolithic* (Proceedings of the Session held at the EAA 8th Annual Meeting at Thessaloniki, 28th September 2002) (2006).
6. M. Wendel (ed.), *Karasura: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Thrakien. III: Die Verkehrsanbindung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit (4.-8. Jh. n. Chr.)* (2005).
7. M. Oppermann, *Der Thrakische Reiter des Ostbalkanraumes im Spannungsfeld von Graecitas, Romanitas und lokalen Traditionen* (2006).
8. K.P. Bunjatjan, E. Kaiser and A.V. Nikolova, *Bronzezeitliche Bestattungen aus dem unteren Dneprgebiet* (2006).
9. A. Slawisch, *Die Grabsteine der römischen Provinz Thracia: Aufnahme, Verarbeitung und Weitergabe überregionaler Ausdrucksmittel am Beispiel der Grabsteine einer Binnenprovinz zwischen Ost und West* (2007).
10. S. Conrad, R. Einicke, A.E. Furtwängler, H. Löhr and A. Slawisch (eds.), *Pontos Euxeniis: Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkanraumes* (2006).
11. P.F. Biehl and Y.Ya. Rassamakin (eds.), *Import and Imitation in Archaeology* (2008).
12. R. Brück, *Faltkapitelle: Untersuchungen zur Bauskulptur Konstantinopels* (2008).
13. A. Furtwängler, I. Gagoshidze, H. Löhr and N. Ludwig (eds.), *Iberia and Rome: The Excavations of the Palace at Dedoplist Gora and the Roman influence in the Caucasian Kingdom of Iberia* (2008).
14. D. Meyer, *Der westpontische Raum am Ende der frühen Kupferzeit* (2008).
15. U. Sens, *Kulturkontakt an der östlichen Schwarzmeerküste: Griechische Funde in Kolchis und Iberien, Kontexte und Interpretationen* (2009).
16. R. Einicke, S. Lohmann, H. Löhr, A. Mehnert, G. Mehnert and A. Slawisch (eds.), *Zurück zum Gegenstand: Festschrift für Andreas E. Furtwängler*, 2 vols. (2009).
17. V. Becker, M. Thomas and A. Wolf-Schuler (eds.), *Zeiten, Kulturen, Systeme: Gedenkschrift für Jan Lichardus* (2009).

¹² Gorbunova 1972; Hind 1983; 1994; Kacharava 1984; 1991; Bilde et al. 2008.

¹³ Treister and Vinogradov 1993.

¹⁴ Tsetschladze 2015; 2018a; 2018b; Atasoy 2018; Bîrzescu 2018; Papuci-Władyka 2018. See also Tsetschladze 1994.

¹⁵ Gajdukevič 1971.

¹⁶ Wasowicz 1975.

¹⁷ Heinen 1980. See also Mehl et al. 2013.

¹⁸ Saprykin 1994; Fossey 1997.

¹⁹ Lordkipanidze 1995; Tsetschladze 1999a; and Kacharava et al. 2002. Also Chitchevlov 1992 (on Chersonesus, a translation from Russian).

18. H. Cevizoğlu, *Reliefkeramik archaischer Zeit aus Klazomenai* (2010).
19. M. Oppermann, *Das frühe Christentum an der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres und im anschließenden Binnenland: historische und archäologische Zeugnisse* (2010).
20. N. Ludwig, *Ostgeorgische Fundplätze des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.: die Keramik*, 2 vols. (2010).
21. L. Summerer (ed.), *Pompeïopolis. I: Eine Zwischenbilanz aus der Metropole Paphlagoniens nach fünf Kampagnen (2006-2010)* (2011).
22. A. Mehnert, G. Mehnert and S. Reinhold (eds.), *Austausch und Kulturkontakt im Südkaukasus und seinen angrenzenden Regionen in der Spätbronze-/Früheisenzeit* (2012).

Another fecund centre of publication was Aarhus University, where the Centre for Black Sea Studies brought forth a rich array of publications during its decade of existence, including, but not limited to, the 16 in its *Black Sea Studies* series:²⁰

1. P. Guldager Bilde, J.M. Højte and V.F. Stolba (eds.), *The Cauldron of Ariantas: Studies Presented to A.N. Ščeglov on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (2003).
2. T. Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Ancient Fishing and Fish Processing in the Black Sea Region* (2005).
3. V.F. Stolba and L. Hannestad (eds.), *Chronologies of the Black Sea Area in the Period c. 400-100 BC* (2005).
4. P. Guldager Bilde and V.F. Stolba (eds.), *Surveying the Greek Chora: The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective* (2006).
5. T. Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Rome and Black Sea Region: Domination, Romanisation, Resistance* (2006).
6. V. Gabrielsen and J. Lund (eds.), *The Black Sea in Antiquity: Regional and Interregional Economic Exchanges* (2007).
7. T. Bekker-Nielsen, *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia: The Small World of Dion Chrysostomos* (2008).
8. P. Guldager Bilde and J.H. Petersen (eds.), *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflict and Coexistence* (2008).
9. J.M. Højte (ed.), *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom* (2009).
10. J. Nieling, *Die Einführung der Eisentechnologie in Südkaukasien und Ostanatolien während der Spätbronze- und Früheisenzeit* (2009).
11. J. Nieling and E. Rehm (eds.), *Achaemenid Impact in the Black Sea: Communication of Powers* (2010).
12. J.H. Peterson, *Cultural Interactions and Social Strategies on the Pontic Shores: Burial Customs in the Northern Black Sea Area c. 550-270 BC* (2010).
13. N.A. Lejpuskaja, P. Guldager Bilde, J.M. Højte, V.V. Krapivina and S.D. Kryžickij (eds.), *The Lower City of Olbia (Sector NGS) in the 6th Century BC to the 4th Century AD*, 2 vols. (2010).
14. P. Guldager Bilde, P. Attema and K. Winther-Jacobsen (eds.), *The Džarylgač Survey Project*, 2 vols. (2012).
15. L. Bjerg, J.H. Lind and S.M. Sindbæk (eds.), *From Goths to Varangians: Communication and Cultural Exchanges between the Baltic and the Black Sea* (2013).
16. P. Guldager Bilde and M.L. Lawall (eds.), *Pottery, Peoples and Places: Study and Interpretation of Late Hellenistic Pottery* (2014).

