

# Measuring the Otherness: Non-Greeks among Greeks in Apollonia Pontica

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**Abstract:** *The epigraphical material from Apollonia Pontica provides a valuable opportunity to analyze the presence and acculturation of non-Greek individuals in the Milesian colony during the relatively early period of the 5th century BC. How do we measure the extent to which they are others? By scrutinizing and comparing the archaeological, epigraphic, and onomastic evidence about Greeks and non-Greeks in the colony with those of other cities in the Aegean area in the Classical Period, the paper provides a plausible reconstruction of the colonization process and the social structure of the town and also tries to define the methodological principles that should be applied in research of this kind.*

**Keywords:** Greek colonization, Miletos, Lydians, Carians, Thracians

**Ключови думи:** гръцка колонизация, Милет, лидийци, карийци, траки

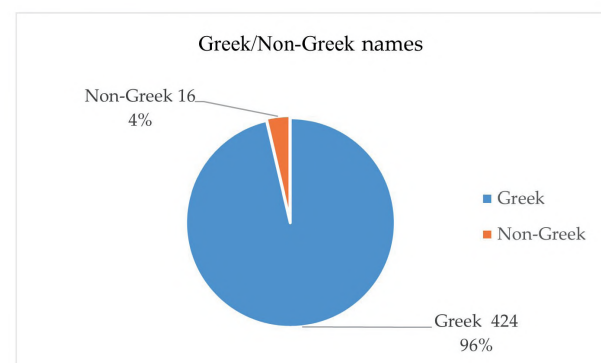


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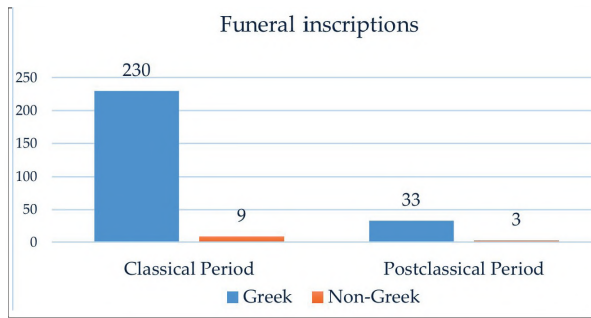
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From the 1880s till the recent professional excavations in Apollonia Pontica, a collection of close to five hundred epigraphically documented anthroponyms has been amassed. After excluding any Latin names since the Late Hellenistic Period onward, along with the Late Antique Christian evidence, the Greek names number 424, while the non-Greek anthroponyms are 16, eight from the Classical and eight from the Postclassical Period. (Fig. 1)



**Figure 1.** Greek and non-Greek names in Apollonia Pontica.



**Figure 2.** Greek and non-Greek names in Apollonia Pontica in the Classical and Postclassical Periods.

And since the Apollonian epigraphical evidence has been marked by numerous tombstones, particularly from the Archaic and Classical Periods, **Fig. 2** compares the funeral inscriptions with Greek and non-Greek names across two distinct time frames. It reveals that the Classical Period features eight names in nine of the 230 sepulchral monuments from that epoch. In contrast, the Postclassical Period, which spans from the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC to the first centuries AD, only yields 33 funeral inscriptions, with only three non-Greek names.

However, the Postclassical Period provides information about eight more individuals with non-Greek names mentioned in dedications, construction inscriptions, and a thiasus catalogue, which suggests their more active role in the public and religious life of the colony at that time. Most of them were of Thracian origin, as **Tab. 1** shows:

A quick comparison shows that non-Greek names in the 5th century were composed of a heterogeneous mix of ethnic groups. Predominantly, Anatolians were the primary ethnic group during this period. This is in contrast to the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, whereby the Thracian element was more prevalent among non-Greeks. However, it is essential to be cautious and to remember that these statistics are relative, as they depend on the preservation and discovery of finds. Besides, it is well known that only the wealthier ancient population is represented in epigraphic monuments.

After these preliminary notes and considering the nature of the Apollonian inscriptions, the paper will focus on the sepulchral inscriptions dating back to the Classical Period. These inscriptions form a reliable stock of anthroponymy, and my observations will specifically center on the non-Greek names contained within. The significance of these names lies in their early dating, which distinguishes them from the well-known immigration from Asia Minor to the Black Sea colonies in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, as documented in the inscriptions.

