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# ANCIENT SINOPE

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS  
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE)

BY

DAVID M. ROBINSON

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1906

EXCHANGE BUREAU  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA







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## I.—ANCIENT SINOPE.

### FIRST PART.

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

No monograph on Sinope has been written since 1855. In that year, when interest in the Black Sea towns had been for some time stimulated by the Crimean war, and Sinope had been forced into temporary prominence by a naval battle near the town between the Turks and Russians, appeared W. T. Streuber's historical sketch (*Sinope, ein Historisch-Antiquarischer Umriss*, Basel, 1855). It was marred by many mistakes, and the author could not avail himself of the numerous inscriptions and coins which have since thrown so much light upon the city's annals. Many of the best histories of Greece and of the Greek colonies, moreover, have been written during the half-century that has elapsed since that time. In 1902, while I was studying as fellow at the American School in Athens, Professor Edward Capps suggested that I use the opportunity to make a thorough investigation of all material connected with ancient Sinope and, if practicable, embody the results in a connected account. Kindly letters from Professor Edward Meyer of Berlin and Professor George Busolt of Göttingen encouraged me to make the attempt. After much preliminary study I went in June, 1903, to live in the town itself, made journeys in different directions through the immediate locality and sought to quicken and unify my investigations into a living, historic portrayal. How far I have succeeded the reader must judge for himself.

The indebtednesses of the author are of course many and varied, as the notes and references indicate. In addition to the geographical works cited on page 126, mention should be made of the brief *Sinopicarum Quaestionum Specimen* by M. Sengebusch (Berlin, 1846), of the article by Six on coins of Sinope in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1885, of the general histories, and especially of Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos*, and Reinach-Götz, *Mithradates Eupator*. The ancient sources and other modern works will be found cited throughout the paper.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE SITE.

The configuration of the country round Sinope, its geographic position, its products, the security of its double harbor, and the impregnability of its rocky promontory, have conspired to write its name in the annals of war, of commerce, of popular and governmental independence and development, and of biography, literature, and art.

The northern coast of Asia Minor is like a central mounting billow with a trough on each side. The billow and the two troughs taken together, form the entire southern shore of the Pontus, and the outline is symmetrical, so that the crest of the wave is the middle point of the shore. The crest, however, is somewhat flattened, and just at its eastern edge, before it begins to fall away, it throws out a bold promontory.<sup>1</sup> From the eastern corner of this main promontory<sup>2</sup> juts out in a north-easterly direction the smaller peninsula on whose low landward neck Sinope is built.<sup>3</sup>

The peninsula itself is a promontory,<sup>4</sup> about 600 feet in height, with precipitous sides and a broad level table-land at the top. Its outline somewhat resembles that of a boar's head with the

<sup>1</sup> Called Syrias in Marcian, *Epitome Periplus Maris Interni*. 9; but Lepte in Arrian, *Periplus*. 21; and Syrias Acrulepte in the anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini* 20. Cf. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* I, pp. 571, 387, 406. The modern Turkish name is Indjé-burun.

<sup>2</sup> *Geographi Minores*, pl. XVIII.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 545 ἰδρῦται γὰρ ἐπὶ αὐχένι Χερρονήσου; cf. Polybius IV 56, οἰκεῖται δ' ἐπὶ τινος Χερρονήσου προτεινούσης εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἧς τὸν μὲν αὐχένα τὸν συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅς ἐστιν οὐ πλείον δυοῖν σταδίων, ἣ πόλις ἐπικειμένη διακλείει κυρίως. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς Χερρονήσου πρόκειται μὲν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἐστὶ δ' ἐπίπεδον καὶ πανευέφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, κύκλῳ δ' ἐκ θαλάττης ἀπότομον καὶ δυσπρόορμιστον καὶ παντελῶς ὀλίγας ἔχον προσβάσεις; Herod. IV 12; Eust. *Commentarii* 248, 773, 970; Plut. Luc. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Several travellers and geographers mention this promontory, which to-day is called Boz-tepé (gray hill), a name which is also applied to the Greek quarter of Sinope, just outside the walls of the Turkish village, itself called Sinub or Sinob or Sinab; and also to the eastern cape where the modern lighthouse stands: cf. Meletios, *Geographie* p. 482; Ritter, *Kleinasiens* I, pp. 784, 794; Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*. II, p. 344 ff; Rottiers, *Itineraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, p. 275; Taitbout de Marigny,



highest point at the snout in the extreme east. It is about two miles in length and one mile in width at the widest part. It appears to have been of volcanic formation and, judging by the cretaceous over the volcanic deposits, to have been at one time below the level of the sea and afterwards heaved up slowly into its present position. The rock is evidently of volcanic nature and is of the same quality with those in eastern Anatolia. In the north central part of the nearly level plateau there still exists a lake which is at present very shallow, but which probably is an old crater.<sup>1</sup> Such geologic formation, after decomposition by the weather, has considerable fertility.<sup>2</sup> At the time of my visit cows, horses, and goats were pasturing upon the short grass. There were also abundant wild flowers and shrubbery, including juniper and laurel. Under the conditions of an ancient siege the produce of the entire area might support a considerable army even when all other supplies were cut off. Water also would be abundant. A short distance down the slope by which the promontory descends to the town,<sup>3</sup> there is a cave in which there is an underground stream of cool, drinkable water.<sup>4</sup> Both the inflow and the outflow are secure from pollution. An underground passage-way leads from the cave down to the town. Its date is later than the Greek or Roman period, but the idea of reaching the hidden water in this protected way might have suggested itself at any time. There are springs also on the plateau itself,<sup>5</sup> one of which in the

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Pilote de la Mer Noire et de la Mer d'Azov, p. 159; Tozer, Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor, p. 7. A view of Sinope and Boz-tepé from the southeast is given in Tournefort, Relation d'un Voyage du Levant II. lettre 17, p. 203; Reclus, Nouvelle Géographie Universelle IX, p. 566 (with map and photograph of Sinope); Jaubert, Voyage en Arménie et en Perse, p. 394; cf. also page 128, note 4 of this paper and Mannert, Géographie 6, 3, 15.

<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion of Brauns, who wrote a good article on the geology of the peninsula of Sinope, entitled Beobachtungen in Sinope, in the Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde N. F. II (1857), p. 28 ff. He gives a good geological map.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 545, ἀνωθεν μέντοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εὐγεῶν ἔστι τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἀγροκηπίοις κεκόσμηται πυκνοῖς, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ προάστεια.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Polybius IV 56.

<sup>4</sup> The cave to-day is called 'Byzana' by the Greeks, because the water seems to flow from breasts. A religious ceremony is performed there in the spring-time. Perhaps Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, p. 312, refers to this cave.

<sup>5</sup> The modern town gets its water from the peninsula; cf. Hamilton, op. cit. p. 312.

southeasterly portion sends its stream out horizontally from a hillock into a sarcophagus of Roman date bearing a Greek inscription.<sup>1</sup>

While the general outline of the promontory may be compared to a boar's head, its steep bristling sides have caused it to be likened to a petrified hedgehog.<sup>2</sup> The action of the sea against rocks of varying hardness, such as trachyte, black volcanic breccia, red chalky scaglia, also varying greatly in density, shelly limestone, and sandstone,<sup>3</sup> has left a mass of sharp projections around the coast. Down at the water-line, and below the surface, the sea has hollowed out caves and water-filled holes, the "Choenicides" of Strabo.<sup>4</sup> Upon such a shore<sup>5</sup> it was almost impossible to effect a landing, and still more difficult to reach the easily defended plateau above.

Descending in a southwesterly direction along the axis of the promontory, we cross through the low neck, narrowed by the double harbor to about a quarter of a mile<sup>6</sup> in width and ascend to the mainland, a region of extraordinary beauty and fertility. Southward the foreground shows scattered areas of wheat, barley, corn, rice, and other grain interspersed with vineyards and orchards of fruit-trees of the widest variety. There are apples, pears, figs, peaches, plums, medlars, apricots and cherries. The last are natives of this southern shore and are believed to have been carried from this place of origin to Italy and thence to other lands. Cerasus, a colony of Sinope on this same shore,<sup>7</sup> got its name from the abundance of its cherry-trees.<sup>8</sup> The olive tree

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905) p. 315, no. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Reinach-Götz, Mithradates Eupator p. 352 and the epithet *ἐχινώδης* applied to the rock in Strabo XII 545. Cf. also Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the article of Brauns, p. 28 ff. and Hamilton, op. cit. p. 312 for the geology of the promontory of Sinope.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 545. *καὶ κύκλῳ δ' ἡ Χερρόνησος προβέβληται ραχιδῶδεις ἀκτὰς ἐχούσας καὶ κοιλάδας τινὰς ὡσανεὶ βόθρους πετρίνους οὓς καλοῦσι χοινικίδας. πληροῦνται δὲ οὗτοι μετεωρισθείσης τῆς θαλάττης, ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐπρόσβιτον τὸ χωρίον καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς πέτρας ἐπιφάνειαν ἐχινώδη καὶ ἀνεπίβητον εἶναι γυμνῶ ποδί.* For the Choenicides, cf. Hamilton, op. cit. p. 310 and Ritter, Kleinasien I, p. 776.

<sup>5</sup> Orph. Argonautika 757, *τρηχίην τ' ἀγκῶνα Σινώπης*; Polyb. IV 56, 5 and note 4 on this page.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Polyb. *ibid.*, *οὐ πλείον δυοῖν σταδίων.*

<sup>7</sup> Xen. Anab. V 3, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. II 51 a; Plin. N. H. XV 30; Ammianus XXII 8, 16; Steph. s. *Κέρασος* Eust. Il. II 853; Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere,<sup>5</sup> pp. 327, 345 f.

was anciently more abundant than now,<sup>1</sup> and Sinope is its westward limit on the Pontus.<sup>2</sup> I saw but few groves,<sup>3</sup> whereas Strabo seems to think of the whole region as covered with them. Further away in the background and to the eastward and westward are noble forests of oak, pine, walnut, chestnut, maple, elm, beech, box, cypress, and other trees, with an undergrowth of shrubs. There are also many of the latter out in the open. In the distance is the purple, waving outline of the mountain rampart, which separated the old Greek civilization of the coast from the barbarian people of the interior,<sup>4</sup> and, in fact, performs a similar function to-day. The mountainous district, however, must not be thought of as rugged and unfertile; for, on the contrary, it is like the maritime plain, richly productive, the mountain slopes and valleys especially possessing a high degree of fertility.

The exact area of the territory of the state of Sinope<sup>5</sup> cannot now be determined. It was much less than that of the province of Paphlagonia to which it belonged,<sup>6</sup> whether the eastern limit of that province be drawn at the Thermodon, the Iris, or the town of Amisus,<sup>7</sup> for Strabo indicates a separation between the district

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 546, *ἅπαντα δὲ καὶ ἐλαιόφυτός ἐστιν ἢ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης γεωργουμένη* and 73, *τὰ δὲ τῆς Σινώπης προάστεια καὶ τῆς Ἀμισοῦ καὶ τῆς Φαναροίας τὸ πλεόν ἐλαιόφυτά ἐστι;* Cf. Eust. II. II 853.

<sup>2</sup> Xen. Anab. VI 4, 6, and Jaubert op. cit. p. 395 "Plus près de Constantinople l'humidité du sol et l'inconstance des vents empêchent que cet arbre délicat ne prospère". Perhaps the southwestern wind that blew from Phrygia, called *βερεκυντίας* was the cause of the growth of the olives at Sinope; cf. Aristotle 973 a, 24; frag. 238, 1521 b, 17.

<sup>3</sup> On Boz-tepé just outside the Greek quarter as you go toward the Quarantine Station, Nesi Kieui, there is to-day a grove of olives, and there are some on the mainland, but the tree is not in favor among the present inhabitants.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cic. de Rep. 2, 4.

<sup>5</sup> The name of the city itself is *Σινώπη*. L. and S. give a short *ι*, but cf. Herodian, *περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας* ed. Lentz II 580, 26. Xenophon says also *ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις*. The name of the Sinopean district is in Xen. (Anab. V 6, 11) *ἡ Σινωπέων χώρα*, in Strabo (XII 546, 561 and elsewhere) *ἡ Σινωπίτις* or *Σινωπίς*. Steph. Byz. gives also *Σινωπίς* and *Σινωπικόν*. The male inhabitant is *Σινωπέης*, Herodian, ed. Lentz II 891, 27, or *Σινωπίτης* (cf. Dion. Orb. Descr. 255 and Herodian, ed. Lentz I 77; II 869, 37), in Latin *Sinopensis* or *Sinopeus*; the female inhabitant *Σινωπίς* (cf. Herodian II 891, 1). The adjective is *Σινωπικός* (Steph. Byz.). *Σινωπαῖος* occurs in C. I. G. 7074.

<sup>6</sup> Xen. Anab. VI 1, 15. *Σινωπεῖς δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ*. So also Strabo XII 544 f., Diodorus XIV 31, Pliny N. H. VI 2 and Arrian, *Peripl.* 20, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus I 72 and Strabo XII 1, 1; 3, 9, 25 seem to make the Halys the eastern boundary, but Scylax and Marcian, the river Evarchus. In Xeno-

of Amisus and the district of Sinope at the river Halys,<sup>1</sup> still further to the west. On the other hand it is equally clear that Sinope did not extend its power westward to the Bithynian border.<sup>2</sup> Nature erected a southern limit in the Olgassys mountains.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps we should not be far from the truth if we bounded the ancient Sinopean district by the Pontus on the north, the Halys on the east, the Olgassys mountains on the south, and an indefinite line on the west drawn at about the 32nd parallel.<sup>4</sup>

Returning to the town on the neck of the promontory we find upon the site of the ancient city an inner walled enclosure with a Turkish castle and prison, probably the site of the Sinopean acropolis, and outside the wall northeastward, toward the promontory, the Greek and Christian quarter.<sup>5</sup> Unhappily there are few certain data for reconstructing the ancient city. Looking down from the height above I tried in vain to make a mental plan which would include the stoas, gymnasium, and market-place,<sup>6</sup> the Palace of Mithradates,<sup>7</sup> and the Temple of Serapis. There are no ruins or even any mounded outlines for points of departure. However, we have the two walls across the isthmus which have been built and razed and rebuilt in the same positions and out of the most heterogeneous materials arranged in the most disorderly manner. There are foundation stones from buildings; columns of Roman date whose unfluted sides indicate their previous position in stoas;<sup>8</sup> pieces of sculpture scattered at random, including a lion built into the top of the wall, in one case, while a similar one lies upon the ground;<sup>9</sup> and pieces of architraves and of cor-

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phon's time the Thermodon was the boundary. Plin. VI 2 makes Amisus a city in Paphlagonia. Ptolemy makes a mistake when he (V 4 and VIII 17, 26) includes Sinope in Galatia. It belonged later to the Roman province of Bithynia and Pontus, but never to Galatia (cf. on this Cumont, *Revue des Études Grecques* XVI (1903), pp. 25-27.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strabo, XII 546, 560; Arrian *Peripl.* 22; Anonym. *Peripl.* 25.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, XII 546.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XII 561, 562.