In 1996, I established another new series, *Colloquia Pontica*, initially published by Oxbow in Oxford and then taken over by Brill of Leiden:

1. G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *New Studies on the Black Sea Littoral* (Oxford 1996).
2. O. Bounegru and M. Zahariade, *Les Forces Navales du Bas Danube et de la Mer Noire aux Ier-Vie Siècles* (Oxford 1996).
3. J. Chapman and P. Dolukhanov (eds.), *Landscapes in Flux: Central and Eastern Europe in Antiquity* (Oxford 1997).
4. S.L. Solovyov, *Ancient Berezan: The Architecture, History and Culture of the First Greek Colony in the Northern Black Sea*, ed. J. Boardman and G.R. Tsetskhladze (Leiden 1999).
5. M. Kazanski and V. Soupault, *Les sites archéologiques en Crimée et au Caucase durant l'antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen-Age* (Leiden 2000).
6. G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *North Pontic Archaeology: Recent Discoveries and Studies* (Leiden 2001).
7. J. Boardman, S.L. Solovyov and G.R. Tsetskhladze (eds.), *Northern Pontic Antiquities in the State Hermitage Museum* (Leiden 2001).
8. M.Y. Treister, *Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics*, ed. J.F. Hargrave (Leiden 2001).
9. C.J. Tuplin (ed.), *Pontus and the Outside World: Studies in Black Sea History, Historiography and Archaeology* (Leiden 2004).
10. C. Morgan, *Attic Fine Pottery of the Archaic and Hellenistic Periods in Phanagoria*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze (Leiden 2004).
11. A.I. Romančuk, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie des byzantinischen Cherson*, ed. H. Heinen (Leiden 2005).
12. D.B. Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Propaganda under the Hellenistic Kingdom of the Mithradatids* (Leiden 2006).
13. D.M. Peterson, L.M. Popova and A.T. Smith (eds.), *Beyond the Steppe and the Sown* (Proceedings of the 2002 University of Chicago Conference on Eurasian Archaeology) (Leiden 2006).

After I had set up the journal *Ancient West and East* in 2002, *Colloquia Pontica* became its monograph supplement. When the journal moved to Peeters of Leuven, I took the opportunity to broaden the scope of the monograph supplement to align it more closely with the journal, renaming it *Colloquia Antiqua* to reflect this. Nevertheless, the Black Sea remains a central concern of the series as the following volumes indicate:

1. G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *The Black Sea, Greece, Anatolia and Europe in the First Millennium BC* (2011).
3. S.A. Kovalenko, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Coins of the Black Sea Region. I: Ancient Coins from the Northern Black Sea Littoral* (2011).
4. A. Hermary and G.R. Tsetskhladze (eds.), *From the Pillars of Hercules to the Footsteps of the Argonauts* (2012).
5. L. Mihailescu-Birliba, *Ex Toto Orbe Romanum, with Prosopographical Observations on the Population of Dacia* (2011).
6. P.-A. Kreuz, *Die Grabreliefs aus dem Bosporianischen Reich* (2012).
8. A. Avram, *Prosopographia Ponti Euxeni Externa* (2013).
11. S.A. Kovalenko, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Coins of the Black Sea Region. II: Ancient Coins of the Black Sea Littoral* (2014).
14. A. Petrova, *Funerary Reliefs from the West Pontic Area (6th-1st Centuries BC)* (2015).

²⁰ See also, for example, Hannestad et al. 2002; Stolba and Rogov 2012.

18. M. Manoledakis, G.R. Tsetschladze and I. Xydopoulos (eds.), *Essays on the Archaeology and Ancient History of the Black Sea Littoral* (2018).
25. L. Mihailescu-Birliba (ed.), *Limes, Economy and Society in the Lower Danubian Roman Provinces* (2019).
27. G.R. Tsetschladze (ed.), *Ionians in the West and East* (Proceedings of the International Conference 'Ionians in the East and West', Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Empúries, Empúries/L'Escala, Spain, 26-29 October, 2015) (2021).
30. A.V. Belousov, *Defixiones Olbiae Ponticae* (2021).
31. J. Poruczniak, *Cultural Identity within the Northern Black Sea Region in Antiquity: (De)constructing Past Identities* (2021).
34. V.D. Kuznetsov and M. Abramzon, *Greek Coin Hoards: The Cimmerian Bosphorus* (2021).

More and more conferences have been organised, regional or international, and, in general, their proceedings have been published. One stands out: that on the ancient history of the Black Sea littoral organised in Tskhaltubo and Vani. The first Vani symposium, in 1977, was limited to Soviet scholars; it subsequently expanded to include Eastern European academics and then Western. These symposia made a huge impact because many Westerners saw excavations and materials first-hand for the first time. The papers of the first symposia were published in Tbilisi by the Georgian Academy of Sciences, those of later ones were translated, thanks to Pierre Lévêque, and from the fifth symposium onwards they have been published in Besançon:

- O.D. Lordkipanidzé and P. Lévêque (eds.), *Le pont-Euxin vu par les Grecs* (Symposium de Vani [Colchide], septembre-octobre 1987) (1990).
- O.D. Lordkipanidzé and P. Lévêque (eds.), *Sur les traces des Argonautes* (Actes du VIe symposium de Vani [Colchide], 22-29 septembre 1990) (1996).
- O.D. Lordkipanidzé and P. Lévêque (eds.), *La Mer Noire: Zone de Contacts* (Actes du VIIe Symposium de Vani [Colchide] – 26-30 IX 1994) (1999).
- O.D. Lordkipanidzé and P. Lévêque (eds.), *Religions du Pont-Euxin* (Actes du VIIIe symposium de Vani [Colchide], 1997) (1999).
- M. Faudot, A. Fraysse and É. Geny (eds.), *Pont-Euxin et Commerce: la genèse de la 'route de la soie'* (Actes du IXe Symposium de Vani [Colchide], 1999) (2002).
- D.D. Kacharava, M. Faudot and É. Geny (eds.), *Pont-Euxin et Polis: Polis Hellenis et Polis Barbaron. Hommage à Otar Lordkipanidzé et Pierre Lévêque* (Actes du Xe Symposium de Vani, 23-26 septembre 2002) (2005).