The conventional perception of individuals with non-Greek names in antiquity as being non-Greeks is commonly held. However, a more conservative anthropological approach may challenge the credibility of such assertions. This method advocates for a more nuanced approach that considers a range of factors, including language, religion, cult, material culture,

**Table 1.** Non-Greeks in Apollonia Pontica in the Postclassical Period.

Name	Origin	Funerary	Construction	Thiasus	Dedication
Αυλουζηνης	Thracian				IGBulg 402
Κότυς	Thracian	IGBulg 466	IGBulg 469bis		
Μητοκος	Thracian				IGBulg 400
Ξέρξης	Iranian	IGBulg 458			
Παπας	Micro Asian			IGBulg 401	
Ροιμητάλκης	Thracian				AMS 138
Ταρουλας	Thracian		IGBulg 469bis		IGBulg 400

dress, or everyday habits, as markers of otherness and a guarantee for its more intricate understanding.

Without underestimating these theoretical problems, I will nevertheless attempt to shed preliminary light on these eight non-Greek anthroponyms in the colony from the Classical Period by adhering to the notion that *faute de mieux*, it would be good to extract some information from the anthroponymy as well. In considering

the interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks, it is important to recognize that such contact was mutual and must be viewed in the context of cultural exchange, which was a significant aspect of their historical relationships<sup>1</sup>.

The Corpus has been excerpted from previous publications and the documentation of the forthcoming Corpus of Apollonian inscriptions, which Nikolay Sharankov is preparing in collaboration with Dilyana Boteva and me (Tab. 2).

**Table 2.** Non-Greeks in Apollonia Pontica (5<sup>th</sup> century BC).

Name	Origin	Number	
1. Άδα	Carian	1	<i>IGBulg</i> 415
2. Κανδασίς (hapax)	Carian	1	AMS <sup>1</sup> -89
3. Δᾶος	Phrygian	3	AMS-183 ( <i>Giuzelev</i> 2002, 18), AMS-82, AMS-202 ( <i>Giuzelev</i> 2002, 25);
4. Γαγης (hapax)	Phrygian	1	AMS-183
5. Λυδός	Lydian	1	<i>IGBulg</i> 432
6. Παιβνη (hapax)	Thracian	1	<i>IGBulg</i> 430
7. Βαστακίλης	Thracian	1	<i>IGBulg</i> 440
8. Κερζεας (hapax)	Thracian	1	Sz <sup>2</sup> -7 ( <i>Giuzelev</i> 2002, 20)

Eight names under consideration are attested in nine out of 230 tomb inscriptions from the Classical Period. They comprise two Carian, two Phrygian, one Lydian, and three Thracian anthroponyms. In comparison, classical Athens has yielded ten funeral inscriptions for Carians, four-

teen for Phrygians, five for Lydians, and twenty-five for Thracians<sup>4</sup>. Considering the difference in the scale of settlements, one can conclude that the number of non-Greeks in Apollonian sepulchral epigraphy was not as small as it appears at first glance<sup>5</sup>.



**Figure 3.** Delineations of the inscriptions with non-Greek names.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Brun* 2022: 175-177.

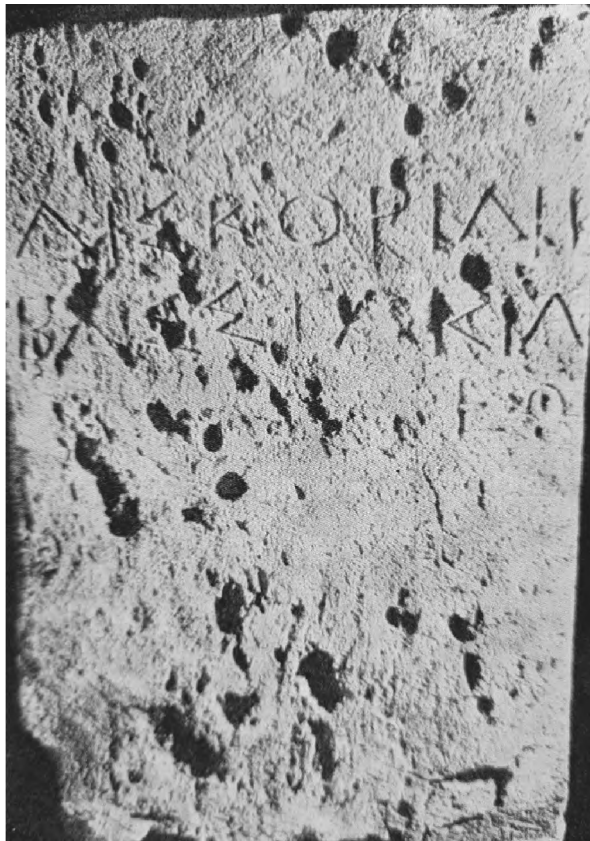
<sup>2</sup> AMS (meaning *Archaeological Museum of Sozopol*) is a preliminary working indexation of the inscriptions in the local museum.

<sup>3</sup> Sz (meaning *Sozopol*) is a preliminary working indexation of the inscriptions localized in the town.

<sup>4</sup> *Bäbler* 1998.