<sup>4</sup> Armene, fifty stadia to the west, was part of Sinope: cf. *Ἀρμένην τῆς Σινώπης*, Xen. *Anab.* VI 1, 15; Strabo, XII 545. But the district of Sinope certainly extended still further west.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the geographers and travellers quoted above.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 546 *αὐτῇ δ' ἡ πόλις τετείχισται καλῶς, καὶ γυμνασίῳ δὲ καὶ ἀγορᾷ καὶ στοαῖς κεκόσμηται λαμπρῶς.*

<sup>7</sup> What the inhabitants call "the Palace of Mithradates", a large structure in Boz-tepé with three vaulted chambers and a Byzantine chapel in its midst, is of later date than Mithradates. Hamilton, *op. cit.* p. 312 refers to it.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps they come from the stoas mentioned by Strabo.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* p. 346; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

nices. Many other pieces of carving have been carried away by individuals or have found their way into museums, especially that at Constantinople. In the wall nearest the mainland, but on the inside, are arches indicating the remains of a Roman aqueduct.<sup>1</sup> This part of this wall is better built than the rest and probably goes back to Roman date, whereas the greater portion of it, like the other walls, was built by the Genoese and later by Turks.

The main factor in the making of Sinope, as in the making of Cyzicus, has been its double harbor<sup>2</sup> commanding the eastward and westward sea and in both ancient and modern times the best on the southern shore of the Pontus. In ancient times the southerly harbor was improved and ruins exist of a mole<sup>3</sup> which seems to be as old as Mithradates the Great. No river flows into either harbor to silt it up, but the northerly harbor has been shallowed by sand deposits and is no longer usable by vessels of modern draft. The deeper water and the lighter draft vessels of the ancient day, however, made it accessible for commercial purposes.<sup>4</sup> It may be that even in the time of Pericles and later in the days of Mithradates the northerly harbor was deep enough for their full-sized craft.

## CHAPTER II.

### IMPORTANCE OF THE SITE.

It may well be believed that, however unimportant, through distance and misrule, Sinope may have come to be in the eyes of our western world, the ancient Greeks would hold in high esteem a city-state so fertile, so fortified, and so far-reaching in its natural command of the land and of the sea. An examination

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hommaire de Hell, op. cit. p. 346; Hamilton, op. cit. p. 309; Ritter, op. cit. p. 789-790; cf. also Pliny Ep., X 91.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 545, *ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ λιμένες.*

<sup>3</sup> Taitbout de Marigny, op. cit. p. 159; Hamilton, op. cit. p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> In his epitome of the journey of Menippus, Marcian of Heraclea 9 speaks of an island lying off Sinope, *κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρων νησίον, ὃ καλεῖται Σκόπελος. Ἔχει δὲ διέκκλων τοῖς ἐλάττωσι πλοίοις, τὰ δὲ μείζονα περιπλεῖν δεῖ καὶ οὕτω καταίρειν εἰς τὴν πύλιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ τοῖς περιπλέουσι τὴν νῆσον πλείους ἄλλοι στάδιοι μ'* (Müller, Geog. Gr. Min. I, p. 571). An anonymous Byzantine writer (Müller, p. 407) of the fifth century uses the same words, doubtless derived from the same source, which is of about the time of Augustus. But the only island existing to-day at Sinope is a small low-lying rock off the promontory, mentioned by Taitbout de Marigny, op. cit. p. 159, the détour of which could not possibly

of their literature shows that such was the actual fact. Strabo<sup>1</sup> and Diodorus<sup>2</sup> thought it the most notable and important of all cities on the southern shore of the Pontus. Mela<sup>3</sup> joins it with Amisus as one of the two most famous cities of the whole region. Valerius Flaccus<sup>4</sup> calls it "great and wealthy", Eutropius<sup>5</sup> "most noble" and Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>6</sup> and Eustathius<sup>7</sup> "most eminent". Among later writers, Ammianus<sup>8</sup> and Phrantzes<sup>9</sup> class it among important cities of antiquity.

More significant testimonies, however, are watermarked rather than expressed. Plautus' Curculio (v. 443) sneers at the *leno* that he, all by himself, within the last twenty days has conquered half of all the nations, including Persians, Paphlagonians, Sinopeans, Arabs, Carians, Cretans, etc. But while his whole long list contains the names of so many nationalities the only city important enough to be included in the sneer is Sinope.

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increase the necessary sailing distance by more than a small fraction of 40 stadia. Moreover, the water between this island and the mainland is very deep, and even the largest modern steamer sails boldly through the passage. The solution of the difficulty seems to lie in the word *νησίον*. A peninsula was a land island, (*χερσόνησος*, Halb-insel). The village at the Quarantine station on the promontory to-day is called Nesi Kieui (the island village). The modern Greeks as a matter of fact at present speak of the whole promontory as *νησί*. The confusion between the little island and the promontory has extended to modern writers. Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 15 says, "ante hunc portum insula quaedam sita erat, *Σκόπελος* vocata. Naviculis per fretum navigare licebat, quod inter illam est et terram continentem, XL vel L stadiorum iter; magnae naves onerariae Scopelum circumnavigabant per altum mare, LXXX vel LXXXX stadium iter". And even Ritter (Kleinasien, p. 794), following the authority of a Black Sea pilot (Taitbout de Marigny), connects the little island with the Scopelus of Marcian, while in an earlier passage (p. 776) he has made the same word of the same passage refer to the promontory. The increased sailing distance of vessels going round the promontory corresponds quite exactly to the 40 stadia of the writer whom Marcian epitomizes. (Sengebusch wrongly gives 80 or 90 stadia.) And *διέκπλουν* evidently refers not to sailing between the little island and the mainland, but simply to the passage from the town out through the northerly harbor into the open sea. The true interpretation then, of the original writer whom Marcian epitomizes, is that vessels of light draft could sail directly out from or directly into the northerly harbor, while those drawing more water must circumnavigate the promontory for an extra distance of 40 stadia in order to reach the other harbor.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XII 545, *ἀξιολογώτατη τῶν ταύτη πόλεων*.

<sup>2</sup> XIV 31 *μέγιστον εἶχεν ἀξίωμα τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους*.

<sup>3</sup> I 19.

<sup>4</sup> V 109.

<sup>5</sup> VI 8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. s. v. *Σινώπη*.

<sup>7</sup> Eust. Commentarii 773.

<sup>8</sup> XXII 8, 16.

<sup>9</sup> I 32; IV 19.

Sinope was also the name of a prominent courtesan at Athens who either took or received the name Sinope in the same fashion as other harlots were called Megara and Cyrene.<sup>1</sup> Nor was she a mere individual, or subordinate character, but rather the mistress of an establishment of some size, the inmates of which included the celebrated Pythionike.<sup>2</sup> The woman also figured in Athenian comedies,<sup>3</sup> and even caused a verbal coinage, *σινωπιζέω*,<sup>4</sup> which meant "to be debauched or dissolute". She seems moreover to have been a marked figure in Athenian life for a long enough period to be called at last Abydos, *διὰ τὸ γράυς εἶναι*.<sup>5</sup>

Sinope, however, has much more reputable associations than these. The scholiast, on the *Odyssey* XII 257, mentions one Sinopos as a companion of Odysseus who was engulfed by the whirlpool at Scylla and Charybdis.<sup>6</sup> One of the seven editions of Homer was the Sinopic.<sup>7</sup> One of the cities whose constitution Aristotle thought worthy of a treatise was Sinope.<sup>8</sup> One of the deliberative orations ascribed, however inaccurately, to Isocrates was the *Σινωπικός*.<sup>9</sup> The earliest Greek writers<sup>10</sup> celebrated the mythology of this town.

We may note in passing that Sinope was considered to be the headquarters of the Cimmerians,<sup>11</sup> that its fortifications were

<sup>1</sup> Sinope was a harlot also in Aegina and Corinth, cf. Athenaeus XIII 595 a; Suidas, s. *Ἐραῖραι Κορίνθιαι*; Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 149; Dem. XXII 610; LIX 1385; Athenaeus XIII 594 a. For fact that harlots as slaves were often named after their birth-place, cf. Bechtel, *Die Attischen Frauennamen*, p. 57 f. (Bechtel omits the names of the harlots Sinope and Cyrene. For Cyrene cf. Arist. *Thesm.* 98; *Frogs* 1328.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Athenaeus XIII 595 a; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, I 2, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Athenaeus VIII 339 a; XIII 558 b, 567 f, 586 a.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Apostol.* XV 50 in *Leutsch-Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci*, II, p. 641; and Suidas, Photius, Hesychius, s. v. *σινωπιζέω*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Athenaeus XIII 558 b, 586 a; cf. Photius, Suidas, *Harpocration* s. v. *Σινώπη*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eustathius 1721, 9; Wilamowitz, *Phil. Unters* VII 167; Maass, (*Hermes*, XXIII 618) identifies him, rather improbably with Sinon who played an important part in the taking of Troy in the *Little Iliad*. Cf. *Virgil Aeneid* II, 29 and also Paus. X 27, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. *Il.* I 298, 423, 435; II 258; V 461. Wolf's *Prolegomena*, p. 175; Pauly, *Realencyclop.* s. v. *Homerus*; Ludwich, *Aristarchs Hom Text-kritik*, I, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. *Ap. Rhod.* II 948; Arist. fr. 540, 1567 b23. <sup>9</sup> Cf. *Anonym. Vit. Isoc.*

<sup>10</sup> Eumelus of Corinth and Hecataeus of Miletus. Cf. Schol. *Ap. Rhod.* II 946; Eudocia s. v. *Σινώπη* and Arist. l. c.

<sup>11</sup> *Her.* IV 12; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I, p. 453.

renowned,<sup>1</sup> and that its fleet dominated the Pontus and even sailed away for contests in other seas.<sup>2</sup>

As a last testimony to the consequence of Sinope, and in order to put it in immediate connection with our discussion of the commerce of the port in the next chapter, we here note that Sinope was a frequent point from which to reckon distances and for elucidating geographical relations.<sup>3</sup> Although Pteria is not near Sinope, as was formerly supposed, but was considerably south of it, as Ramsay shows,<sup>4</sup> it was nevertheless spoken of as *κατὰ Σινώπην*,<sup>5</sup> or as we might say, on the same parallel with Sinope. And again, although the narrowest part of Asia Minor was on the line from the gulf of Issus to Amisus, the superior importance of Sinope led Strabo to draw his line of shortest transit to that city and not to Amisus.<sup>6</sup> It was from Sinope that Carusa was distant 150 stadia,<sup>7</sup> Amisus 900 stadia,<sup>8</sup> Phasis 2 or 3 days' journey<sup>9</sup> and, in the westerly direction, Armene 40 stadia,<sup>10</sup> Cape Carambis 700 stadia,<sup>11</sup> further away Cytorus 1312 stadia,<sup>12</sup> Amastris 1450 stadia,<sup>13</sup> Heraclea 2000 stadia<sup>14</sup> and the Hieron of Jupiter Urius at the Thracian Bosporus, 3500 stadia.<sup>15</sup> Many places are said to be situated "near Sinope", though some of them as a matter of fact are not very near it. Abonutichos<sup>16</sup> is ἄγχι Σινώπης. The Halys<sup>17</sup> and Thermodon<sup>18</sup> are ποταμοὶ περὶ Σινώπην. Heraclea<sup>19</sup> was a πόλις περὶ Σινώπην. Corocondame<sup>20</sup> was πλησίον Σινώπης. Strabo calls the

<sup>1</sup> Priscianus 751.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo XII 545.

<sup>3</sup> Sinope was the Greenwich of antiquity, cf. Bury, History of Greece, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> Ramsay, Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor, p. 33, identifies Pteria with Boghaz-kieui. Cf. also Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, IV 598 ff, Steph. Byz. Πτερία, πόλις Σινώπης.

<sup>5</sup> Her. I 76, ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη. There is no reason for concluding from this passage that Herodotus visited Sinope, as Matzat, Hermes VI 416, does. Herodotus certainly visited Phasis and probably got his information from Sinopean merchants there.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo XVI 677.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Arrian Peripl. Pont. Eux. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 547; according to Pliny N. H. VI 2, 1040 stadia (130 miles).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Strabo XI 498.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Arrian Peripl. 21; Anonym. Peripl. 21; Marcian Epitome Periplus Menippeï 9.

<sup>11</sup> Marcian op. cit. 9; Strabo XII 546; Schol. Ap. Rhod. II 945.

<sup>12</sup> Pliny N. H. VI 2 says 164 miles.

<sup>13</sup> Marcian, op. cit. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Strabo XII 546; Marcian op. cit. 9 gives 2040.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo ibid.; Marcian ibid., gives 3570.

<sup>16</sup> Lucian Alexander 11.

<sup>17</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rh. 2, 366.

<sup>18</sup> Tzet. Lyc. 647.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 695.

<sup>20</sup> Steph. s. v.



southern shore of the Pontus τὴν Σινώπης παραλίαν<sup>1</sup> and Eratosthenes speaks of Παφλαγονίας καὶ τῶν περὶ Σινώπην.<sup>2</sup> Livy<sup>3</sup> locates Gordium as a point equally distant from the Hellespont, the Cilician shore, and the sea at Sinope. Cicero's oratory<sup>4</sup> finds the remotest enemies of Rome with whom Verres had communicated at the Spanish Dianium on the west and at Sinope on the east. Isocrates<sup>5</sup> marks the limits of the Greek population in Asia Minor by Cnidus and Cilicia in the west and Sinope in the east. Pliny<sup>6</sup> puts it in the fifth segment of the world, while Avienus<sup>7</sup> in the fifth century A. D. places it near the confines of the earth.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE COMMERCE OF SINOPE.

The ship's prow often found upon the obverse of coins of Sinope is an indication of its commercial instinct.<sup>8</sup> In fact the distances given at the close of the last chapter are in the main commercial, and lead us on to discuss its trade relations which were of the highest importance. To the list of places already mentioned we must add the islands of the Aegean, including Rhodes<sup>9</sup> and Delos, to which votive offerings were shipped,<sup>10</sup> Attica, Greece in general,<sup>11</sup> and even Egypt.<sup>12</sup> Its coastwise trade covered

<sup>1</sup> Strabo I 46; II 74.      <sup>2</sup> In Strabo II 134.      <sup>3</sup> XXXVIII 18, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Or. against Verres, 2, 1, 34. For the idea cf. also Tusc. Disp. 1, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Philip, 120; Panegyricus, 162.

<sup>6</sup> N. H. VI 216.