The proceedings of our Black Sea congresses have a mixed record. After the first congress in Varna (1997), the International Organising Committee decided to divide papers by language and appoint separate 'language' editors to prepare them for publication. This was at a time when technology was less advanced than now and it threw up many technical problems with unreadable/un-openable disks, unreachable authors, few of them willing to send replacements or answer queries, etc., etc. Many of the papers from Eastern Europe were incomprehensible, the language editors despaired, everything ground to a halt. The same problems beset publication of the 2001 congress in Ankara. Thanks to the initiative of Jan Bouzek, the papers of the third congress (Prague 2005) were published in two issues of *Eirene*,

the periodical of the Institute of Classical Studies of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.²¹ Unfortunately, to achieve quick publication, they appeared as they had been submitted, unedited. A few more papers and the abstracts found a home in *Studia Hercynia*,²² a publication of Charles University, Prague. Since then, congress proceedings (Istanbul 2009; Belgrade 2013) have, like the present volume, appeared with Archaeopress in Oxford.²³

Some other conferences have taken a comparative approach to developments in the Mediterranean region and the Black Sea. Thus, the theme of the 2000 Taranto conference was a comparison of colonial *chorai* in the West and the Black Sea.²⁴ The previous year saw a conference on Ionia, its special session in Ionians around the Black Sea attended by a large number of Eastern European specialists.²⁵ November 2018 witnessed a conference organised by the German Archaeological Institute in Rome to compare the Greek colonies and colonisation of Italy with those of the Black Sea: its proceedings will be published by De Gruyter in 2021.

One workshop has emerged as a regular fixture: that held at the International Hellenic University outside Thessaloniki every three years since 2012. The papers of each have been published.²⁶

Together with all of the events and developments mentioned above, various individual conferences with their proceedings²⁷ as well as a number of edited volumes²⁸ have helped the collaborative and comparative study of the Black Sea area, not only in the West but in the East too.

A wide range of monographs have been published on all parts of the Pontus. One aspect to this is the number of them written by Eastern European colleagues but published in Western Europe in a Western European language, thereby making first-hand material information available to Western colleagues.²⁹ Some of these monographs (or sometimes collection of articles) contain the results of archaeological excavations and surveys.³⁰

Histria remains the best published Black Sea site; 15 volumes have appeared since the 1950s.³¹ Although these are published

²¹ Bouzek 2006; 2007a.

²² Bouzek 2007b.

²³ Tsetschladze et al. 2013; 2015.

²⁴ *Problemi* 2001.

²⁵ Cobet et al. 2007, 465-636.

²⁶ Manoledakis 2013; 2016; 2020.

²⁷ Bol et al. 2008; Bouzek and Domaradzka 2005; Braund 2005; Bresson et al. 2007; Burgunder 2012; Cojocaru and Schuler 2014; Erkut and Mitchell 2007; Fless and Treister 2005; Kassab Tezgör and Inaishvili 2010; Papuci-Władyka et al. 2011; Robu and Bîrzescu 2016; Solovyov 2007; 2010; Tsetschladze and Atasoy 2019; Vottéro 2009.

²⁸ Braund and Kryzhitskiy 2007; Burgunder 2019; Grammenos and Petropoulos 2003; 2007; Hupe 2006; Petropoulos and Maslennikov 2010; Tauffer 2013; Tsetschladze 1998; 1999b; 2012; Tsetschladze and de Boer 2002; Tsetschladze and Snodgrass 2002; Valeva et al. 2015.

²⁹ This note does not mention monographs published in the various series mentioned above and tabulated in the main text. Archibald 1996; Braund 1994; Bujskich 2010; Burstein 1976; Dana 2011; Fless 2002; Fornasier 2016; Fornasier and Böttger 2002; Lordkipanidze 1991; 2000; Müller 2010; Posamentir 2011; Saprykin 1997; Ustinova 1999; Vinogradov 1997; Vinogradov and Kryžickij 1995.

³⁰ This note does not mention relevant volumes published in the various series mentioned above and tabulated in the main text. Doonan 2004; Everill 2014; Hermary 2010.

³¹ I list just a few of the more recent volumes here: Alexandrescu 2005; Bîrzescu 2012; Lungu 2013.

in Bucharest, they are widely distributed in the West through de Boccard of Paris. One volume in particular deserves individual mention: Petre Alexandrescu's long-awaited *magnum opus* publishing the results of the excavation of the *temenos* from 1915 to 1989.³²

Phanagoria on the Taman Peninsula, the only Teian Black Sea colony, has latterly become the most studied and best published site in Russia. It has yielded quite unexpected finds: first of all, a massive and well-preserved mud-brick fortification wall, built upon or very soon after the colony's foundation in ca. 542 BC; an Achaemenid inscription;³³ and a well-preserved shipwreck from the time of Mithradates VI. Previously, three collections of articles that, *inter alia*, included many papers on Phanagoria, appeared in the West,³⁴ while several volumes of Phanagoria excavation results have been published in Russia(n). My series *Colloquia Antiqua* is currently embarking on publication of a subseries of several volumes of Phanagorian Studies.

General accounts of the Black Sea, intended as much for students as for academics, appear from time to time and give as much fresh information as possible. Examples are the two chapters by John Hind in the distinguished *Cambridge Ancient History*: on the Bosphoran kingdom,³⁵ and on Mithradates VI.³⁶ The fruits of ten years of study of the Black Sea Greek colonies by the Copenhagen Polis Centre may be found in many of its separate volumes, but also as a lengthy chapter in the Centre's final publication.³⁷ It lists all Greek settlements classified as *poleis*, and for each individually provides up-to-date information (to 2004), all kinds of evidence and a comprehensive bibliography.

Three very welcome developments should be mentioned. The first is the establishment in 1994 of *Il Mar Nero: Journal of Archaeology and History*, published by Edizioni Quasar in Rome, and initially edited by Petre Alexandrescu and Șerban Papacostea, now by Alexandru Avram and Ovidiu Cristea. It publishes articles not just on antiquity but for periods since. The latest issue (no. 9, for 2012-18) appeared in 2019. Another journal is *Ancient West and East*, founded by me (as noted above) in 2002, first published by Brill and since 2007 by Peeters. The Black Sea is one of its core areas of interest and its extensive reviews section covers much that is published about the ancient Black Sea in the West and the East. The first issue of *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* appeared in 1994. This journal is largely a vehicle for republishing in English articles that first appeared in the long-established Russian journal *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*.