<sup>5</sup> While insightful, the study conducted by *Bäbler* on the analysis of 146 tombstones in Athens during the 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup>

Let's look at the delineations of the nine inscriptions in question (**Fig. 3**)<sup>6</sup>. We may notice several features of the lettering, which date the monuments to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century instead of its end and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, as is generally accepted<sup>7</sup>. The short hasta of nu, the stretched mu and sigma, and the transferring of the name to the right end of the following line of the patronym Βαστακιλεω (**Fig. 4**), all point to this earlier date range.



**Figure 4.** Δισκορίδη | Βαστακιλεω (IGBulg 440).

Therefore, it turns out that five Apollonian tombstones contain the earliest lapidary attestations of Ἀδα, Δᾶος, Λυδός, and Βαστακιλης,

while the other yield four hapaxes: Κανδασίς, Γαγίης, Παιβινη, and Κερζεας. Given the date of the colony's establishment and the relatively short average lifespan during antiquity, it is reasonable to infer that the deceased individuals in question were fourth or fifth-generation colonists, while their fathers would have belonged to a generation one step younger. This information may be significant in understanding the colony's demographics and history.

All eight names can be classified into two groups based on their origin – Anatolian (Carian, Lydian, and Phrygian) and Thracian, linked to how their bearers infiltrated Apollonia.

In front of the map, and based on the previous research, we should clarify the geographical aspects of Anatolian immigrants' origins. While Miletos was in Caria proper, and it is reasonable to postulate that Carians probably arrived here already with the Miletos colonists because of their early dating and the proximity of their homeland to the metropolis, Phrygia was an inland territory and would have had to rely on Lydia, situated north of the Meander Valley, to access the eastern Ionian cities. Consequently, Lydian and Phrygian bronze, gold, and ceramic artifacts have been discovered in Ephesus and Smyrna rather than Miletos<sup>8</sup>. Although Miletos was a starting point for the streaming migrants' departure, we should consider other potential contact possibilities. The Propontis and the territory of Troas, Mysia, and the Southern Black Sea colonies could have served as intermediaries, enabling numerous 'inland' Anatolians to reach colonies on the western Black Sea coast<sup>9</sup>.

Of these Anatolian migrants, only Δᾶος Γαγίω bears two non-Greek names, both personal and paternal, which may suggest non-Greek origin of his both parents. At the same

centuries does not provide a comprehensive inventory of the epigraphic presence of non-Greek foreigners, enslaved or otherwise. Other sources, such as the Attic stelae that contain records of the sale of property confiscated after the scandal with the Herms in 415 BC, the naval lists, the Erechtheum building records, and the inscriptions of the Laorean slaves, are crucial to obtaining a more accurate picture of the epigraphical footprints of non-Greeks in classical Athens. According to David Lewis (Lewis 2011), a detailed analysis of these sources is required in order to determine the degree of non-Greek foreign presence in classical Athens.

<sup>6</sup> Five of them were made by Dr Nikolay Sharankov, and I am thankful for his permission to use them.

<sup>7</sup> LGPN dates the funerary inscriptions for Lydos to the 5<sup>th</sup>, Ada to the 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and Daos and Bastakiles to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<sup>8</sup> Kerschner 2005: 121-141.

<sup>9</sup> The presence of Phrygians in the Hellespont Phrygia in the 6<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC has been proved by the old Phrygian inscriptions found in Dascyleion (Ehrhardt 2005: 96-97). This is the reason for Olivier Masson calling Daos a name 'en Mysie et en Bithynie' but 'peut-être proche de phrygien' (Masson 1995: 327).

time, the Carians Ἀδα and Κανδασίς demonstrate a more explicit commitment to the Greek milieu since one was the wife of a man with the Greek name, probably Ἡφαιστίων or Ἡφαιστίος. The other was the daughter of one, Μενέφρων, and was most likely the offspring of a mixed marriage between a Carian woman and a Greek. Other three deceased with Greek given names have Anatolian patronymics from the Phrygian name Δᾶος (Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δάο and Διοσκορίδης Δάο), and from the Lydian name Λυδός (Ἀπατόριος Λυδῶ).

This hybrid nomenclature proves the successive stages of assimilation among the initially ethnically diverse colonizers who hailed from the metropolis's surrounding territories. Moreover, it could also be inferred that the wave of Ionian colonizers comprised mixed families of Greeks and non-Greeks from the beginning of the colony's establishment.

The Thracian names outline the other group of non-Greek migrants in Apollonia. The ideonyms of them were only female if we, contrary to Louis Robert, assume that Διοσκορίδη is a feminine name and not the mistaken masculine name Διοσκορίδης. They include Παιβίνη, who was mentioned only by her ideonym, and Φανίχη Κερζεατος<sup>10</sup> and Διοσκορίδη Βασστακιλεω, who were most likely daughters born of mixed marriages between non-Greek Thracian fathers and Greek women. Κερζεας and Βασστακιλης could not but have been free people, given their ability to enter into marriages with Greek women (I think that it was less likely an entire Thracian family to enter Apollonia during this early period and to give their child a Greek name). It is probable that these Thracian fathers were either craftsmen, small merchants or wage laborers who had the opportunity to contact the colony's population.