<sup>7</sup> Descriptio Orbis Terrae, 951 ff (775) = Müller, op. cit. II, 185 "propter confinia terrae".

<sup>8</sup> Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, pp. 38, 48, pl. II, 15, 19; Zeitschrift f. Num. XX p. 273; Head, Historia Numorum, p. 434.

<sup>9</sup> Rhodes aided Sinope in its successful resistance of Mithradates II in 220 B. C., probably because of commercial friendship; cf. Polyb. IV 56. For Sinopeans in Rhodes cf. I. G. XII 1. (C. I. G. Ins. I.) 465; 466, 467.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Paus. I 31, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Sinope's trade relations with the Greek world were so important that it adopted the Aeginetan standard for the drachma, Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 41.

<sup>12</sup> The story of the carrying of the image of Serapis to Egypt, told in Tac. Hist. IV 83, 84 and elsewhere shows this. Clemens, Orat. Adhort. p. 20, says Ptolemy relieved Sinope from famine by a supply of corn. Furthermore we know of a Sinopean Demetrius who was a landowner in Egypt, cf. Amherst Papyri II, no. XLII, LV.

the entire shore from the Thracian Bosphorus<sup>1</sup> to Phasis<sup>2</sup> and included Heraclea, Cytorus,<sup>3</sup> Carambis, Ionopolis, Amisus, Cotyora, Cerasus, Trapezus,<sup>4</sup> and many other ports. But I am convinced that the volume of direct trade between the northern shore of the Pontus and Sinope has been underrated. The fact is that ancient navigators could cross the Pontus just at this point without losing sight of land for more than a few hours on ordinary days, and on very clear days without losing sight of it at all. Writers like Reinach<sup>5</sup> assume that the statement of Strabo,<sup>6</sup> that both the promontory Carambis on the Asiatic side and the promontory Criumetopon at the end of the Crimea could be seen from the middle of the sea, is an instance of the underestimating of maritime distances by the ancients. There is no warrant for this criticism, for both promontories can be seen to-day from the middle of the sea.<sup>7</sup> This great advantage was available to the ancient navigator neither in the wider westward nor in the eastward third of the sea, but only in the central one. To follow the coast multiplied the distance greatly. Hence, when the route was once established the north shore ships would strike boldly out for the central headlands of Asia Minor and for Sinope, the commercial metropolis of the region. Their goods would then be transhipped in Sinopean bottoms to points further east or west, or would proceed in the same vessels without shifting of cargoes. The statement of Pausanias<sup>8</sup> that the first fruits of the Hyperboreans of the opposite territories were carried by the Sinopeans to Delos indicates a general commercial route directly across the Pontus. It is well known that coins of Sinope stamped with the device of the eagle grasping the dolphin have been discovered on the northern shore at Olbia,<sup>9</sup> and I found at Sinope handles of amphoras with the same inscriptions as those found in such

<sup>1</sup> A son of Polydorus, a Sinopean, dwelt in Tomi; cf. *Am. Jour. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. IV 56 says Sinope was situated on the right of the Pontus *παρὰ Φάσιν*.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo XII 544 τὸ δὲ Κύτωρον ἐμπόριον ἦν ποτε Σινωπέων.

<sup>4</sup> Cotyora, Cerasus and Trapezus were colonies of Sinope; cf. *Xen. Anab.* V.

<sup>5</sup> Reinach-Götze, *op. cit.* p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo VII 309, cf. also II 124; *Pliny N. H.* IV 86.

<sup>7</sup> The officers of Black Sea steamers volunteered this information to me.

<sup>8</sup> *Paus.* I 31, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Sengebusch, *op. cit.* p. 34; Streuber, *Sinope* (Basel, 1855) p. 60. The same device, borrowed from Sinope probably, occurs also on coins of Olbia itself. Cf. Hirst, *The Cults of Olbia*, *J. H. S.* XXII p. 263.

large quantities at Olbia.<sup>1</sup> Becker<sup>2</sup> assumes from the large number excavated there that it was the centre of their manufacture, but an equally large number might perhaps be found by excavations at Sinope and elsewhere. In any case those that I found still further emphasize the commercial relations of Sinope with Olbia and the northern shore. An additional evidence of close connection between the two shores is found in the similarity of personal names.<sup>3</sup> Even north shore inscriptions in some cases show the names of Sinopean citizens.<sup>4</sup> The general impression made by all this evidence is that vessels proceeded from both east and west coastwise to the central section of the sea where it was so much narrower than elsewhere and then turned directly across it, and that a commercial lane was in this way established for the great volume of Black Sea trade, which would thus pass in and out at the fine harbor of Sinope.<sup>5</sup>

A point from which commercial articles were thus distributed by sea was likewise a point toward which converged the various roads by which the products to be exported were brought in and along which at least a certain amount of goods went back to the interior districts. The great caravan routes from India,<sup>6</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), pp. 294-300.

<sup>2</sup> N. Jahrbücher für kl. Phil. Suppl. X, pp. 67, 108 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Prosopographia Sinopensis (to be published in the second part of this paper) with index IV 3 in Latyshev, Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 136, note 1; Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca 252, from Panticapaeum. Cf. Latyshev op. cit. I 185, II 298, 299; cf. C. I. L. III 783; Diodorus XX 25 and Strabo XI 496 also show a close relation between Sinope and the Cimmerian Bosphorus; cf. Reinach-Götz, op. cit. pp. 56, 225. The Sinopean historian Theopompus also was acquainted with the region; cf. Phlegon, Mirab. c. 19. Sengebusch op. cit. p. 34, says 'alio titulo Olbiano mentio facta est Theogiti Sinopensium astynomi'. The inscription is on a vase handle C. I. G. 2085 b Θεογείτου ἀστυνόμου; Σινωπίων. Both Sengebusch and the C. I. G. are in error, for Σινωπίων is the name of the vase-maker; cf. an identical inscription in Becker, Mélanges Gréco-romaines I 494, no. 16. For Σινωπίων as a proper name cf. also N. Jahrbücher f. kl. Phil. Suppl. IV, p. 472, 38, 39; Suppl. V, p. 483, 29; Suppl. X, p. 31, 4; p. 35, 17; p. 224, 2. In Streuber op. cit. p. 91 the name of the Sinopean citizen Theocles is wrongly given as Theogeitos.

<sup>5</sup> This would explain why in Herod. II 34 Sinope is said to be situated opposite the mouth of the Ister. A merchant boat going from the Ister to Phasis or vice versa would avoid the open sea as much as possible and sail by way of Sinope.

<sup>6</sup> If goods were not brought all the way to Sinope by land, they were taken to Phasis and shipped to Sinope; cf. Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 216.

far east followed such rivers as the Euphrates in the south and the Araxes<sup>1</sup> in the north, but as they approached the heart of Asia Minor, the problem was to get the goods through to the Greek and Roman world. Up to the Roman times there was no good road from the East through western Asia Minor to the Aegean. The old Hittite road, afterwards the Persian postal road, served more as a bond between the different parts of the Persian Empire than as a means of transporting goods to Greece. The well-known Ephesus highway was not yet built.<sup>2</sup> The great eastern system of roads centering in Persia and the great western systems centering in Greece and Rome had no good connecting links at the coast of the Aegean. The solution of the difficulty was in a water route. The best harbor on the southern shore of the Black Sea would become the terminal land point of the great caravans which seem, in sharp contrast to the present, to have contained few, if any, camels. That harbor was Sinope. To this port branch roads were built from the great Persian highways. It is true that Sinope had no good direct connection with the interior, but its shipping facilities were superior and a coastwise road connected it further east with a more favorable point of departure for the interior. Sinope's commerce suffered an inevitable decline when the Roman roads were built and perfected to the great cities of the eastern coast of the Aegean, but in the earlier times the great Persian net-work of lateral and transverse<sup>3</sup> lines of transit in Asia Minor may be considered, so far as through travel is concerned, as in the main converging upon the double harbor of Sinope.<sup>4</sup>

A study of the roads in the more immediate general district serves to complete our picture of it as an isolated and strategic point for interior trade connections, having no good landward approaches along the coast except from Amisus. Hecatonymus,

<sup>1</sup> Reinach-Götze, *op. cit.* p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 28; Strabo XII 540; XIV 663.

<sup>3</sup> Such a transverse road was that from the Gulf of Issus to Sinope on which Peria was probably situated; cf. Her. I 72; II 34; but 'an active man' could hardly 'cover the distance in five days'. Cf. also Livy XXXVIII 18; Strabo XIV 664; Ps. Scylax 102; Ps. Scymnus 921 f; Plin. N. H. VI 7, and cf. Athen. Mitt. XXII (1897), p. 3, note 3; Reinach-Götze, *op. cit.* p. 226. Macan, Herodotus (bks. IV-VI) App. XIII, p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. a good article on the roads of the Pontus by Munro in the *J. H. S.* XXI (1901) pp. 52 ff, pl. IV; cf. also Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, ed. 5, vol. I, pp. 405, 408.

the Sinopean, whom Xenophon's Ten Thousand met at Cotyora, warned him that only by going back into the interior and over the difficult mountain roads could he get around into Sinope.<sup>1</sup> His representations were so convincing that Xenophon had his army proceed from Cotyora by water. Similar representations no doubt, at least in part, account for his again taking ship from Sinope westward.

It is hardly practicable at present to locate the ancient roads close to Sinope. In exploring the back country I found Roman mile-stones at a distance of perhaps 25 or 30 miles in a southeasterly direction from the town, but they were not in situ, nor were others which I found in other directions.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it possible to tell how far the Romans built along the old lines or in new directions. But it is probably safe to say in a general way that there were numerous highways good and bad reaching into the interior. Certainly there must have been bridges at certain points upon the Halys.<sup>3</sup>

It is already evident that the goods shipped in vast quantities at Sinope were the products in part of the immediate locality, in part of the remoter portions of Asia Minor, and in part came from the far east. These last, including jewelry, ivory, bronzes and oriental luxuries in general,<sup>4</sup> do not especially concern us here, and in attempting to classify Sinope's exports we shall confine ourselves to articles from its immediate neighborhood and from those interior regions of Asia Minor which found their most immediate natural outlet at Sinope. Neglecting numerous minor items such as nuts,<sup>5</sup> hides,<sup>6</sup> grain (small in quantity as compared

<sup>1</sup> Xen. Anab. V 6, 3 ff.; B. C. H. 1901, p. 41 ff.; Reinach-Götze, op. cit. p. 232; Ainsworth, Travels in Asia Minor, vol. I, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 328 f, nos. 75-79. The beginning of no. 75 can be restored by means of J. H. S. XX (1900), p. 163, no. 7 and C. I. L. III, 6895. Read Imp. Caes. C. Aur. Val.] Dioc[etiano P(io) F(elici) Invicto Aug. et Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Val.] M[aximian]o. The latter part of no. 75 refers to the three sons of Constantine the Great. So in next to last line read Fl. Co(n)sta(n)ti nob(ilissimis) C(aesaribus). In no. 76, in which we have a case of praes(es) used in a technical sense before Diocletian, we should expect in l. 5 filio eius et N. Aur. Num(eriano). But the inscription is carelessly cut.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. the bridge which was regarded as a wonder by the Greeks, Ramsay, op. cit. p. 31; Herod. I 75.

<sup>4</sup> Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, V, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> Athen. II 54 d; Hehn, Kultur-pflanzen und Haustiere, 6th ed., p. 380.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dem. XXXIV 10; Strabo, XI 493.

with the product of the northern shore), honey, wax,<sup>1</sup> stones for gems<sup>2</sup> etc. we mention:

1. Fish. The tunny was most important. Its great spawning ground was the vast swampy shores of the palus Maeotis. Strabo<sup>3</sup> says that, while still exceedingly small, the shoals made their way along the coast in an easterly and southerly direction. By the time they reached Trapezus and Pharnacia they were of considerable size and the first catch was at these points. But those that got round to Sinope, were much larger and the hauls were immense, though neither fish nor catch was so large as at Byzantium. These fish were salted or pickled and sent to Greece, where they were a staple article of diet for the common people.<sup>4</sup> There seems to have been an extraordinary difference in price between Greece and Rome, for, however common and cheap they were in Greece, Diodorus quotes the price of Pontic fish at Rome as 400 drachmae for a small jarful.<sup>5</sup> There is a vast wealth of other edible fish in the Pontus,<sup>6</sup> such as sturgeon, mackerel, turbot, mullet<sup>7</sup> and dolphin. But ancient literature seems to mention only the last two as caught at Sinope and indeed the last only for its oil and the medicinal value of its liver.

2. Timber. The country around Sinope was covered in ancient times, as it is to-day, with a splendid growth of timber which was utilized for two main purposes, ship-building and the manufacture of furniture.<sup>8</sup> The ship-timber of the Euxine was celebrated among the ancients.<sup>9</sup> If Horace's ship of state were to have the utmost staunchness, it must be *Pontica pinus, Silvae filia nobilis*

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. IV 38; Aristotle, *Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, 831, c. XVII.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo XII 540; Plin. XXXVI 12, 45; XXXVII 37. For other such articles of export which came mostly from the interior, cf. Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 19 ff. and in general on the exports of Sinope cf. Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 16 ff. and Streuber, op. cit. p. 50; Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 227 f.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo VII 320. Cf. also Arist. Hist. An. 598 f. IX 13; Plin. N. H. IX 15 47-52; Strabo XII 545 *πηλαυδεῖα θαυμαστά*, words still used in Sinope; XII 549; Aelian IV 9; IX 59; XV 3, 5 and 10; Ritter, op. cit. p. 794 ff.; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II 345.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Polyb. IV 38; cf. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der Gr. Privataltertümer*, ed. 3, p. 227, notes 1 and 2.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. XXXVII 3, 5; Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 223 wrongly says 300 drachmae.

<sup>6</sup> For a list of the fish in the Pontus, cf. Pliny, N. H. XXXII 11 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Athenaeus III 118 c; VII 307 b for Sinopic mullets (*κεστρεῖς*).

<sup>8</sup> Strabo XII 546; Theophr. *Histor. Plant.* IV 5, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Catullus IV 9-13; Georg. II 437.

(Od. I 14, 11). Great quantities of ship-timber doubtless found their way from the northern shore of the Pontus to Greece by way of Panticapaeum, but there must have been a long period when, as Strabo indicates, the forests of the neighborhood of Sinope sent out through its harbor a large quota of the same material. These heavy exports, however, probably were not made until after the time of Alexander, for according to Thucydides,<sup>1</sup> the store-house of ship-timber seems previously to have been in the much nearer forests of Thrace and Macedonia.

