Foreigners and the Foreign in some Black Sea Area Epigrams: Towards a Corpus of the Epigrams of the Black Sea Region

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The late Professor Reinhold Merkelbach, who has collected the epigrams of Asia Minor, suggested that we should follow his example by bringing together the epigrams of other parts of the Greek world in commented editions. In the spirit of this explicit wish, insistently expressed some days before his death, we have decided to start with the epigrams of the Black Sea Region. Therefore we have begun by drawing up an inventory of the poetic texts already published in the main corpora from Thrace, Moesia Inferior, the Northern Shore of the Black Sea and the Bosporan Kingdom. The epigrams from the Turkish Black Sea coast will not be included in our collection, as they have already been edited by our *spiritus rector* Merkelbach.

We will try to present each of the epigrams in a critical edition with an English translation, adding photographs, whenever possible. We suppose that the corpus will contain around 1000 epigrams, some of them already known for a long time, others recently published. Our idea is to provide each *lemma* with the following basic information: the epigram's date, the place where the stone was found and where it is now kept, furthermore a selected bibliography, and a brief commentary. Our understanding of each epigram will also be made clear by a translation into English. Our corpus will more or less follow the lines drawn up by Merkelbach for his edition of the epigrams of Asia Minor.

Indeed Greek verse inscriptions have been the subject of different editions and studies throughout several disciplines of Classics. Since the collection compiled by Georg Kaibel and published by him in the late 19th century (s. EG), anthologies of stone epigrams are numerous. To mention

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only the most important corpora, we should firstly remember the selection of verse inscriptions made by Paul Friedländer and Herbert Hoffleit, published in 1948 (s. FH), which includes nearly two hundred stone epigrams from the earliest times of Greek poetry to the Persian Wars. Only seven years later, in 1955, Werner Peek published a new and monumental compilation of sepulchral epigrams − more than two thousand − (s. GVI), which received some harsh criticism due to the excessive, sometimes very uncertain and risky restorations of damaged texts,[1] but irrespectively of this it has been for many years a work of reference, and is still indispensable. At any rate, we should not deny Peek's applaudable command of Greek epigrammatic language.

Three decades later, between 1983 and 1989, the *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca,* edited by Peter Allan Hansen (s. CEG I-II) and more committed to transparent and acceptable editorial guidelines, were presented and, finally, around the turn of the millenium, Reinhold Merkelbach and Josef Stauber published an extremely useful collection of verse inscriptions from the Greek East in five large-format volumes (s. SGO). Despite criticism from various sides that occasionaly there are some shortcomings in editing and commenting single epigrams, this collection is an enormous contribution, since it made these epigrams available and easily accessible as never before.

Obviously, these corpora have different criteria of selecting, editing, ordering and commenting texts, and thereby, it depends on the particular author, on whether he prioritises a philological, historical or another aspect. As a whole, all these editions offer some basis for the study of such poetical texts.

However, despite the existence of these collections, one cannot avoid the impression that stone epigrams are still in *no man's land*. Often considered as a second-rate genre by philologists, they do not receive much attention from historians, who think that they can extract more profitable data from other types of inscriptions.[2] Their often standardized structure and highly formulaic character, especially in the archaic and classical periods, does not help to foster interest in these poetic compositions, which are often brief and anonymous. On the other hand, not a few historians consider the difficulties to gain a clear understanding of these texts so high and the possible outcome of these efforts so meagre that they do not feel it is worth investing substantial time and energy in dealing with them.

[1] Edson 1958: 114f.; Robert 1959.

[2] See some interesting remarks on the epigram's particular status 'between poetry and document' in Baumbach [et al.] 2010: 4–11.

As regards the information which we can get from these epigrams, we have to differentiate between votive, funerary and, to a lesser extent, honorary epigrams. Other genres, for example oracular responses or religious texts like hymns or sacred regulations, are quite rare. We are repeatedly confronted with these three major topics; everywhere there are the same motifs and themes very often treated in a quite stereotyped way. Epigrams on stone will mainly focus on the worship of the gods, they will lament the bitterness of death as well as its harsh circumstances and cruel consequences, and finally they may serve the glorification of a person that rendered services worthy of memory to a community.

Otherwise, since they very often reflect everyday issues and common situations in human life, it is interesting to wonder why relatively many Greeks used poetic expressions to convey them to the public. This is not the place to discuss all possible reasons for this choice, but it is clear that the influence of prestigious poetic models such as elegy, choral lyric and, above all, epic, and the familiarity of higher educated people with them played a key role, at least initially.

I. Epigrams on foreigners: some examples

In order to show that such a collection does not end in itself, but opens up new possibilities for different studies of all sorts − as Merkelbach's and Stauber's five volumes already did −, we would like to reveal the interest of such texts for throwing light on mobility and contact of people in the North Pontic area, which is the one of the main topics of this volume. We have collected some stone inscriptions in verse from this area, whose verses are related to foreigners and express some ideas about life far away from home.

It is well known that the legal status of a person in the ancient Greek world was directly linked to membership in a particular religious and political community or polis. For this reason, the conditions of people living abroad in a foreign city were often precarious and sometimes downwright difficult. This fact, however, did not prevent people from travelling around and living in foreign *poleis* for very different reasons. Political exiles, pilgrims, craftsmen, travellers and especially traders, all of them were susceptible of receiving welcome and eventually forced to integrate themselves, whether temporarily or permanently, in a community other than their home city, where, at least initially, they were deprived not only of obligations but also of important rights.[3] However, we should also keep in mind that in Roman Imperial times the superior legislation of the

[3] Gardeñes Santiago 2003: 107–110; Baslez 2008: passim. On foreigners in Athens, there is an abundant literature, but can serve as reference, Gauthier 1972: passim, particularly

Romans created a basic legal and juridical certainty for all people of their empire.

The dynamics of the Greek polis had already led to the development of different forms of protection and integration of foreigners, the last stage of which was the granting of citizenship rights. In any case, we must remember that this was a restricted privilege, so that many foreigners lived and died far from their home in a precarious residence situation. Therefore it is very interesting to see how these people expressed their experience of being a foreigner or an outsider in a poetic language. Some of these poetical texts accentuate peoples' pride in the city where they were born, whereas others praise their new home. Very often, they tell us that they felt well at both places; they may have thought: I feel at home where I am doing well. In such cases, the new home city had become an acceptable substitute for their town of birth. We should also recognise that poetical language offers the chance to address certain local conditions and problems only very indirectly so that after two millenia we are confronted with huge difficulties in understanding the true situation as well as the feelings of these people properly.

In many cases it is very interesting to note what kind of images and which poetic phrases they use to introduce their home city and the foreign place of residence. Furthermore, in order to show both their higher education (*paideia*) and their love for a special city (*philopatria*), many authors of epigrams repeatedly make references to local myths, i.e. to the *patria* traditions.[4] Very often, we have serious difficulties to understand these allusions to tales which were well known to most of the locals, but which were handed down to us fragmentarily or, at worst, have gone lost.