Catalogues to accompany exhibitions are also most useful, not just for the photographs and descriptions of objects but for their introductory sections, where thoroughly updated summaries of the state of research may be found.³⁸

It is essential to remark that Eastern European colleagues are now publishing more and more in Western languages, especially English, in their home countries. But this raises a series of new problems: how to know who has published what, where it has been published and how copies may be obtained. There is no distribution network (whatever the language of publication). Authors usually pay for/towards publication, and they usually retain the bulk of the print-run. Thus one needs to know the authors or know someone who does: intermediation on the grapevine. It requires the expenditure of much time and effort to track down (the existence of) publications and then locate their authors. There are bookshops in St Petersburg, Moscow and Sofia where publications are available – but it needs specialist local knowledge to locate such shops and to know which ones might carry which publications. The books themselves are very important for research. Let me use as an example some volumes from the series *Pontica et Mediterranea*, published in Cluj, Transylvania:

- V. Cojocaru, *Bibliographia classica orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini. I: Epigraphica, Numismatica, Onomastica et Prosopographica* (2014).
- V. Cojocaru, A. Coșkun and M. Dana (eds.), *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Proceedings of the International Symposium ..., Constanța, July 8-12, 2013) (2014).
- V. Cojocaru and A. Rubel (eds.), *Mobility in Research on the Black Sea Region* (Proceedings of the International Symposium ..., Iași, July 5-10, 2015) (2016).
- V. Cojocaru, *Bibliographia classica orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini. II: Archaologica* (2018).
- V. Cojocaru, L. Ruscu, T. Castelli and A.-I. Pázsint (eds.), *Advances in Ancient Black Sea Studies: Historiography, Archaeology and Religion* (Proceedings of the International Symposium..., Constanța, August 20-24, 2018) (2019).

Victor Cojocaru spends a lot of his own time and resources distributing personally these handsome volumes, even sending them to select libraries. Two hefty volumes are a bibliography of writings, East and West, on the ancient Black Sea. They are essential tools (although, like every bibliography, something will have slipped through the net).

Let me conclude by returning to the main question: is the study of the Black Sea still *terra incognita* for the West? As this paper and its bibliography demonstrate, the answer must surely be 'no'.³⁹ Perhaps the Black Sea is peripheral to a Mediterranean 'centre', but the centre will always have a periphery and cannot forget it: without it, it is incomplete. Ancient Greeks considered the Black Sea to be the border between Europe and Asia, but they settled it just as they settled the Mediterranean; and they maintained their way of life in both.

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³⁹ In Melbourne I used to teach a 4th-year Honours Seminar on Black Sea Archaeology. By the end of it, the students were very surprised and satisfied by how much had been published in the West, especially in English.

³² Alexandrescu 2005.

³³ For the latest, see Tsetskhladze 2019.

³⁴ Povalachev and Kuznetsov 2011a; 2011b; Povalachev 2014.

³⁵ Hind 1994.

³⁶ Hind 1992. On Mithradates, see also Ballasteros Pastor 1996; McGing 1986; Roller 2020.

³⁷ Avram et al. 2004.

³⁸ See, for example, Baralis et al. 2019; Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008; Martínez et al. 2015; Trofimova 2007.

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Studies in Pontic epigraphy 1997-2017. Reviews and prospects

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The Black Sea region was for long a kind of Cinderella area for Greek and Latin epigraphy. Of course several documents had been known since the 19th century and were included not only in regional corpora but also, sometimes with improved editions, in Dittenberger's *Sylloge*, the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), or other standard corpora or selections of Greek or Latin inscriptions. The problem was elsewhere: on the one hand, scholars from Soviet Union, Romania and Bulgaria were isolated behind the Iron Curtain, seldom participating in international conferences, while Western scholars travelled little to these countries. On the other hand, several inscriptions were published by local scholars in journals with limited international circulation and, with some notable exceptions in Romania (in particular Dionisie Pippidi, Ion Josif Russu, Constantin Petolescu, Ioan Piso), in Bulgaria (in particular Georgi Mihailov, Veselin Beshevliev, Boris Gerov and Christo Danov) or in Russia (Yurii G. Vinogradov), mostly in the vernacular. It is true that important material became known due to Jeanne and Louis Robert's *Bulletin épigraphique* (and less due to the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, which was somewhat incomplete for much of the 1960s and 1970s) and that they were diffused a second time by improved editions given by the authors themselves or by several Western scholars in French, English or German. This is the case of the well-known Achillodoros letter from Berezan and some beautiful decrees from Istros/Histria or Olbia. Nevertheless, poor direct access to local antiquities, limited diffusion of Eastern publications and the eternal linguistic barrier – advanced sometimes in excess as an excuse by some Western scholars – limited knowledge and exploitation of the epigraphic potential of these regions.

The situation spectacularly changed after the political events of 1989. Our Pontic congress, whose first iteration took place 20 years ago in Varna, became itself possible in the context of a new open society cultivating European traditions and values. Therefore, a review of Pontic epigraphic studies from Varna 1997 to Constanța 2017 coincides more or less with the new era of the integration of the Black Sea area in the *oikoumene* of classics. One of the barometers is the position of sections devoted to the Black Sea region and its hinterland (including Thrace, Moesia and the Scythian and Sarmatian world) in standard publications monitoring what's new in epigraphy such as the *Bulletin épigraphique*, the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*), *L'Année épigraphique* (*AE*) or, more recently, the *Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion*. Even sometimes incomplete or, as for the *Bulletin épigraphique*, voluntary selective, the chapters under the heading 'Black Sea region' offer every year a substantial panoramic view of the scholarly output in this field.

What allowed such an important change? First of all, new strategies of academic life in the countries around the Black Sea. Many universities and research institutes or centres planned more accurately their activities following international standards: research projects with concrete scientific aims and evaluations, international collaborations, careful publications of preliminary or final results in central rather than in regional or local journals or in volumes mostly edited in good technical conditions, with satisfactory illustrations. Secondly, a beneficial penchant for that type of fundamental epigraphic work, which remains the corpus (not only for the 'great epigraphy' but also for the so-called 'minor epigraphy', such as amphora stamps, inscribed tiles or jewellery, seals, etc.), a question I will develop later. And last but not least, a crucial change in the optics governing the so-called 'linguistic' strategy cultivated by both research centres and editors: ever more studies and volumes published in international languages (in particular in English, of course, but also in French, German or Italian). We now have specialist international journals where Pontic monuments including inscriptions are well represented, for example *Ancient West and East*, *Il Mar Nero* or *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*. Even before Varna 1997 we already had *Colloquia Pontica*, which became thereafter, in order to be more comprehensive, *Colloquia Antiqua* but which continues mostly to be focused on the regions around the Black Sea (including Turkey). Recently, the famous Russian journal *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* changed its linguistic strategy to allow foreign contributions in English. The Danish Research Foundation published in English for more than ten years an impressive collection of *Black Sea Studies*. The University of Halle contributed with its *Zentrum für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes* and its series of volumes in German. In Romania, *Dacia* successfully continues to publish since 1957 only in international languages, and in Bulgaria we have now *Archaeologia Bulgarica* of the same standard. Beside a lot of local publications in Turkish, the newly discovered inscriptions in this country are systematically published generally in English or German in the remarkable *Epigraphica Anatolica*. Many other examples could be added.

