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THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS OF DIONYSOPOLIS

EDITION OF THE TEXTS WITH COMMENTARY AND ANALYSIS

OF LINGUISTIC AND ONOMASTIC DATA

ABSTRACT

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OUTLINE OF THE STUDY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

0.1. Objectives, methods and scope of the study

The study examines the Greek and Latin inscriptions of ancient Dionysopolis (modern Balchik). Their texts are presented in an edition meeting the requirements of modern scholarship, with commentary and an analysis of the linguistic and onomastic data. In addition to the epigraphic texts from the city, the author also publishes all inscriptions which were found outside the territory of Dionysopolis, but mentioned the city or its inhabitants. The chronological extent of the corpus, in view of the available epigraphic material, is from the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD.

0.1.1. Edition

The main task of the edition was the publication of recently discovered or previously unpublished inscriptions which make up more than half of the total number of inscriptions of the city: only 37 have been published before, while the present corpus comprises 80 inscriptions. For the first time, it includes not only the Greek inscriptions, but also the Latin ones, which, although not numerous, are indispensable for a complete picture of the epigraphic habit of Dionysopolis. The preparation of the corpus also required a complete revision of previously published texts by personal examination of the inscriptions in all cases when this was possible. I was able to study the inscriptions kept at several museums – Historical Museum in Balchik, Regional Historical Museum in Varna, National Archaeological Museum in Sofia, Regional Historical Museum in Dobrich and National Historical Museum in Sofia – which provided me with numerous corrected readings; I was also able to identify several inscriptions which were considered lost by previous editors. For the five inscriptions kept in museums outside Bulgaria (in Romania and the United Kingdom), I used photographs which allowed me to propose important emendations for the texts of three of them. Of the inscriptions concerning Dionysopolis but found outside its territory, I examined personally those from Novae, Odessus and Oescus, and followed previous editions for the other three (one from Tomi and two from Asia Minor). The inscriptions of Dionysopolis were compared with epigraphic texts from the other Western Pontic cities, as well as with literary evidence. This was beneficial not only for clarifying some unclear places in the inscriptions, but also for establishing the authentic texts of two passages in Pliny the Elder and Stephanus of Byzantium which have been transmitted corruptly in the manuscript tradition and the existing critical editions.

The edition of the texts in the corpus is accompanied with descriptions of the monuments, commentaries on the layout and lettering, as well as critical notes on the difficulties in the reading. All texts are provided with Bulgarian translations, which are usually missing in previous editions, but prove necessary both for a better understanding of the editor's interpretation of the texts and for helping scholars who are not well acquainted with the two classical languages. For each inscription, a dating is proposed together with the reasons for it (e.g. lettering, prosopography, historical arguments). The commentaries which follow the texts examine their linguistic peculiarities, prosopographical matters, cultural and historical context and significance, etc.

0.1.2. Study of the language of the inscriptions

The second part of the research is devoted to the language of the inscriptions. It focuses on Greek, since 74 out of a total of 80 are in that language, and only 6 are in Latin. The first point of research concerns the dialect of the early Greek population of Dionysopolis; the author refutes previous erroneous views and discusses the possibility that the literary evidence about "mixed Greeks" (μιγάδες Ἕλληνες) in the city could refer not to Greeks mixed with the surrounding barbarian people, but to the presence of settlers from different parts of the Greek world.

Various aspects of *Koine* Greek in inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods are examined, e.g. phonological peculiarities reflected in erroneous spellings, or morphological variants. A study of the vocabulary puts emphasis on words which are rare or unattested elsewhere, and researches their etymology, context of use and possible parallels in other epigraphic or literary texts. The author also uses the lexical evidence for an attempt at outlining the administrative and religious life and the appearance of the ancient city.

The final pages of the second part examine the use of the Latin language in Dionysopolis and the lexical influence of Latin on the language of Greek inscriptions.

0.1.3. Study of the personal names

The third part examines the onomastic data provided by the epigraphical corpus of Dionysopolis. The focus is on personal names, since the inscriptions provide us with 550 names borne by 516 individuals; this list is supplemented with the names of local magistrates attested on the coins of Dionysopolis. The study of personal names aims at extracting information about the ethnic composition of the population in different periods, onomastic patterns, most common

names used in the city, and changing trends in naming. Special attention is paid to rare names, especially such which are known only from Dionysopolis. The toponyms are much less numerous – an emphasis is put on the two names of the city, as well as on some place names from its administrative territory. This part of the text includes an analysis of all literary sources on Dionysopolis.

The usual indices of personal and geographical names, of rulers and magistrates, of deities, as well as of Greek and Latin words are added at the end of the text.

0.2. History of research

The study of the inscriptions of Dionysopolis begins with the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829, when Lodewijk van Heiden, commander of a Russian naval squadron in the Black Sea, sent a copy of an honorary inscription from Balchik to the University of Dorpat (modern Tartu in Estonia); this inscription, published in 1850 by Ludwig Mercklin, definitively solved the question about the identity of Balchik with ancient Dionysopolis, which had been only suggested by some scholars before.

The real research on the ancient inscriptions of Balchik started only after the Liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman rule. Konstantin Jireček visited Balchik on July 18, 1884 and copied three inscriptions, which he published two years later (inscriptions **nos. 15, 19, 18**). For the period from the 1890s until the fall of Balchik under Romanian occupation in 1913, the main credit for the research of Dionysopolis is due to Karel Škorpil, who published several newly discovered inscriptions either himself or with the help of prominent epigraphists like Vladislav Škorpil (his brother who worked in Kerch in the Russian Empire), Vasilij Latyshev and Antonín Salač. In 1897, the Austrian Academy of Sciences organized a scholarly expedition in Bulgaria, which aimed mostly at the search and publication of ancient inscriptions; main participants were the classicists Ernst Kalinka, Eugen Bormann, Victor Hoffiler, Arthur Stein, together with the civil engineer Hermann Egger and assisted by their Bulgarian colleagues Václav Dobruský, Ljubomir Miletič and Karel Škorpil. Bormann, together with Dobruský and Škorpil, visited Balchik and found several inscriptions (**nos. 34, 73, 76**), which were later transferred to the National (Archaeological) Museum in Sofia. The main result of the Austrian expedition was the publication, in 1906, of a volume on the “Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien” edited by E. Kalinka, which included all ancient inscriptions of Dionysopolis discovered up to that date.

After 1913, Balchik came under Romanian rule and the research of its ancient heritage was undertaken by Romanian scholars. The most important figure among them was Oreste

Tafraľi, who in 1920 carried out small-scale excavations in Balchik and in 1927 published a monograph on Dionysopolis, which collected and analysed all the available information about the ancient city; Tafraľi included as an appendix to his study the texts of the 11 hitherto known inscriptions from Balchik and Kavarna (ancient Bizone). In 1935, the then mayor of Balchik G. Fotino initiated the founding of a city museum and started gathering funds for archaeological excavations. In 1940, on the return of Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria, the museum in Balchik was closed and the monuments were transferred to Romania and entered several different museums there. Unfortunately, information about provenance is usually missing or lost, and it is difficult to identify such monuments; for example, I was able to trace the origin of a dedication to the god Derzalas (**no. 58**) to Dionysopolis only because there is another inscription with a rather similar text found in the city (**no. 57**).

In the period after the return of Balchik to Bulgaria until the early 1970s, the most important researcher of the ancient city and its inscriptions was the classicist Milko Mirchev, whose numerous publications doubled the number of known inscriptions from Dionysopolis (he was the first to publish inscriptions **nos. 2, 4, 17, 19, 23, 25, 27, 31, 59, 62, 64, 67** and **68**). The same period saw the flourish of Bulgaria's foremost epigraphist Georgi Mihailov, the editor of "Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae". The inscriptions from Dionysopolis are collected in the first volume of the corpus comprising the settlements on the Black Sea coast, with a first edition of 1956 (21 inscriptions from Dionysopolis and its territory) and a second, significantly augmented edition of 1970 (29 inscriptions from Dionysopolis); the fifth volume, containing additions to the corpus, was published posthumously in 1997 (with 2 new inscriptions from Dionysopolis).

Large-scale systematic excavations in Balchik were started for the first time only in the last quarter of the twentieth century, mostly due to the efforts of the director of the Historical Museum in the town, Marin Dimitrov. The work – which continues up to the present time – was however focused on the Early Byzantine and Medieval fortifications, while ancient sites were mainly revealed through rescue excavations. As in previous periods, inscriptions were again accidental finds; the two most important discoveries in that period were the inscription about the boundaries of Dionysus found in 1982 (**no. 12**) and the second honorary decree for Polyxenos (**no. 6**) which was discovered in 1988 but is published for the first time in the present study.

Inscriptions from Dionysopolis have been included in various studies on different types of ancient monuments, such as "Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs" of Ernst Pfuhl and Hans Möbius on (inscriptions **nos. 72, 68, 73, 67**); Aneta Petrova's book on the "Funerary reliefs from

the West Pontic area” (nos. 68 and 67); Sven Conrad’s study of “Die Grabstelen aus Moesia Inferior” (nos. 74, 73, 72, 75, 79, 78); the volume of the “Corpus cultus equitis Thracii” on the monuments from the Bulgarian Black Sea coast by Zlatozara Gočeva and Manfred Oppermann (no. 79); Margarita Tacheva’s “Eastern cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia” (nos. 9, 59); Mirena Slavova’s article on the epigraphic evidence about mystery clubs from the territory of Bulgaria (nos. 9, 36, 32, 31); the monograph of Dilyana Boteva on Lower Moesia and Thrace in AD 193-217/218 (nos. 59 and E5); etc.

The systematic study of the language of Greek inscriptions from present Bulgaria begins with Georgi Mihailov’s book of 1943; in recent years, the main research in this field is due to Mirena Slavova who studied the vocabulary of Greek inscriptions from the Western Pontic cities and re-examined the phonology of Greek inscriptions from Bulgaria. The language of Latin inscriptions was first studied by Ivan Venedikov in 1942, and, in the last quarter of the 20th century, it was the subject of a number of publications by Dimitar Boyadzhiev. The interaction of Greek and Latin in inscriptions was studied by Boris Gerov, who also wrote on the Latin-Greek language border on the Balkans, as well as on the Romanisation in the province of Moesia.

The main interest into the personal names attested in ancient inscriptions is related to the ethno-cultural communities to which they presumably belonged. The collections of Dimitar Detschew and Dan Dana are dedicated to the names of Thracian origin; the names in the Greek inscriptions from present Bulgaria are included in the fourth volume of the Oxford Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN IV); and the names in the Latin inscriptions Bulgaria were collected by Milena Minkova.

In all these studies, however, only a small part of the material from Dionysopolis was used, since more than half of the inscriptions found in the city were published for the first time by the author of the present work.

In 2007-2009, a temple of the Pontic Mother of the Gods was revealed in Balchik. The excavations were carried out by the archaeologists Igor Lazarenko and Elina Mircheva of the Regional History Museum in Varna and Radostina Encheva, director of the History Museum in Balchik, and the epigraphic material was entrusted to Nicolay Sharankov of the Sofia University. The temple, which existed continuously for seven centuries, appears to be the largest treasury of epigraphic monuments from Dionysopolis, with 35 inscriptions, mostly dedications and honorary decrees dated between the fourth century BC and the fourth century AD. It provided us – for the first time – with entirely preserved decrees of Dionysopolis; it also gave us the earliest known inscription of the city; the lists of dedicants and members of religious societies significantly

enriched our knowledge of the onomastics of Dionysopolis, as well as of the ancient Greek vocabulary related to religion. The research of the temple of the Pontic Mother has also been the only case where inscriptions from the city are found in their original context during archaeological excavations. It was this encounter with the rich (both in quantity and content) epigraphic material which prompted me to write the present work, through which I intend to show that Dionysopolis, until recently considered an insignificant city with a negligible epigraphic heritage, is actually a source of important documents on ancient Greek language, onomastics and religion of the Western Black Sea coast.