In some epigrams we encounter linguistic or stylistic variations not found in other epigrams of this area. They may emphasize its author's foreign origin. All these aspects and some others are worth being analyzed to the greatest possible extent insofar as they provide us with intrinsic information for the object of our study.

I.1. The Epigram for Euelpistos from Byzantion

As already said before, the fact of being a foreigner is treated in many different ways in verse-inscriptions. The nuances are numerous, they range from the nostalgia for the homeland left behind to the praise of the new host community. An interesting example of this emotional dichotomy may be found in an epigram from the 2nd century CE. It was

107–127 (on access to justice); Manville 1990: 11–13, 93–104 (on land tenure); Hunter 2000: 15–23 and Ginestí Rosell 2013 (on social status).

[4] For *patria*-traditions cf. Nollé 2014: 245f.

recently published by Alexandru Avram and Christopher P. Jones, and shortly after commented by Georg Staab and Thom Russell. This epigram was carved on one of the longsides of a sarcophagus found in a Roman necropolis of Tomis. The poem consists of 16 hexameters.[5]

Inside a *tabula ansata*

Εἰναχίας γαίης προλιπὼν περιώνυμον | ἄστυ
Εἰόνιον τόδ' ἔβην ἱερὸν πέδον, ἄστυ | Τόμοιο,
οὐ βραδὺς εἰς ἀρετὰν οὐδ' εἰς <σ>τ|εφάνους ἀμύητος. v
ἀλλ' ἐδάην μὲν ἐ|γὼ κροτάφοις ἐπ' ἐμοῖσι φορῆσαι ❦ 4
στέμ|μαθ', ἅ μοι πόρε Μοῦσα θεὰ κατὰ γαῖαν ἅ|πασαν,
εὖ μὲν ἀπανγέλλων τραγικὸν στί|χον, εὖ δὲ ἀείδων.
ἀλλ' ἐπ(ε)ὶ οὖν με πόλις | ξεινηδόχος ἔνθα κατέσχε, ❦ 7
δῶκεν δὲ | φιλίην ἄλοχον, δῶκεν δὲ τέκνοιο γονήν μοι, |
καὶ βίον ἐξετέλεσσα, ὅσον θέτο νήματα Μοιρῶν. |
τύμβον ἔχω δὲ θανὼν ἐρατῷ ἰδίῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ | 10
ἀνθεμόεντ' ἀνὰ χῶρον, ὅπου καλὰ κλήμα|τα Βάχχου·
ἤλυθα δ' εἰς Ἀίδην προλιπὼν | ἐμὰ δώματα τέκνῳ. vvv

Beneath the *tabula ansata*

ὡς μή τίς με θανόντα κακῶς ῥέξειε πολείτης· | 13
λοιπὸν ἀνανκαῖόν σε μαθεῖν, παροδεῖτα κράτιστε, |
οὔνομά μοι τί πότ' ἐστι, πόλις δέ με γείνατο ποία· |
Εὐέλπιστον Σώσου με Βυζάντιον v εἶπον ἅπαντ v ες. | 16

"Having left the all around-famous city of the Inachian land, I came to this sacred ground, land of Io, to the city of Tomos, and already at that time I was not slow in quest of virtue and I was not uninitiated in regard to the wreaths. But then I learnt to wear wreaths on my temples again and again: All over the world my goddess, the Muse, presented them to me, due to my recitation of the tragic verse with a wonderful voice. But then, when the hospitable city retained me back here, it gave me a beloved wife, it presented me with the birth of a child, and I ended my life as the Moirai's threads determined. Having died I own a tomb on my own lovely estate, at a flowery place, amidst Bacchus' beautiful tendrils. Having left my houses to my child, I am now in Hades. After my death no citizen should do wrong to me. Finally, you should know, honorable wayfarer, what my name is, and which city gave me birth: All people called me Euelpistos, son of Sosos, citizen of Byzantion."

The man who tells us the story of his life in this poem was an actor from Byzantion, as the last verse makes it undeniably clear.[6] In this way, the poem's last line is connected with the first one, which alludes to this origin,

[5] Ed. Avram – Jones 2011; cf. Staab 2011; Russell 2012.

[6] On the presence of poets and dramatic authors from the Black Sea cities, particularly from Sinope, in the Athenian contests of tragedy and comedy see Dana 2011: 266–268.

but in a very mysterious way, which puts the reader's mythological knowledge to the test. This structure gives the poem the appearance of a riddle. Anyhow, this funerary epigram takes a great pleasure in making vague indications so that its reader may be reminded of Herakleitos' description of Apollon's Delphic oracle: οὔτε λέγει, οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει.[7]

v. 1–2: Usually the beginnings of the city of Byzantion were closely connected with its eponymous founder Byzas. This is the case of its coins from the Roman Imperial period, and a lot of local lore included many stories about the circumstances of Byzantion's foundation by Byzas (pl. I.1).[8] However, Euelpistos resorted on a foundation story quite unknown to most people, which is only preserved by chance in the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, so that we have some scanty knowledge of this tradition's existence. According to this tale, people from Argos are among the different waves of Byzantion's early founders.[9] That is why the epigrammatist could justifiably call Byzantion Ἰνάχια γαίη: the river-god Inachos was Argos' first king and hence the father of all Argives. We can be sure that Euelpistos, the reciter of tragic verse, knew this phrase from Aischylos' *Prometheus bound*.[10] By using this Aischylean phrase for describing Byzantion he stylized his native city as a second Argos. Argive ancestry was highly appreciated in the cultural milieu of the so-called Second Sophistic.[11]

Furthermore, Inachos' daughter Io, metamorphosed into a cow, came to this place, where she gave birth to Keroessa, Byzas' mother, and where the narrow strait between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara was later on − after she had crossed it − called Bosphoros. In the case of Byzantion this myth conveyed identity as it can be seen from a coin type minted by the city: It shows a dolphin and a cow that should be identified with Io (pl. I.2), as Thom Russell has convincingly shown.[12] Like many other Greek cities Byzantion had a long row of founders, each of whom had contributed in a special way to the city's fame and glory. Various founders provided the chance of creating several identities, which could be used for different argumentative purposes. But the author of this poem − perhaps

[7] Heraclit. (Diels – Kranz, frgm. 93); cf. Kirk – Raven – Schofield 1984: 230.

[8] Obv. ΒΥΖΑΣ; bearded and helmeted head of Byzas r. – Rev. ЄΠ · M · AΥ · ANTΩNI · ΒΥΖΑNTIΩN; eagle facing, head l., perching on a rock (Schönert-Geiss 1972: 146 Nr. 2073f. sample in Athen); cf. Nollé 2015: 47–51, explaining the meaning of the eagle, which alludes to a foundation story.

[9] [Hesych Mil.], Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ Ἡσύχιον Ἰλλούστριον I 2 (Preger 1901, § 4; vgl. Berger 2013: 2–5. § 2). On the possible Argive participation in the foundation of Byzantion, see Russell 2012: 134f.; Robu 2014b: 273–278.