However, their lesser familiarity with the Greek language, as compared to the Anatolians, could be suggested, as is evident in the

monument to Bastakiles' daughter, Διοσκορίδη. Her name recording bears traces of barbarism; I mean the syncope of /o/, the doubled <Σ>, and the uncommon and hapax female counterpart of the masculine Διοσκορίδης simultaneously with the parallel to the Thracian element Διοσκ(ο)-, for instance, in the toponym Diskodouratae.

I am excluding from this 'Thracian' group the patronymic Ἀψίνθιος, which is present in two inscriptions from the same period<sup>11</sup>, although in a recent dissertation presented at the University of California, Riverside, Geff Chu cautiously associates this patronym with the Thracian tribe Apsinthii<sup>12</sup>. Based on the features of the two monuments and their lettering, I am inclined to see here a Greek name that can be traced back to the city of Apsinthus, located on the Aegean coast. Together with Peter Fraser, we can assume that the two attestations of Apsinthios represent an individual relationship at some time, past or present, between the family or family members and this foreign city<sup>13</sup>. Thus, I am inclined to accept that we are confronted here rather with a fictitious non-Greekness.

As for Paibine, her name tops a list of three deceased noted by only ideonyms without a patronym, suggesting they were slaves. However, Jeff Chu has already proposed the hypothesis of a deceased family<sup>14</sup> – a mother and her siblings or a girl and her parents<sup>15</sup>. It is worth noticing that the three names were engraved simultaneously with the same lettering and ductus. As Chu reasonably states, there could be different interpretations and analogies with Attic stelae containing only one name of more than one deceased, which, in contrast, provided more specification through the visual information of the relief.

In Apollonia, there are three more monuments containing only one ideonym of one deceased, such as Κόμων, Καλλίας, and Φαίδων, which could be placed in a peribolos, which *a priori* defined whose family or property they

<sup>10</sup> Detschew 1976, s.v. Καρζεας, Κερζα.

<sup>11</sup> IGBulg 426 and AMS 27.

<sup>12</sup> Chu 2022: 70-71.

<sup>13</sup> Fraser 2000: 153.

<sup>14</sup> Indeed, Mihailov has already proposed it in the Index of the IGBulg P, s.v. Ἐρμαῖος by defining Αὔγη and Παιβίνη as his *cognatae*.

<sup>15</sup> Chu 2022: 71-73.



were. Paibine's monument differs in the number of deceased persons and the presence of a non-Greek anthroponym. As the monument's character is essential for the social status of the Thracian Paibine in Apollonia, considerations connected with the other two names that do not match the Apollonian anthroponymy could be added. The name of Auge in Apollonia is the earliest attested one. Otherwise known from the Rogozen treasure<sup>16</sup>, it does not occur in the Classical Period in Thrace, on the Black Sea coast, or in the Milesian colonies. It is instead associated with Mysia in Asia Minor and the mythological tradition of the local princess Auge, Hercules, and their son Telephus. In later centuries, an Auge in a manumission inscription in Delphi, although from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>17</sup>, could support the suggestion that female slaves from Mysia could be named Auge. For instance, another Auge is the third deceased woman with one name in a sepulchral inscription from Athens from the Imperial epoch ([Π]ῶλλα / Ὀκταῖα / Αὐγή)<sup>18</sup>. As for the Hermaios, which, in contrast, has many attestations already from the 7<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC<sup>19</sup>, the neighbor Mesambria Pontica provides a parallel of a dedicator with one name Ἑρμαῖος, obviously a slave, who together with Εὐέλ[πις] | [τος], Ἀπολλ[ώνιος], [Α]θυσ, and Ἀνδό[ς] made a dedication to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, and Aphrodite in the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>20</sup>. Thus, the possibility of several slaves of a family being buried together in its cemetery plot should not be excluded. Apart from Paibine, the other ideonyms in the monument are Greek, which is not uncommon in the naming of slaves of Asia Minor.

Regardless of which hypothesis we adhere to – that of a family with a mixed marriage be-

tween a Thracian woman and a Greek or that of a mixed group of slaves with a Thracian member – the process of infiltration of the local Thracians into the colony has been proven since the Classical Period. It can be observed that, in terms of their material composition, the monuments in question consist of limestone blocks arranged with a similar text pattern, rendering them indistinguishable from other Greek tombstones. The sole exception is Discoride's inscription, which is clumsy. This observation suggests that Thracian inhabitants conformed, although to a varying degree compared to the Anatolians, to the customary Greek epigraphic practices for commemorating and paying homage to their deceased in the Greek language.