The new conditions have opened the way to an increase in epigraphic publications of high quality. I will start with a short review of the main epigraphic corpora.

For Turkey I mention the volumes concerning cities situated on the south coast of the Black Sea or in its close hinterland in the well-known series of *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. First of all, Adam Łajtar's corpus of Byzantium,¹ which as counterpart of the older corpus of

¹ Łajtar 2000 (*SEG* 50, 663).

Chalcedon from Reinhold Merkelbach and his collaborators² now introduces us to questions of Pontic epigraphy in the same way as in antiquity both cities opened the gate of the Black Sea to sailors coming from the Aegean. If more than 20 years ago the south coast had in the same series only one corpus, that of Heraclea Pontica,³ now, we also have a corpus for the other leading city of this region, i.e. Sinope.⁴ Moreover, the rather poor corpus of Heraclea (strangely few inscriptions in comparison with the importance of this city in antiquity, a situation which can be explained by the lack of large archaeological excavations) has been supplemented on several occasions by new finds published mostly by Bülent Öztürk.⁵ The same scholar published many inscriptions from Tios⁶ and, I am informed, is preparing a corpus of inscriptions revealed by this city. Beside Sinope with its corpus already mentioned and some other cities (Amastris, Amaseia, Pompeiopolis, etc.) whose inscriptions had been included as appendix and commented upon by Christian Marek in his splendid *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia*,⁷ Paphlagonia, a region whose epigraphic crop continues to be appreciated through the very old, although mostly useful *Studia Pontica* III from 1910, began to reveal new finds: we now have a corpus for the inscriptions of Hadrianopolis.⁸ Marek has worked for many years on a corpus of inscriptions from Pompeiopolis.⁹ Perhaps, one day, why not, a corpus for Amisos?

Now, crossing the Straits to Thrace, a region whose epigraphic crop was dispersed from the end of the 19th century in many publications sometimes difficult of access; now no longer. We have at our disposal the impressive corpus of inscriptions from Aegean Thrace (mostly Greek but also Latin documents).¹⁰ I can add the useful repertory of Greek and Latin inscriptions from the middle Strymon Valley.¹¹ The inscriptions of Lower Moesia are not collected in a new corpus, therefore, we must continue to use Mihailov's corpus of Greek inscriptions and hope, on the other hand, to be able to manage the dispersed publication of Latin inscriptions.¹² In contrast, for Novae we have at our disposal two corpora, the one collecting only the Latin inscriptions, the other including both Latin and Greek inscriptions with valuable comments in French.¹³

For the west shore the greatest achievement of the last decades is that the big project announced by Pippidi in 1959 concerning Greek and Latin inscriptions from Scythia Minor (*ISM*) has been successfully completed. After Istros/Histria and Tomis,¹⁴ the third city on the Romanian Black Sea coast, i.e. Callatis, received a corpus.¹⁵ On the other hand, beside the

inscriptions of the Lower Danube,¹⁶ we have now a volume devoted to the inscriptions from the south-western Dobruđa, in particular from Tropaeum, Sacidava and Durostorum.¹⁷ But *habent sua fata libelli!* Through systematic or rescue excavations in the last decades hundreds of new inscriptions can now be added to these corpora. Therefore, Romanian epigraphists decided to produce a series of *supplementa* to the five volumes published between 1980 and 2015. The first of them, under the heading *ISM VI.2*, which is a large *supplementum* to the corpus of Tomis (*addenda et corrigenda* to the already known inscriptions and 278 new numbers including *instrumentum*), by Maria Bărbulescu, Livia Buzoianu and me, has already appeared.¹⁸

Moreover, archaeological works like those produced for the sculptural monuments (many of them inscribed) from Istros/Histria,¹⁹ for the funerary steles of Moesia Inferior,²⁰ for the same category of monuments in Thrace²¹ or for the Greek steles of the West Pontic cities to the end of the Hellenistic period,²² have added the necessary iconographic commentaries and successfully contributed to a finer dating of the reliefs. In Bulgaria Nikolai Sharankov, the leading scholar of the younger generation, who has already edited for two decades an impressive quantity of newly discovered inscriptions from Thrace and Moesia Inferior, including the coastal cities,²³ is preparing a large *supplementum* to Mihailov's excellent five-volume *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*.²⁴ He recently offered a rich selection in a paper, where he improved the reading and the restorations of many documents and even picked up in many cases pieces published separately.²⁵ Let me mention also an important *supplementum* to the inscriptions from Mesambria Pontica.²⁶

As for the north coast of the Pontus Euxinus,²⁷ a big project led by Askold Ivantchik claims to remake entirely Vasilii Latyshev's famous *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, a really Herculean task.²⁸ There is now only the fifth volume which appeared online (Andrei Vinogradov's corpus of proto-Byzantine inscriptions, 2015).²⁹ Igor Makarov, who published with valuable commentaries many unedited inscriptions in the last decades,³⁰ is, as I am

² Merkelbach *et al.* 1980.

³ Jonnes 1994.

⁴ French 2004 (*SEG* 54, 1258). For the Sinopean amphora stamps, see Conovici 1998 (*SEG* 970bis) and Garlan 2004 (*SEG* 54, 1260).

⁵ Öztürk 2013a (*SEG* 63, 1165); 2016a; 2016b; 2016c; 2016d; 2017; Öztürk and Sönmez 2009 (*SEG* 59, 1447-1454), 2011 (*SEG* 61, 1066-1074).

⁶ Öztürk 2013b (*SEG* 63, 1156); 2013c (*SEG* 63, 1155); 2015a; 2015b; 2016e.

⁷ Marek 1993.

⁸ Laflı and Christof 2012 (*SEG* 62, 1058).

⁹ Marek 2011 (*SEG* 61, 1086-1087).

¹⁰ Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005 (*SEG* 55, 724).

¹¹ Manov 2008 (*SEG* 59, 751).

¹² In the moment there is a corpus for only one region: *ILB I.2*.

¹³ Bozhilova *et al.* 1992; Kolendo and Bozhilova 1997 (*SEG* 47, 1148).