[10] Cf. Avram – Jones 2011: 129.

[11] E.g. Robert 1980: 78–90.

[12] Silver Siglos: Obv. ΠΥ; cow walking on dolphin l. – Rev. Incusum (Auction Pecunem 35, 6.9.2015, no. 62); cf. Russell 2012.

Euelpistos himself, who may have composed his own funerary epigram before his death – did not select a very well-known foundation story, but a relatively unknown one. Why did he do so? Why had he decided to focus on the tradition according to which Byzantion's founding place is 'Inachos soil', thus alluding to the city's Argive colonists, who laid claim to this land, and to Io's passing through it?

We think that the next verse can help us to answer this question, but we have to understand it in a different way than the scholars who have dealt with it so far. The most problematic word, also decisive for a clear understanding of the second hexameter, is the first one: EIONION. Whereas Alexandru Avram and Christopher P. Jones associated it with Io and read Εἰόνιον, Gregor Staab proposed to interpret it as ἠόνιον, i. e. 'near the sea'. While Staab has made some considerable contributions to the reading and understanding of the first two lines, we cannot share his view on EIONION. We think that he is right when he argued against connecting EIONION with περιώνυμον ἄστυ/Byzantion, as Avram and Jones had done. The following τόδ᾽ ('this here') makes totally clear that it refers to something which has to do with ἄστυ | Τόμοιο. But the interpretation of EIONION as ἠόνιον is not only 'sehr gewählt', as Staab himself admits, but it also 'waters down the mythological allusions'.[13] In our view the reading ἠόνιον is a kind of stopgap solution. Therefore it seems preferable to fall back on the explanation given by Avram and Jones, but to relate it to the city of Tomos and not to Byzantion.

Our explanation of EIONION is that according to local lore Io – transformed into a cow and chased by a terrible horsefly across nearly all parts of the Greek world – passed also through the territory of Tomis. We think that some cities of the Black Sea area may have used this myth to integrate themselves into the Greek world and to participate in Greek traditions. There is indeed no problem to connect the wandering Io with this area, since (Ps.)-Apollodoros states in his *Bibliotheke*:

> Ἥρα δὲ τῆι βοῒ οἶστρον ἐμβάλλει ἡ δὲ πρῶτον ἦκεν εἰς τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης Ἰόνιον κόλπον κληθέντα, ἔπειτα διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος πορευθεῖσα καὶ τὸν Αἷμον ὑπερβαλοῦσα διέβη τὸν τότε μὲν καλούμενον πόρον Θράικιον, νῦν δὲ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης Βόσπορον. (8) ἀπελθοῦσα δὲ εἰς Σκυθίαν καὶ τὴν Κιμμερίδα γῆν, πολλὴν χέρσον πλανηθεῖσα καὶ πολλὴν διανηξαμένη θάλασσαν Εὐρώπης τε καὶ Ἀσίας, τελευταῖον ἦκεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὅπου τὴν ἀρχαίαν μορφὴν ἀπολαβοῦσα γεννᾶι παρὰ τῶι Νείλωι ποταμῶι Ἔπαφον παῖδα.
>
> "Hera next sent a gadfly to infest the cow, and the animal came first to what is called after her the Ionian gulf. Then she journeyed through Illyria

[13] So Russell 2012: 134.

> and having traversed Mount Haemus she crossed what was then called the Thracian Straits but is now called after her the Bosphorus. And having gone away to Scythia and the Cimmerian land she wandered over great tracts of land and swam wide stretches of sea both in Europe and Asia until at last she came to Egypt, where she recovered her original form and gave birth to a son Epaphus beside the river Nile."[14]

This handbook of Greek mythology tells us that Io − after her jump into that part of the Mediterranean Sea, which was named after her − went again ashore at the Illyrian coast and wandered from there through the Balkan Mountains into Thracia, where she reached the Haimos Mountains. Having crossed the Thracian Bosphoros, she came to the Scythians and Kimmerians. As the Kimmerian Bosphoros (Kerch strait) also took its name from her,[15] Greek mythologists faced the necessity to let Io or rather the cow visit and cross these straits, which link the Pontos Euxeinos (Black Sea) with the Maeotis (Sea of Azov) and which, on account of this, were also named Bosphoros. Already Aischylos linked the Cimmerian Bosphoros with Io in his *Prometheus Bound*,[16] but his geographical picture of the Black Sea Region is totally confusing.[17] We have no idea about Io's exact itinerary in this area − it may depend on who told it and who used it for whatever purpose, so that it may have taken several forms −, but we think that it was obviously used by some cities like Tomis to integrate themselves into the Greek mythological world. In the case of Tomis we can trace still more local lore linking this city with the Greek world – e.g. a mythical tradition which claims the Dioskouroi as town founders.[18]

Understood in this way, the funerary poem of Euelpistos starts with two similarly constructed verses:

> Εἰναχίας γαίης προλιπὼν περιώνυμον | ἄστυ
> Εἰόνιον τόδ' ἔβην ἱερὸν πέδον, ἄστυ | Τόμοιο …

Εἰναχίας γαίης correlates with Εἰόνιον (τόδ' ἱερὸν) πέδον,[19] προλιπών with ἔβην and περιώνυμον | ἄστυ with ἄστυ | Τόμοιο. By these highly sophisticated means the poet, most likely Euelpistos himself,[20] wanted to

[14] Translation of J. G. Frazer, Apollodorus. The Library I (Loeb Classical Library), 1921.
[15] Burr 1932: 25 and 37.
[16] A. *Pr.* 729–731.
[17] Cf. e.g. Finkelberg 1998: 120: "It is generally agreed that this geography does not make sense, and it is not hard to see why."
[18] IScM II 123; cf. Babelon 1948.
[19] We should understand πέδον not as 'plain', but as 'soil' or 'ground', i.e. in the same sense as γαίη in the preceding verse.
[20] Cf. Avram – Jones 2011: 130: "The reminiscences of Aeschylus (?) and Euripides (above, on vv. 1 and 8) suggest that Euelpistus wrote the epigram himself while preparing his sarcophagus ζῶν καί φρονῶν".

express that he had not changed residence to an entirely foreign place, but to one with mythical traditions similar to those circulating in Byzantion. One function of Greek mythic tales was to create ties between Greek cities and the people living in them. Myths could be used as a resource for interconnectivity.

v. 3: In their translation, Avram and Jones[21] combined this hypotactic verse with the following one, but this is syntactically impossible because of the initial ἀλλ᾽ in v. 4. This hexameter, as Staab has seen, needs to be connected with the preceding verse; it describes in which condition Euelpistos came to Tomis. Staab interprets εἰς <σ>τ|εφάνους ἀμύητος as "hinsichtlich Siegeskränzen nicht uneingeweiht".[22] We think that 'Siegeskränze' leads the understanding of this verse in a wrong direction. Only in the next verses the poem speaks about the agonistic crowns which Euelpistos won for his skill in declamation. Ἀμύητος is a strong indication that Euelpistos was already partially initiated into the mysteries of Dionysos when he came to Tomis. It is not surprising that an actor, who is most likely a member of the professional association of Dionysiac Artists (*Technitai*), is a worshipper of Dionysos. Concerning the use of wreaths in Dionysiac mysteries, Clemens Alexandrinus[23] states:

> βακχεύοντες οὐδὲ ἄνευ στεφάνων ὀργιάζουσιν· ἐπὰν δὲ ἀμφιθῶνται τὰ ἄνθη, πρὸς τὴν τελετὴν ὑπερκάονται.
>
> "The people who are worshippers of Bakchos do not practise their rituals without wreaths. As soon as they have put flower wreaths on their head, they are inflamed for initiation into the mysteries."[24]

It can reasonably be assumed that, due to his membership in this religious association, Euelpistos could integrate himself more easily into the society of the city of Tomis, where, as some inscriptions point out, several Dionysiac associations were active (cf. the commentary on v. 11).

v. 8: We cannot be sure that the child was a son, as all the scholars before us have thought.

v. 11: The flowers as well as the tendrills around Euelpistos' grave place evoke the presence of Dionysos, his epiphany, and can be understood as a promise for eternal life. For the connection of flowers with Dionysos, Deubner (1932: 121) adds:

> "So stellen sich uns die Anthesteria dar als ein Frühlingsfest, bei dem man sich für das kommende Jahr mannigfache Segnungen zuzuwenden suchte. Es herrscht die Empfindung eines Einschnitts: das alte römische

[21] Avram – Jones 2011: 129.
[22] Staab 2011: 97.
[23] Cf. Merkelbach 1988: 99.
[24] *Paed.* 2.73.1f. For the role of wreaths for initiations cf. also Merkelbach 1988: 179.

> Jahr begann ja auch mit dem Frühlinge, dem ersten März. Man fängt neu an, und darum sorgt man auch dafür, daß die Toten zufriedengestellt werden, damit die Rechnung mit dem vergangenen Jahr glatt aufgehe. (...) Als Gott des Frühlings, der Fruchtbarkeit und der Blüten tritt schließlich auch Dionysos mit dem Fest in Verbindung. Wurde er doch als Blütengott (Εὐανθής und Ἄνθιος) in Attika verehrt. Sein von Ariadne geborener Sohn heißt Schönblüt (Εὐάνθης), und auf einem der Schiffskarrenbilder hält er eine Blume in der Hand."

Moreover, Daszewski (1985: 39–41) discusses two mosaic images at Paphos/Cyprus which show flowers' bursting into bloom in connection with Dionysos' epiphany.[25] For the flower wreaths of people initiated in the mysteries of Dionysos see our commentary on v. 3.

This verse also alludes to the vine grapes of Tomis. In contrast to Ovidius,[26] Euelpistos' poem underlines the discrepancy between reality and the picture of Tomis area as drawn by the Latin Poet. Likewise, the coins minted by the city of Tomis shed further light on the role of viticulture on the city's territory. These civic pieces of money repeatedly propagate the importance of winegrowing for Tomis by depicting a bunch of grapes (pl. II.1–2).[27]

Tomis' coins also underline that Dionysos is one of the city's leading gods. Most of them show a very common Dionysos type: the god of wine pouring out wine in order to feed his leopard with it (pl. III.1).[28] However, there are also some types of greater interest. One of them shows Dionysos standing in a stylized temple (pl. III.2);[29] by this coin type, the people of Tomis proclaimed that they maintained an important temple in honour of this god. Another coin shows a rather uncommon image: a drunken Dionysos is leaning on a column which is entwined by a snake (pl. IV.1).[30]

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[25] Christian tradition is following these ancient concepts by linking the coming into bloom of Christmas roses and cherry sprigs with the birth/epiphany of Jesus.

[26] Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.71f: *non hic pampinea dulcis latet uva sub umbra,| nec cumulant altos fervida musta lacus*. "Neither sweet grapes are hidden hear in the shadow of vine leafs, / nor fermenting must fills the deep wine tanks."

[27] E.g. Obv.: Bust of Dionysos with ivy wreath r., before him Thyrsos. – Rev. TO-MI-TW-N; bunch of grapes (Auction Heidelberger Münzhandlung Grün 64, 20.11.2014, no. 1914 = pl. II.1); Obv. KTICTHC – TOM-OC; diademed head of the founder Tomos r. – Rev. TOMI-TΩN; bunch of grapes (Auction Helios 7, 12.12.2011, no. 473 = pl. II.2).

[28] E.g. Obv. AVT · K · Λ · AVP – KOMOΔOC; laureated draped bust of Commodus r. – Rev. MHTPOΠ · ΠONT-OV TOMЄΩC; drunk naked Dionysos standing facing, holding crater in his r. hand, l. arm raised above his head, l. leopard (Auction CNG 88, 14.09.2011, no. 721).

[29] Obv. AV K Π CЄΠ-TI ΓЄTAC; draped laureated bust r. – Rev. MHTP-OΠ· – ΠO-NT· TO-MЄΩC (the last letters in exergue); stylized temple with krepis, four colums and pediment, between the columns Dionysos st. l., in his r. hand vessel, with his l. hand holding Thyrsos, l. leopard (Summer Auction Rauch 2011, 19.09.2011, no. 842).

[30] Obv. M IOVΛIOC ΦIΛIΠΠOC – KAICAP (last word in exergue); barheaded draped bust of Phlipp II. as Caesar l. facing the draped bust of Sarapis. – Rev. MHTPOΠ ΠON–TOV

There exist some connections between Dionysos and the snake.[31] Snakes are, generally speaking, mystical animals; they are depicted leaving the Dionysiac *cista mystica* or entwining it. When Zeus approached his daughter Persephone, by whom he begat Dionysos (Zagreus), he had previously transformed himself into a snake.

Very likely, the coin mentioned above alludes to Dionysos as the god who had established the mysteria. A relief, which can be identified as a votive offering of a Dionysiac association was found in the territory of Tomis. It depicts the young Dionysos protected by the Curetes. The presence of the Curetes, who were the protectors of the young Dionysos, also seems to indicate that the citizens of Tomis believed that the god of wine was born on their territory, as did so many other cities of the Greek World.[32] Thus they could explain the high quality of their grapes as a gift of this god, who had a special relationship with the city by virtue of his birth there. We have sufficient evidence for an intensive veneration of Dionysos in Tomis, especially by Dionysiac associations. Maria Alexandrescu Vianu has collected the greater part of it and offered a thorough commentary.[33] In two hexameters of the epigram Euelpistos seems to allude to his membership in one of these Dionysiac associations. Whether he – protected by Dionysos – contented himself with having enjoyed a successful career and a happy life or whether he also hoped for a blissful afterlife cannot be determined.

v. 12: Neither the translation of Avram and Jones (followed by Russell) 'my home' nor Staab's 'meinen Besitz' meet the sense of ἐμὰ δώματα fully. The plural refers to the house where he lived when he was alive, as well as to the building in which the sarcophagus stood. By bequeathing both of them to his child, Euelpistos also conferred him the right to be buried in the tomb he had built. Concessions of this kind are very common in grave inscriptions.

v. 13: We do not believe that this verse is to combine with the preceding verse, as Staab has proposed, neither is it linked to the following verses, as Avram and Jones thought. The mere fact that there is a lacuna should prevent us from understanding the text as Staab does; a further problem of his reading is that he has to explain the use of the optative in a consecutive clause (ὡς = ὥστε). While Staab's solution of the problem is not satisfactory in our view, his criticism of Avram's

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ΤΟΜΕΩC; Dionysos, naked, standing facing, looking right, r. arm raised above his head, l. arm holding grape-bunch and resting on column with serpent coiled around it (CNG ElA 159, 28.02.2007, no. 133).