Of the Anatolians in Apollonia, I will first discuss the Carians. This decision is mainly motivated by the fact that the metropolis of Apollonia, Miletos, which had existed since the Late Bronze Age as Millawānda (the Hittite name of the city) and was colonized by the Ionians, was situated in Caria. Entirely subjugated by Lydians in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Caria became subject to Persian rule after Croesus' downfall (546 BC) till the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC when it underwent a strong Hellenization thanks to the rule of the Hekatomnid dynasty. Subsequently, Caria ceased to exist as an autonomous state within the framework of Alexander's empire.

In Apollonia, there were two Carian women named Ada and Kandasias, of which the latter is a hapax<sup>21</sup>.

Carians were not at all an exotic ethnos to the Ionians in Miletos<sup>22</sup>. Since the Ionian polis was located among settlements of the Carian population in Asia Minor, Ionians and Carians lived in an active symbiosis<sup>23</sup>. On the one hand,

<sup>16</sup> SEG 37: 618, 2.

<sup>17</sup> FD III 6: 58.

<sup>18</sup> IG III 10906.

<sup>19</sup> LGPN s.v.

<sup>20</sup> IGBulg 322 ter.

<sup>21</sup> Notably, *Kandasias* features the cluster /nd/, for which a special grapheme no. 31 with the corresponding phonetic value has been postulated (*Adiego* 2007a: 760, Fig. 67 and *Adiego* 2007: 246-247).

<sup>22</sup> There has been a huge amount of scholarship on contact between Carians and Greeks, including from conferences specifically devoted to the subject in Berlin in 2005 (*Rumschied* 2009) and in Oxford in 2006 (*van Bremen, Carbon* 2010). Special thematic volumes have also been dedicated to the topic, such as *Brun* 2007; *Lenfant* 2022; *Cohen* 2000; *Biering et al.* 2006.

<sup>23</sup> *Robert* 1973: 441, note 33. An extensive overview of the cultural exchange between Greeks and Carians was made by Alexander Herda in his study *Greek (and our) View on the Karians* (Herda 2013).

the Carians were a mobile ethnic group and energetic seafarers. Their ships reached the Black Sea through the Bosphorus and the remote western coast of Africa through the Pillars of Hercules (Καρικὸν τεῖχος Hanno, *Peripl.* 5). In his *Periplus* of the Black Sea, Arrian mentions a port of Carians (Καρῶν λιμὴν) and the land around it, named Καρία, which were located 180 stadia southern from Kallatis (approximately 32 km), probably at Shabla (Arr. *Peripl.* 24.1–3). Carians were also prominent as mercenaries in the seventh and sixth centuries in the pay of the Pharaoh Psammetichus I (664–610 BC) and his successors. There was a large contingent of Carian mercenaries in Egypt together with Ionians, as epigraphic evidence testifies, since nearly 200 inscriptions in the Carian language, funeral stelae and graffiti, have been found so far<sup>24</sup>. Herodotus (Hdt. 1.171.4) narrates how many military innovations, adopted by the Greeks, were made by the Carians, including crests on their helmets, devices on their shields, and grips for the shields<sup>25</sup> not to mention how many other things were called Carian<sup>26</sup>. This inventor “tradition” may be not historical, but nor is it myth. Rather it is a rationalization, more or less speculative, of evidence based on historical facts<sup>27</sup>.

Moreover, Carians were almost bilingual, and Strabo explains that Homer called them *barbarophonoi* (Νάσσης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων, Hom. *Il.* 2.867), not because they speak a foreign language, but because they

do not pronounce Greek well (Str. 14.2.28).

For the Greek-Carian symbiosis, or ἐπιπλοκή to use Strabo’s words, advocate the famous Herodotean lines about mixed marriages in Miletos between Ionian men and Carian women (Hdt. 1.146.2). He himself was a Carian offspring born in Halicarnassus by a Carian father named Λυξής<sup>28</sup> together with the born in Miletos Thales, whose father also has a Carian name, Ἐξαμυής<sup>29</sup>.