¹⁴ *ISM I* (see now for *addenda et corrigenda* Avram 2007b [*SEG* 57, 649]); *ISM II*.

¹⁵ *ISM III* (*SEG* 49, 1012).

¹⁶ *ISM V*.

¹⁷ *ISM IV*.

¹⁸ In 2018 (*ISM VI.2*).

¹⁹ Alexandrescu Vianu 2000 (*SEG* 51, 932).

²⁰ Conrad 2004 (*SEG* 54, 656).

²¹ Slawisch 2007 (*SEG* 57 606 bis).

²² Petrova 2015.

²³ I give here only a selection of the publications of this very productive epigraphist: Sharankov 2005a (*SEG* 55, 726, 762-763); 2005b (*SEG* 55, 753-761, 766-767); 2005c; 2007a (*SEG* 57, 619); 2007b (*SEG* 57, 635); 2009; 2011 (*SEG* 62, 500); 2013a; 2013b (*SEG* 58, 679; 63, 480); 2014; 2015; 2016a; 2016b; 2017a; 2017b. See also the newly discovered inscriptions from Dionysopolis published by the same scholar in the collective volumes cited at n. 70.

²⁴ Sofia 1956-97; I: 1970).

²⁵ Sharankov 2016a.

²⁶ Velkov 2005. Cf. Sharankov 2009 (*SEG* 59, 738, 740-746 and 748-749).

²⁷ For a complete epigraphic bibliography to 2014, see detailed references in Cojocaru 2014.

²⁸ See <http://iospe.cch.kcl.ac.uk/index.html>, an on-line third edition of the corpus of ancient Greek and Latin inscriptions from the northern coast of the Black Sea, continuing the legacy of the original *IOSPE*. For early inscriptions from Olbia, see also Dubois 1996.

²⁹ Let us hope that this electronic edition will be accompanied by a printed corpus soon.

³⁰ I give just a selection: Makarov 2005 (*SEG* 55, 839); 2006a (*SEG* 56, 871-878); 2006b (*SEG* 56, 880); 2007a; 2007b (*SEG* 55, 838; 57, 696); 2007c

informed, very advanced with his corpus of Chersonesus Taurica, as well as Ivantchik with his corpus of Tyras. For the Bosporan kingdom let's mention the illustrated album of the famous *Corpus inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* from 1965.³¹ On the other hand, very fine iconographic studies were proposed for some exceptional categories of monuments as the funerary reliefs from the Bosporan kingdom³² or the painted steles from Chersonesus Taurica.³³ We can add several corpora devoted to stamps on amphorae or tiles due in particular to Sergei Monakhov, Vladimir Kats and Nikolai Fedoseev.³⁴

This work has been accompanied by the publication of several important contributions to onomastics and prosopography. I only mention here the fourth and fifth volumes of the monumental *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (2005 and 2010) edited in Oxford under the direction of late Peter Fraser and Elaine Matthews and with the collaboration of many other scholars, Dan Dana's commented repertory on Thracian personal names,³⁵ as well as his numerous contributions in Thracian onomastics,³⁶ my own *Prosopographia Ponti Euxini externa*,³⁷ Nikolai Nikolaev's essays on Olbian prosopography³⁸ and several onomastic studies due to Sergei Tokhtasev.³⁹ On the other hand, several thematic corpora have been already produced and many other interesting projects have been announced: Mădălina Dana is preparing as a habilitation at Paris a corpus of the letters on lead or ceramics (with a substantial Pontic contribution),⁴⁰ Aleksei Belousov works on a corpus of the *defixiones* found on the North shore of the Black Sea,⁴¹ while Johannes Nollé and Marta Oller Guzmán already announced their intention to compile, after the model of the well-known *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*,⁴² a corpus of the epigrams furnished by the cities of the West and North shores of the Black Sea (ca. 1000 texts).⁴³

We can add several contributions to problems concerning political, social, economic, cultural and religious history of the West⁴⁴ and North Pontic areas⁴⁵ based largely on epigraphic material.⁴⁶

It is, therefore, allowed to speak about remarkable progress in the systematic editing of the Greek and Latin inscriptions of the Pontic area. As for the predictable perspective, I think that a new task for all of us is to integrate at least a part of this impressive epigraphic crop into the standard 'universal' corpora: *Inscriptiones Graecae* for the Greek inscriptions of the western and northern shores and, for the Latin inscriptions, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, whose very old third volume, including *inter alia* Thrace, Moesia Inferior and the North Pontus, must be re-edited imperatively.

Among the inscriptions discovered and published in the last 20 years I would mention first of all some rarities which could define a real peculiarity of Pontic epigraphy: the lead letters and the *defixiones*, mostly from the Archaic and Classical periods. It is true – and I make no apology – that many of these pieces which of late have appeared especially in Russian publications are due to illegal excavations made by occasional 'archaeologists' with metal detectors and belong to rather suspect private collections. The same phenomenon can be detected in the strange number of Roman military diplomas which appeared for some decades, mostly given as coming from 'the Lower Danube', 'Bulgaria' or 'former Yugoslavia', which means without any doubt that they had been detected on these territories, robbed and sold on the Western antiquities market. Unfortunately, countries around the Black Sea cannot successfully control on all occasions their own patrimony. The presence of such pieces in private collections is now a terrible reality. I do not discuss here the legal problems but, insofar these pieces have already been extracted from their initial archaeological context, I express my opinion that the only way to preserve at least a part of information is for collectors to open the door to epigraphists. There are obviously two distinct questions: the legal status of these objects and their scientific value as published monuments accessible to the scholars.

Many of the private lead or ceramic letters⁴⁷ concern the slave trade. This category of documents already reveals five terms for designating slaves: beside the classical *dōloi/dōlai* (in the already known, since 1971, and largely commented upon letter of Achillodoros from Berezan from the second half of the 6th or the first quarter of the 5th century BC,⁴⁸ and, more recently, as *douloi*, in a letter from Panticapaeum, from the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century BC),⁴⁹ we find *pais* (letter from Olbia, ca. 540-535 BC),⁵⁰ letter from Phanagoria, ca. 530-510 BC),⁵¹ *paidion* (or *paidiskos*) (letter from Gorgippia, ca. 350-325 BC),⁵² *oikētai* (letter from

(SEG 57, 701); 2009a (SEG 59, 814); 2009b (SEG 59, 815-816); 2010 (SEG 60, 808-809); 2013 (SEG 63, 568); 2014; 2015a; 2015b; Makarov and Samoilenko 2013 (SEG 63, 561-565).