PART ONE: CORPUS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF DIONYSOPOLIS

The first part of the work presents an edition of 80 inscriptions from Dionysopolis, arranged by type according to the standard scheme for epigraphic corpora – decrees; honorific inscriptions; building inscriptions; catalogues; dedications; funerary inscriptions. As an appendix, it adds 6 inscriptions found outside the territory of Dionysopolis but related to the city. The separate groups are arranged according to the date of the inscriptions, the deities (for the dedications) or the persons mentioned in the texts. The information about each inscription comprises the following elements: 1) provenance and present location of the monument; 2) description of the monument; 3) main previous publications; 4) edition of the text together with a Bulgarian translation; 5) date and reasons for it; 6) peculiarities in the text and problems in the reading; 7) commentary.

I. Decrees

11 honorary decrees from Dionysopolis – for citizens or foreigners – have been preserved (**nos. 1-11**); generally denoted with the term ψήφισμα, those for foreigners are sometimes named προξενία according to the main privilege they provide. One fragment is from the Classical period (**no. 1**) and is the only document with such an early date from the entire region; the other examples belong to the Hellenistic period. The decrees are of two types. The first type (which is by far the most common) presents an excerpt from the record of the session at which the decision was made, and contains: 1) an introductory formula denoting the document as a decision; 2) name of the proposer and reasons for the proposal; 3) a formula indicating that the honours could serve as a good example for the community (optional element, present only in **nos. 6, 7 and 9**); the decision formula repeated; 4) privileges for the persons honoured; 5) prescription for the

promulgation of the decree; 6) specification of the source of funds to be used for the inscription (optional element, present only in **nos. 7, 11** and possibly **3**). The second type is a heavily abridged decree which announces only the result of the decision. The foreigners honoured by Dionysopolis originate from the following cities: Odessos (**nos. 2, 3**); Callatis (**no. 4**); Mesembria (**nos. 5-6**); Byzantion (**no. 1**); Chalcedon (**no. 7**); there are also two decrees for *strategoï* of the Thracian king Rhoemetalces I (**nos. 10, 11**).

The rights and privileges bestowed by the decrees include: proxeny – **nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11**; citizenship – **nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11**; tax equality – **nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11**; exemption from taxes – **nos. 2, 6**; right of entry and exit by sea, i.e. of import and export – **nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11**; right to acquire land property – **nos. 2, 5, 7, 8, 11**; providing a plot for building a house – **no. 1**; priority in trials – **nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11**; priority in access to the council and the assembly – **nos. 5, 7, 8, 11**; invitation to the city's common hearth – **no. 1**; erection of bronze statues – **nos. 6, 9**; annual crowning with a wreath – **no. 6**, or with a wreath of gold – **no. 9**. In decrees **nos. 5-6**, which honour the same person, we see an increase in privileges – the earlier decree provides only equal taxes (*ισοτέλεια*), while the second one gives full tax exemption (*ἀτέλεια*). In most cases, the privileges were bestowed upon both the honouree and his descendants; but the right of import and export in **no. 11** is given only to the honouree, and not to his descendants. The final clause of the decrees often announces the place where the stele with the engraved decision should be displayed. In two cases (**nos. 5, 11**), this is the temple of the Mother of the Gods – Μητροῶιον, where other decrees were found as well (**nos. 1, 3, 7, 8, 10**). The latter either do not specify the place of display, or are partially preserved and the relevant part of the text is missing; two of them (**nos. 7, 8**) simply mention that the stele with the decree should be displayed “at the most prominent place of the city”. One decree required that the stele should be placed at the sanctuary of the Gods of Samothrace (**no. 6**: τὸ ἱερόν τῶν Σαμοθράκων), and this is the second decree for the honouree – the earlier decree was destined for the *Metroon* (**no. 5**). Some decrees for foreigners contain a clause specifying that a copy of the document should be sent to the homeland of the honouree and deposited in the local archives there.

One of the decrees, dated to the first half of the first century BC, is rather unusual (**no. 8**). It honours several persons whose names have been deliberately erased – a practice (so-called *damnatio memoriae*) which one usually associates with the Roman imperial period. This inscription is also the first text to clearly explain the meaning of the category of decisions styled as “concerning state defence” (“ὕπερ τῆς πόλεως φυλακῆς”). Several variants of that phrase were hitherto attested in the final clauses of numerous decrees, but its exact significance was never clarified, and the scholarly debate about its possible meaning has been going on for more than a

century. The decree of Dionysopolis revealed that this phrase meant that decisions “concerning state defence” should be enforced immediately after the vote, without any additional procedures.

The official texts from Dionysopolis also include the well-known and frequently discussed inscription about the defining of the borders of Dionysopolis during the reign of King Cotys III (**no. 12**).

II. Donations

Two inscriptions (**nos. 13-14**) are assigned to a separate group due to their characteristics of legal documents for donations. They start with the name of a donator and then list the objects of the donation, in both cases intended for the temple of the Pontic Mother of Gods. The first inscription, of early Hellenistic date, contains also elements of an honorary decree, while the second, from the Roman period, shows some similarities with dedicatory inscriptions. The first donation was related to property outside the sanctuary which had to be rented out so that the income could finance the main feast of the goddess. The second donation includes structures and objects, which were obviously part of the sanctuary, as well as a slave with a Thracian name, for whom the dedication to temple service meant liberation.

III. Honorary inscriptions from the Roman period

These inscriptions (**nos. 15-20**) could be regarded as development of the earlier honorary decrees; this is evident especially in inscriptions **nos. 16-18**, which provide detailed accounts of the honouree’s offices and noble deeds. Similarly to the decrees, these documents are valuable sources of information about the city structure and officials. One more inscription is added to the group of the honorary inscriptions: **no. E6**, an official inscription of Dionysopolis on a statue base found in Novae, which is also the only one to honour a Roman emperor (Gordian III). Honorary inscriptions on statue bases could be seen as highly abbreviated decrees; they give the name of the person honoured (in the accusative) and, as a rule, list his offices. The inscription on an architrave, **no. 20**, pays a particular homage by writing the name of the honouree on a structure which he had built. Sometimes the texts provide more specific reasons for the honours, similarly to the decrees of the Hellenic period, but in other cases they use only general terms, for example, designation of the honouree as a benefactor (εὐεργέτης) in **nos. 15** (for a provincial governor) and **20**. In **no. 18**, the honouree himself paid for the erection of his own statue (that was a common practice) and this was added to the list of his merits. The individuals or institutions who erected the inscriptions are usually mentioned only at the end of the text as

another sign of respect; in three cases, these are the city authorities, designated respectively as “the council and the people (i.e. the people’s assembly) of Dionysopolis” (**nos. 15, 18**) or simply as “the fatherland”, ἡ πατρίς (**no. 16**); the abbreviated designation βουλή δῆμος Διονυσοπολιτῶν (instead of ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. Δ-ῶν) in inscriptions **nos. 15** and **18** probably imitated the conciseness of the official name of the Roman state *senatus populusque Romanus*. Inscription **no. 20** was made by the college of hymn-singers in honour of their leader and benefactor.

IV. Building inscriptions

Only two inscriptions belong to this group; the first one also has an honorific character, and was therefore included within the previous category (**no. 20**). The second is a small fragment (**no. 21**) connected with the building of a gymnasium, and is recognisable as a building inscription mostly due to its support – an architrave block from a portico.

V. Ephebic catalogues

The content of these inscriptions (**nos. 22-25**) is standard: an introductory part mentioning the main magistrates of the city and the heads of the ephebes, followed by a list of personal names usually arranged in two columns. The ephebic lists of Dionysopolis are rather similar to those of Odessos, both in text and layout. Chronologically, they belong to the short period between the end of the second century AD and the mid-third century AD; only the catalogue **no. 22** should be dated before AD 212, while the rest, as shown by the predominant use of the *nomen* Aurelius, should postdate the Antonine Constitution. The principle of arrangement of names is unclear; it is worth noting that sometimes ephebes with identical patronymics who were most likely brothers were not mentioned next to each other; no alphabetical order or other type of grouping by name had been observed, and bearers of the same personal name were not listed next to each other. The order of the ephebes could have been related to the time of their enlistment in the ephebic organisation, their age, the importance of their families, or other circumstances; it is possible that the catalogues inscribed on stone followed some already existing lists of the ephebic organization. It is also unknown how often such lists were made and published – their annual preparation seems likely, but there is not enough evidence to confirm or refute such an assumption. The only entirely preserved catalogue (**no. 23**) contains 32 names, but this could hardly help us answer the question, due to the lack of

other data on the population of Dionysopolis and the percentage of young people involved in the *ephebeia*.

VI. Catalogues of priests and organisations

The structure of these inscriptions (**nos. 26-34**) is usually similar to that of the ephebic catalogues. The upper part could provide some general information (e.g. name of the office/organisation, officials) and the names of the members/holders of the office follow below. In catalogues of priests, the order of the names is almost certainly chronological; in religious organisations, it is sometimes related to the importance of the members, their positions, as well as to the time of enrolment (for example, inscription **no. 29** contains several additions of names engraved by different stonecutters), but, as in ephebic lists, some cases are not so clear. Some lists lack the initial part, but their attribution is certain: for example, both catalogues of priests of Dionysus (**nos. 26, 27**) contain the name of the god himself, which indicates a year or years when the position remained vacant. In other cases, the suggestion that a catalogue is related to religious matters is based solely on the archaeological context, as in the case of a poorly preserved list from the Hellenistic period found in the temple of the Pontic Mother (**no. 28**). Inscription **no. 29**, containing the names of 102 persons, is a catalogue of the association of *neomeniastai* – people celebrating the cult of the Mother of the Gods on the first day of the month (*νεομηνία*). **No. 30** lists the worshippers of Attis, called “Attises and *Attiastai*”; another religious association belongs to people from Asia Minor (**no. 31** and perhaps **no. 32**).