In the metropolis of Miletos itself<sup>30</sup>, six Carians are attested in epigraphic monuments dating back to the 6<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Four of these men, namely Λιατος Βρέμμιος (*Milet* I.3, 122, l. 3, 524–523 BC), Λιατος Ἑκαταίου (*Milet* I.3, 122, l. 106; 421–420 BC), Μασσαραβίς (*Milet* I.3, 122, l. 65; 462–461 BC), and Τιαιμύς (*Milet* I. 3, 122, l. 84; 440–439 BC), were even eponymous stephanephoroi, the annual magistrates of Miletos, which suggests their high status. Additionally, a Carian named Ἀνδροσσῶς from Halicarnassus (*Milet* VI.2, 407; 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) was buried in Miletos, while Υλιαμύς Μανδρώνακτος, another Carian, dedicated a bronze omphalos bowl to Ἀφροδίτη Οἰκοῦς at her extramural sanctuary at Zeytintepe in the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>31</sup>. A graffito written in the Carian alphabet was also discovered on a fragment of a bowl in the Heroon III in Miletos in 2003, further attesting to the coexistence of Carians and Ionians in the polis and of the permeable boundaries of their religion and culture (*Herda, Sauter* 2009).

Epigraphical evidence of Ada from the

<sup>24</sup> Adiego 2007: 30.

<sup>25</sup> Καί σφι τριεὶ ἐξ ευρημάτων ἐγένετο τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κάρεις εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημεῖα ποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες ὅσοι περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικειμένοισι.

<sup>26</sup> Except for the innovations mentioned by Herodotus and widely recognized in the Greek world (cf. Alcaeus’ verse λόφον τεσσείων Καρικόν (Alc. *Frg.* 388, Lobel-Page) and Anacreon’s διὰ δηῦτε Καρικουγέος ὀχάνου χειρὰ τιθέμενοιτ (Anacr. *Frg.* 56, Page), many other things were defined Carian: Κ. ἔλαιον a kind of salve, Καρικὴ μούσα funeral song, Καρικόν, τό, Carian quarter in Memphis (LSJ, s.v.); Καρικοὶ τράγοι· ὡς εὐτελῶν ὄντων (Hsch. 820), Καρικόν· εὐτελές, μικρόν. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἀφροδίσιον σχῆμα αἰσχρόν (Hsch. 818); Καρικὸν θῦμα· ἐπὶ τῶν ἄσαρκα μέλη θυόντων. οἱ γὰρ Κάρεις κύνας ἱερουργοῦσι (Plut. *De proverbiis Alexandrinorum* 73); Καρικαὶ κύνες (Arr. *Cyn.* 3.6); θρηνώδες δὲ Καρικόν αὐλημα (Poll. 4.75); Καρικὸν γραμματεῖον· τὸ πινακίδιον, οὗ τὸ πτύχιον κεκοίλωται πρὸς χρυσῶν στατήρων ἀπόθεσιν (Lex. *Segu.*); Καρικὸν φάρμακον (Hp. *Ulc.* 16).

<sup>27</sup> Snodgrass 1964: 118.

<sup>28</sup> Blümel 1992: 25.

<sup>29</sup> Blümel 1992: 16.

<sup>30</sup> About the Carians in Miletos generally, see Ehrhardt 2006.

<sup>31</sup> Ehrhardt 2013: 123; SEG 64, 1107. Eleven other Carians from Miletos, including Ada, were also recorded in the following centuries (see Blümel 1992 and Günther 2017 s.v.).

<sup>32</sup> For epigraphical evidence of Ada in Caria itself, see the updated version of Blümel 1992: 9.

5<sup>th</sup> century outside Asia Minor<sup>32</sup> features only one other Ada in the Milesian colony of Sinope (*IK Sinope* 9) who, not surprisingly, was not a slave as well since her funeral memory reads Ἀδα Ἐπιχάρεος. From the other 31 attestations dating back till the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, which *LGNP* lists, eleven women named Ada were documented in the subsequent 4<sup>th</sup> century: two free women, namely the wife of the Milesian Lamynthios in Attica<sup>33</sup> and Ada, daughter of Bostas, in Zone<sup>34</sup>, and a freedwoman from Mesambria Pontica<sup>35</sup>. Additionally, six slaves are recorded in Attica<sup>36</sup>, alongside two dedications from the royal family of Ada and Idrieus in Delphi<sup>37</sup> and in Tegea<sup>38</sup>. The famous queen Ada of this philhellene dynasty was the sister of Mausolus and wife of his other brother Idrieus. She even adopted Alexander the Great in 334 BC, entertained him with sweets, and was restored by him as queen of Caria instead of her brother Pixodarus (*Arr. Anab.* 1.23.7-8; *Plut. Al.* 22.7-10).

From these records, it is apparent that the prejudiced opinion of Ada Carian women as slaves and only slaves should be corrected by a more flexible and unbiased notion that women with the name Ada could be slaves, free inhabitants in a Greek city, and even queens.

On the basis of the above observations, we may postulate an infusion of Carian families or individuals into the stream of colonists heading for the western shores of the Black Sea and the presence of a Carian element that arrived already with the first generation of colonists in Apollonia. The first generation of free Carians seeking better livelihood opportunities in

a Greek colony in a foreign land is expected to have lower social status. They could be artisans, wage workers, or those earning a living who could still afford to provide funds for a decent funeral monument, priced from twenty drachms up for the sophisticated stelae in Athens<sup>39</sup>, which could be lesser for a colony of the remote ends of the Greek world such as Apollonia Pontica.