³¹ Gavrilov et al. 2004 (SEG 54, 676).

³² Kreuz 2012.

³³ Posamentir 2011 (SEG 61, 608).

³⁴ Monakhov et al. 2016; Kats 2007; 2015; Gavrilov 2011; Fedoseev 2012; 2016.

³⁵ D. Dana 2014a.

³⁶ I give just a selection: D. Dana 2001-03; 2005; 2006 (SEG 55, 728 and 56, 814); 2009 (SEG 59, 760-767); 2014a; 2014b; 2014c; 2014d; 2016.

³⁷ Avram 2013a (SEG 63, 556).

³⁸ Nikolaev 2008; 2014.

³⁹ I mention here Tokhtasev 2000a; 2005; 2007a (SEG 57, 702); 2007b (SEG 57, 691).

⁴⁰ Defended on 31 March 2018. See also Ceccarelli 2013.

⁴¹ Belousov 2012 (SEG 63, 591).

⁴² Merkelbach and Stauber 1998-2004.

⁴³ Nollé and Oller Guzmán 2016.

⁴⁴ Nawotka 1997; Boteva 1997 (SEG 47, 1112); Tacheva 2000-04; Oppermann 2004 (SEG 54, 657); 2010; Chiekova 2008 (SEG 58, 718); Matei-Popescu 2010.

⁴⁵ Vinogradov 1997a (SEG 47, 1163); Saprykin 2002; Hupe 2006 (SEG 56, 896); Tokhtasev 2006 (SEG 66, 85); Müller 2010 (SEG 60, 794). In contrast, for a bad example of using epigraphic material in order to support a lot of strange theories, see Yailenko 2010 (cf. SEG 60, 801).

⁴⁶ For Miletus and its colonies, see now Nawotka 1999 (SEG 49, 1527); 2014. For Megara and its colonies Robu 2014. On cultural life M. Dana 2011 (SEG 61, 591).

⁴⁷ Vinogradov 1997b (SEG 47, 1175); 1998 (SEG 48, 988, 1011, 1024, 1029); M. Dana 2004 (cf. Santiago Álvarez and Gardeñes Santiago 2006 [SEG 54, 694]); 2007 (SEG 57, 689); 2016a; 2016b; 2017; Stolba 2005a (SEG 55, 859); 2005b (SEG 55, 857); Saprykin and Fedoseev 2010a; 2010b (SEG 60, 853); Awianowicz 2011 (SEG 59, 834); Bravo 2011 (SEG 61, 598, 615, 636); 2013 (SEG 63, 590 and 628); Belousov and Saprykin 2013 (see for this letter SEG 61, 614, with other editions and polemics; cf. Bravo 2014-15); Kashaev and Pavlichenko 2015; Zavoikina and Pavlichenko 2016.

⁴⁸ Dubois 1996, no. 23. See also no. 24.

⁴⁹ Saprykin and Fedoseev 2010b (SEG 60, 853; Ceccarelli 2013, 341, no. 9).

⁵⁰ Vinogradov 1997b, 154-57, no. 1 (SEG 48, 988; M. Dana 2007, 70-72, no. 1; Ceccarelli 2013, 336, no. 2). Cf. Bravo 2007 (SEG 58, 742).

⁵¹ Vinogradov 1998, 160-63, no. 3 (SEG 48, 1024; M. Dana 2007, 87-88, no. 12; Ceccarelli 2013, 337-338, no. 4). Cf. Bravo 2007, 55; 2013.

⁵² Vinogradov 1997b (SEG 47, 1175; M. Dana 2007, 89-90, no. 13; Müller 2010, 364, no. 5; Ceccarelli 2013, 343, no. 13).

Olbia from the end of the 6th century BC)⁵³ and *andrapodon* (in a newly published letter from Patrasys from the second half of the 5th century).⁵⁴ Nevertheless, as I have tried to demonstrate,⁵⁵ all these documents concern the slave trade and do not inform us about employment of servile manpower in the Pontic cities. We can confirm that the Black Sea constantly supplied the Mediterranean world with slaves but we continue to ignore the people concerned with the agriculture and workshops of the Pontic cities: free labour or, in some cases, as in Byzantium or Heraclea Pontica, where we have some literary evidence, dependent native communities, are in my opinion to be preferred as possible answer to this question.

As for the *defixiones*,⁵⁶ beside their contribution to the study of magic in the Greek world, we have the chance to detect a huge onomastic stock: rare, even new Greek, Scythian or Anatolian names which are now to be added to *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names IV*.

I would like to mention two other categories of inscriptions on metal which have been revealed in the Pontic area in particular in the last two decades. On the one hand, sling bullets with their names which could be sometimes identified with historical personalities such as Alexander the Great or his generals. We have such finds in Olbia, in the Dobrudja and in Bulgaria.⁵⁷ On the other hand, inscriptions on silver objects from Thracian treasures, in particular the sensational discovery of the tomb of king Seuthes III from Golyama Kosmatka mound with its vessels containing *inter alia* weight notations, which opened the door to interesting metrological studies.⁵⁸ Both sling bullets and silver vessels from Thrace represent fully new chapters in the Pontic epigraphy.

As for stone inscriptions, my selection can only be subjective. I will start with so-called 'historical' inscriptions which give us new valuable information on political events imperfectly known through literary testimonies. First of all, a 'pierre errante' found many years ago in the Medieval necropolis from Pliska, in Bulgaria, but coming, I would say, without doubt from Istros/Histria, informs us about the first razzias of the Germanic Skiroi at the Lower Danube about the end of the 3rd century BC.⁵⁹ More inscriptions concern the Mithridatic era: a fragmentary decree from Istros/Histria for a *strategos* of the king,⁶⁰ a *titulus honorarius* for another one from Olbia,⁶¹ a fragmentary proxeny decree from Olbia⁶² and, in particular,

a very spectacular monument from Phanagoria bearing the inscription 'Hypsikrates, wife of king Mithradates Eupator Dionysos, farewell'.⁶³ Not only do we learn that the queen died in Phanagoria but attention is required by the masculine name of Mithradates' last wife, which spectacularly confirms Plutarch's story (*Pompeius* 32. 8) about her bravery which attracted a masculine form for her name. A basis for a statue from Callatis erected for Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur, patron of the city,⁶⁴ to which we can recently add another inscription from Dionysopolis,⁶⁵ clarifies the context of the important military operations at the Lower Danube between ca. 9 and 6 BC and a decree from Istros/Histria⁶⁶ mentions the activities of the governor L. Pomponius Flaccus and his primipilaris C. Iulius Vestalis, both mentioned in Ovid's poems, about AD 19. Therefore, the 'prehistory' of the Roman province of Lower Moesia begins to reveal its secrets step by step. Finally, I would mention as a rather rare epigraphic class the fragmentary *enkomion* from Panticapaeum for a noble companion of a Bosphoran king who might be identified with Sauromates II or III.⁶⁷