VII. Dedicatory inscriptions (**nos. 35-66**)

The main elements in the texts of these inscriptions are the name and epithet of the deity and the names of the dedicator(s); the verb, usually *ἀνέθηκα/ἀνέθηκε* (**nos. 49, 54, 57, 60, 64**), can be omitted. The name of the deity is commonly in the dative; in some cases, e.g. when the dedication is a statue or a relief, it can also be in the accusative denoting the consecrated image of the deity (**nos. 42, 54**). The name of the deity is usually accompanied by epithet(s), which can be either local, related to the specific sanctuary or place, or functional (e.g. *ἐπήκοος* “listening (to prayers)” in **nos. 48, 63**); inscriptions which do not mention the name of the deity are rare (**no. 49**). The nature of the dedication could be denoted by terms such as *χαριστήριον* “thank-offering” (**nos. 36, 41, 46**) or the similar *εὐχαριστήριον* (**nos. 49, 59**), *κατ’ εὐχὴν* “in fulfilment of a vow” (**no. 45**), *δῶρον* “gift” (**no. 52**). There may be an indication of a specific reason for the dedication, for example during the holding of a priesthood (**nos. 36, 37, 41, 53**), or after its

completion as a kind of account of the activities performed by the priestesses/priests (**nos. 47, 48, 57, 58**); such inscriptions commonly use present, respectively aorist participles (ἱερόμενος/-μένη; ἱερησάμενος), and less often verb forms in the indicative (ἱερήσατο). Sometimes a dedication is made on behalf or for the sake of another person; this can be expressed by putting the latter's name in the genitive preceded by the preposition ὑπέρ (**nos. 36, 37, 42**), or by simply mentioning him before the deity if he was unable to visit the temple in person (cf. **no. 65**). Most numerous are the dedications to the Pontic Mother of Gods (Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία or simply Μήτηρ (Θεὰ) Ποντία), once called also Dionysopolitan Mother (Μήτηρ Διονυσοπολιτῶν, **no. 45**), dating from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD. The origin of the cult is likely to be sought after in Asia Minor, perhaps in the region of Cyzicus; the epithet "Pontic" is seemingly not only a geographical marker for a goddess worshipped near the sea (and in particular the Black Sea, often named just "Pontus"), but also shows her functions as protectress of sailors in addition to the usual role of patroness of the city – an aspect that is confirmed by the Hellenistic dedication to Poseidon Asphaleus ("providing security") found in the temple of the Pontic Mother and made by a lifelong priest of the god for the sake of the entire population of the city (**no. 53**). Two dedications of priestesses (**nos. 47 and 48**) present accounts of the cult practices performed by them during their office: sacrifices, processions, collection of flowers, feasts and "sweetening", i.e. treating the worshippers with sweets and sweetened wine. The two latest dedications from Dionysopolis are dated to the early fourth century AD. They are in Latin and inform us about silver statues of the Mother of Gods and Diana (Artemis) made on behalf of Emperor Licinius (**nos. 51 and 62**). Two inscriptions are dedicated to the god Derzalas by his priests, who organized athletic competitions (**nos. 57 and 58**).

VIII. Funerary inscriptions (**nos. 67-78**)

Most monuments of this type are stone stelae, of a simpler or more complex shape (e.g. a pediment stele such as **no. 76**), and could be decorated with relief images. The reliefs most often represent the deceased (**nos. 68, 69, 71, 72, 78**), sometimes in a scene of the so-called "funeral banquet" (**no. 74**); other images are rare, e.g. a *kantharos* (**no. 67**); one relief depicts a scene with a gladiator who could be the deceased (**no. 73**). The earliest texts consist only of the names of the deceased – personal name in the nominative and patronymic in the genitive; in inscriptions for women, the patronymic in the genitive can be followed by the noun θυγάτηρ "daughter" (**nos. 69, 70**), since in some texts the name in the genitive was that of the husband and not of the father, explained through the addition of the noun γυνή "wife" (**no. 68**); sometimes both the

father and the husband are mentioned, and the name of the husband is again indicated by the word γυνή after it (nos. 70, 72). Monuments often contain names of more than one deceased person, e.g. a husband and wife (no. 70), an entire family (no. 74), two brothers and a third person, possibly member of the same family (no. 78). Funerary inscriptions for foreigners could add an ethnic to their name to indicate their origin (no. 67). The text of a funerary inscription could contain the imperative χᾶϊρε / χᾶϊρετε “farewell”, addressed either to the deceased or to the reader (nos. 69, 74). Latin funerary inscriptions usually start with a dedication to the deities of the netherworld aimed to protect the monument from violation (no. 76). Two Latin inscriptions add information about the age of the deceased; the number for the years could be rounded (no. 75?), while an exact age, including months, was provided for a child (no. 76). In some cases, the texts mention the persons who erected the monument, with their names in the nominative, while those of the deceased are put in the dative or accusative (nos. 71, 73, 74), but there is usually no verb. There is only one example of a funerary epigram, in Latin, unfortunately highly fragmented, which praises the virtues of a deceased woman (no. 77).

IX. Inscriptions of uncertain type (nos. 79-80)

This last section comprises two partially preserved and unclear inscriptions: the first possibly a funerary one, and the other – an honorific text.

Six inscriptions mentioning Dionysopolis or its citizens and found outside the city territory are included as an appendix to the corpus. Four of them are honorary – for a citizen of Dionysopolis (no. E1), for a *bouleutes* of several cities, including Dionysopolis (no. E5), or erected on behalf of the city (nos. E2, E6); one funerary text – a verse epitaph for a physician from Dionysopolis who died in Asia Minor (no. E3); and one record about the visit of a delegation from Dionysopolis to the sanctuary of Apollo Clarius (no. E4).

PART TWO: LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF DIONYSOPOLIS

2.0. The Greek language in Dionysopolis

Greek is the language of the predominant part of the Dionysopolis inscriptions (74 out of 80). Although the Romans began to show interest in the Western Ponus as early as the first half of the first century BC and towards the end of the first century BC were already settled

permanently in the region, they never attempted to impose their language on the local population. Moreover, the Black Sea Coast was far from the Greek-Latin linguistic border and had too strong traditions to succumb to foreign influence.

The early history of Dionysopolis is obscured by many unknowns, including the date of the city's foundation or its metropolis. The generally accepted scholarly opinion that it was an Ionian, most likely a Milesian colony, is due to a misinterpretation of an inscription from the Roman period (**no. 18**) made one hundred years ago and uncritically repeated ever since. An argument to support the Ionian character of the city was seen in the mention of “seven tribes (*phylai*)” in inscription **no. 17**, by assuming that these tribes were identical with those of Odessos which included the six traditional Ionian tribes supplemented by that of the Romans; however, since the names of the Dionysopolitan tribes are unknown, this identification is a mere conjecture. Another unclear point is the mention of “mixed Greeks” (μιγάδες Ἑλληνες) in Pseudo-Scymnus' text on Dionysopolis (v. 757): some scholars think of Greeks mixed with local non-Greek population, while others argue for a mixture of Greeks of different origins.

Several inscriptions from Dionysopolis show some Ionic features, but they are mainly related to the religious vocabulary and could not provide a reliable argument for the Ionian character of the early city. Other inscriptions contain peculiarities typical for the Doric dialect, but they are just as uncertain and unusable as an argument. It should be noted that all these dialectal or seemingly dialectal features are limited to single forms or highly fragmented inscriptions, and most could find an explanation unrelated to the foundation of Dionysopolis and the original dialect of its inhabitants. On the contrary, all inscriptions which are more or less complete are in *koine* Greek and the deviations from the norms reflect phenomena typical for the development of *koine*. Onomastic evidence also does not provide reliable data; in contrast to cities such as Odessos and especially Apollonia, Dionysopolis almost completely lacks the Ionian / Milesian compound aristocratic names typical of the early period, but there are names typical of the Western Pontic Megarian colonies.

The linguistic peculiarities in the inscriptions of Dionysopolis, relatively few in number, are common for the Greek language of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

2.1.1. Phonological irregularities. Vowels

Short vowels: there is one case of assimilation $\varepsilon > \alpha$ (ταλαμῶνα instead of τελαμῶνα), a few examples for $\iota > \varepsilon$ in position before [a] or [o] (Βακχιαστῶν, Ἀθηνεαστής, λεγεῶνα), as well as some examples of the substitution of short [i] with the digraph <EI>, commonly used to

denote the long [i:]. In one case, *προνάειν* instead of *προνάϊν*, the digraph is used to emphasize that the word is three-syllable, [pro-na-in], since the spelling ΠΡΟΝΑΙΝ could have created the wrong impression of a diphthong / digraph AI.

Long vowels: the most important changes are connected with the transition in the pronunciation of the long close [e:] (written with the digraph <EI>), which as early as the 4th century BC began to shift towards a long front vowel [i:], a development certainly completed by the second century BC. Therefore, inscriptions of Hellenistic and especially Roman date used the digraph <EI> as standard designation of the long [i:], especially in nouns such as *τιμή / τειμή*, *νίκη / νείκη*, *πολίτης / πολείτης* and their derivatives, as well as in personal names (e.g. *Σειληνός / Σειλανός*), including those of Latin origin (e.g. *Ἀντωνεῖνος* for Antonīnus). The opposite – the substitution of a simple iota for <EI> – occurred only rarely (*σ[ι]τοπονπίον* for *-εῖον*, *ἐκίνης*). Since the long close [e:] retained its pronunciation (or even became more open) before [a] or [o], Hellenistic inscriptions used to replace <EI> by <H> in many words in such a position (e.g. *ἀτέληαν*, *ισοτέληαν*, *πολιτήαν*, *πρεσβήας*, *χρήας*, *πλήονα*). An interesting phenomenon is the interchange of eta and epsilon in inscriptions from the Roman period, e.g. *Ἀθηνεαστές* corrected to *Ἀθηνεαστής*, *Δαλητραλεως* and *Δαλετραλις* in the same inscription, *ιερῆα* instead of *ιερέα*; it suggests that the pronunciation of the letter eta was still [e] and had not developed to [i], as in later Greek. In the course of examining this phenomenon, the author analyses all inscriptions from present Bulgaria which allegedly reflect the pronunciation of eta as [i] in the Roman period: only one case provides somewhat certain evidence (however, it is a dedication by non-local people and the example could actually be due to misreading on the part of the stone-cutter's), while among the other fourteen purported examples six are actually the result of incorrect reading of the inscriptions, one is from a hoax inscription which never existed, two are in monuments that do not allow certain reading, and five may be easily interpreted as reflecting morphological or syntactic peculiarities. One inscription perhaps uses omicron instead of omega, due to isochrony, in the name *Λεόκριτος* (instead of *Λεώκριτος*), but the case allows other explanations as well.

Diphthongs with a short first element: several examples in inscriptions from the Roman period attest to the beginning of a monophthongal development. Confusion of <AI> and <E> – suggesting similar phonetic values – is attested in three inscriptions from the third century AD; only the first of them both substitutes <E> for the diphthong and writes <AI> instead of the simple vowel (the latter possibly due to hypercorrection), while the other two provide only examples of writing <E> for <AI> (1: *Ἀτιαστέ, κέ, εἰαιρόδ[ου]λος, εἰαιρόδουλοι*; 2: *Ἥφροστίων, Ἀθανέωνος*, but correctly *Ἡραίων*; 3: *θεεξ, Νύμφες; Κεκιλιανός*). The only example for the

monophthongal development of OI is the noun θοίνη “feast”, written with upsilon (θύνης, in the genitive) in two inscriptions from the 3rd century AD. An inscription from the second century BC uses <O> instead of <OI> in front of a vowel, which is explained through the conversion of the second element of the diphthong into a glide, which usually disappears in an intervocalic position, especially before [i:], as is the case here (ἐποεῖτο, pronounced [epoi:to], instead of ἐποιεῖτο). The same phenomenon could have been reflected in the spelling of ὀγδοίη (instead of ὀγδόη), as an instance of hypercorrection, where <OI> appears before H instead of <O>; but this form could have also resulted from the accidental swapping of two adjacent letters (ΟΓΔΟΙΗ instead of ΟΓΔΟΗΙ). Similar to the disappearance of the second element in <OI> is the development of <YI> into <Y> before a vowel in forms of the noun υῖός, attested in a single example from an inscription dated to the third century AD (ὕϙ instead of υῖϙ).