[31] Cf. Alexandrescu Vianu 2007: 222.

[32] Cf. D.S. 3.64 and Laager 1957: 113.

[33] Alexandrescu Vianu 2007.

and Jones' interpretation seems partially acceptable to us. On the other hand, Avram and Jones are right when they state that "Line 13 (...) seems to represent the usual wish that his tomb not be mistreated, whether by being used for the burial of a stranger, by the inscription being altered or erased, or in some other way". However, the ὡς is not to be explained as a final conjunction, as they did, but as a conjunction introducing optative clauses.[34]

For some reason Euelpistos took up residence in the city of Tomis, where he finally died.[35] We can guess that the love to that woman, whom he married, kept him there. It seems that he married her, when he had finished his career and ended his wandering life. The birth of only one child can be an indication that Euelpistos' marriage was concluded when he was already advanced in years.

In its middle section, or rather in its central part, the poem, narrated in the first person, praises the hospitality of Euelpistos' host city Tomis. It became his new home city and gave him a beloved wife and a child. The use of the word ξεινηδόχος (ξείνος + δέχομαι) for describing this city clearly evokes the ancient institution of *xenía*, which established the duty to accommodate and secure the foreigner, who came peacefully or asking for help. The first mention of this term is found in a famous passage of the *Iliad* in which Menelaos asks Zeus to punish Paris/Alexander for seducing, abducting and finally marrying Helena. Menelaos calls for revenge so that onwards no one would dare to cause harm to a host (ξεινοδόκον κακὰ ῥέξαι).[36]

Furthermore, the epigram mentions that Euelpistos' tomb is located on a private plot of land, owned by the deceased (L. 10: ἐρατῷ ἰδίῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ), which allows to infer that Euelpistos enjoyed the right of access to real estate (ἔγκτησις).[37] This idea is also supported by the reference to houses (ἐμὰ δώματα) which he had bequeathed to his child. As he merely mentions his Byzantian citizenship, we think that Euelpistus lacked full citizenship in Tomis.[38] This may be somehow surprising, when we fully recognise that artists like Euelpistos were very often granted foreign citizenship and that his wife most probably originated from Tomis.[39] Be that as it may, Euelpistos' legal status could be that of a permanent resident invested with particular privileges, undoubtedly including access to

[34] Cf. for the so-called Kupitiv introduced by ὡς Schwyzer – Debrunner 1950: 320f.

[35] It is well known that in the 3rd century BCE Byzantion confronted the cities of Callatis and Histria for the control of the commercial site of Tomis. On this episode, Robu 2014a, who collects previous literature.

[36] Hom. *Il.* 3.351–354. On this passage and its meaning in the context of the Homeric *xenía*, see Santiago Álvarez 2013: 33.

[37] Pečírka 1992: 279–285.

[38] Contra, Avram – Jones 2011: 126, 134.

[39] Cf. Robert 1970: 22 n. 1/663 n. 1; Frisch 1986: 121f.

real estate, but, in our opinion, he had not become naturalized.[40] Verse 13 (ὡς μή τίς με θανόντα κακῶς ῥέξειε πολείτης), which has some verbal similarities with the passage of Homer mentioned before, may indicate that in Euelpistos' heart had remained some distrust against the citizens of Tomis. In this way, the epigram of Euelpistos can be interpreted as an interesting testimony for the real or only imagined vulnerability of people living abroad. Integration is an extraordinarily complex process.

I.2. The epigram of Gorgias

Particularly around the middle of the 3rd century CE, the people of the Balkans were confronted with foreigners bringing blood and thunder into their area. The invasions of barbarious people, especially of Gothic tribes, confronted an area, which had enjoyed the *Pax Romana* for a long time, with brutal lootings. Since the Marcomannic war the people of the Roman provinces along the Danube came to realise that the Roman emperor was not totally able to guarantee their safety. Especially, the plunderings of the Costoboci, who after the looting of Thrace finally reached Eleusis and destroyed its famous sanctuary, made it obvious that the repair of the cities' defensive walls was required. Therefore, since the reign of Marcus Aurelius, some Thracian cities started with the rebuilding of their city fortifications; others followed in the following decades. City coins were minted that propagated the cities' newly regained strength for defend. They often show a mighty gate tower with portcullis being suitable for warding off a surprise attack (pl. IV.2 and V.1).[41]

For a long time the barbarians were not able to capture a well fortified and cleverly defended town. However, the people living in unfortified villages or country estates suffered all the more. The coin hoards, which in this time were buried all over the countryside, bear witness to this situation.

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[40] Piñol Villanueva (2013) argues convincingly that in the first Greek literary and epigraphic sources (8th–5th century BCE) the access of foreigners to real state is usually associated with the granting of citizenship. Later on, in Classical and Hellenistic period, the ownership of land extends to unnaturalized foreigners through the privilege of *énktesis*.

[41] Cf. e.g. a coin of the times of Marcus Aurelius, minted by Augusta Traiana: Obv. AY KAI M AYPHΛI – ANTΩNEINOC; draped and laureated bust of Marcus Aurelius r. – Rv. HΓE TOYΛ MAΞIMOY AYTOYCTHC – TPAIANHC (last word in exergue); city gate with portcullis, protected by three battlemented towers (Gorny & Mosch 165, 17.03.2008, no. 1498 = pl. IV.2). Further coins depicting an impressively reinforced town gate were minted in the reign of Septimius Severus, e.g.: Obv. AV K Λ CEΠTI – CEVHPOC ΠEP; laureated bust of Septimius Severus r. – Rev. HΓE CIKINNOY KΛAPOY AYTOYCTHC – TPAIANHC; city gate with portcullis protected by three battlemented towers (Stack's Bowers and Ponterio, Sale 174 [N.Y.I.N.C. Auction Ebert II & Sess. C], 12.01.2013, no. 6238 = pl. V.1).