As the oak and pine were used for the construction of vessels, so the maple and walnut were worked into furniture such as couches, and tables.<sup>2</sup> The maple seems to have been held in peculiarly high estimation, tables made from it being ranked second to the citrus tables only.<sup>3</sup>

3. Olive-oil. Although, as we have stated (p. 129), Sinope was the westward limit of the olive, it nevertheless grew abundantly in the neighborhood of that town itself,<sup>4</sup> and the districts east of it would bring their product thither for export. The exports of Sinope thus competed with those of the more southern countries, such as Greece,<sup>5</sup> in supplying Cappadocia and the western section of the southern shore of the Pontus together with the whole northern coast.<sup>6</sup>

4. Red Earth or Bole. This substance was, in the main at least, iron calcined or oxidized into a soft moist clay. The ancients gave it many names, such as *μίλτος* and minium.<sup>7</sup> The common appellation, *Σιωνίς*, shows that Sinope was regarded as the

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. IV 108; cf. also Hermann, op. cit. p. 436, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Strabo l. c.; Eust. Com. 773; Pliny, N. H. XII 31; Theophr. Histor. Plant. III 3, 1; II 1, 2; V 3, 3; 7, 6 etc.; Hor. Sat. 2, 8, 10; Martial 14, 90; Blümner, *Gewerbl. Thätigk.* 33, 44, 46, 70, 80. Cf. Ransom, *Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, pp. 39, 55. The same wood is used to-day by the Turks for the same purpose.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, N. H. XVI 26; Cic. Verr. IV 17.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 545, 546; II 71, 73; Eust. II. II 853.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. IV 38.

<sup>6</sup> Melitene alone in Cappadocia had the olive; cf. Strabo XII 535. For the lack of the olive on the north shore of the Pontus cf. Strabo II 73, 74; for the climate cf. Herod. IV 28; Theophr. *De Causis Plant.* V 12, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Strictly speaking, minium is to be distinguished, for it contains oxide of lead. But *μίλτος* and minium are often confounded, as by Strabo XII 540; cf. also Pliny N. H. XXXIII 36 f.

main place of export.<sup>1</sup> It is found near Sinope, and in Cappadocia its general abundance stains the Halys so deeply that the Turkish name for that stream is Kizil Irmak (red river).

This earthy substance existed, of course, in various other localities of the ancient world. Its importance as an article of trade and commerce is evident from the Athenian monopoly of the Cean product,<sup>2</sup> from the sealed packages used for the Lemnian article,<sup>3</sup> and from the care with which different grades of it are enumerated.<sup>4</sup> The most important were the Cean, the Lemnian, and the Sinopean. Theophrastus<sup>5</sup> considers the Cean product better than the others. Pliny<sup>6</sup> ranks the Lemnian and the Sinopean highest, whereas Strabo<sup>7</sup> marks the quality of the latter as finest, and an interesting papyrus<sup>8</sup> gives convincing details of its superiority in weight, rich liver color, moisture, and freedom from grit. The importance of this homely article of Sinopean commerce is indicated by its numerous and heterogeneous uses.<sup>9</sup> Its colors varied, but some were intense enough to furnish a kind of red ink. It was used as a mineral paint and as an ingredient in other paints, being applied to houses, ships, and wood-work generally. Its more artistic employments were in decorating furniture, wood-carving, terra-cotta figurines and even statues. It was no unimportant part of the ancient *materia medica*, being applied externally as a kind of mud-bath and even taken internally for various diseases specifically listed by Pliny. An architect who desired to use the best material would stipulate in his speci-

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, l. c. *ὡνόμασθη δὲ Σινωπικὴ διότι κατάγειν ἐκεῖσε εἶδθεσαν οἱ ἔμποροι*; Theophr. De Lapidibus 52, *κατάγεται εἰς Σινώπην*; Pliny N. H. XXXV 13. Sinopis inventa primum in Ponto est; inde nomen a Sinope urbe.

<sup>2</sup> I. G. II (CIA II), 546.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, N. H. XXXV 14.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, N. H. XXXV 13. <sup>5</sup> De Lap. 52. <sup>6</sup> L. c. <sup>7</sup> Strabo, XII 540.

<sup>8</sup> Leemans, Papyri Graeci Lugduni-Batavi X 15, 11, 12, 15. Ibid. X 311 tells how *Sinopis* can be mixed with gold, half and half, to double the amount of the latter.

<sup>9</sup> Pliny, N. H. XXXV 12, 13, 17, 24, 32; Vitruv. VII 7; Diosc. V 111; Cels. De Medicina V 6, 6; VI 6, 19; Hesychius s. *μίλτος*; Eust. Com. 1166; Boeckh, Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener II<sup>3</sup> p. 315 f.; Blümner, Technologie und Terminologie IV, p. 480 f. For ships cf. *μιλτοπάρροι νῆες* in Homer; Pliny, N. H. XXXIII 38; Herod. III 58; Hermann, op. cit. p. 489, note 8. For the use of *μίλτος* for terra-cottas cf. Lucian Lexiph. 22; B. C. H. XIV (1890), p. 503, n. 3; Monuments Piot IV (1898), p. 214; for statues Paus. II 2, 6; Plut. Quaest. Roman., 98, p. 287 b; Xen. Oecon. 10, 5; Hermann, op. cit. p. 201 n. 3. Ladies used it for painting their faces; Guhl und Koner, Leben der Griechen und Römer, p. 316.



fications that certain structural lines be drawn with a pigment made of clean oil and Sinopic earth.<sup>1</sup> I noted at Corinth crosses made with *Sinopsis* to indicate the position for columns<sup>2</sup> not now in situ, and lines drawn with it to indicate how far blocks of stone were to overlap the stones in the course below.<sup>3</sup> In excavations at Miletus the separated drums of columns showed that this substance mixed with oil had been used as a cement.

5. Iron and Steel. At a general distance of about two hundred miles east of Sinope the coast range of mountains draws very near the sea. The whole district is rich in copper, iron, and, in ancient times, even silver<sup>4</sup>. Here the Sinopeans, doubtless attracted by the rich deposits, founded a prosperous colony. Part of the ore was evidently worked into iron and steel implements at Cotyora. But another part was doubtless shipped to the mother-city Sinope to the manufacturers there; for Sinopic steel<sup>5</sup> was equally celebrated with the Chalybian, Lydian, and Laconian; and it was made into carpenters' tools, whereas the Spartan was used for files, augers, dies and stone-cutters' tools, and the Lydian for similar things, including knives and swords. Hamilton<sup>6</sup> thinks he has located the ancient mines of the Chalybians at Unieh. But in any case the steel that passed through the port of Sinope was of the finest quality.

6. Live Stock. There is abundant evidence that Cappadocia and Paphlagonia itself nourished great numbers of sheep, goats, mules, horses and other domestic animals.<sup>7</sup> If we put with this fact the statement of Polybius that live stock was extensively exported from the Pontus, it becomes evident that shipments of this kind were large at Sinope. The word Polybius<sup>8</sup> uses

<sup>1</sup> I. G. VII (I. G. Sept. I), 3073 = Dittenberger Syl.<sup>2</sup> no. 540, ll. 155-160. The price was three or three and a half obols per *σάρηρ*, cf. I, G. II, 834<sup>b</sup>, col. I, l. 12 (p. 522) and col. II, l. 48 (p. 526).

<sup>2</sup> As in the long south stoa (Am. J. Arch. VI 1902), Suppl. p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> As in the Greek temple near Pirene, Ibid. pl. XVII, the Greek building with a round end (not yet published), the Old Spring, the round basis above the spring (ibid. pl. VII), and elsewhere. So *Sinopsis* was used in Greek buildings as well as in Roman buildings of the Republic. It was also found used for the same purposes in fourth century buildings at Epidaurus and Lesbos.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo XII 549; Virg. Georg. I 58; Apoll. Rhod. II 1005 f.

<sup>5</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. *Λακεδαιμίων*, Schol. II. XIII 218; Eustathius 294, 5 on II. II 582; Blümner, Gewerbl. Thätigk. p. 41; Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. II 442, 9, frag. from Daimachus. For artisans etc. at Sinope cf. Polyaen. VII 21, 2; Diog. Laer. VI 20.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., pp. 244, 257.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo XI 525; Eust. Com. 970.

<sup>8</sup> IV 38.

(θρέμματα) as employed in the classifications of the Greeks, included slaves (CIG 1709). Lucian (Alex. 9, 15, 17, 45) speaks of slaves as differing only in form from cattle. The Paphlagonian slave is a frequent figure in the comedies of Aristophanes. The picture of Sinope's commerce must include its traffic in the human species; droves of captive men and women passed down to its fine harbor and were carried in ships to meet the sneers of the cultivated comic poets of Athens.

So great a volume of exports implies a certain amount of imports. Salt came from Olbia<sup>1</sup> and from the interior of Asia Minor<sup>2</sup> and wine<sup>3</sup> from Greece, objects of art also such as statues<sup>4</sup> and vases, and in general such refinements of the west as well as of the east as the somewhat defective Sinopean culture would demand.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE FOUNDING OF SINOPE.

A city of such impregnability, located in so productive a region, and at the natural gate-way of so vast a commerce, would of course be coveted and fought for. It would have its political vicissitudes, its general culture, and its religious cults. It would develop its great men. It would weave its name into Greek and Latin literature and leave its record in figured coins and in inscriptions on stone. In a word, it would have its history, of which, in this and several succeeding chapters, we aim to give an account.

The uncertain figures of Assyrians move in the mist of its primitive records. There is a Milesian dawn of Greek colonial light quickly clouded by Cimmerian darkness and then rekindled. Then come the nearly blank annals of some one hundred and eighty years on whose last pages the figure of a barbarian tyrant becomes distinct. The Attic rescue follows and the reinforcement by Pericles' six hundred new colonists. Democratic independence displaces tyrannic subjection at Sinope. Anon its colonial dependencies are disturbed and excited by Xenophon's Ten Thousand who have forced their way from the heart of Asia to the sea and

<sup>1</sup> Herod. IV 53; Dio Chrysost. XXXVI 437.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo XII 546, 560, 561; Eust. Com. 784.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. IV 38.

<sup>4</sup> Such as the statue of Autolykus by Sthennis, cf. Plut. Luc. 23.

along its shore. The great cynic matures the fearless powers which Athens admired, and the comic poets who woke its laughter, bringing Sinopean culture to its flower in the motherland, arise. With Rhodian help its fortifications resist the engines of Mithradates II, but fall before the sudden onset of Pharnaces, his son. The power of the Pontic conquerors brings Sinope to the climax of its political strength under Mithradates the Great, whose linguistic acquirements were only second to his great military genius, which baffled the utmost power of Rome for nearly half a century. Then come the days of the inevitable Roman yoke, in passing under which Sinope joins the universal procession. Then the intricate entanglements of the Middle Ages and finally the present Turkish dominion.

There is no evidence that the early Phoenicians were at Sinope. The whole main course of the Phoenician commercial empire took its way westward. Its northern and southern movements were only short spurs thrown out of the main range. Although there is at present in the north-western portion and outside the walls by the Turkish Hospital and school, *Idadie*, and near the water a quarter of the city called *Φοινικίδα*, a late local imagination, thinking of the spot as one to which the Phoenicians would naturally come, may in a fanciful spirit have given it its name. Or the name may be due to the palm tree there.

The early foundations of Sinope are probably Assyrian. The extreme antiquity of that great power is constantly receiving fresh evidence. The code of Hammurabi is dated ca. 2250 B. C. and it seems evident that more than a millennium later in about 1100 B. C. the Assyrian power swept westward through Asia Minor to the Mediterranean. It is incredible that it should not at more than one point have forced its way through the openings in the coastwise mountains to the shore of the Pontus. Its kings have left no monuments along the sea reciting their personal conquests<sup>1</sup>, but other evidence of the presence of their subjects is not wanting. In later times, in the seventh century according to Nöldeke<sup>2</sup>, the Assyrian power still extended beyond Sinope

<sup>1</sup> Gelzer's argument (*Zeitschrift f. äg. Sprache* 1874, p. 118 f) that *Mat-qui* (shore-village) which occurs in Assyrian inscriptions, refers to Sinope, is inconclusive, for the word might be intended for almost any coast town in Asia Minor. On p. 119 he goes far astray when he says *qui* or *kui* comes from the name of the founder, *Κῶιος*, transposing the lines in Scymnus to suit his theory.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. his article on *'Ασσύριος, Σύριος, Σύρος* in *Hermes* V 443 ff.

and Furtwängler thinks of Sinope, as being at about that time the mediating agent by which Assyrian elements, such as griffins' heads and winged human busts on bronze vessels (cf. Olympia Bd. IV, Die Bronzen) came to Greece.<sup>1</sup> Coming down to later times, we recognize the persistence of its Assyrian origin in Sinopic coins with Aramaic inscriptions;<sup>2</sup> in Avienus' mention of a "second Syria reaching as far as Sinope";<sup>3</sup> in Tzetzes' vague statement that "everybody calls Sinope Assyria";<sup>4</sup> in the legends that the nymph Sinope was the mother of Syros from whom the Syrians got their name, and that she was carried off from Assyria;<sup>5</sup> in the existence at Sinope even now of a sarcophagus with a Greek inscription indicating that a man named Syrios was buried in it;<sup>6</sup> and in the fact that the promontory mentioned above (page 126) was called Syrias.

The name Sinope itself evidently antedates Greek settlement, for mythology and tradition indicate, not the colonizing of an uninhabited locality, so much as the taking of the place from previous inhabitants. Strabo<sup>7</sup> says that Autolycus took possession of (κατέσχε) Sinope, a word whose usage generally indicates seizure or capture. Plutarch<sup>8</sup> says outright that Autolycus took the town from the Syrians. Apollonius of Rhodes<sup>9</sup> says that the Argonauts came to the Assyrian land where Zeus had established Sinope, daughter of Asopus, etc. In listing those who in early times inhabited Sinope, Ps. Scymnus<sup>10</sup> speaks of "Sinope, a city named after one of the Amazons, who dwell near by, which formerly the native-born<sup>11</sup> Assyrians inhabited, and afterwards the Greeks who went against the Amazons, Autolycus and

<sup>1</sup> Meyer s. Kappadokien in Ersch und Grüber, Encyclopädie and in his Geschichte des Altertums II, p. 225 says there is no monumental evidence. But Furtwängler holds there is, cf. Die Antiken Gemmen III, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Six, Numismatic Chronicle, 1885 and 1893, p. 7; cf. also Head, Hist. Num. and Brit. Mus. Cat.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, Geogr. Min. II, p. 187, vs. 1153.

<sup>4</sup> Chiliad. 12, 917 τῆν δὲ Σινώπην σύμπαντες καλοῦσιν Ἀσσυρίαν.

<sup>5</sup> Eust. in Müller, Geogr. Min. II, pp. 352-353, §775 f; Eudocia's. Ἰωνία DCCCLXII; Diodorus IV 72, 1, 2; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 948; Et. Mag. s. Σινώπη.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 315.

<sup>7</sup> XII 545.