In diphthongs with long first element (<ĀI>, <HI>, and <ŌI>), the monophthongal development began rather early and was surely completed before the end of the Hellenistic period. However, since these diphthongs are found mostly in case endings or in some verb forms, the unpronounced iota was sometimes written as a marker for the respective word forms (so-called *iota adscript*) even in texts from the Roman period, especially in the formula ἀγαθῆι τύχηι at the beginning of the inscriptions. Most of the early inscriptions from Dionysopolis are consistent in the writing of the iota in these diphthongs, not only at the end, but even inside the words; this probably means that diphthongs still had different pronunciation than the simple long vowels (e.g. ὑπερῶια, Μητρῶια, Ποντιᾶι, Ἀφροδίτηι, Διονύσωι). Towards the end of the second century BC, spellings without the iota already predominate, and in inscriptions from the first century BC, no spelling with an iota is to be found (τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἰδίᾳ, ἐπηνῆσθαι, Θράκης, ψυχῆ, χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, etc.): a clear indication that the pronunciation of the former long diphthongs was already indistinguishable from that of the simple vowels. Only two examples from the Late Hellenistic period show the disappearance of the second element in the long diphthong <AY> (ἐατόν, ἐατούς), while all other Hellenistic examples, as well as those from the Roman period, give the correct spelling with a diphthong.

2.1.2. Consonants

In clusters with nasals before labials or velars, inscriptions of Late Hellenistic and Roman date prefer to write <N> instead of <M> (before labial) or <Γ> (before velar) and to neglect the drop of the nasal before sigma (ἐνποδισθεῖς, ἐνπαρεχόμενοι, συνβουλεύων, σ[ι]τοπονπιῶν; ἐνγήων/ἐνγαίων, ἐνκτησιν, ἐνγράψαντα, ἐνκριθέντες, ἐπανγγέλλεται, ἐντυνχάνουσιν; σύνστεμα).

The presence or absence of the spirant [h] can only be evidenced in the aspiration of final consonants of prefixes in compounds or of final consonants in prepositions with elided final vowel; the inscriptions from Dionysopolis show no cases of psilosis either in compounds (cf. ἄφοδον, ἔφοδον, ἀφέτην, καθάπερ, καθόλου, αὐθημερόν) or in prepositions after elision of their final vowel (ἀφ' ὧν, καθ' ἕκαστον). However, the latter sometimes show an unexpected aspiration in inscriptions of Hellenistic date. It could be the result of hypercorrection, in this case providing indirect evidence about the disappearance of the initial aspiration (καθ' ἔτος, ἀφ' ἐτῶν, καθ' ἰδίαν, καθ' εὐχὴν).

The assimilation of <K> before <Γ> is typical for the noun ἔκγονος “descendant” which is often found in Hellenistic decrees. In the inscriptions from Dionysopolis, there is also one example of the characteristic omission of <Γ> in the cluster <ΓN> in the verb γίγνομαι, again in a Hellenistic decree: προσγεινόμενος, with a correct reflection of the compensatory lengthening of [i] after the simplification of the consonant cluster. One example possibly shows dropping of [l] near [ü] in the group ΓΛΥ (ΓΥΚΕΡΑΣ instead of Γλυκέρας). The geminate ΣΣ, characteristic of most Greek dialects and *koine* (against TT in Attic, Boeotian and Western Ionic), is typical for the inscriptions from Dionysopolis (κατατάσσεσθαι, διαφυλάσσω, πράσσω, κισσοφόρισσα). There are a few cases of geminate simplification (ἐκκλησίας, ἐκκλησίαν instead of ἐκκλ-; Ατταστέ, but also correctly Ἄττεις in the same inscription).

Syllabic division is easily observed at the ends of the lines, where it was strictly adhered to. When there is a single consonant around the syllable boundary, it always belongs to the second syllable and the division takes place before it; in the case of geminate consonants, they are divided (e.g. ἐγγόνους, ἐπιβάλλοντα); combinations nasal + stop are similarly divided (e.g. πομπάς, ἀντί, Μαρκιανοπολιτῶν, ἐφηβαρχοῦντος); the division is between the two consonants also in clusters spirant + stop (e.g. κτίστου, Διζιδωνος); in clusters of three consonants, of which the second is a stop and the third is a liquid, the division takes place before the second consonant (e.g. ἴσπλου, Ἀνδρικίωνος). There are two examples of germination of consonants at line breaks, apparently caused by hesitations where the syllables end and how one should divide the words (ἐπαινῆσθαι; Μητρός).

2.1.3. Phonology of the sentence

Inscriptions of Dionysopolis tend to avoid hiatus in sandhi, as evidenced by the elision of short final vowels before words beginning with vowels, most often in the prepositions διά, κατά, παρά, ἐπί and ἀπό (δι' ἄ, δι' ἐκκλησίας, κατ' ἰδίαν, καθ' ἕκαστον, καθ' ἔτος, καθ' εὐχὴν, παρ'

αὐτοῖς, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἐπ' ἐπιδόσει, ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀφ' ἐτῶν, ἀφ' ὧν; as well as ἀλλ' ἀσφάλειαν, τὰ ἄλλ' ἀναλίσκει).

In earlier inscriptions, the so-called ν ἐφελκυστικόν was usually added correctly (only before vowels or at the end of the phrase), while in later ones it became obligatory, regardless of the following word (in earlier texts: [ἐν]τυγγάνουσι τῶν; εἶπεν· ἐπειδή; [πᾶ]σι μὲν, πᾶσιν ἅμα; etc.; in later texts: ἠνθολόγησεν τῆ; εὐώχησέν τε καὶ ἐγλύκισεν πάσας; ἐπετέλεσεν ἐγλύκισέν τε; ἀνέθηκεν Λυσίμαχος).

There are only two instances of assimilation of final consonants before words beginning with consonants (εἴσπλουγ καί; and ἐγ δέ).

2.2.1. Morphological features. Declension

Morphological deviations in Greek inscriptions from Dionysopolis are rare. Concerning the declension, the richest information is provided by the personal names; they are however attested mainly in the nominative or the genitive, and in most cases it is impossible to reconstruct the entire paradigm. The most frequent feature – which is characteristic of Hellenistic *koine* – is the use of the Doric declension of masculine personal names of -a- stems: nominative in -ας and genitive in -ᾶ (against the Attic genitive in -ου); the earliest example is from the Early Hellenistic Period (Ἄττα); in inscriptions from Dionysopolis, this type is more common in names of non-Greek origin (Διντα, Δαδα, Παπα; but also Γλαυκία). By analogy with this type, a new genitive in -η appeared for first declension names with nominatives in -ης, again attested mainly in names of non-Greek origin and in inscriptions from the Roman period (Βακη, Ρωλη, Θειπη). This model spread even beyond the first declension -α- and -η- stems and was sometimes used for names in -ις / -εις as well (e.g. nom. Ηλεις, gen. Ηλει).

Another feature of Post-Classical Greek attested in Dionysopolis is the transition of second declension nouns in -ιος (masculine personal names) and -ιον (neuter nouns) to -ις and -ις, in inscriptions from the Roman period (Λαβέρις; Μερκούρις against Μερκούριος in another inscription for the same person; προνάειν = προνάϊν instead of προνάϊον).

A third feature affects third declension personal names in -ης (-es- stems), whose paradigm is influenced by first declension names in -ης (gen. Διογένου instead of Διογένους).

2.2.2. Verb

The only relatively well represented feature of verb conjugation is the tendency of *koine* to unify the aorist forms. In thematic verbs with second aorist, the indicative can be formed with

the vowel -α-, borrowed from the sigmatic aorist, as attested in two Hellenistic decrees showing εἶπαν (3 p. pl.) instead of εἶπον (used as an aorist of λέγω). In athematic verbs with second aorist, the use of the long root vowel and the extension -κα- in the singular – which was similar to the formation of the sigmatic aorist – was generalised and applied to the plural forms as well, as seen in two Hellenistic decrees and a dedication of Roman date (ἔδωκαν, ἐπέδωκαν, ἀνέθηκαν).

2.3. Specific vocabulary in the inscriptions from Dionysopolis

Since there exists a recent study by M. Slavova (published in 2013) on the vocabulary of the Western Pontic cities, the author examines mainly those data which have not been included in earlier research (mostly from inscriptions published for the first time in the present work) as well as some cases where additional analysis or clarifications can be made. Special attention is paid to the rarer or previously unattested lexemes, mostly related to religion, which are of interest not only for the study of Dionysopolis, but also for the ancient Greek language and religion in general. Regarding word formation, it is worth noting two phenomena typical of Post-Classical Greek.

2.3.1. Use of nouns formed with the suffix -ιον

The increased use of the diminutive suffix -ιον is typical of Post-Classical Greek. The reasons behind this phenomenon are various, and its results – clearly visible in all monuments of Greek language from the Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval periods – have shaped Modern Greek as well. The productivity of the suffix is manifest in inscription **no. 12**, where we see the word ὄριον and two derivatives: the noun ὀριοθέτης (α ἄπαξ εἰρημένον) and a denominative verb of it, ὀριοθετέω, instead of the Classical ὀροθέτης and ὀροθετέω. The context of use, an official document defining the boundaries of the city, undisputedly shows that these forms were by no means perceived as diminutives. An inscription for a donation, **no. 14**, contains three nouns formed with the suffix -ιον. Ναῖσκιον (with only one uncertain example throughout the ancient world) is formed with diminutive suffixes (ναός > ναῖσκος > ναῖσκιον), the first of which, -ισκ-, is probably not understood as diminutive, but as indicating similarity; the second diminutive form in this inscription is τυπία (singular τυπίον), derived from the noun τύπος and attested exclusively in epigraphic texts; the third form κόσμια (singular κόσμιον) appears to be equivalent to κόσμος with the meaning in the sense of “decoration”. A similar diminutive, from the same root as ναῖσκια, is προνάειν (instead of προνάϊον), as a designation for an architectural structure. Another example is the form χορήγιον in the decree **no. 9**, which also cannot be

regarded as diminutive.

2.3.2. Verbs in -εύω / -εύομαι

Verbs in -εύω, together with those of -έω, also count among the productive models of word formation in Post-Classical Greek, with numerous examples in epigraphic texts. It is worth noting two more specific verbs of this type, one of them being a ἄπαξ εἰρημένον, and the other appearing for the first time with a meaning unattested elsewhere. The text of a Late Hellenistic honorary decree (**no. 8**) contains the only known example of the verb ἐξῆλασκεύομαι “propitiate”. A dedication of Roman date (**no. 48**) used the verb λογεύω, which belonged to the administrative vocabulary and meant “to collect taxes” (attested exclusively in documents on papyrus), to describe collecting of flowers. Since the dedicatory inscription also served as an account of the deeds of the priestess who made it, the choice of this particular verb taken from the administrative vocabulary was probably not accidental; the same text provides a few other examples of unusual vocabulary, e.g. the female citizens are denoted with the peculiar expression ὁ πάνδημος τῶν γυναικῶν.