A funeral epigram composed by two trochaic tetrameters coming from a village or a villa on the territory of Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora, Novoselec; mid 3rd century CE) can demonstrate this:[42]

> ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. |
> Γοργίᾳ θανόντι πατρὶ | βαρβάρων ὑπ' ἔγχεσιν |
> οὐ παρὼν ἔθηκε μνή|μης χάριν τοῦτο παῖς | ὁ Γοργίου{ι}.
>
> "With good luck! To his father Gorgias, dead from the barbarians' spears, Gorgias's child, who was not present, erected this in remembrance of him."

A certain Gorgias was probably murdered by marauding barbarians. His child was not present when this happened and therefore avoided the same fate. We can guess that Gorgias, most likely the owner of a villa, had sent his family into the much safer city and tried to defend his estate. As only a child is mentioned by the text of this epigram, we can suppose that the wife of Gorgias was not alive anymore. When the barbarians had retreated, Gorgias's child went to the family estate and buried his father. The complicated metre of the epigram leads to the conclusion that the child had had access to a quality education or had enough money to pay a poet.

It is worth noting that even in such a disastrous situation people composed or had others compose this kind of epigrams. Naturally, the love for his father may have caused the child to give him a worthy funeral. We may also wonder whether the hope that the momentary situation was only an accident lies behind this acting.

I.3. The honorary epigram for Aspar

More or less in the same terrible time (ca. 250/251 CE), when the territory of Augusta Traiana was plundered and Gorgias was slain by barbarians, the afflicted city erected a statue of a certain Aspar:[43]

> [ἀγ]αθῆι τύχηι.
> τὸν κρατερὸν πτολέ|[μ]οισι καὶ ἄτρομον | [ἀ]σπιδιώτην |
> Ἄσπαρα χαλκείῃ | εἰκόνι τῖσε πόλις.
>
> "With good luck! The city honoured Aspar, the bulwark against the enemies and the intrepid shield-bearing warrior, with a bronze statue."

The man bears an Iranian name[44] and is described as a bastion against the enemies and as a fearless warrior. The quite rare word ἀσπιδιώτης

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[42] IGBulg III 2, 1677.

[43] IGBulg III 2, 1580. SEG 3, 553.

[44] Justi 1895: 45 f.; Bachrach 1973: 98: "The Asp- element derives from the Iranian word for horse as exemplified in the name of the famous East Roman Alan general Aspar. Aspidius may have been a Latinized form of the Iranian Ασπαδας or perhaps of the name Ασπισας as they appear in Greek form." Alemany 2000: 112f. For the aspa-names cf. also Benveniste 1966: 78.

'shield-bearing' already occurs in the *Iliad*.[45] It is clear that this Aspar is a specialist in military activities. Since in this time the Roman army was not able to protect the people or the cities, the latter were forced to organize their defence by their own means. Certainly, they had rebuilt their walls, but these walls had to be defended. After a long peace time, the cities usually did not have enough men with the necessary military experience. Support from abroad was required to organize this defence as effectively as possible. Since Aspar is described as ἄτρομον | [ἀ]σπιδιώτην, we can guess that he was one of the leading men who defended Augusta Traiana. He must have been successful, as the people honoured him with a statue and a distichon.

I.4. The metrical dedication of a statue of a Pergamides theos

Moreover, people in desperate situations not only sought the assistance of foreign military forces and military experts, but also entrusted themselves to all kinds of divine forces, whether local or foreign. Indeed sometimes citizens believed that foreign gods could be more helpful than their own gods. This may be illustrated by a metrical dedication of a statue of a *Pergamides Theos* from Odessos (Varna):[46]

> ἀγαθῆ[ι τύχηι].
> Περγαμίδην ἀνέθηκα θε[ὸν ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘̲]
> εἵλεον εἰς ἀεὶ πᾶσιν εν[– ˘ ˘ –].
>
> "With good luck! I (the lost name of the dedicator) have dedicated the Pergamenian God, who should be gracious to all for ever."

Jeanne and Louis Robert[47] identified the *Pergamides Theos* with Telesphoros, the dwarfish god completing the Pergamenian Trias of Asklepios and Hygieia. A coin of Odessos, minted in the time of the emperor Gordian III, shows this triad (pl. V.2).[48] However, we cannot rule out the possibility that Asklepios himself is meant.

It cannot be excluded that a foreigner, perhaps a Pergamenian, donated the statue, but it is more likely that a citizen of Odessos dedicated a statue of the Pergamenian healing deity in Odessos. Due to the increasing influence of the Pergamenian sanctuary in the Roman Imperial Period since the

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[45] Hom. *Il.* 2.554, 16.167.

[46] IGBulg I² 76(2), cf. IGBulg V 5032.

[47] BE 1965, 257: "Ce dieu était Περγαμίδης. Un dieu de Pergame introduit à l'époque impériale ne peut être qu'un des dieux de l'Asclépieion; il doit s'agir exactement du petit dieu au capuchon, Télesphore, qui s'est répandu de l'Asclépieion de Pergame dans le monde gréco-romain."

[48] Obv. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC – ΑVΓ ΕΝΔ; draped laureated bust of Gordianus III l., facing bust of Sarapis with cornucopia. – Rev. ΟΔΗ-CCE-Ι-ΤΩΝ; Hygieia, standing l., feeding a snake, facing to r., Telesphoros, and Asklepios, standing r., leaning on a serpent-entwined rod (CNG ElA 153, 29.11.2006, no. 116; cf. Varbanov 2005, I 361, no. 4466).

times of the emperors Domitianus and Hadrianus[49], the veneration of the Pergamenian healing triad spread all over the Roman empire.[50]

I.5. The epigram of Tychon the Taurian

Along with the spread of foreign cults, mobility of people could also encourage the circulation of foreign customs or practices throughout the Greek world. This may have been the case of a Taurian man called Tychon, whose memory is preserved in the following inscription found in Pantikapaion, and which is dated to the second half of the 5th century BCE):[51]

> Τύχ|ων|ος.
> σήμα|τι τῶιδ᾽ | ὑπόκει|ται ἀνὴρ | [π]ολλο[ῖ]|σι ποθε|νὸς |
> Ταῦρος ἐὼν γενεήν, τὄνο[μ]|α δ᾽ἐστὶ Τύχων.
>
> "(Belonging to) Tychon. Under this tomb lies a man missed by many; a Taurian by origin, his name is Tychon."

This elegiac distich recalls the memory of a man who, despite being a Taurian, bore a typical Greek name. However, the stela with its Greek epigram marked the tomb of a foreigner who was buried not at all in keeping with Greek traditions: the body was covered with red ochre, and no grave goods were found in it.[52] These particularities entirely agree with the text of the inscription displaying some pride in the barbarian origins of the buried man.