It is challenging to give more details about the social status of these two Carian women in Apollonia, Ada and Kandasis, except that they were not slaves. Unfortunately, we only have their anthroponyms. According to Stephanus of Byzantium (*St. Byz.* 10.54), Kandasis should be a derivative of the name of the city of Kandasa in Caria (*Polyb.* 16.40.5). Ada, from her side, is a trendy Carian *Lallname*<sup>40</sup>, which became dynastic due to the female members of the Hekatomnid dynasty later in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

As for the Phrygian anthroponym Daos, of which we have three attestations in Apollonia, it was one of the highly beloved slave personages in eight of Menander's comedies: *Dyscolus*, *Epitrepontes*, *Aspis*, *Perikeiromene*, *Heros*, *Georgos*, *Kolax*, and *Perinthia*<sup>41</sup>. Contrary to the erroneous opinion suggested by Strabo that Δᾱοι is the old name of Λακοί (*Str.* 7.3.12)<sup>42</sup>, Δᾱος is the name not of the Dacian but of the Phrygian slaves in the New Comedy. Hesychius, s.v. attests to the meaning of the Phrygian appellative δᾱος as a wolf (ὕπο Φρυγῶν λύκος). A late Greek inscription from Akmonia region in Phrygia dating back to AD 314 and reported by Ramsey in 1883<sup>43</sup> mentions a local syncretic god Μάνης Δᾱος Ἡλιοδρόμος Ζεὺς

<sup>33</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 9738.

<sup>34</sup> *I. Aeg. Thrace* E411.

<sup>35</sup> *IGBulg* 334 (9).

<sup>36</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8554, 10573, 10574, 10575, 10575a; *SEG* 32:312.

<sup>37</sup> *FD* III 4:176.

<sup>38</sup> *IG* V.2, 89.

<sup>39</sup> *Bäbler* 1998: 59.

<sup>40</sup> *Blümel* 1992: 9; *Zgusta* 1964: 46-47; *Adiego* 2007: 340.

<sup>41</sup> *Lewis* 2011: 101-102.

<sup>42</sup> Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τῆς χώρας μερισμός συμμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Λακοὺς προσαγορεύουσι τοὺς δὲ Γέτας, Γέτας μὲν τοὺς πρὸς τὸν Πόντον κεκλιμένους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἕω, Λακοὺς δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὰναντία πρὸς τὴν Γερμανίαν καὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἰστροῦ πηγὰς, οὓς οἶμαι Δάους καλεῖσθαι τὸ παλαιόν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἐπεπόλασε τὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὀνόματα Γέται καὶ Δᾱοι.

<sup>43</sup> *Ramsey* 1883: 419-420; *MAMA* VI 148,152.

<sup>44</sup> *Masson* 1995: 327.



whom Olivier Masson calls 'une curieuse figure divine'<sup>44</sup>. Without delving into the meaning of the appellative and its relation to a theonym, as Sittig did<sup>45</sup>, we should note that the *LGP* lists 18 occurrences of Δᾱος attested in the 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Only three of them date from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, an amphorae maker from Heraclaea Pontica<sup>46</sup> and two θεράποντες in the Athenian navy: Δᾱος Φάνο<sup>47</sup> and Δᾱος ἐν Ὠ--- (sc. οἰκῶν)<sup>48</sup>. While the former was a slave of someone, the latter is a metoikos as ὁ δεῖνα οἰκῶν ἐν τινι τόπῳ is the usual administrative formula of registration for metoikoi<sup>49</sup>.

According to Xenophon's *On Revenues* (Xen. Vect. 2.3), the Phrygians, Lydians, and Syrians constituted a large part of the metoikoi in Athens. Indeed, from a survey of Greek epigraphic monuments of the 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries it turns out that the ideonym Daos is not only a trademark name for a slave from Phrygia but also for free Phrygian migrants-metoikoi in the Greek world. Particularly revealing are the epigraphic texts representing the financial accounts of the authorities at the sanctuaries of Delphi and Eleusine. From both sanctuaries, several Phrygian wage laborers are known. Two Phrygians left traces in the epigraphic stock of Eleusine as hired construction workers IG III 1672, 19 (= I. Eleusis 177) and IG III 1672, 25-26 (= I. Eleusis 177)<sup>50</sup>.

The three men with this name (two patronyms and one ideonym) from Apollonia were not slaves and, like their compatriots in Heraclaea, Athens, and Eleusine, were most likely small artisans or wage laborers.