2.3.3. Polity and institutions

The city is designated as a state entity either by the word πόλις, or through the names of its two decision-making bodies – the council and the people’s assembly (βουλή and δῆμος), with or without the addition Διονυσοπολιτῶν; the city was also denoted – including in official inscriptions – as πατρίς, “fatherland”; Latin texts call it *civitas Dionysiopolitanorum*. A member of the council was designated as βουλευτής, *buleuta* in Latin, and decree **no. 6** used the term σύνεδροι; the same inscription called the people’s assembly both δῆμος and ἐ(κ)κλησία. Sessions started with some rituals, τὰ ἱερά; the verb for putting proposals to the vote specified whether the proposal was oral (λέγειν) or in writing (γράφειν). Decisions were denoted with the general term ψήφισμα, and honorary decrees for foreigners were also known by the name of the greatest privilege they granted – προξενία (**nos. 5, 10**); for the enforcement of a decision, the expression (τὸ ψήφισμα) κύριον εἶναι was used, as well as the perfect participle κεκυρωμένον. Clauses concerning the promulgation of decrees used words and phrases such as τελαμῶν λευκοῦ λίθου, “marble stele” (an expression typical of the Western Pontus), ἀντίγραφον “copy of the decree” and δημόσια γραμματοφυλάκια for “state archives”. The highest magistrates were the archons, ἄρχοντες; the οἰκονόμος was in charge of financial matters; while markets and food-supply were overseen by the ἀγορανόμοι; a specific honorific title or office with unknown functions and

privileges during the Roman period was the “son of the city”, υἱὸς τῆς πόλεως.

2.3.4. Places and structures in the city

The noun for “main city square, market square”, ἀγορά (**no. 9**), forms the root of the adjective ἀγοραῖος, “associated with the agora”, “commercial”, used in two inscriptions as substantive with the meaning “merchant” (**nos. 16, 17**). The noun ἀγορά is also implied by the unattested elsewhere lexeme ξυλόπωλις, literally “(market) for the sale of timber”, formed from ξύλον “wood, timber” and πωλέω “to sell” with the suffix for feminine adjectives -ιδ- (**no. 13**). A typical feature of the Greek city is to be seen in the workshops (ἐργαστήρια) with upper floors (ὑπερῶα) for renting. The noun ἐστία designates the sacred public hearth as the place where main city officials used to reside and eat (**no. 1**). Temples and sanctuaries are referred to either by special names derived from the name of a deity with a suffix, like Μητροῶν, or by expressions such as τὸ ἱερόν τῶν Σαμοθράκων or *templum Matris deum*; the names of the festivals were also formed with suffixes from the theonyms, e.g. Μητροῶα or Διονύσια. There are numerous for parts of temples or objects in their interior, e.g. portico, στοά (**no. 14**); treasure chambers, storage rooms for offerings, *donaria* (**nos. 51, 62**); antechamber or annex to a temple, προνάειν = προνάϊον (**no. 20**); reliefs or statues, τυπία; throne, θρόνος; aedicules, ναῖσκια (all in **no. 14**); silver statue, *simulacrum argenteum* (**nos. 51, 62**).

2.3.5. Priests, religious clubs and other associations

This is the largest and most diverse lexical group in the inscriptions from Dionysopolis. Along with standard nouns such as ἱερεύς “priest”, ἀρχιερεύς “archpriest of the Imperial cult”, Ποντάρχης “archpriest and president of the Pontic *koinon*”, μύστης “initiate”, ὑμνωδός “hymn-singer (in the imperial cult)”, ἀγωνοθέτης “organizer of contests”, there are also numerous uncommon terms like πατήρ “president of a religious association”, θεοφόρος “bearer of the image of the deity”, κισσοφόρισα “crowned with ivy” (a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον), ἱερονόμος “president of religious association (of settlers from Asia Minor)”, ἱερόδουλος “sacred servant”, ζακορεύουσα “temple keeper”, ἀφέτη “slave freed through consecration in a temple”. A specific group is formed by the various names for members of religious associations, most of which are attested only in inscriptions from Dionysopolis: Βακχεαστής “member of a Dionysiac cult society” (with only three more examples throughout the ancient world, in the form Βακχιαστής), Αθηνεαστής “member of a cult society worshipping Athena” (a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον), νεομηνιαστής “member of a cult society celebrating the first day of the month”; Ἄττις / Ἄττιαστής “member of

a cult society worshipping Attis” (both ἅπαξ εἰρημένα). Terms denoting communities and associations are σπεῖρα “cult association (of settlers from Asia Minor)”, σύνοδος “society” (a sports club, σ. ξυστική), σύστημα “community, class” (the youth community, τὸ τῶν νέων σύστημα).

2.4. Use of Latin in inscriptions from Dionysopolis

The earliest documented contacts of Dionysopolis with the Romans belong to the first half of the first century BC, but a stronger Roman presence and influence can be seen only at the end of the same century and especially after the beginning of the first century AD. The Latin texts from the city amount to only six inscriptions, two of which were dedicated by a provincial governor acting on behalf of the emperor (**nos. 51, 62**); three are funerary monuments – one is related to the family of a veteran (**no. 76**), and the other two (one of them probably also for a soldier or a veteran) are fragments (**nos. 75, 77**); and the last one is a dedication, also fragmented (**no. 61**). The Roman influence on onomastics is weak – only 66 out of 550 personal names are of Latin origin, and most of them are used within the Greek onomastic pattern (name + patronymic). The influence of Latin on the language of Greek inscriptions from Dionysopolis is limited to 14 terms related to the army or the Roman administration. The largest group comprises Greek renditions of elements of the Roman imperial titulature; four words are translations of names of administrative offices; and the rest are connected with the army. Latin loanwords are used in only two cases, while all other Latin terms are translated into Greek. These are αὐτοκράτωρ = *imperator* (**nos. 9, 20, 31, 32, 59, E6**), δημοσιώνης = *publicanus* (**no. 12**), Καῖσαρ = *Caesar* (**no. 15**), Εὐτυχής = *Felix* (**no. 31**), Εὐσεβής = *Pius* (**nos. 31, 32, E6**), Ἀνίκητος = *Invictus* (**no. E6**), Σεβαστός = *Augustus* (**nos. 15, 17, 32, E6**), Θεός = *Divus* (**no. 18**, for a deified late emperor), πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος = *legatus pro praetore* (**no. 15**), ὑπατικός = *consularis* (**no. 59**), γενναιοτάτη = *fortissima* (**no. E6**, epithet of a legion), λεγεών = *legio* (**nos. 59, E6**) and βενεφικιάριος = *beneficiarius* (**no. 59**).

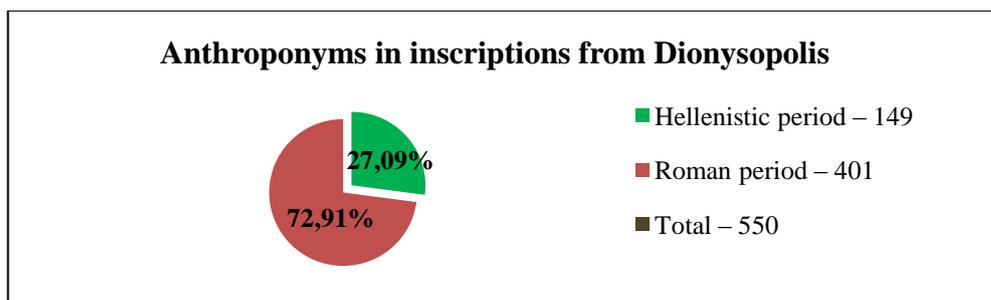
PART THREE: PERSONAL NAMES IN INSCRIPTIONS

3.1. Anthroponyms

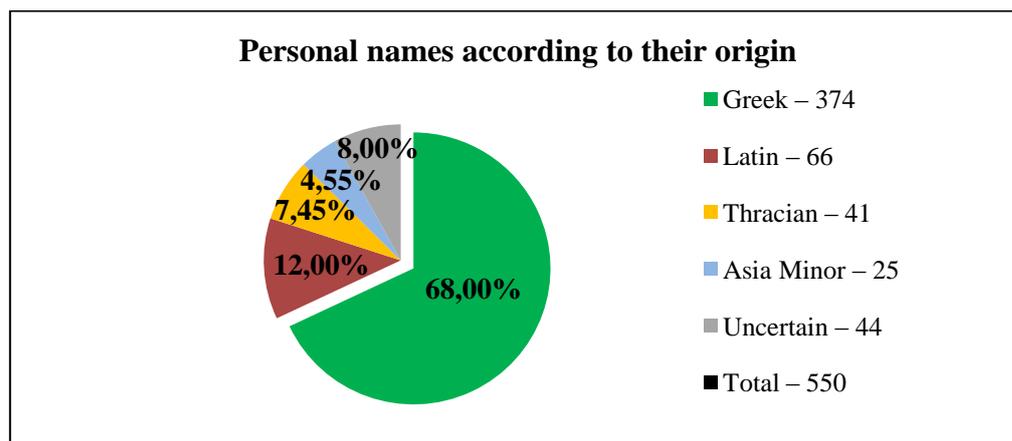
The total number of inhabitants of Dionysopolis, documented with personal names in the inscriptions, is 516, and the number of the names amounts to 550; besides, about 20 names of

magistrates are attested on coins of Dionysopolis from the Hellenistic period, but they are usually (heavily) abbreviated and their restoration is often uncertain. The inscriptions from Dionysopolis also mention 31 names of foreigners who resided in the city or were in some other way connected with it.

Out of the 550 personal names borne by the inhabitants of Dionysopolis, 401 or nearly three-quarters belong to the Roman period, while 149 are of Hellenistic date.



247 different names are attested, of which 142 are of Greek origin (+ 15 among the names of foreigners), 49 are of Latin origin (+ 6 of foreigners), 30 are Thracian (+ 10 of foreigners), 4 are connected with Asia Minor, and the rest are unclear (the attribution is made according to the root of a name). If we account for every single example of a name, we get the following ratio according to their origin: 68% of the names are Greek, 12% are Latin, about 7.5% are Thracian, about 4.5% are from Asia Minor, and the rest are unclear. Since in inscriptions from the Hellenistic period almost all names are of Greek origin, the Roman period sees a smaller percentage of Greek names, about 58%, while those of the other groups increase accordingly.



3.1.1. Onomastic patterns during the Hellenistic and Roman periods

Throughout the period for which epigraphic evidence is available, the Greek onomastic pattern (given name followed by patronymic in the genitive) prevailed in Dionysopolis. As a

rule, both names are without article, except when the given name is in the genitive; then an article can be added after it in order to emphasize the function of the second name as a patronymic: e.g. γυνή Μητροδώρου τοῦ Ἀνδρικίωνα, “wife of Metrodoros the son of Andrikion”, or the only example of a name with both patronymic and papponymic, Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡρακλείδης Διονυσίου τοῦ Μηνοδότου “Aurelius Heraklides son of Dionysios the son of Menodotos”. If the patronymic was the same as the given name, it was possible – instead of writing it in full – to denote it with the number 2 (β’), equivalent to νέος / νεώτερος “young(er), junior” (e.g. Ἀὐρ. Πρόκλου β’, “Aurelius Proclus Junior”, i.e. Proclus son of Proclus). Women were mentioned either with their patronymic or with the name of their husband (also in the genitive), and in some cases with both, and θυγάτηρ or γυνή could be added for clarification.