This is quite striking, since in ancient Greek and Latin sources the Taurians are usually considered a ferocious and very inhospitable people. Herodotus makes some remarks on the Taurians and states that piracy and war constitute their very livelihood. Moreover, he discusses two bloody practices which were associated with this tribe: on the one hand, the sacrificing of all Greeks shipwrecked or captured by pirates in honour of the goddess *Parthenos*, on the other hand, violent assaults on defeated enemies.[53] Euripides recalls both motives in the plot of *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, where Taurians are characterized by their propensity to cruelty against foreigners.[54] Even the figurative representation of the play on a Roman sarcophagus shows the bloody altar of the goddess Artemis decorated with the heads of slaughtered Greek men (pl. VI).[55] In this respect it

[49] Cf. e.g. Jones 1998: 65f.
[50] Velkov – Gerassimova-Tomova 1989: 1354–1357. Cf. Jones 1998: 71.
[51] CIRB 114 = CEG 175.
[52] Graham 2001: 143–145.
[53] Hdt. 4.103.
[54] On the image of the Taurians in Euripides' tragedy see Oller Guzmán 2008.
[55] The sarcophagus dates from the 2nd century CE and it is now located in the Glyptothek of Munich (inv. 363). Vgl. LIMC, s.v. Iphigeneia, n. 75.

is worth reminding a funerary inscription from Chersonesos, dated to the 1st century CE, which commemorates the death of two Roman freedmen, one of them a doctor who was killed by the Taurians.[56] The cruelty of the Taurians was still renowned in Late Antiquity, as a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus shows.[57]

Taking into account all these sources, we may suppose that Tychon was a highly hellenized Taurian[58] and that his 'paideia' won him some esteem among the Greeks of Pantikapaion. This is a further example of how even people of ill-reputed tribes, dwelling at the end of the world, could find access to Greek city societies because of their willingness to acculturate. *Paideia* was the admission ticket to the Greek world; origins or race were not insurmountable obstacles. Unfortunately, the epigram gives no information on the legal status of Tychon: Was he permanently established in Panticapaeum or did he live there only for a shorter time? In any case, he was certainly a distinguished man. Otherwise, he would not have been honoured with such an execptional funerary inscription, "an unusual honour in cemeteries at Panticapaeum at this date".[59]

This epigram shows that mobility of people had two faces. We are confronted with both non-Greeks, who, attracted by the Greek cities' superior culture and civilisation, wanted to stay there for a longer or shorter time, and with Greeks, who, looking for profit, penetrated into the lands of the native tribes. However, in the latter case, outside the protection of the Greek cities' walls, the risk of loosing one's life increased significantly. This was true not only in periods of instability, as we have previously seen in the epigram of Gorgias, but at all times. Greek merchants in particular were victims of this insecurity. In all clarity, the famous private letter of Berezan, dated around 500 BCE, mirrors the misadventures of a Greek merchant named Achillodoros, who had fallen into the hands of a certain Matasys, who bears a name surely of non-Greek origin. Poor Achillodoros had to ask all his acquaintances and relatives for help in order to regain his freedom.[60]

I.6. The epigram of Chrestion

Even some centuries later the situation had not changed much. The epigram of Chrestion from Pantikapaion, dating to the 1st century CE, tells us firsthand the story of a merchant's death in the land of the Sirakes:[61]

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[56] IOSPE I² 562.
[57] Amm.Marc. 22. 8.33f.
[58] Ivantchik 1999: 502.
[59] Graham 2001: 145.
[60] IGDOP 23.
[61] GV 979.

ἐν Σιρακοῖς ἔθνησκον, ἔμπορον δὲ με
Ἑρμῆς ὁ Μαίης οὐκ ἔπεμψεν οἴκαδε·
νυνὶ δὲ στήλη λαΐνη κατάγραφον
ἔχει με Χρηστίωνα παῖδ᾽ Ἀσιατικοῦ,
πρὸ γάμου τελευτὴν ἀθλίην ἐσχηκότα
ἐν ἀλλοφύλοις. ἀλλὰ χαῖρ᾽, ὁδοιπόρε.

"I died in the land of the Sirakes, and Hermes, Maia's son, did not send me back home. Now an inscribed gravestone retains my name: Chrestion, Asiaticus' son, who before his marriage found a wretched death among foreign tribes; fare well, traveller."

The Sirakes were a hellenized Sarmatian tribe who settled the Kuban region and had close relations with the Bosporans.[62] According to the text, the death had not necessarily been violent, but it is clear that the body could not be transferred to his home town. The tomb, actually a cenotaph, was probably built by the father, since Chrestion had died unmarried and without a family of his own.

II. Some final remarks

This selection of only a few inscriptions may show how useful a full corpus of the Black Sea Area epigrams could be. According to the topic of this congress, we have only concentrated on the aspect of the foreigners and the foreign, but this is neither the most important subject nor the most interesting one. In some way, the epigrams of foreigners are a peripheral phenomenon. However, forming a kind of backdrop they may help us to answer our main question: drawing on the total stock of Black Sea Area epigrams, will we in the end be able to discern phenomena being specific for the whole area or at least for some parts of it?

We think that we cannot rule out the possibility of not finding many of these characteristics, since the autonomy of the 'epigram' genre is predominant – or shall we say panhellenic? – to such an extent that many regional features have disappeared or were not discussed.[63] It may be that we can trace some remains of the original dialects of the different colony founders in very early epigrams, but we are not sure that we will still be confronted with them in the times of the Roman Empire. Perhaps we will be exposed to problems similar to those which archaeologists usually encounter when they have to discuss the style of mosaics. However, as the last two epigrams have shown, we have to expect that we will be repeatedly confronted with some specific conditions of life in this area. In this respect, our work on the epigrams can considerably contribute to the

[62] Müller 2010: 70f.
[63] Dana 2011: 221.

question concerning the unity or identity of this primarily geographically defined area.

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CEG Hansen, P. A.: Carmina epigraphica graeca saeculorum VIII-V a. Chr. n., Berlin – New York 1983.

CEG2 Hansen, P. A.: Carmina epigraphica graeca saeculi IV a. Chr. n., Berlin – New York 1989.

CIRB Struve, V. V. [et al.] (ed.): Corpus inscriptionum Regni Bosporani, Moscow 1965.

Cont.Pob. Santiago Álvarez, R. A. – Oller Guzmán, M. (ed.): Contacto de poblaciones y extranjería en el mundo griego antiguo, Bellaterra 2013. (Faventia, Supplementa 2).

EG Kaibel, G.: Epigrammata Graeca e lapidibis conlecta, Berlin 1878.

FH Friedländer, P. – Hoffleit, H. B.: Epigrammata. Greek Inscriptions in Verse from the Beginnings to the Persian Wars, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1948.

GVI Peek, W.: Griechische Vers-Inschriften. I. Grab-Epigramme, Berlin 1955.

OMS V Robert, L.: Opera minora selecta, vol. V, Amsterdam 1989.

SGO Merkelbach, R. – Stauber, J.: Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten, vol. I-V, Munich – Leipzig 1998–2004.