Phrygia and Lydia existed as a kind of Hinterland for the Eastern Ionian cities from the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC till the Persians seized Sardis in the

second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The fame of the fabulous wealth of Midas and Croesus and their impressive gifts to Greek sanctuaries reflect the vital place that the elites of these kingdoms had in forming the high aristocratic culture of Hellas in the Archaic Period. Their gold, luxury, scented ointments, purple dresses and shoes were the elements of the elitist culture of Ionia in the 7<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC<sup>51</sup>. In the Greek literature after the Greek-Persian wars, however, the decadence of the East Ionians became proverbial, and both Phrygians and Lydians were depicted unfavorably<sup>52</sup>. The Phrygians were often portrayed as cowardly, while the Lydians were perceived as soft and effeminate<sup>53</sup>. However, as documented in epigraphical records, the Greeks did not renounce their labor and migrant laborers from these lands were in demand as hired workers in ancient Greek city-states. These individuals, irrespective of their occupation, including amphora or brick makers, carriers or construction workers, earned their livelihoods within the Greek polis. Most likely *metoikoi* with no political rights and excluded from the tribal organization of the political community of the *apoikia*, they were often relegated to menial jobs and were subjected to additional taxes. Despite these challenges, some were able, as we know, to accumulate wealth over time. The family of Ἀπατόριος Ἰ Λυδῶ<sup>54</sup>, for instance, to return to Apollonia Pontica, could afford a decent sepulchral monument for their deceased. Named with the typical Ionian ideonym connected with the Ionian-Attic religious feast *Apatouria*, the heir of Lydos was most likely the offspring of a mixed marriage as the name of his father implies Lydian origin. Despite his ethnic name, the father Lydos was not a slave, as such a practice of calling free

<sup>45</sup> Sittig 1911: 158-159.

<sup>46</sup> *IK Heraclea Pont.*, p. 132.

<sup>47</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032, 234.

<sup>48</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032, 440.

<sup>49</sup> Bähler 1998: 48, note 221.

<sup>50</sup> IG III 1672, 19 (= I. Eleusis 177): To Daos, hired to clean the bondages of the retaining walls, who lives in the deme of Kydantides: 115 drachms; IG III 1672, 25-26 (= I. Eleusis 177): From Daos, who lives in Eleusine, 5000 bricks for the entrance; Price and delivery of 1000 bricks – 38 drachms, in total: 190 drachms.

<sup>51</sup> Crielaard 2009: 60-63. See, for instance, Sapph. Frg. 132 (Lobel-Page), Archil. Frg. 19 (West); Xenoph. Frg. 3 (West).

<sup>52</sup> Crielaard 2009: 63.

<sup>53</sup> DeVries 2000: 341-342; 357-358. For a more detailed survey of the relationships of Lydians and Phrygians with the Ionians and the Greeks, see Ehrhardt 2005 and Kerschner 2005.

<sup>54</sup> IGBulg 432.

people by ethnic names was attested in antiquity as Xenophon, for instance, testifies<sup>55</sup>.

In conclusion: The epigraphic evidence indicates that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, Apollonia Pontica had an albeit small but motley non-Greek population consisting of residents from Asia Minor, including Carians, Phrygians, and Lydians, as well as Thracians. These individuals, varying in ethnic background, social status, and level of Hellenization, gradually assimilated into the life of the new colony community. They honored the memory of their loved ones

with the traditional Apollonian tombstones in Greek. To ensure an unbiased analysis and a meticulous, chronologically aware examination of this phenomenon, the study should consider the different methods of colony penetration during or after its founding and compare the epigraphic evidence from Miletos, its colonies, and other Greek cities. Additionally, ancient sources documenting interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks and the earlier acculturation of non-Greeks compared to the native Thracians should be considered.

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<sup>55</sup> In the fifth book of *Anabasis* (X. An. 5.2.29), Xenophon recounts the story of a mercenary soldier named Mysos, who hailed from Mysia and shared his name with the region (ἀνὴρ Μυσός καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἔχων). See also *Fraser* 2000: 153-154.

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## Измерения на другостта: не-гърци сред гърци в Аполония Понтика

Мирена Славова

Епиграфският материал от Аполония Понтика предлага ценна възможност да се анализира присъствието и акултурацията на негръцко население в милетската колония в един сравнително ранен период, V в. пр.Хр. Как да измерим степента, в която те са различни от гърците? Статията дава една вероятна реконструкция на процеса на колонизация и на социалната структура на града, като внимателно разглежда и сравнява археологическите, епиграфските и ономастичните свидетелства за гърци и не-гърци в колонията с тези на други градове през класическата епоха. Въз основа на това са направени изводи за съжителството и социалното положение на малоазийското и тракийското население в един гръцки полис и са очертани методологическите принципи, които могат да се използват при този тип изследвания.

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