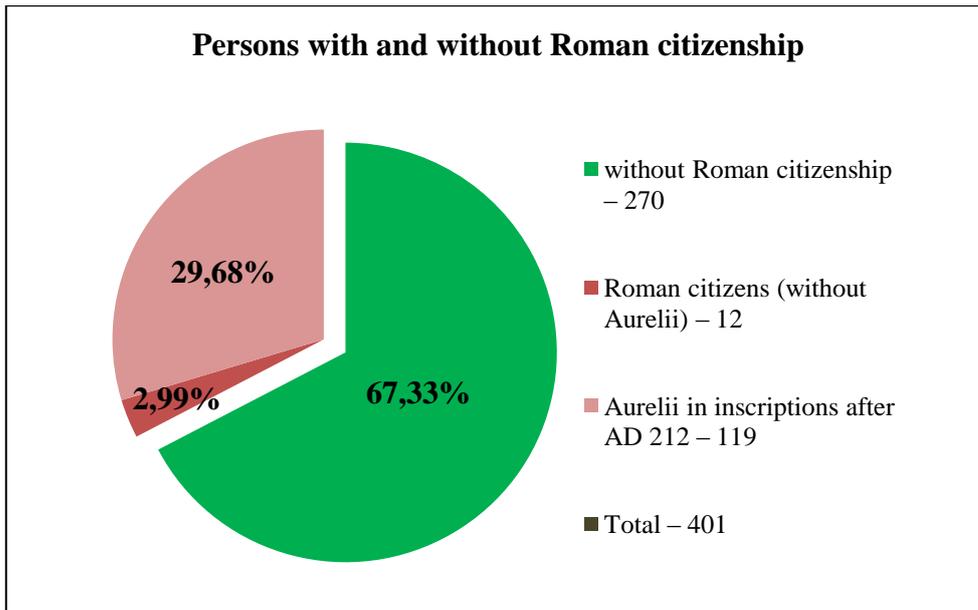
Regarding the choice of a name, the traditional alternation of names skipping a generation could be assumed, but the examples are few due to the scarce number of families with members documented for over than two generations or for both the paternal and maternal side. For example, **no. 74** shows a grandson Artemidoros named after his maternal grandfather Artemidoros, but in **no. 29** the son of (Aurelius) Pythokles son of Attas was named (Aurelius) Theomnestos, while (Aurelius) Heraklides was son of Dionysios and grandson of Menodotos; another Menodotos, in the Hellenistic inscription **no. 70**, was son of Skythes and grandson of Dionysios. More easily observed are cases where the child bears the name of his parent (cf. the use of the number β’ instead of a patronymic), a variant of its or a similar name: e.g. Athaneon son of Athaneon in **no. 28**; Apollonios son of Apollonios (and grandson of Demophon) in **no. 42**; Agathion, son of Agathon in **no. 39**; Silanos son of Silenos (with alternation of the same name in Doric and Ionic-Attic variant) in **no. 29**.

Noncompliance with the Greek onomastic pattern is observed in a few cases where the patronymic is replaced by an ethnic or by a noun denoting one’s occupation, probably because such second element would have made these persons better recognisable than a patronymic could do: Ἐρμάφιλος Κυζικηνός (**no. 67**), Δημοσθένης Νεικομηδεύς (**no. 52**), Ἐρμῆς ἀθλητής (**nos. 29, 30**). For foreigners, it was common to add an ethnic after their given name and patronymic, e.g. Ἀριστομένης Διονυσίου Ὀδησίτης (**no. 2**), Πολύξενος Μελσέωνος Μεσημβριανός (**nos. 5, 6**), Ἀνάξανδρος Ἡγησιάνακτος Μηθυμναῖος (**no. 35**), Ζήνων Ζήνωνος Τύριος (**no. 46**).

A single name is used in the only certain mention of a person of slave status, the freed female slave Zoukegeskos (**no. 14**); the inscription serves as a document for her setting free release and therefore provides the names of her former master.

The Roman onomastic system, characteristic for Roman citizens, required three names for men (so-called *tria nomina Romana*) – *praenomen*, *nomen (gentilicium)* and *cognomen*; and

only two for women – *nomen* and *cognomen*. In the inscriptions from Dionysopolis, the earliest example reflecting the Roman onomastic system is to be found in the decree for Akornion (**no. 9**) which mentions two Roman generals. The name of Gaius Antonius is only partially preserved, but that of Pompey shows the typical early Roman onomastic formula with a *praenomen*, *nomen* and filiation (father’s *praenomen* in the genitive followed by the word “son”), to which a position and an ethnic are added: Γναῖον Πομπηῖον Γναίου υἱὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ῥωμαίων (= *Gnaeum Pompeium Gnaei filium imperatorem Romanum*).



During the imperial period, the standard name of a Roman citizen included the three names, but the *praenomen* was often omitted in inscriptions after the middle of the second century AD, and especially after 212 AD, when all free inhabitants of the empire were granted Roman citizenship with the Antonine Constitution and received the emperor’s *praenomen* and *nomen* Marcus Aurelius, so that the three Roman names were no longer the privilege of only a small number of citizens. The examples of Roman names with a *praenomen* in the inscriptions from Dionysopolis are therefore rather few; in the entire corpus, there is only one example, probably not later than the mid-second century AD, with the three Roman names written in full (**no. 57**): Λούκιος Ουαλέριος Ουίκτωρ. In Latin inscriptions, the *praenomen* was abbreviated to one or a few letters, a practice observed in later Greek inscriptions as well: Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Ἀλέξανδρος (**no. 29**); Μ(άρκος) Πομπηῖος Λούκιος (**no. 59**); and several examples of the *praenomen* and *nomen* Μ(άρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) in inscriptions after 212 AD (**nos. 16, 18, 23, 24, 30, 31**). In all other inscriptions from the period after AD 212, the *nomen* Aurelius is used without a *praenomen*; an instructive example is inscription **no. 23**, where the *praenomen* is

present only in the first name in the text, M. Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντιπάτρου Παπα, while all the others have only the *nomen* Aurelius. There are only a few epigraphically attested Roman citizens in Dionysopolis who were not Aurelii. Besides the abovementioned examples of persons with the *nomina* Iulius, Pompeius and Valerius, there are also two Valerii and a Claudia in **no. 76** (the veteran Val(erius) Silvanus, his wife Cl(audia) Secun(da), and Val(erius) Hercu(lanus), their son); one Ἰούλιος Κρήσκης in the dedication **no. 60**; one Φλάουιος Ἀντίπατρος in the ephebic catalogue **no. 23**; and, in the partially preserved ephebic catalogue **no. 22**, two unclear cases of persons who could have been either Roman citizens or named after the Greek model with a single name and patronymic – Οὐλπιος Θ[- -] and Ἰούλιος Διογέ[νης /-νους]. The dispensable use of the *nomen* Aurelius after AD 212 is obvious in inscriptions like **no. 29**, where the same persons are mentioned without a *nomen* in the initial part and with the abbreviated Αὐρ. in the text below; or **no. 30**, where the names Marcus Aurelius are used – abbreviated as M. Αὐ[ρ]ή. – only for the first person in the catalogue, while all the others are listed only with a given name and a patronymic. Besides, all the Aurelii in Greek inscriptions have a patronymic after the *cognomen* according to the old model, i.e. the *nomen* Aurelius (usually abbreviated) was added mechanically to a name consisting of given name + patronymic in conformity with the Greek onomastic pattern. A patronymic is missing only in a few cases of Roman citizens whose *nomen* is other than Aurelius; they probably belonged to families which were granted Roman citizenship before AD 212 and were possibly connected with the army. All this clearly indicates that the Roman onomastic model failed to take hold in Dionysopolis even after the universal granting of citizenship by Emperor Caracalla. There are also examples of evident and obvious misunderstanding of the Roman use of a *praenomen*, *nomen* and *cognomen*, e.g. the absurd (from the standpoint of Roman onomastics) names Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος Γερμανοῦ (**no. 23**) or Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κλαύδιος Ἰουλίου (**no. 29**) where *nomina* are used as both a *nomen* and a *cognomen*, and – in the latter case – even as a patronymic; there is even one Aurelius Aurelius (**no. 32**), apparently a man who before the Antonine Constitution bore the single given name Aurelius.

3.1.2. Greek personal names

The personal names of Greek origin in the inscriptions have been analysed according to their constituent elements. The anthroponyms derived from names of gods, which are most numerous and most diverse regarding word formation, are discussed more thoroughly, and an overview of all bearers of each name is made. For names which correspond to nouns or adjectives of certain structure, a detailed analysis appears unnecessary, therefore only references

to the corresponding nouns or adjectives are provided. In general, names follow the patterns common for the Greek world; one should point out the increased use of the suffix -ίων, with which rare or even otherwise unknown personal names were formed, e.g. Ἀνθρωπίων (known from Dionysopolis, Istria and Odessos), Ἀνδρικών and Ἡρακλειδίων (the latter two attested only in Dionysopolis); the same suffix was applied to names of non-Greek origin, e.g. Σουπερίων (unattested elsewhere) from the Latin name Super/Superus. The structure and chronology of the names have been presented through a system of abbreviations, so that an unnecessary increase in the length of this part of the work may be avoided.

As already said above, most common are the theophoric names, which could also provide some hints on the cults worshipped in Dionysopolis. Expectedly, most numerous are the names associated with the eponym of the city Dionysus and other deities of his circle (Silenus, Satyr). The use of theonyms as anthroponyms is rare (Ἑρμῆς, Σιληνός). Anthroponyms are commonly formed with suffixes, of which the most frequent are -ιος and -ίων (Ἀθήναιος, Ἀθηναίων, Ἡραίων, Δῖος, Δίων, Διονύσιος, Ἔστιαῖος, Ἡφαιστίων, Σατυρίων), also -ίδης and -άδης (Διοσκο(υ)ρίδης, Ἀσκληπιάδης, Ἡρακλείδης), sometimes in combination (Ἡρακλειδίων). There are many compound theophoric names, mostly with second element -δωρος : Ἀθηνόδωρος, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Διόδωρος, Διονυσόδωρος, Ἑρμόδωρος, Ἡφαιστόδωρος, Θεόδωρος, Ἰσιδωριανός, Μηνόδωρος, Μητρόδωρος. Other second elements are: -γένης in Διογένης, Θεογένης/Θεαγένης; -φίλος in Ἑρμάφιλος; ἵππος in Ἑρμιππος; ξένος in Ἡρόξενος; as well as verbal adjectives like -μνηστος (Θεόμνηστος); -δοτος (Μηνόδοτος); or -κλειτος (Ἡράκλειτος). As first elements, we find the names of the gods Dionysus, Zeus, the Dioscuri, Hera, Heracles, Athena, Hestia, Hermes, Apollo, Asclepius, Demeter, Hephaestus, the Mother of the Gods, Artemis, Poseidon, Men, Serapis and Isis, as well as the noun θεός. Some names are derived from divine epithets such as Ὀλύμπιος or Πύθιος, as well as from names of heroes and other mythological persons or festivals (Αἴολος, Θόας, Μουσαῖος; Νουμήνιος).

A few names can be considered historical, mainly connected with Alexander the Great and his circle (Alexander, Antiochus, Antipater, Lysimachus).

In some cases, ethnic or geographical names were used as anthroponyms: Ἀσιανός, Ἕλληγ, Μακεδών, Σκύθης.

Several names are related to words denoting man, kinship or age: Ἄνδρων, Ἀνδρικών, Ἀνθρωπίων, Διδυμᾶς, Γέρων, Μίκκη.

Anthroponyms derived from names of animals or plants are Μοσχίων, Μῦς, Λύκων and the rare Ἄκορνίων (after a kind of a thorn, ἄκορνα).

The only personal name associated with sea and seafaring is Ψίφαρος (a ἄπαξ εἰρημένον for the entire ancient world), from the rare noun ψίφαρος, variant of σίφαρος “sail”.