<sup>8</sup> Plut. Luc. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Argonautica II 948 ff; cf. also Scholium and Herod. II 104.

<sup>10</sup> Vs. 941-952 (Müller, Geogr. Min. I, p. 236).

<sup>11</sup> I adopt Meineke's emendation, ἐγγενεῖς.

Deileon and Phlogius, Thessalians". Scylax<sup>1</sup> in a loose way calls Sinope a place in Assyria. Winckler's<sup>2</sup> conjecture that "Leucosyri" did not originally mean white Assyrians, as Strabo<sup>3</sup> thinks, but rather incorporates a corruption of "Lukki", the name of certain Assyrians mentioned in the Tell-El-Amarna tablets, is unlikely. The Assyrians of the north were probably of a lighter complexion than those of the south.

The derivation of the name Sinope perhaps goes back to the Assyrian deity Sin, the moon-god, whose numerical symbol was thirty, in allusion to the period of the moon, and who was the patron of brick-making and building. The worship of the moon along the southern shore of the Pontus was more important than elsewhere in the Greek world.<sup>4</sup> Assyrians were perpetually compounding the names of towns and persons with the name of the God Sin, and in view of the powerful early influence of Assyria, nothing is more likely than that Sinope would be one more example of such compounds.

If now we recognize the founding of Sinope as Assyrian<sup>5</sup> it will not seem difficult to dispose of the prominent and persistent myth concerning the nymph Sinope. Greek writers would prefer a Greek to an Assyrian origin of their colony. Although such an etymology has not been mentioned before, I venture to connect the name with *σίνωμα*, to seize or carry off. This would be the most natural connection of "Sinope" for those who found the word already on the ground and were ignorant of or wished to ignore its Assyrian etymology. On this derivation may have been built up the manifold forms of the rape of the nymph Sinope. Hardly anything is constant in the story except the item of seizure. The God who carries her off is sometimes Zeus, sometimes Apollo, sometimes Poseidon, sometimes the river-God Halys. Her parents are sometimes Asopus and Metope, sometimes Ares and

<sup>1</sup> Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus 89 (Müller, *ibid.* p. 66). So also Nicephorus (Müller, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* II, p. 464) and Nicolaus Damascenus (*Hist. Graeci Minores* ed. Dindorf) p. 32, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-El-Amarna* (Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* Bd. V) 28, 10: Winckler, *Die Völker Vorderasiens* (*Der Alte Orient*, vol. I), p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> XII 544, XVI 737.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Roscher s. v. Luna, especially the worship of *Μην Φαρνάκων*. In one of the inscriptions I discovered at Sinope Selene is mentioned along with Helios and Hermes and other deities, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> And this is the opinion of Blau, *op.cit.*, Mövers, *Die Phönizier*, and others, though not of most modern scholars.

Aegina or Parnasse. Sometimes she is carried off from Assyria and sometimes from Boeotia.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes she deceives her captor by exacting a blank promise to give her whatever she should ask and afterwards fills in the blank with her own virginity. Sometimes she has children. But she is always seized and carried off. And this unfailing feature seems to show the source of all the stories to be in the already present but misinterpreted name of the town.<sup>2</sup>

To this Assyrian town the enterprising Greeks of Miletus, attracted by the mineral wealth of the eastward shores and led to the location by the advantages of its harbor, penetrated at a very early period. The date is difficult to fix, but may perhaps be approximated in the following fashion. Sinope must have existed before 756,<sup>3</sup> for Trapezus, its colony,<sup>4</sup> was founded in that year. Eumelus of Corinth, moreover, in writing up the Argonautic expedition, enriched it with geographical details which included Sinope by name. There is nothing extant of this work of Eumelus, but his mention of the town is cited by the Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 946. Now Eumelus wrote in the latter half of the eighth century B. C. Sinope must therefore have been reached by Greeks before that time. Thus again we are pointed to some period in the first half of the eighth century such as Eusebius' date (II 80 e Schöne) for Trapezus indicates, at least thirty or thirty-five years earlier than 756 B. C., 790 or 785 B. C.,<sup>5</sup> thus leaving a few years

<sup>1</sup> Probably because the Minyans, with whom the Argonautic expedition was associated, dwelt in Boeotia.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plut. Luc. 23; Apoll. Rhod. II 946-967. The scholia to the latter (Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. II 161; 348, 2; III 29, 3), give excerpts about the nymph Sinope from Andron of Halicarnassus, Andron of Teos, Artemidorus, Eumelus, Aristotle, Hecataeus, and Philostephanus. Cf. also V. Flaccus, Argon. V 106-120; Dionysius Per. vs. 772-779 (Müller, Geogr. Gr. Min. II p. 153); scholia to Dion. Per. (Müller, *ibid.* II, p. 453); Eust. Com. 772-774 (Müller, *ibid.* II, p. 351); Nicephorus, *Γεωγραφία συνοπτική*, 782 f. (Müller, *ibid.* II, p. 464); Diodorus IV 72, 1, 2; Ps. Scymni Periegesis, vs. 941 f. (Müller, *ibid.* I 236); Avienus, vs. 951 f. (Müller, *ibid.* II 185); Et. Mag. s. v. *Σινώπη*; Eudocia's *Ἰωνιά* DCCCLXII, *περὶ Σινώπης*. Sometimes Sinope appears as an Amazon and the story is told that she drank much and hence was called *Σινώπη*, which in the Thracian dialect (which the Amazons spoke) means "drinking much". And Sinope is a corruption of Sanape; cf. the above references.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, *Vers. Arm.* Ol. 6, 1; Hieronymus, *Ol.* 6, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Xen. *Anab.* IV 8, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Curtius, *Gr. Geschichte* I,<sup>6</sup> p. 407, puts the first foundation in 790 B. C.; Abbott, *A History of Greece*, I, p. 340 about 770 B. C.; Duncker, *Gesch. d. Altert.* I,<sup>5</sup> p. 462, 466; V<sup>5</sup> 507 and Büchner, *Die Besiedelung der Küsten des*

of prosperity before the Cimmerian inroad in 782 mentioned by Orosius,<sup>1</sup> in which probably Habronidas,<sup>2</sup> its leader, was killed.<sup>3</sup> We must assume that Sinope revived after the destroying nomad tide had swept through in order to account for its founding of Trapezus in 756. What the fortunes of the Greek contingent were for the subsequent century and more, we have no means of knowing. They probably included many vicissitudes connected with the various incursions of the Cimmerians from the northern shore,<sup>4</sup> one of which penetrated even to Sardis, surprising and plundering the town, and another to Magnesia. However, in 635 B. C., there seems to have been an extraordinarily strong and powerful body of these barbarians driven down by the still stronger nomad Scythians. This body all but destroyed Sinope,<sup>5</sup> so that its reinforcement in 630 or 629, according as we follow Hieronymus or Eusebius (II 89 n Schöne) was looked upon as a second founding, and Sinope, like Cyzicus, was said to have been founded twice.<sup>6</sup>

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Pontos Euxeinos durch die Milesier, p. 49 and Streuber op. cit. about 785. Grote, History of Greece II<sup>2</sup> 191, note 64 considers improbable the foundation of a Milesian colony at so early a period. Perhaps the first colony was only a small settlement for trade; cf. Busolt, Gr. Gesch. I, p. 466 and Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 18. Beloch, Gr. Gesch., says nothing about the first founding; cf. I, p. 192-3 for second founding. Holm, The History of Greece I, p. 275 and Meyer, Gesch. des Altert. I 406 and II 285 give both colonies. There is a great deal of uncertainty about this early period of Greek history and we cannot be sure of dates; but the evidence, including Scymnus whose source, Demetrius of Callatia, was good, points to a double founding.

<sup>1</sup> I 21.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the leader is variously given. Habronidas seems more likely to be correct than Ambron or Abron. Meineke, Step. Byz. (Berlin, 1849), p. 571 made the suggestion.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. Scymnus V 947.

<sup>4</sup> For the Cimmerians cf. Herod. IV 11, 12; I 6, 15, 16; Strabo, I 1, 6; I 2, 20; I 3, 61; III 2, 149; XI 494; XIV 648.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. IV 12 says *φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκίθας καὶ τὴν Χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἰκισται.* The *νῦν* does not necessarily mean that no Greek city existed when the Cimmerians came, as Grote and Busolt loc. cit. think. There may have been a weak settlement there at the time.

<sup>6</sup> The second founding was by Cretines and Cous (cf. Phlegon in Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. III 605, 6; Eust. ad Dionys. Com. 772; and Ps. Scymnus v. 949.) Acc. to Ps. Scymnus loc. cit., it took place *ἤνικα ὁ Κιμμερίων κατέδραμε τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατός*, that is, in the epoch year of the capture of Sardis (657), cf. Rohde, Rhein. Mus. XXXIII 200. If this date is right, then it was not the inroad of the Cimmerians in 635 but an earlier one which settled at Sinope.

The few definite points which we have thus far been able to deduce with anything like certainty, and the dearth of any records at all to cover nearly two succeeding centuries, may naturally occasion scepticism as to there having been any such early founding at all by the Greeks. But the extreme antiquity of the stories of the Argonauts and of Heracles' expedition against the Amazons, both of which have for their scenes the shore of the Black Sea, and in both of which Autolycus, the recognized founder of Sinope, and his companions had part,<sup>1</sup> joins with the strong tradition we have been using to assure us that we are dealing with an historic, even if not with a precisely ascertained, founding of the great Euxine trading port.

## CHAPTER V.

### DARK AGES AND RENAISSANCE.

Even after Sinope's refounding in 630 its records for nearly two centuries are for the most part blank annals. The Lydian monarchy rose, reached the Halys, and fell. But whether its broad lines of display and vanity penetrated the mountain passes and subjected the shore cities is left in doubt.<sup>2</sup> Pteria taken by Croesus lay 150 miles to the south and there are no records of any further northward march. Cyrus broke the Lydian power about 550 B. C.; but how soon or how decisively the Persian power subdued the Greek cities of the southern coast of the Euxine is unwritten. Xerxes' expedition in 480 B. C. included

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Encycl.* II 763 ff. Only Strabo, XII 545, (source perhaps Eumelus) makes Autolycus a comrade of Jason. Cf. also Apollod. I, 9, 16, 8. Plut. Luc. 23 says that "Autolycus, son of Deimachus, was on the expedition of Heracles from Thessaly against the Amazons. When he was returning with Demoleon and Phlogius he was shipwrecked at Sinope and took the city away from the Syrians". Appian *Mithr.* XII 83 says the same. Cf. also Ps. Scymnus v. 944 f; Anon *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 22. Apollonius of Rhodes combines the two traditions and (II 948-967) says that the sons of Deimachus, Deileon, Autolycus and Phlogius, comrades of Heracles, were picked up by the Argonauts when they came there. V. Flaccus, V 106-120 and Hyg. Fab. 14 have the same. Phlogius is mentioned in an inscription found at Sinope, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905) p. 306, no. 31. On these heroes cf. Roscher's *Lexicon* and Bürchner, *op. cit.* p. 58 and on the Argonauts in general the dissertation by Gröger, *Die Argonauten-Sage* (Breslau, 1889). For Heracles at Sinope cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905) p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I § 487, who thinks not.



among its total of 1200 ships 80 contributed by the Greeks on the Hellespont and the Pontus.<sup>1</sup> It is natural to suppose that Sinope was represented among the eighty, but there is no written evidence of such a fact. Some few rude<sup>2</sup> coins bearing an eagle and a dolphin and a mere incuse square on the reverse are archaic enough to represent this obscure period of Sinope's story when the great tides of conquest were sweeping to and fro far south of its mountain fences.

In the fifth century relief expeditions began to be sent to the Greek cities of the Black Sea which were under tribute to Persia. Aristides, about 470, did not get so far as Sinope. But later, probably soon after 444,<sup>3</sup> in the flowering time of Athens, Pericles, with the design of making a display of Athenian power, and in order to relieve the Greek cities on the Euxine from oppression and to stimulate their trade with Attica, led forth an expedition which reached Sinope. Here he left the efficient Lamachus with thirteen ships and assigned him the task of expelling the tyrant Timesilaus.<sup>4</sup> The man<sup>5</sup> who at Syracuse advised the Athenians to fight at once seems to have performed his task with characteristic promptness, and not long afterwards it was voted at Athens that six hundred volunteer colonists should sail for Sinope to occupy the houses and lands of the defeated tyrant and his following. Lamachus can hardly have remained long at Sinope: we find him in 424 B. C. leading another Black Sea expedition which was

<sup>1</sup> Diod. XI 3.

<sup>2</sup> Num. Zeitschrift II, p. 259; Six, Num. Chron. 1885, pp. 8, 9, 19, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Abbott, A History of Greece, II, p. 375, says "after 449 B. C". Köhler, Urk. zur Gesch. d. Delisch-Attisch. Bundes., p. 114 f. puts the expedition in the year 453. Duncker, Des Perikles' Fahrt in den Pontus (Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Acad., XXVII 1885), p. 536, gives the year 444/3 B. C. Busolt, Griech. Geschichte II 538 (ed. of 1888), gave the same date but later, in III 585, n. 2, argues against this date and gives 436/5 B. C. Beloch, Gr. Gesch. I 504, gives the same date. Meyer, Gesch. des Alt. IV 430, says after 440. Kirchner, Prosopogr. Att. 11811 gives 437 B. C. But I see no conclusive reason for putting the expedition so late. Plut. Per. 20, places it immediately after that to the Chersonesus in 447. If we accept the date 436 there are 34 years between the first and second expeditions and only 12 between the second and third. In 415 Lamachus was 50 or 55 years old (cf. Plut. Alcib. 18). That would make him about 25 or 30 years old at the time of the expedition to the Pontus, if it was circ. 440.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. Per. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Busolt, l. c., for the identification of Lamachus, who died in 414 before Syracuse, with the man left in Sinope by Pericles.

wrecked at Heraclea.<sup>1</sup> But from this time Sinope's condition was greatly improved, even its coins showing much finer workmanship.<sup>2</sup>

Between Lamachus' deposition of the tyrant Timesilaus about 444 B. C. and the Peace of Antalcidas, which deliberately left the Euxine Greeks at the mercy of Persia, lies Sinope's golden day of autonomous prosperity and power.<sup>3</sup> Not that we possess the direct recital of it, but the indirect evidence is conclusive. When Xenophon's veterans climbed the coast range and saw the sea, it was Trapezus, a colony of Sinope, that lay directly beneath their eye on the coast.<sup>4</sup> Although some 250 miles east of Sinope, it owned allegiance to it and paid tribute in common with Cerasus and Cotyora.<sup>5</sup> That Sinope's colonial arm reached so far may not indeed warrant Perrot and Chipiez<sup>6</sup> in calling Sesamus, Cyturus, and Ionopolis actual colonies of Sinope, and "multiplied" harbors may be too strong an expression; but it is evident that Sinope had a firm colonial system covering nearly the whole southern shore of the Euxine. Its compactness is illustrated in the speech made to Xenophon by Hecatonymus, who had come all the way from Sinope to deal with the Ten Thousand when he says<sup>7</sup> "These (Cotyorites) and the people of Cerasus and Trapezus bring us an appointed tribute; so that whatever harm you do them, the city of the Sinopeans considers that it suffers it itself". There may have been a lack of Greek unity in the failure of the Cotyorites to receive the Ten Thousand more cordially, but Xenophon's soldiers appear to have behaved somewhat roughly and the colonists may well have been suspicious<sup>8</sup> of so large and powerful

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. IV 75.