Other inscriptions offer new data on the administrative and military organisation of the Roman provinces of Thrace and Lower Moesia, for example the beautiful series of monuments from Philippopolis concerning the Thracian *koinon*,⁶⁸ the documents from Dionysopolis or from the middle Strymon Valley revealing names of new strategies in Thrace⁶⁹ and many others (Latin or Greek) about the distribution and activities of Roman military units or of the *Classis Flavia Moesica*. Perhaps the most spectacular discovery of the last decades is the temple of the Pontic Mother of Gods from Dionysopolis.⁷⁰ We have the opportunity, since it is rather well preserved, not only to examine the architecture of this region during the Hellenistic period but also to discuss an impressive collection of epigraphic material, only partially published until now:⁷¹ beautiful decrees entirely preserved, inscriptions concerning Thracian kings and strategies, dedications to several gods and goddesses made by various associations, etc. Let's add, for their beauty, their antiquity (5th-4th centuries BC) and their importance for onomastic studies the impressive collection of funerary steles from Apollonia Pontica bearing a lot of rare Ionian names.⁷²

For the cultural life in the Pontic cities I can mention some interesting epigrams from Philippopolis⁷³ or from coastal cities, in particular that for an actor from Byzantium who performed and died in Tomis⁷⁴ and a Christian epigram from the same city.⁷⁵

⁵³ M. Dana 2004 (SEG 54, 694). Cf. Bravo 2011, 67-85 (SEG 61, 636).

⁵⁴ Zavoikina and Pavlichenko 2016.

⁵⁵ Avram 2007a.

⁵⁶ Tokhtasev 2000b (SEG 50, 702 = NGCT 118-121); Saprykin and Zinko 2003 (SEG 55, 867); Avram *et al.* 2007 (SEG 57, 665-671); Tokhtasev 2009a (SEG 57, 748; 59, 865); Belousov 2012; 2016; 2017; Belousov and Fedoseev 2014; 2016; Belousov, Dana and Nikolaev 2016; Belousov and Dana 2017; Stolba 2016.

⁵⁷ Olbia: Anochin and Rolle 1998 (SEG 48, 1021). Bulgaria and Romanian Dobrudja: Paunov and Dimitrov 2000 (SEG 52, 699); Christov and Manov 2011 (SEG 61, 556); Avram *et al.* 2013 (SEG 63, 510-517 and 1873); Avram 2013b; 2016; Nankov 2015; 2016; Manov 2016; Manov and Torbov 2016.

⁵⁸ Manov 2006; Tzochiev 2016. See also for the personal names and toponyms on silver vessels from Thracian treasures Loukopoulou 2008 (SEG 58, 668).

⁵⁹ Milchev 2002 (SEG 52, 754); Avram 2015. Cf. Sharankov 2005c.

⁶⁰ Avram and Bounegru 1997 (SEG 47, 1125); 2006 (SEG 56, 845).

⁶¹ Krapivina and Diatroptov 2005 (SEG 55, 855).

⁶² Ivantchik 2007 (SEG 57, 723).

⁶³ Kuznetsov 2006, 238-43 (SEG 56, 934).

⁶⁴ Avram and Ionescu 2007-09 (SEG 60, 783).

⁶⁵ N. Sharankov, in Lazarenko *et al.* 2010, 36 = Lazarenko *et al.* 2013, 63-64 (SEG 60, 763, with brief commentary).

⁶⁶ Bărbulescu and Buzoianu 2014. Cf. Jones 2016; Kantor 2017.

⁶⁷ Bowersock and Jones 2006 (AE 2005, 1340; SEG 55, 862). Cf. Ivantchik 2014.

⁶⁸ Sharankov 2007a.

⁶⁹ Parissaki 2009 (SEG 59, 718); 2013 (SEG 63, 468); Sharankov 2015.

⁷⁰ Lazarenko *et al.* 2010 (SEG 60, 758-779); 2013 (SEG 63, 520).

⁷¹ See an overview in SEG 60, 758-779.

⁷² Giuzelev 2002 (SEG 52, 662-689); 2005; 2007-09 (SEG 60, 683-734). Cf. Avram 2010 (SEG 60, 682).

⁷³ Sharankov 2007b (SEG 57, 635). Cf. Jones 2011 (SEG 61, 564).

⁷⁴ Avram and Jones 2011 with Staab 2011 (AE 2011, 1143; 'Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion' 27 [Kernos 2014], no. 8; SEG 61, 584). Cf. Nollé and Oller Guzmán 2016.

⁷⁵ Avram *et al.* 2016.

Finally, among the Latin inscriptions the most important would be perhaps the treaty between Rome and Callatis, the only one we know in Latin in the whole series of documents belonging to this class. The treaty was long known but a complete edition with an attempt to re-construct the whole text was given by me in 1999.⁷⁶

Last but not least, we cannot forget the graffiti. Some of them, in particular those discovered in expressive archaeological contexts, as in the Western *temenos* from Olbia, are full of information about cults (including new *epikleseis* for some divinities), religious associations and interesting personal names not attested by inscriptions on stone. The most important graffiti have been found in Olbia (where, due to Anna Rusyaeva, we have since 2010 a corpus at our disposal),⁷⁷ Nymphaeum (in particular on the well-known fresco)⁷⁸ and Panticapaeum and its *chora*.⁷⁹

I would conclude with the hope that our Pontic Greece will continue to produce interesting new epigraphic evidence able to attract prominent specialists world wide.

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⁷⁶ Avram 1999 (SEG 49, 1015).

⁷⁷ Rusyaeva 2010 (SEG 63, 592). See also Rusyaeva 2006 (SEG 61, 643).

⁷⁸ Tokhtasev 2009b (SEG 59, 835-836).

⁷⁹ Yailenko 2006 (SEG 56, 925); Fedoseev 2009 (SEG 59, 52); Saprykin and Maslennikov 2007 (SEG 58, 743).

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