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Abstract: The main goal of this paper is to present the project of a new collection of epigrams from the Black Sea area. The late Professor Reinhold Merkelbach, who collected and published the epigrams of Asia Minor, suggested that we should follow his example by bringing together the epigrams of other parts of the Greek world. Therefore, the authors decided

to begin by collecting the Pontic epigrams. They started by drawing up an inventory of the poetic texts already known and published. In order to show the interest of these texts in understanding mobility in the Black Sea area, the paper discusses some of these verse-inscriptions which have to do with foreigners. The analysis is focused on the way these people expressed their experience of being strangers or outsiders in a poetic language, the kind of images and poetic phrases they used to introduce their home cities and the foreign places of residence. Another question of interest is if we can detect linguistic differences in the epigrams connected with foreigners, whether dialectical or stylistic, or both.

Résumé: Le but de cet article est de présenter le projet d'une nouvelle collection d'épigrammes de la région de la mer Noire. Feu le professeur Reinhold Merkelbach, qui a compilé et publié les épigrammes de l'Asie Mineure, a suggéré que nous devrions suivre son exemple en réunissant les épigrammes d'autres parties du monde grec. Les auteurs ont décidé de commencer par un recueil des épigrammes pontiques. Afin de montrer l'intérêt de ce genre de textes pour comprendre la mobilité dans la région de la mer Noire, ils discutent quelques inscriptions en vers qui ont à voir avec des étrangers. L'analyse se concentre sur la manière dont ces personnes ont exprimé leur expérience d'être un étranger dans une langue poétique, quel genre d'images et quelles phrases poétiques ils ont utilisé pour présenter leur ville d'origine et leur lieu de résidence à l'étranger. Une autre question examinée est de savoir si nous pouvons identifier des différences linguistiques dialectales et stylistiques dans les épigrammes en rapport avec des étrangers.

Zusammenfassung: Hauptziel dieses Beitrags ist es, das Forschungsvorhaben einer neuen Sammlung der griechischen Epigramme aus dem Schwarzmeerraum vorzustellen. Professor Reinhold Merkelbach regte noch kurz vor seinem Tod an, dass wir seinem Beispiel folgen und weitere Sammlungen von epigraphischen Texten griechischer Poesie in Angriff nehmen sollten. Seiner Anregung folgend haben wir uns entschlossen, im Rahmen dieses Projektes mit den Epigrammen der Schwarzmeerregion zu beginnen. Ein erster Arbeitsschritt bestand darin, ein Sammelbuch all jener epigraphisch überlieferten poetischen Texte anzulegen, die bereits bekannt und publiziert sind. Um aufzuzeigen, dass die Epigramme aus diesem Raum sowohl von Interesse als auch von Bedeutung für das Verständnis von Mobilität in dieser Region sein können, gehen wir auf einige Epigramme, die Fremde oder Fremdes thematisieren, detaillierter ein. Die vorgelegten Beispiele zeigen auf, wie Menschen ihr Fremdsein oder eine Außenseiterposition in poetischer Sprache zum Ausdruck bringen. Dabei geht es vor allem darum, welcher Bilder und welcher Formulierungen sie sich bedienen, um ihre ursprünglichen wie auch neuen Heimatstädte zu beschreiben. Eine weitere Frage ist, ob die Epigramme, in denen es um Fremde geht, stilistische oder sprachliche Unterschiede zu den übrigen Epigrammen aus diesem Raum aufweisen.

Pl. I.1. Bronze coin of Byzantion: Obv. ΒΥΖΑΣ; bearded and helmeted head of Byzas r. – Rev. ЄΠ · Μ · ΑΥ · ΑΝΤΩΝΙ · ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ; eagle facing, head l., perching on a rock (Schönert-Geiss 1972: 146 Nr. 2073f. sample in Athen).

Pl. I.2. Silver Siglos of Byzantion: Obv. ΠΥ; cow walking on dolphin l. – Rev. Incusum (Auction Pecunem 35, 6.9.2015, no. 62).

Pl. II.1. Coin of Tomis: Obv.: Bust of Dionysos with ivy wreath r., before him Thyrsos. – Rev. TO-MI-TW-N; bunch of grapes (Auction Heidelberger Münzhandlung Grün 64, 20.11.2014, no. 1914).

Pl. II.2. Coin of Tomis: Obv. KTICTHC – TOM-OC; diademed head of the founder Tomos r. – Rev. TOMI-TΩN; bunch of grapes (Auction Helios 7, 12.12.2011, no. 473).

Pl. III.1. Coin of Tomis: Obv. AVT · K · Λ · AVP – KOMOΔOC; laureated draped bust of Commodus r. – Rev. MHTPOΠ · ΠONT-OV TOMЄΩC; drunken naked Dionysos standing facing, holding crater in his r. hand, l. arm raised above his head, l. leopard (Auction CNG 88, 14.09.2011, no. 721).

Pl. III.2. Coin of Tomis: Obv. AV K Π CЄΠ-TI ΓЄTAC·; draped laureated bust r. – Rev. MHTP-OΠ· – ΠO-NT· TO-MЄΩC (the last letters in exergue); stylized temple with krepis, four colums and pediment, between the columns Dionysos st. l., in his r. hand vessel, with his l. hand holding Thyrsos, l. leopard (Summer Auction Rauch 2011, 19.09.2011, no. 842).

Pl. IV.1. Coin of Tomis: Obv. M IOVΛIOC ΦIΛIΠΠOC – KAICAP (last word in exergue); barheaded draped bust of Phlipp II. as Caesar l. facing the draped bust of Sarapis. – Rev. MHTPOΠ ΠON–TOV TOMEΩC; Dionysos, naked, standing facing, looking right, r. arm raised above his head, l. arm holding grape-bunch and resting on column with serpent coiled around it (CNG ElA 159, 28.02.2007, no. 133).

Pl. IV.2. Coin of Augusta Traiana: Obv. AY KAI M AYPHΛI – ANTΩNEINOC; draped and laureated bust of Marcus Aurelius r. – Rv. HΓE TOYΛ MAΞIMOY AYTOYCTHC – TPAIANHC (last word in exergue); city gate with portcullis, protected by three battlemented towers (Gorny & Mosch 165, 17.03.2008, no. 1498).

Pl. V.1. Obv. AV K Λ CEΠTI – CEVHPOC ΠEP; laureated bust of Septimius Severus r. – Rev. HΓE CIKINNIOV KΛAPOV AVΓOVCTHC – TPAIANHC; city gate with portcullis protected by three battlemented towers (Stack's Bowers and Ponterio, Sale 174 [N.Y.I.N.C. Auction Ebert II & Sess. C], 12.01.2013, no. 6238).

Pl. V.2. Coin of Odessos: Obv. ANTΩNIOC ΓORΔIANOC – AVΓ ENΔ; draped laureated bust of Gordianus III l., facing bust of Sarapis with cornucopia. – Rev. OΔH-CCE-I-TΩN; Hygieia, standing l., feeding a snake, facing to r., Telesphoros, and Asklepios, standing r., leaning on a serpent-entwined rod (CNG ElA 153, 29.11.2006, no. 116; cf. Varbanov 2005, I 361, no. 4466).

Pl. VI. Roman sarcophagus from the 2nd century CE: Orestes and Iphigeneia among the Taurians (front side) (Glyptothek of Munich, inv. 363).