<sup>2</sup> Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XII 546, seems to extend Sinope's autonomous period far onward to the capture of the city by Pharnaces in 183 B. C. But either he wrote in partial ignorance of the results of the Peace of Antalcidas or the autonomy he had in mind was a partial and defective one; for, not to speak of other evidence, the embassy to Darius with which we deal in the next chapter shows a clearly acknowledged general submission to Persia.

<sup>4</sup> Xen. Anab. IV 8, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Xen. Anab. V 5, 10. The inhabitants of these two places were later deported by Pharnaces to form Pharnacia, cf. also Diod. XIV 30, 3; Ps. Scymnus 910; Strabo XII 545 f.; and Bürchner, Die Besiedelung des Pontos Euxeinos durch die Milesier, pp. 56-66.

<sup>6</sup> Histoire de l'Art, V, p. 197.

<sup>7</sup> Xen. I. c.

<sup>8</sup> A similar feeling may account for Xenophon's ships going a few miles past Sinope to Armene, as though there were an objection to his anchoring, as he naturally would, at that excellent harbor itself. Cf. Xen. Anab. VI 7, 15.

a force with so adventurous a history back of them. In any case the incident does not affect our view of the unity of Sinope's colonies among themselves. A further evidence of Sinope's independence, may be seen in Xenophon's warning<sup>1</sup> to Hecatonymus against an alliance of the Sinopeans with the Paphlagonians. His words presuppose the desire of the Paphlagonians to get possession of Sinope and their inability hitherto to do so.

The numismatic testimony is interesting. We now for the first time find Sinopean coins bearing the names of magistrates,<sup>2</sup> or rather the first letters of the names. The inscription on one is EK, which suggests Hecatonymus<sup>3</sup>, on another XOPH which suggests *Χορηγίων* and on another ΔΕΩΜ which probably stands for *Δεωμέδων*.<sup>4</sup> Their variety, too, points to a democratic form of government. This series comes abruptly to an end a few decades later, and is supplanted by the inferior minting of Datames, which itself is followed by a still poorer coinage with Aramaic inscriptions, some specimens of which bear the names of Ariarathes and Abdsasan (not Abdemon).<sup>5</sup> But short-lived as the Greek magistrates' coinage was, it bears mute testimony to Sinope's brief autonomy.

There is, moreover, a passage of Strabo which, I think, must be referred to this period and discloses in a brief but effective way the sea power of Sinope. Xenophon<sup>6</sup> shows us that Sinope with the help of Heraclea, could upon occasion supply ships enough to transport his large force to westward points. But Strabo<sup>7</sup> says: *κατασκευασαμένη δὲ ναυτικὸν ἐπήρχε τῆς ἐντὸς Κυανέων θαλάττης, καὶ ἕξω δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων μετείχε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.*

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<sup>1</sup> Anab. V 5, 23. Cf. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, pp. 40, 260.

<sup>2</sup> Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 50 gives a list of them.

<sup>3</sup> Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 298, 306, 313.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Six, *op. cit.* p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Anab. V 6 ff.

<sup>7</sup> XII 545.



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## I.—ANCIENT SINOPE.

### SECOND PART.

#### CHAPTER VI.

#### SINOPE UNDER PERSIAN RULE.

Sparta never had a Black Sea fleet or any great ambitions there. It was easy for her, when the Athenian sea power was broken, to leave Sinope to its fate, and the latter's independence wanes with the waning of Athens. The attack by Datames<sup>1</sup> in 370 B. C. shows us Sinope as no longer a Greek city fighting against non-Greeks, but rather as an object of strife between some Persians in possession of it and other Persians seeking to gain possession. If a Persian satrap ruled a long distance from the Great King his loyalty to him was likely to be somewhat loose in those days. Datames was anxious to carve out a little empire for himself in Asia Minor and went beyond his own satrapy of Cappadocia into Paphlagonia. After subduing large portions of it, his ingenuity conceived against Sinope itself a wily scheme which Polyænus has entered for us in his compilation of strategic operations.<sup>2</sup> Being in need of siege-engines and ships, he tricked the old enmity of the Sinopeans against Sestus into furnishing him with engineers and mechanics to construct them as if for operations against that distant town, but treacherously used them, when completed, for a combined land and sea attack upon Sinope itself. Artaxerxes Mnemon, getting information of the siege,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polyænus VII, 21, 2, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

ordered Datames off, and he abandoned the siege and withdrew his ships by night.<sup>1</sup> But we get a glimpse of the perilous position of the city in the statement that the Sinopeans dressed their women as men and led them about the walls in order to create a false idea of numerical strength.<sup>2</sup> From all this we gather the impression of a strong Greek element in the population, but of a Persian political preponderance; for Artaxerxes II would scarcely have ordered Datames to raise the siege of an unsubdued autonomous Greek city.

It is probable, however, that Datames renewed the attack and subsequently entered the city. Certainly he succeeded in subduing large regions of Paphlagonia, including Amisus,<sup>3</sup> and at some favorable season may afterwards have secured Sinope itself, which he desired for his capital. The evidence is numismatic. The coins with the nymph Sinope on one side and DATA with the eagle and the dolphin on the other must be assigned to Datames,<sup>4</sup> and Six's<sup>5</sup> argument that these pieces of money do not necessarily show that Datames was at any time in power at Sinope, but that they were made for him at the time when his relations with Sinope were friendly enough to secure mechanics and engineers can hardly have much force; for such a personal coinage implies possession of personal authority and ambition, and any appearance of these qualities would have been very carefully avoided by the wily Persian just at that time. The simpler and, as I think, the truer view of these coins and those of Orontobates, Vararanes, Ariarathes, Abdsasan and others<sup>6</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* II, p. 185 is in error when, referring to this attack, he says "Sinope fiel nach tapferem Widerstande in Datames' Hand"; cf. also p. 186, n. I "Über die Einnahme durch Datames cf. Polyæn. VII, 21, 2, 5; Aeneas 40, 4". Others as Meyer op. cit. V, 964 appear to make the same mistake, but it is definitely stated in Polyænus that Datames gave up the siege, and the language of Aeneas implies that Sinope was not captured. Cf. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, p. 193 f.

<sup>2</sup> Aeneas 40, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Polyæn. VII 21, 1; Ps. Arist. *Oecon.* II 1350 b; cf. also Meyer op. cit., V, 964 and Nepos, *Dat.* 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 6, pl. I, 5; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 26, pl. II, 7; 1895, p. 169; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 434; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins, Pontus*.

<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 26 f.; 1895, p. 169; Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, p. LXXX f.; Head, *Num. Chron.* 1892, 253; Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, II 236; cf. also Head, *Hist. Num. and Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins*.

that they indicate Persian officials actually in power at Sinope.<sup>1</sup> Datames died in 362. We must then assign his acquisition of power in Sinope, if he did acquire it, to some time between this date and his interrupted siege in 370.

Sinope's isolated position keeps its internal condition from being wholly clear to us except at such times as some great power, being at its zenith, becomes so important as to draw the whole ancient world into its light. One of these epochs was in the time of Pericles; that of Alexander was another. Appian<sup>2</sup> tells us that Alexander on his great eastward march incidentally restored to Amisus by edict its freedom and autonomy, and Droysen<sup>3</sup> surmises that the other Greek cities on the Pontus asked him for a similar service, but that their remoteness made him unwilling to deviate so far from the line of his larger movement, or to suffer the delay necessary to detaching troops for the purpose. This would indicate that the Greeks of Sinope were ready at any time for an uprising against Persian authority. But this is not quite in accordance with the clear inference, to be drawn from the definite details of Alexander's meeting with the embassy from Sinope. Among the Mardi, at the immense distance of 1500 miles from their own city, these Sinopean Greeks had come to the Persian court. They came to meet Darius and met Alexander. The great Macedonian did not put them under guard as he did the Lacedaemonian envoys to Darius. He told them that, being subjects of Persia, they had done right in sending ambassadors to its court. He released them on the further and express ground that they had not joined in the Greek league against himself.<sup>4</sup> This incident reveals at least five facts. First, it shows the importance of the Greek element in Sinope, for these ambassadors were not Persians, but Greeks. Secondly, it shows that the Sinopean Greeks were loyal enough to Darius to send an embassy to him. Third, it shows that their acceptance of Persian authority was not sullen but rather willing, loyal, and cooperative. Fourth, the contrast of Alexander's treatment of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reinach, *Trois Royaumes de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 10, whose language seems to imply a similar view. Cf. also Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Abdsasan is right. Head, *Six*, *Num. Chron.* 1885, and others give Abdeimon. But in *Num. Chron.* 1893, p. 7, *Six* gives also Abdsasan.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 8, 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Hellenismus I* 1, 247. He cites the case of Heraclea; cf. Memnon (*Phot.* 223, 40, c. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Arrian, *Anabasis*, III 24, 4; Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* VI 5, 6.

them with his treatment of the Lacedaemonians shows that they had had no active part in the alliance of the other Greeks against him. And fifth, it shows that they were so isolated from the affairs of the Aegean Greeks as to be practically neutral, so that Alexander could afford to consider them, although envoys to Persia, as friends of his own cause.

The vicissitudes of Sinope under the divided rule of the Diadochi cannot be known.<sup>1</sup> Not unlikely anarchy alternated with order; for at the close of this period we find the tyrant Scydrothemis in power. The name has a barbarian, perhaps a Paphlagonian, sound and Tacitus gives him the title of king, which is in fact more accurately descriptive than tyrant. Yet on the occasion of the mission of Ptolemy to obtain the statue of Serapis he calls an assembly of the people, who feel free to oppose his plans, and there is no suggestion of any use of troops or other force to put them down. We may infer from all this a vague general theoretic subjection to the Diadochi, but a practical autonomy with considerable democratic liberty and appeal to public assemblies.<sup>2</sup>

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## CHAPTER VII.

### SINOPE AND THE PONTIC KINGS.

The practical autonomy of Sinope was one of the results of that division among the successors of Alexander which made their Empire fall back from its previous limits. Ground was thus cleared for the rise of the Pontic kingdom. And we must now see in the third century a descent of these barbarians upon the Sinopean civilization. The movement, though it is on a smaller scale, suggests the barbarian inroads of the Middle Ages. There is the same final outward defeat and the same victorious inward and permanent invasion of the minds and thoughts of the conquerors by the civilizing and organizing genius of the conquered. The tradition that when Mithradates, the subsequent founder of the Pontic kingdom, was serving with Antigonos, the ruler of the Syrian kingdom, the latter dreamed that he sowed gold in a field and that Mithradates ran away with the harvest, sufficiently

<sup>1</sup> Diod. XVIII 3 tells us that Paphlagonia was given to Eumenes, but nothing is said with regard to Sinope itself.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tac. Hist. IV 83, 84.



suggests the young man's rapid and ambitious appropriation of knowledge and power which brought him under suspicion and led to his flight into Cappadocia, where he made a realm for himself and ruled over it and even as far as the eastward coast of the Euxine.<sup>1</sup> Westward, however, the mountain rampart behind Sinope again secured its immunity from direct attack until the unsuccessful attempt of Mithradates II in 220 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

The intervening epoch shows the Hellenic civilization of Sinope in close relations with the rest of Greece. Significant in this connection are the coins which the Sinopeans struck of the Attic standard of weight and fineness and bearing a head of Athena closely conformed to the Attic type.<sup>3</sup> Such uniformity in money clearly indicates intimate commercial intercourse. The silver coins of the Seleucid kings of Syria<sup>4</sup> also circulated at Sinope between about the middle of the third century and 190. These two silver coinages in successive circulation at Sinope testify to her continuous freedom from the domination of the Pontic kings, whose fiat bronze money of the same type as that in other Pontic villages<sup>5</sup> was immediately forced upon Sinope as the sole medium of exchange when Pharnaces finally took the town in 183 B. C. To the numismatic evidence I am glad to be able to add that among the inscriptions which Dr. Wilhelm has copied and studied there is one of this period from Histiaea in Euboea. The inscription is long and much mutilated, but clearly states that the Histiaeans extended to ambassadors from Sinope the privileges of proxeny and granted *ἀσφάλεια*, *ἀσυλία*, *ἰσοτέλεια* and other honors to Sinopeans who came to Histiaea.<sup>6</sup> There are at Athens, moreover, numerous inscriptions which mention the names of Sinopeans,<sup>7</sup> some of them doubtless of this period. These are an excellent though very general indication of transit between Sinope and Attica. And, finally, the prompt, generous, and effective assistance which Rhodes gave to Sinope when attacked by Mithradates II throws a strong light backward and

<sup>1</sup> Appian, Mithr. 9; Plut. Demetrius 4; On Mithradates Ktistes cf. also Diod. XIX 40; XX 111.

<sup>2</sup> Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 48-49.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 333. For the first two lines of the inscription not given there cf. Wilhelm, Proxenenliste aus Histiaia, in the Arch. Epigr. Mitt. aus Oester. 1892, p. 114.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. I. G. (C. I. A.) II 3, 3339-3358.

discloses the previous friendly and trading relations between the two peoples.

That attack itself, though unsuccessful, was the beginning of the end of Sinope's independence,<sup>1</sup> for it marks the practical recognition by the Pontic kings of the strategic importance of the town and of its natural destiny as the capital of the Pontic empire. At the same time it revealed the resourceful energy of the Sinopeans. They promptly built palisades at every point in the entire circuit of the promontory at which, in case of a sea attack, a possible landing could be made. Their colonies rendered efficient help. They also dispatched, as has been indicated above, an embassy to Rhodes appealing for help. The Rhodians responded at once by making three of their number a committee to purchase the needed arms, bow-strings, and engines of war, which the Sinopeans took home along with an amount of money. They also gave them wine, to the extent of 10,000 amphoras.<sup>2</sup> We get evidence of the military strength of Sinope from the fact that, with this help, the great power of the Pontic kingdom could not capture it.