The origin of many names can be associated with different public positions, trades, political or military activities. Large part of them are compounds, with elements connected with the life of the polis in peace and war or the virtues of its citizens, such as δῆμος (Δημόφιλος, Δημοφῶν, Δημοχάρης, Δημοσθένης), κράτος (Αὐτοκράτης, Καλλικράτης, Μενεκράτης, etc.), κλέος (Εὐκλήης), κρέων (Μεγακρέων, Μενεκρέων), νίκη (Νικίας, Νίκων, Νικηφόρος), τιμή (Τίμων), κάλλος, ξένος, ἵππος, etc. Some of these anthroponyms use as first element the adjectives ἀγαθός/ἄριστος and εὖς (Αγαθήνωρ, Ἀριστομένης, Εὔνομος, Εὐτύχης).

Another, somewhat similar group, comprises names which denote qualities – existent or desired – and are derived from adjectives. In some cases, adjectives themselves can be used as anthroponyms, after a forward shift of the accent, while other names are suffixal formations. A considerable group of personal names – with meanings such as “sweet, darling, desirable, joyful” – can be interpreted as well-wishing names, but also as given to long-awaited children (e.g. Γλυκέρα, Γλύκων, Ἡδύλος, Φίλων, Ἐράτων). Names such as Κέρδων (from κέρδος “gain, profit”), Ἀπήμων (“unharméd”), Ὑγιαίων (“healthy”) express parent’s wishes for their children.

3.1.3. Latin personal names

These names were partly analysed in the discussion on the Roman onomastic pattern in the inscriptions of Dionysopolis. It is worth noting some problems with the transliteration of some Latin phonemes without exact correspondences in Greek which, accordingly, could not be adequately rendered with the letters of the Greek alphabet. Firstly, the consonant [u], for which Latin used the same letter as for the vowel, <V>, was originally (before the second century AD) transliterated with the digraph <OY>, but towards the end of the first and especially in the second and third centuries was also rendered with the letter (both because of the ongoing process of spirantisation [b] > [β] > [v] in Greek, and because of the shift of Latin [u] towards [v]). Sometimes both variants are seen in the same inscription, e.g. Φλάουιος = Flavius, Οὐαλέριος = Valerius, Οὐίκτωρ = Victor, but also Βιάτωρ = Viator, Βίκτωρ = Victor and Βαλεριανός = Valerianus (no. 23). Another specific Latin sound was the consonant [i], especially in intervocalic position; in Greek, it could be combined with the preceding vowel in an iota diphthong. The rendering of the voiceless labiovelar [k^w], denoted in Latin by the digraph <QV>, could prove rather difficult; Greek alphabet could reproduce it only approximately through <KO>, <KOY> or <KY>. When the labiovelar was combined with the vowels [a] or [o],

Greek sometimes used a simplified spelling, as one could see in the two examples in **no. 29**: Κουᾷρτος next to Κορτιανός, corresponding to Latin *Quartus* and *Quartianus*. The long vowels [o:], [e:] and [i:] in Latin personal names are written correctly in Greek through <Ω>, <Η> and <ΕΙ>; this is another argument for the later development of isochrony and – in the case of [e:] ~ <Η> – for the preserved pronunciation of H as an [e] sound.

Regarding morphology, Latin names belonging to declension types without exact correspondence in Greek or containing consonant clusters inadmissible in Greek, were transferred to existing Greek declensions, e.g. Μερκουριάλης (I declension) for *Mercurialis* or Κρήσκης for *Crescens*.

The range of names of Latin origin in inscriptions from Dionysopolis is limited and most of them are rather standard. We find the imperial *nomina* Iulius, Claudius, Flavius, Cocceius, Ulpius and Aurelius, as well as the *praenomina* Gaius and Marcus. There are also several examples of the *nomen* Valerius which was common among soldiers. *Cognomina* such as Valerianus, Victor, Firmus, perhaps also Maximus, Clemens, and Crescens, can be associated with the military as well. Several *cognomina* are derived from names of deities – Mercurius, Mercurialis, Silvanus and Herculanus. Despite the insignificant number of names of Latin origin in Dionysopolis – only 38, – two of them appear to be suffixal formations unattested elsewhere: Αὐδασιανός = *Audasianus*, from the rare *nomen* Audasius (of possible Illyrian or Celtic origin), formed with the Latin suffix *-ianus*; and Σουπερίων, from the *cognomen* Super(us), with the Greek suffix *-ίων*.

3.1.4. Thracian personal names

The number of certain Thracian anthroponyms in the corpus is rather small – only 19 – and most of them are attested only in Dionysopolis or the neighbouring cities. Thracian names began to appear in inscriptions relatively late: the earliest ones, from the late first century BC or the beginning of the first century AD, were names of Thracian kings and *strategoī*; and the first inhabitants of the city with Thracian names are documented epigraphically only at the end of the first – beginning of the second century AD, like the female slave Zoukegeskos dedicated in the temple of the Pontic Mother (**no. 14**). The second half of the second and especially the third century AD already saw more people with Thracian names, including some of the highest-ranking citizens, which bears evidence of the successful integration of the Thracian population into the Greek *polis*. The inscriptions provide the following Thracian names: Αυλουζανις; Βακης (all certain examples are from Dionysopolis); Γουρθιτις (with just one more example, from

Abrittus); Δαλετραλις/Δαλητραλις; Διζδων (only attestation, but could be a variant of Διζ(ζ)ων); Δρειβαλος (with a few more examples from north-eastern Lower Moesia); Ζουκεγεσκος (female; unique attestation); Ζουκη (one more example from Callatis); Ζουκης (unique attestation); Θαης (unknown outside Dionysopolis); Θιαης (unique attestation, but probably a variant of Θαης); Θειπης (unattested elsewhere); Λεστορμη (unique attestation); Μαμασισις (unique attestation); Πιαιτραλις (unique attestation); Ρουλις/Ρωλης; Σουσας; Τασιλων (unique attestation); Τιουθιος (unique attestation, but probably a variant of Θιουθιος, which is also unique).

3.1.5. Personal names from Asia Minor

Only two names (and their respective variants), from inscriptions of the second – third centuries AD, can be associated with Asia Minor with certainty: Ἄπρο(υ)ς~Ἀπρία and Παππο(υ)ς~Παπας.

3.1.6. Personal names of unknown origin

Several names can be attributed to different languages, while the origin of others remains unclear. Ἀκρόσαλος is seemingly Scythian, since it is the name of one of the Scythian kings who minted coins in the region of Dionysopolis (on the coins, the name is abbreviated to Ἄκρο- or Ἀκροσα-). Ἄττας, attested already in some rather early inscriptions, is probably Greek, although there are examples of it in Asia Minor as well. Δαδας is a typical *Lallname*, known in different areas, but it is frequent on the Western and Northern Black Sea coasts, so it could have been both Thracian and Asian. Ηλ(ε)ις is generally considered to originate in Asia Minor, but the examples from the Western and Northern Pontus are far more numerous; it could be interpreted as a syncopated form of Ἥλιος (which was also common in Western and Northern Pontic cities), but the form of its genitive Ηλει rather suggests a non-Greek name. Θοας is probably the Greek mythological name Θόας (regular genitive Θόαντος) and not a local personal name, despite the genitive form Θοα and the Asian name Παππους borne by Thoas's son. Κουρης is sometimes considered Thracian, but it appears quite possible that it is also of Greek origin (from κοῦρος); the case forms attested in inscriptions from Dionysopolis allow its interpretation as a hypocoristic name in ἦς (nominative Κουρηῆς, genitive Κουρηῆ, accusative Κουρηῆν).

3.2. Toponyms

Since most toponyms have been discussed in the commentary to the inscriptions in the

first part of the work, this section analyses only the two names of the city, Dionysopolis and Krounoi; the place-name Rhokole, which allows the emendation of two literary texts; and a spurious Thracian gloss.

3.2.1. The names of the city

The inscriptions prefer the name Dionysopolis, always in the form of the ethnic Διονυσοπολῖται, used either alone or in the genitive as an attribute to the noun πόλις or to the name of the two decision-making bodies, βουλή καὶ δῆμος, in inscriptions dating from the fourth century BC to the third century AD (**nos. 1, 2, 10, 12, 15, 45, 59, E1, E2, E4, E5, E6**). An inscription from Asia Minor specifies the name with the addition Εὐ[ωνύμου] Πόντου (**no. E4**), since there existed another Dionysopolis in Phrygia. The inscription from Vasada was the only one – due to its poetic character – to give the older name of the city Κρουνοί (**no. E3**). The coins use only the name Dionysopolis: during the Hellenistic period, it was always abbreviated as Διο(νυσοπολ---) or Διονυσο(πολ---); the full or slightly abbreviated name appeared on coins only from the first century AD on, almost always as the ethnic in the genitive plural Διονυσοπολ(ε)ιτῶν). A complete review of the literary evidence about the city (the texts are presented in the original as well as in Bulgarian translation) shows that the name Διονυσόπολις was common, and if other names appear, they are in most cases listed only in addition to Dionysopolis as the main name of the city. The earliest literary text to mention Dionysopolis was probably created in the second half of the second century BC, the so-called *Periplus of Pseudo-Scymnus* (vss. 751-757), where Krounoi is reported as an older name of Dionysopolis. The use of the name Dionysopolis in an inscription from the first half of the fourth century BC (**no. 1**) indicates that the name change must have taken place earlier, and thus refutes the common suggestion that the new name appeared only about the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Strabo, whose “Geography” was compiled during the reign of Emperor Augustus, is the only author not to mention the name Dionysopolis, but only Krounoi; it should be noted that manuscript tradition shows the corrupt form Κρούλιοι instead of Κρου<v>οί, apparently arisen at a stage when the text was copied in uncial script, because the change N ~ ΛΙ could hardly be explained otherwise. A different version of the relation between Dionysopolis and Krounoi is provided by Pomponius Mela in his “*De Chorographia*” compiled around AD 43-44: *Crunos* is mentioned as name of a port and the city is *Dionys{i}opolis*. On the basis of his text, which does not identify Dionysopolis and Crunos / Krounoi, some scholars have searched for Krounoi at locations different than Balchik (whose identification with Dionysopolis is beyond doubt), often

placing it at Ekrene/Kranevo because of the seeming similarity of the names. However, Pomponius Mela does not mention Crunos as a city, so it is possible that this was the name of a locality where the port and the earlier settlement had been situated, which was afterwards (after the renaming of the city) retained only as a traditional name for the port (and poetic name for the entire city). Pliny the Elder's "Natural History", completed ca. AD 77, regards Crunos as an older name of Dionysopolis. The writers from the second century AD already use only the name Dionysopolis. It is also the only one mentioned in Roman itineraries like the so-called "Antonine Itinerary" which is generally dated to the third century AD; the Peutinger Map (which marks a port named *port(us) Callire* in the sea near Dionysopolis and Bizone); and the Ravenna Cosmography (compiled in the eighth century AD but based on much earlier sources, most probably itineraries or maps). During Late Antiquity, Dionysopolis is mentioned as one of the three important cities in the province of Scythia (Ammianus Marcellinus, Hierocles' "Synecdemus"); it is included among these cities in two medieval texts as well (the third *Notitia Episcopatum* and Constantine Porphyrogenitus' "On the Themes"), which, however, repeat the information of the Late Antique sources and do not reflect their contemporary situation. The sixth-century dictionary of ethnic names by Stephanus of Byzantium, which has unfortunately reached us only in a rather abridged version, quotes the text of Pseudo-Scymnus about Krounoi as an older name of Dionysopolis. Another source probably compiled in the second half of the sixth century AD, the so-called "Anonymous Periplus of the Euxine Sea", combines information from several earlier sources, including an excerpt from Pseudo-Scymnus, but presents one more name of the city, otherwise unknown: Ματιόπολις. The mention of the name Matiopolis, which is probably not depending on the text of Pseudo-Scymnus, is commonly considered an erroneous interpolation; a recent hypothesis that this might be a Late Antique name of the city dating from the sixth century AD, contradicts the logic of the text where it is placed chronologically between Krounoi and Dionysopolis; besides, the proposed etymology from the adjective μάταιος, in the sense of "empty, abandoned city", is unacceptable since this adjective is never attested with the meaning of "empty" or "abandoned" referring to space or surface; moreover, from a moral and religious point of view, the adjective μάταιος was rather unfavourable and its use in the name of a city would have been inappropriate during the Christian period. The latest mention of Dionysopolis is connected with an earthquake and a tsunami which struck the Black Sea coast in AD 544/545 AD, and is to be found in the "Chronicle" of Theophanes the Confessor (later reproduced in the chronicle of Cedrenus as well). There is no information about Dionysopolis under this name, referring to a date later than AD 544/545, aside from the already mentioned anachronistic repeats of earlier data in Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the episcopal list.