When indeed it did finally fall, it was by a sudden and unexpected attack, perhaps in time of peace and through treachery<sup>3</sup>; for details of the capture by Pharnaces in 183 B. C. are significantly absent. And there is no evidence of other hostilities at the time. Nor does Sinope ever appear to have been taken by a protracted siege. It was naturally so nearly impregnable that surprise and perfidy were the only available means of capturing it. Sinope's colonies fell with it. Pharnaces deported the inhabitants of Cotyora and Cerasus to a spot not far from Cerasus and there formed a new colony named after himself, Pharnaceia.<sup>4</sup> The Rhodians again showed their sympathy for Sinope<sup>5</sup> by sending ambassadors to Rome to complain of the fate of Sinope

<sup>1</sup> Polybius IV 56, *καί τις οἶον ἀρχή τότε καί πρόφασις ἐγένετο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀχθείσης ἀτυχίας Σινοπεύσιν.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Polyb. l. c. For an amphora-handle with the name of a Rhodian month on it, which I found at Sinope, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 296, 297.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XII, 545; Reinach-Götze, *op. cit.* p. 34; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus II*, 122.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian *Peripl.* 24 is speaking only in a general way when he says *αὐτῆ φαρνάκεια πάλαι Κερασσοῦς ἐκαλεῖτο Σινοπέων καὶ αὐτῆ ἀποικος*. Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. XXIV, 10: *Livy XL, 2, 20.*

but failed to push the matter.<sup>1</sup> Pharnaces also sent ambassadors, but in the meanwhile prosecuted his campaign against Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Cappadocia. The Romans sent envoys to examine into the situation, but they accomplished nothing. However, in 178 B. C. peace was made and Pharnaces retired in the main from the districts named, but retained Sinope itself.<sup>2</sup> About this time he removed his capital from Amasia to Sinope. At Amasia below the citadel in the smoothed rock are still to be seen the five tombs of the Pontic kings.<sup>3</sup> The fifth one is in an unfinished state and the conjecture of Perrot<sup>4</sup> is interesting, that this was Pharnaces'<sup>5</sup> own sepulchre, the work upon which was abandoned for the construction of a new one at Sinope when he removed his seat of government to that place. But there are no monumental remains at Sinope to testify to the embellishment of the new capital by Pharnaces or even by Mithradates the Great.<sup>6</sup>

Although Pharnaces' successor, Mithradates III,<sup>7</sup> did so much for Sinope that he was called Euergetes, his large-hearted and enterprising figure appears but briefly on its stage. He sent Dorylaus to Crete for mercenary troops and while there the latter helped the Gnosians against the Gortynians.<sup>8</sup> Mithradates III also had a share in the third Punic war<sup>9</sup> by sending ships to assist the Roman fleet, but he was suddenly murdered in his capital,<sup>10</sup> leaving behind him a wife and two boys, the older of whom became Mithradates the Great.<sup>11</sup> The limits of the present study prevent us from entering into the career of this strange and typical

<sup>1</sup> This was undoubtedly due, as Meyer (*Gesch. des Königreichs Pontus* p. 72) suggests, to the fear of injuring their commercial relations with the Pontus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Polyb. XXVI 6.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 113; Hamilton, *op. cit.* I 339 ff.; Ritter, *Kleinasien* XVIII 154 ff.; Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 69; Strabo, XII 501; Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Perrot, Guillaume, et Delbet, *Exploration Arch. de la Galatie, Bithynie, Mysie, Phrygie, Carie, et du Pont*, I 371 (cf. pl. 80). Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.* p. 288, thinks the fifth grave was for the successor of Pharnaces. This seems to me unlikely. Cf. next note.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 56 makes Pharnaces the fifth Pontic King. He would naturally have the fifth grave.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lydia Paschkow, *Tour du Monde* (1889), p. 404.

<sup>7</sup> Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.* p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, X 477.

<sup>9</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 10.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Strabo, I. c.

<sup>11</sup> The epithet "Great" does not occur at all in official documents and only rarely elsewhere (cf. Suet. *Caes.* 35 and Eutrop. VI 22).

combination of Oriental cruelty and despotism with Greek culture and comprehensiveness. Indeed Reinach's monograph, which tells us of the Greek playmates of his boyhood and of the twenty-two languages he could talk and familiarizes us with his empire 2500 miles in length and reaching from Greece itself to the land of the Colchians, has made such entrance wholly unnecessary. We need only note for Sinope's honor that it was his birth-place;<sup>1</sup> that he made it his capital,<sup>2</sup> improved its double harbor, fortified it and put it in condition to resist the Romans, and embellished it with a market-place, stoas, and a gymnasium;<sup>3</sup> that his phil-hellenic appreciation<sup>4</sup> led him to make Greek his official language,<sup>5</sup> and to use Greek models in designing his coins, and to make the Sinopean Greek Diophantus his chief-general, through whom he freed the Greeks of the Tauric Chersonesus from the Scythian tyranny, as is shown by their grateful inscription discovered at Olbia.<sup>6</sup> The lustre of his character is the lustre of Sinopic Hellenism, while his barbarities may reasonably be charged to the Pontic and Persian blood which he claimed to have in his veins.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### SINOPE UNDER THE ROMANS.

Sinope does not figure in the first war between Mithradates and the Romans. In the course of the second Murena intended, following the best advice available, to besiege Sinope as the key to the whole country<sup>7</sup>; but, while still far distant from this strategic point, he was defeated at the Halys by the energy of Mithradates.<sup>8</sup> In the third war, however, Sinope is the scene of several important events. When Mithradates was forced by Lucullus to raise the siege of Cyzicus, he hastened away from the Propontis

<sup>1</sup> Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 423, says Amasia was his birth-place. But Strabo, who was related to Mithradates and himself came from Amasia, and hence would have known if Mith. had been born there, says (XII 545) *ὁ δὲ Εὐπάτωρ καὶ ἐγεννήθη ἐκεῖ (Sinope) καὶ ἐτράφη, διαφερόντως δὲ ἐτίμησεν αὐτὴν μητρόπολιν τῆς βασιλείας ὑπέλαβεν.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Strabo, l. c. and Cic. *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 21(8). For his palace at Sinope cf. Diod. XIV 31.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Bevan, *op. cit.* I, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dittenberger *Sylloge* 2 326.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Memnon 36 (Müller *F. H. G.* III, p. 544).

<sup>8</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 65.

into the Euxine; but a storm destroyed most of his fleet and he was obliged to flee in a pirate's boat to Sinope.<sup>1</sup> Thence he sailed to Amisus, leaving Sinope under the control of pirates, led by Leonippus.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile Lucullus pushed on and finally came to Amisus, forced Mithradates to flee into Armenia, and turned his forces against the Pontic kingdom in general, taking such places as Heraclea. At last in 70 B. C. he appeared before Sinope.<sup>3</sup>

He found the pirates in full possession and confident in their sea power, for they had but lately defeated in a decisive battle fifteen triremes sent by the Romans under command of Censorinus.<sup>4</sup> The leaders of the pirates were Leonippus, Cleochares and Seleucus. Dissensions existed among them, and Leonippus had previously, sometime before the naval attack by Censorinus, undertaken to negotiate with the Romans for the betrayal of the city to them. But the other two members of the triumvirate of pirates had discovered the plot, called an assembly of the Sinopeans, and disclosed the treachery of Leonippus. He, however, enjoyed the confidence not only of Mithradates but also of the people of Sinope and Cleochares and Seleucus were obliged to resort to assassination to get rid of him. Soon after this deed came the defeat of the Roman fleet by that of the pirates.

After the victory over the Romans the pirates ruled Sinope with a high hand. The insecurity of their position caused Seleucus to propose to Cleochares the delivery of the city to the Romans. Cleochares, who favored continued resistance to the Romans, objected to the plan, perhaps because it involved the massacre of the people. Finally the two men shipped their goods to Machares at Colchis at the eastern end of the Pontus, intending to follow later themselves. But Machares entered into friendly communication with Lucullus. Lucullus agreed to an alliance provided Machares would send no provisions to the Sinopeans. Machares not only agreed to the proposal but went so far as to divert to Lucullus supplies intended for the army of Mithradates. Under these circumstances Cleochares himself despaired of success against the Romans. He and his followers

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 78. Memnon 42 also mentions the storm but is silent about Mithradates' escape in a pirate's boat.

<sup>2</sup> Memnon 53 (Müller F. H. G. III, 554) *Λεόνιππος δὲ ὁ σὺν Κλεοχάρει παρὰ Μιθριδάτου τὴν Σινώπην ἐπιτραπέις.* Strabo, XII 546 *ὁ γὰρ ἐγκατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φρούραρχος Βακχίδης.*

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 82, 83.

<sup>4</sup> On the name Censorinus at Sinope cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905) p. 310.

seized what valuables they could, gave their soldiers liberty to plunder the town, and fled in their lighter ships by night to the eastern end of the Pontus. Before starting, to avoid pursuit, they set fire to the remaining ships which were heavier and also (according to Plutarch) to the town. The sight of the flames apprised Lucullus of the situation. He ordered his scaling ladders against the walls, took the town, put 8000 of the pirates and their adherents to the sword, and then by a sudden change of plan stayed the slaughter, restored to the inhabitants their property, gave the city its freedom, and promoted its welfare.

The cause of the change was a statue which Lucullus saw lying upon the shore or being carried along by the citizens. It was wrapped up in linen and bound with ropes. But when uncovered at his command it proved to be the statue of Autolycus which the final haste of the pirates had prevented them from carrying away and which seemed to him to be the exact likeness of a figure which had appeared to him in a dream the very night before and had said to him "Go on a little further, Lucullus; for Autolycus is coming to see thee". The coincidence seemed to him a divine call to care for the city whose deity had so favorably appeared to him.<sup>1</sup> Thus Sinope passed into the power of the Romans and the story of its capture reveals one more phase in its strange, eventful history, and to almost every other possible form of government Sinope has now added a government by pirates. The transition to Roman rule marked an epoch in its history and a new era was dated from it, stamped on coins as the era of Lucullus.<sup>2</sup>

Some years of Roman order and organization, of Roman favor and Roman rebuilding, succeeded the anarchic violence of the piratical regime.<sup>3</sup> But the next striking scene on Sinope's streets was the pomp and splendor of the funeral procession of Mithradates the Great. His own son, the worthless Pharnaces II, was in power in the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the northern shore of

<sup>1</sup> On the capture cf. Plut. Luc. 23; Appian, Mithr. 83, and Memnon's detailed account c. 53, 54 (source Nymphis of Heraclea, 3rd cent. B. C.); cf. also Cic. pro lege Manil. VIII 21; Oros. VI 3; Strabo XII 546, Eutrop. VI 8; Reinach-Götze, Mithr., pp. 352, 353.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eckel, *Doctrina Numorum* II 1, 394; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885; Head, *Hist. Num.*

<sup>3</sup> Plut. Luc. 23 τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμελήθη. Appian, *op. cit.*; Memnon, *op. cit.* Cic., *De lege agr.* II 20, 353 shows that Sinope was under the Roman rule in the time of Pompey, who succeeded Lucullus in 66 B. C.

the Euxine. Thither the father, defeated by Pompey, had fled. But he met with an unfriendly reception and in despair ended his own life with poison and the sword.<sup>1</sup> To win the favor of Pompey, who was now at Sinope, Pharnaces sent the mutilated and all but unrecognizable corpse across the sea to him. But that large-hearted conqueror, whose own body, by a strange injustice of history, was to lie upon the Egyptian shore, decapitated, mutilated, dishonored and unburied, gave at his own expense a magnificent interment to his barbarian enemy. He viewed the body with emotion and averted eye and had it laid with marching and flute music in the royal tomb at Sinope.<sup>2</sup>

For going over to Rome Pharnaces received as his reward a kingdom on the northern shore; but it was too narrow for his ambitions, and while Pompey was absent in his western war with Julius Caesar, Pharnaces crossed the sea and took Sinope from Calvinus, who had been given charge of Pompey's territory. There are no details of the capture, but in 47 B. C. Caesar, after conquering Pompey at Pharsalus and pursuing him to Egypt, marched rapidly against Pharnaces and quickly overthrew him in the "veni, vidi, vici" battle of Zela. Pharnaces fled to Sinope by way of the Amisus road, made his ignoble agreement there with Calvinus that if allowed to depart in safety, he would remain upon the northern shore, whither he went to end his career by dying in battle, wounded by a personal enemy.<sup>3</sup>

Beginning with Pompey, Bithynia and Pontus were formed into one province.<sup>4</sup> He endeavored to improve the condition of the cities he captured by giving them better laws and regulations,<sup>5</sup> and we cannot doubt that after his visit to the place Sinope experienced the beneficial effects of his attentions. But the important event in the city's improvement was a considerable influx of new blood in the colony sent by Julius Caesar about 45 B. C.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 111, 112; Dio Cass. XXXVII 3, 11-13; Plut. *Pomp.* 41; *Oros.* VI 5; *Eutrop.* VI 12.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Pomp.* 42; Appian, *Mithr.* 113; Dio Cass. XXXVII 14.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 120; Dio Cass. XLII 46-8; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II 91, 92; Plut. *Caes.* 50; Suet., *Jul. Caes.* 35, 37; *J. H. S.* 1901, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, XII 541; *J. H. S.* 1901, p. 60; and Schoenemann, *De Bithynia et Ponto, Provincia Romana* (Göttingen 1855); cf. also Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. I, p. 351.

<sup>5</sup> Appian, *Mithr.*, 115.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 546; Pliny, *Epist.* X 91 "coloniam Sinopensem"; Pliny, *N. H.* VI 2 "colonia Sinope"; Appian, *Mithr.* 120, 121.

Another chronological era dates from this time.<sup>1</sup> It marks a new era of prosperity also. The evidence of an imperial coinage is always perfunctory, and in the C. I. F. or C. R. I. F. S. or C. I. F. S. (Colonia Julia Felix Sinope)<sup>2</sup> which now makes its appearance on the city's coins<sup>3</sup> and in inscriptions on stone<sup>4</sup> the "Felix" is not necessarily descriptive, and indeed shows itself with almost monotonous continuity down to the time of Gallienus. Even the *λαμπροτάτη*<sup>5</sup> on a sarcophagus is tainted with a kind of municipal cant. But, as a matter of fact, becoming a Roman colony included very tangible municipal privileges as well as a strong addition to the population. The new colonists were not distributed throughout the city but occupied a separate quarter by themselves,<sup>6</sup> while the remaining territory was occupied by the earlier inhabitants who had survived the fire and sword of the Mithradatic wars.

The history of Sinope being thus merged in the world-embracing history of Rome, its separate annals are largely lost to view. Almost the only mention of it at this time is found in Josephus who speaks of Marcus Agrippa's warm greeting of Herod there and the departure of the two in 16 B. C. upon an expedition to the Cimmerian Bosphorus.<sup>7</sup> The same old natural sources of commercial prosperity continued. The fish still appears on the coins and the figure of Ceres and the plough.<sup>8</sup> Strabo<sup>9</sup> writes of the beauty of the city and its surroundings in words to which we have referred in an earlier chapter. Roman mile-

<sup>1</sup> Eckel, *Doctr. Num.* II, 391 f.; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* I 357; Schoenemann, *op. cit.* p. 96; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. A. S. or C. A. S. (colonia Augusta Sinope) also occurs. It is not surprising to find Augustus' name on the coins. He was regarded as a king in Paphlagonia, temples were built to him, and his cult established, *cf.* *Revue d. Études Gr.* 1901, pp. 26-45.