Two Latin sources offer a kind of translation of the name of the city, or rather a change of the name of its eponym Διώνυσος with the more common for Latin speakers *Bacchus*. The first one is Ovid's description of his journey along the Western Pontic coast to the place of his exile in Tomi: the city is described as the fortress named after Bacchus; the second one is the so-called Ebstorf Map from the thirteenth century (but based on much earlier sources) which represents *Bachis c(ivitas)* as the northernmost of three coastal cities, the other two being *Obfesus* (= *Odesus*) *c(ivitas)* and *Mesamber*.

3.2.2. The toponym Rhokole

Inscription **no. 13** attests the toponym Ῥοκώλη which is present – however in a corrupt form – in the texts of Pliny the Elder and Stephanus of Byzantium. The editions of Pliny give the name as *Rhocobae* (variant readings in the manuscripts: *rocob(a)e*, *rbocobae*, *borcob(a)e*, *brocob(a)e*, *bocobe*, *hocobe*), and the text of Stephanus has Ῥακώλη (variant reading: Ῥοκώλη); both texts mention the toponym in the context of the war between pygmies and cranes, i.e. probably descend to a common source. The inscription from Dionysopolis decisively shows that the correct reading of the name in both texts must be Rhocole, respectively Ῥοκώλη. In Pliny's text, the erroneous form probably arose no earlier than the fourth century AD, when the shapes of L and B became similar. The better manuscripts of Stephanus have the name as Ῥοκώλη, but the editors preferred the variant reading of the *codices deteriores* Ῥακώλη, possibly because the latter name could be explained from Greek. In fact, the errors in both texts could have been corrected already in the earliest printed editions, since the Italian humanist Ermolao Barbaro suggested the identity of the two toponyms in Pliny and Stephanus as early as 1492. However, an emendation following his suggestion was included only in a few editions of Pliny's text from the late 15th and the early 16th century, and was then completely forgotten. After the discovery of the inscription from Dionysopolis and the identification of the toponym, the two passages can be restored as follows:

Plin. *NH* 4.44: *nunc habet Dionysopolim, Crunon antea dictam; adluit Zyras amnis. totum eum tractum Scythae Aroteres cognominati tenuere. eorum oppida Aphrodisias, Libistos, Zygere, Rhocole, Eumenia, Parthenopolis, Gerania, ubi Pygmaeorum gens fuisse proditur; Catizos barbari vocabant, creduntque a gruibus fugatos.*

“It still has Dionysopolis, formerly called Crunos; the river Zyras flows nearby. The whole region was occupied by the Scythians called ἀροτῆρες (“ploughmen”, i.e. settled). Their cities were Aphrodisias, Libistos, Zygere, Rhocole, Eumenia, Parthenopolis, and Gerania, stated

to have been the abode of the race of pygmies; the barbarians called them ‘Catizi’ and there is a belief that they were driven away by cranes.’”

St. Byz. *s.v.*: Κάττουζα· πόλις Θράκης, ἐν ἣ κατόκουν οἱ Πυγμαῖοι. οἱ οἰκίτορες Κάττουζοι. ὅθεν δὲ τὰς γεράνους ὀρμᾶν, τὸ χωρίον Ῥοκώλην προσαγορεύεσθαι. ὑπὸ δὲ Καρῶν Τουσσύλοι ἐκαλοῦντο.

“Kattouza: a city in Thrace where the pygmies lived. The inhabitants are called ‘Kattouzoι’. And the place, where the cranes start their journey, is named Rhokole. The Carians called them ‘Toussyloi’.”

3.2.3. The misread gloss Δάβα· πόλις

The research on the name Ἀργέδαβον in the honorary decree **no. 9**, led me to the find that a presumed Thracian gloss, δάβα· πόλις, is in fact the result of misunderstanding and misreading of one of the lemmas in the dictionary of (Pseudo-)Zonaras. Although this false gloss is not directly connected with the inscriptions from Dionysopolis, it is examined so that future errors might be avoided. The comparison with the accessible manuscripts of Zonaras’ dictionary showed that the text of this gloss in the 1808 edition of Zonaras by Tiltmann (Δάβα· πόλις) was incorrect. The reading of the word πόλις is obviously due to negligence or *lapsus calami* on the part of the editor, since all manuscripts have in this place “τόπος”, i.e. the headword was explained as a toponym. As for the reading Δάβα (attested in only one of the three manuscripts used for the 1808 edition), it corresponds to Δακίβυζα (or several somewhat different variants) in the other manuscripts. This is the name of a city in Bithynia on the shore of the Propontis, known from other sources as well, and retaining its name up to the present day albeit in the heavily modified form Gebze; Dakibiza is also mentioned in the Suda dictionary, where it is indeed defined as a toponym (δ 29): Δακίβιζα: ὄνομα τόπου. The lemma from the dictionary of Zonaras should therefore not be brought anymore in discussions on the Thracian / Dacian -δαβα.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the epigraphic corpus of Dionysopolis published in this study provides for the first time a more comprehensive and clear picture of various aspects of the existence, language and epigraphic habits of the city for a period of seven centuries. The publication of previously unknown inscriptions and the collation of a large enough number of texts allow a complete restoration of the formulary typical for the official documents of the city, and in some

cases even shed light on questions concerning similar documents from the entire Greek world. A comparison between the inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods attests to the strength and durability of epigraphic habit and cultural traditions in Dionysopolis. Inscriptions related to religion display the continuity of cults and religious practices, attested even on linguistic level by preserved old dialectal forms; the rich vocabulary of cult, often offering lexemes unattested elsewhere, documents a complex system of religious associations, many of them specific for Dionysopolis. The preference for local over functional epithets of deities also offers evidence for religious and linguistic conservatism. The simple and pure funerary formulas, typical of the Classical period, are preserved in Dionysopolis almost unchanged until the latest monuments dated to the end of the Roman period.

Out of 80 inscriptions from the city and its territory, 74 – or over 92% – use Greek and only 6 are in Latin (and those only because of the status of the persons who had them erected). Greek inscriptions from Dionysopolis – regardless of the period to which they belong – display a rather correct language, with few deviations from the norms. This is another sign of both conservatism and language flair as well as of excellent education and a desire to maintain a high level in texts which represent the community and its members. Regarding the vocabulary, the utmost importance is to be given to words related to cults and religious associations, some of which are *ἄπαξ εἰρημένα*. It is worth noting that the published corpus of 80 inscriptions reveals no less than 10 Greek lexemes which are otherwise unknown, e.g. Ἀθηνεαστής, Ἀττιαστής, κισσοφόρισα, ἐξίλασκεύομαι, ξυλόπωλις, etc. All this enriches our knowledge not only on Dionysopolis, but also on the Greek language and its development in general.

Of the anthroponyms attested in the corpus (a total of 550, borne by 515 persons), the predominant part is of Greek origin. The number of non-Greek personal names is insignificant during the Hellenistic period, and Thracian, Roman and Anatolian names appear only from the first century AD onwards. The analysis of the onomastic habits also indicates the strength and endurance of the Greek onomastic pattern and the inability of the Latin one to compete with it, even after AD 212, when Roman citizenship – which required the use of the Latin system with three names – was granted to all the free inhabitants of the Roman Empire. A number of Greek names like Ἀθαναίων, Ἀνθρωπίων, Ἀπήμων, Ἀριστομένης, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Ἄττας, Γέρων, Δημήτριος, Δημοφῶν, Διογένης, Διονύσιος, Ἑρμιππος, Ἑστιαῖος, Εὐκλέων, Ζήνων, Ἡρακλείδης, Θεόδωρος, Καλλικράτης, Μηνόδοτος, Νικίας, Πολύξενος and Σιληνός are attested in both the Hellenistic and the Roman periods, sometimes even in identical combinations of a given name and a patronymic; this is an indication – especially when the names are rare – of conservatism and continuous traditions of naming. The most frequent personal names in

Dionysopolis – most of them theophoric, as it was common throughout the Greek world – are Διονύσιος (17+ attestations), Σιλανός/Σιληνός (9+8), Θεόδωρος (13), Αττας, Δημήτριος, Ἡρακλείδης, Παπας (8 each), Διογένης, Ἡρακλέων (both 7), Αντίπατρος, Θεαγένης, Νουμήνιος, Οὐαλέριος (6 each), Ἀπολλώνιος, Γλαῦκος, Δαδας, Δημοφῶν, Διονυσόδωρος, Διοσκουρίδης, Ἐστιαῖος, Ζήνων, Μητρόδωρος, Πολύξενος, Πρόκλος (5 each), Ἀθαναίων, Ἀνδρικίων, Ἀπήμων, Γέρων, Γλύκων, Κλαύδιος, Νικίας, Ποσειδώνιος, Πυθοκλῆς, Φιλόξενος (4 each); expectedly, the two most common names, Dionysios and Silanos / Silenos, were related to the cult of the city's eponymous deity. The research on the names of Greek origin in the inscriptions from Dionysopolis reveals a rather heterogeneous picture: some names are typical of the Western Pontus, including such known only from the Megarian Pontic colonies, while others point to a possible origin from Asia Minor or the Aegean islands. This onomastic diversity can find an explanation in the increased mobility of people during the Hellenistic period and does not need to reflect some early characteristics and respectively a mixed population of Dionysopolis.

CONTRIBUTIONS:

- First complete collection and edition of the epigraphic corpus of ancient Dionysopolis complying with modern scholarly requirements;
- Introduction into scholarly circulation of several dozen hitherto unknown texts;
- Revision of the texts by personal examination of the inscriptions whenever possible, with the aim of establishing a reliable basis not only for the present study but for future research as well;
- New interpretations or confirmation of already existing interpretations for many texts;
- Detailed linguistic and cultural-historical commentaries to the texts in the corpus;
- Study of the development of the Greek language in Dionysopolis for a period of six centuries;
- Analysis of the linguistic features attested in the inscriptions;
- Study of the vocabulary in the epigraphic corpus and addition of previously unknown lexemes to the vocabulary of ancient Greek;
- An attempt at reconstructing the polity and public life of Dionysopolis on the basis of epigraphic texts;
- Comprehensive study of several hundred anthroponyms documented in the inscriptions as well as of the onomastic patterns in which they were used;
- Emendation of two passages connected with Dionysopolis in the texts of two ancient authors.

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