<sup>3</sup> Mionnet, *Descr. de Médailles Antiques* II 400 f.; IV 575 f.; Eckel, *Doctr. Num.* II 1, 389 f.; Rasche, *Léx. Num.* IV 2, 1105 f.; Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies* V, pp. 123, 174, 324, 474; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, pp. 6-10, p. 231, pl. I; Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection* II, p. 238; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; *Six, Num. Chron.* 1885; Head, *Hist. Num.*; Schoenemann, *op. cit.* p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* C. I. L. III 239, 6978.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* *λαμπροτάτη κολωνεία* in *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 314.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo XII 546, *ἡννὶ δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν δέδεκται καὶ μέρος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνων ἐστί.*

<sup>7</sup> Josephus, *Arch.* XVI 21; Dio Cass. LIV 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Cf.* Mionnet, etc., as cited above; Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.* p. 7, 4; pl. I 7.

<sup>9</sup> XII 545, 546.



stones were set up in the vicinity and a multitude of inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> honoring Germanicus, Tiberius, Agrippina, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and other lesser Romans testify, if the testimony were needed, how completely Sinope had become merged in Rome.

And yet in a general way it seems permissible to indicate certain ascending stages by which the city's prosperity and honor were increased. Whatever the general welfare of Sinope under the Roman Republic, it nevertheless had to suffer from the self-seeking ambitions of its governors, who regarded their provinces as prizes to be exploited in their own interests. A better day came under the more solid government of the Empire, for there was at least some sense of responsibility felt by the proconsuls to the authorities at Rome. In the time of Augustus, however, Bithynia and Pontus were not an imperial province but were under the Senate.<sup>2</sup> Her proconsuls were appointed for a year at a time. Their characters doubtless varied very greatly and continuous plans for the improvement of the city, stretching over a considerable period, were unlikely to be made. But under Trajan Bithynia and Pontus became an Imperial province and its governor was obliged to consult the Emperor even upon matters of detail and to be responsible to him for his administration, so that an Imperial province, at least under such an Emperor as Trajan, was better off than a senatorial one. In the younger Pliny Sinope had a governor of unusually excellent personal qualities. His construction of an aqueduct, by which a much needed supply of pure water was brought from a distance of sixteen miles in the interior, testifies to his care for the physical well-being of the inhabitants, while his thoughtful and discriminating report in regard to the new superstition, Christianity, shows a similar consideration of mental and spiritual welfare.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE CIVILIZATION OF SINOPE.

“To high Sinope's distant realms  
Whence cynics rail'd at human pride”.

*Tennyson, Persia.*

The external history of ancient Sinope, as we have now studied it, interests us by its striking vicissitudes. But more important

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 310, 327-329.

<sup>2</sup> *Dio Cass.* LIII 12; *Strabo* XVII 840; *Suet.* Aug. 47; *Tac. Ann.* I 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Pliny, Ep.* X 90, 91. On the aqueduct cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 131.

than battles, captures, recaptures, autonomies and successive subjections is the internal history of its people, the instruction their annals give in the development of the race in character and culture, government, occupation, literature, and art.

Sinope's position on the borderland between Orient and Occident gave it a strange and cosmopolitan mixture of nationalities. The Assyrian element was in force down to the fourth century. The native Paphlagonian was there. The subtle and finished Greek, with his peculiar power of communicating his civilization, the wily and treacherous Persian, and the resolute Roman successively found their way to the chief Pontic sea-port and despite depopulations and municipal tragedies of all sorts, Sinopean civilization must, in its rude frontier fashion, have acquired something of that universal character which Rome had in its larger and more magnificent way, when in its hour of power the different elements of the world were poured into it. There must have been, at first successive and afterwards synchronous, many different costumes and complexions, many languages spoken, many cults observed, many conflicting ideas of honor and dishonor and many individual acts both brave and base.

What the characteristic spirit and temper of the people of this frontier sea-port were is a question of profound interest. What mental and intellectual qualities did Sinope's able men nourish and develop? An answer seems obtainable and is what would naturally be expected. Life at the limit line of civilization is perpetually bringing forward sharp contrasts between the rude and the cultured, the cowardly and the brave, the blunt-minded and the keen. Constant hardship and privation teach such men to scorn delights and luxuries, to increase the catalogue of things they can go without and to write the articles of necessity in the fewest lines. The temper of mind becomes independent, brave, terse, and cynical. That this was the characteristic Sinopean spirit is evident from the quality of literary genius her men developed after being transferred to the congenial soil of Athens. The Sinopean product there was the keen laconic contempt of Diogenes (412-323) and in the new comedy ludicrous scenes drawn from the realism of life and executed with a fine scorn extending in Diphilus even to the chronology which makes Hipponax and Archilochus suitors of Sappho.<sup>1</sup> Not that Sinope

<sup>1</sup> Athen. XIII 599 d.

produced no historians or geographers,<sup>1</sup> for our appendix of Sinopeans will show that she did; but scarcely a line from them has survived and chroniclers seldom mention their names, while the apophthegms of Diogenes and the jests of Dionysius and of the brothers Diodorus and Diphilus<sup>2</sup> are repeatedly found in quotations and fragments which have had too much life in them to be allowed to die; and when the authors themselves passed away their honored names were cut into Athenian gravestones. The tradition that Diogenes fled with his father to Athens because the latter had been detected in forging or adulterating coins, the entrance of the young man into the school of Antisthenes, indeed the whole career of this remarkable cynic are not to be cited in this connection.<sup>3</sup> Nor need the multiplied jests which Athenaeus and Stobaeus quote be exploited; but the individual courage amounting to recklessness which made Diogenes ask Alexander to get from between him and the sun, the casting aside of the wooden bowl after he saw the lad drink from the hollow of his hand, the reduction of his living quarters to a *phithos*, together with the coarse fun of the comic poets, perpetually directed against the irksome embarrassments of the parasitic temper, which cannot live from its own resources but eats the bread of belittling dependence upon the wealthy, may serve to reflect that ready individual courage of man against man, that cheerful acceptance of hardships in matters of food and shelter and especially that rough humor and biting scorn of everything soft and effeminate, which is continually putting itself in evidence all along the line of adventurous colonial life. The fully developed form of Sinope's peculiar talent, the only talent of which she gives any great literary evidence, coming to flower when transplanted to the favoring soil of Athens in such instances as that of Diogenes;<sup>4</sup> of the brilliant slave Cynic, Menippus,<sup>5</sup> whose skilful combination of prose and poetry led the Roman Varro

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Baton, Diophantus, and Theopompus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Prosopographia Sinopensis*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Diog. Laer. Vitae Phil. VI*; cf. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik XXIII* (1901), p. 138; and *Six, Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 50, for coins with  $\Delta\text{IO}$  and  $\text{I}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  on them; cf. also *C.I.G.* 7074.

<sup>4</sup> What time these men went to Athens it is impossible to tell, but probably it was early in their career, because they seem to have imbibed the spirit of Athenian life so deeply. Their fragments show no explicit references to their native town.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Prosopographia Sinopensis*.

into imitation;<sup>1</sup> of Hegesaeus the Cynic,<sup>2</sup> and of the line of comic poets which I have indicated, clearly points back to its hardy beginnings in its indigenous Sinopean soil.

The scenic character of Sinope must always have tended to induce in its people a spirit of boldness and freedom. The mountains lay behind them and their lofty promontory commanded a far-reaching view of the sea. The combination of mountain and sea, together with their geographic isolation, must have helped them to that boldness and freedom of spirit and that individualism and enterprise for whose presence in the Greeks of the motherland so much credit is given to the similar features of her natural scenery. Such people have the travelling instinct and we are not surprised to find great numbers of them at Athens.<sup>3</sup> A stronger testimony is the inscription of their names as *πρόξενοι* at Delphi,<sup>4</sup> at Histiaea in Euboea<sup>5</sup> and, more remarkably still, at the secluded interior town of Cleitor in Arcadia.<sup>6</sup>

Material for constructing the history of the governmental development of Sinope is meagre. The tantalizing numismatic list of magistrates<sup>7</sup> belonging to the autonomous period yields the names of no specific offices. The names of only two tyrants<sup>8</sup> are known and the mention of public assemblies is bare of details. From an inscription at Sinope (Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 312, No. 40) we know that in the Macedonian epoch there were *prytanies* as at Athens. We have a list of fourteen *πρυτάνεις* of whom one is *ἐπιστάτης τῆς βουλῆς* and another *γραμματεὺς*. Even in Roman times details of the method of the city's government are lacking. The municipal functions of the priestly *ποντάρχης* are hardly evident beyond the obligation to give public games at his own expense.<sup>9</sup> From Roman mile-stones we learn the name of *Auf. Priscianus* who was *praeses pr(ovinciae) P(onti)* and that *praeses* was used

<sup>1</sup> A good specimen of the Menippean satire is Seneca's Apocolocyntosis of Claudius. Cf. Bücheler's *Petronius*.

<sup>2</sup> Pupil of Diogenes, cf. *Diog. L.*, VI 84. An inscription from Sinope makes even Perseus a Cynic, because he too carries a pouch and the *ἄρπη*, the equivalent of the Cynic's *βάκτρον*, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 320-322. The harlot Sinope, who took her name from her native town, should also be cited, cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Prosopographia Sinopensis*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 330.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 332, 333.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* p. 330.

<sup>7</sup> *Six*, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> *Timesilaus* and *Scydrothemis*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., pp. 311, 312; *J. H. S.*, 1900, p. 154; *Revue des Études Anc.*, 1901, p. 138.

in a technical sense before the time of Diocletian. The change to *praesides* was made by Probus or Carus, not by Severus or Aurelian, as has generally been supposed (cf. Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, pp. 240, 263; Am. J. Arch. l. c. pp. 328, 329; A. J. P. XXVII, p. 139, n. 2). But Sinope's early constitutional history must go unwritten by moderns until the discovery of the ancient one which Aristotle composed.

We know more about the occupations of the people. The fish, the plough, the ship, are on the city's coins.<sup>1</sup> The maker of amphoras and other pottery,<sup>2</sup> the weaver of nets, the forger of steel implements of good repute,<sup>3</sup> the wood-cutters who felled the trees for the timber-exports,<sup>4</sup> the skilful Greek engineers and ship-builders,<sup>5</sup> were all there. The slave was there, though only two are known by name,<sup>6</sup> the physician<sup>7</sup> also and the priest and priestess,<sup>8</sup> the soldier, and the sailor, always in evidence at such a sea-port. The lyre held by Apollo on coins<sup>9</sup> reminds us of the presence of musicians. And for the hours of recreation there were athletic contests and, at least in Roman days, though no remains of any amphitheatre are to be found, bull-fights and hunting exhibitions.<sup>10</sup>

The early settlement of Sinope by the Milesian Greeks guaranteed its people a continuous course in physical culture. One of them took the prize for boxing in the contest *ἀγενείους πυγμῆν* at the Amphiaraia at Oropus about 350 B. C.<sup>11</sup> An Attic inscription gives us the list of victories won by the Sinopean Valerius Eclectus in 248 A. D.<sup>12</sup> Still another, Damostratus, won six

<sup>1</sup> For the fish cf. Head op. cit.; Six, Num. Chron., 1885; Brit. Mus. Cat.; for the plough cf. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 7, no. 4, pl. I 7; for the ship's prow cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c. pp. 294-302.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, pp. 140, 141.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 245 and Polyæn. VII 21, 2, 5 who says the Sinopeans had a multitude *ἀρχιτεκτόνων, τεχνιτῶν, τεκτόνων, ναυπηγῶν*.

<sup>6</sup> Manes: cf. Aelian V. H. 13, 28; Diog. Laert. VI 55; Seneca, De Tranq. Animi VIII 5; Strabo VII 304; Strabo XII 553; Menippus: cf. Prosopogr. Sinopensis. Cf. also Plaut. Curc. 443.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 315, no. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ibid., p. 312, no. 39; p. 322, no. 63.

<sup>9</sup> Six, Num. Chron. 1885, pl. II 18, 19; J. H. S. IX. p. 300.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 311.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hestiaeus in Prosopogr. Sinopensis, also Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 330.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Prosopogr. Sinopensis.

wrestling contests at the Isthmian games.<sup>1</sup> I may add that there is at Sinope itself at least one evidence of athletic glory. I found there an inscription of which only one word remains, but that word is *παράδοξος*, a victor in the *πάλη* and *παγκράτιον*.<sup>2</sup> All these evidences point to a multitude of other successful Sinopean contestants and to a still larger multitude of unsuccessful ones. This love of athletics would, of course, be self-evident in Roman times, even without Strabo's mention of the gymnasium<sup>3</sup> and without the inscription which gives the name of its director, Claudius Potelius.<sup>4</sup>

Ancient Greece had one great literary focus at which, unless hindered by some special civic enmity, as in Pindar's case, all literary genius centred. The literary element in Sinope's civilization, therefore, must not be judged by the works published within her walls; for no such publications, unless possibly it be the editing of her edition of Homer,<sup>5</sup> can be proved. She must be judged rather by the product of her citizens after they had migrated to the motherland. That product included the long list of Baton's histories, the work on earthquakes by Theopompus, who is sometimes considered a geographer and sometimes an historian, and the writings of Diophantus, who was historian as well as general; it included the Cynic philosophies of Diogenes, Menippus and Hegesaeus, and the Epicurean of Timotheus of the first century B. C.; it included the comedies of Dionysius, Diphilus, and Diodorus, and the epigrams of Heracleides.<sup>6</sup> In the field of oratory, in fine, we must not forget Xenophon's critical estimate of Hecatonymus as *δεινὸς λέγειν*.<sup>7</sup> On a previous page I have already indicated the field in which men of Sinopean origin said their best remembered words. But the list of names we have just recited shows that their general literary activity was not inconsiderable.

Sinope cannot boast with certainty of any painter or sculptor.<sup>8</sup> Doubtless she had paintings which, like those of the rest of the Greek world, have perished. In any case, her streets and squares and shrines were not devoid of statues. Those of her great Cynic<sup>9</sup> may possibly have been carved in Sinope itself, but the

<sup>1</sup> Anth. Plan. 3, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo XII 545.

<sup>4</sup> Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 311.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Prosopogr. Sinopensis.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Xen. Anab. V, 5, 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Χρησσιός* is simply a *λιθουργός* of late date, cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 331.

<sup>9</sup> Diog. Laert. VI 78.

celebrated figure of Autolycus, which probably had its shrine, for he was consulted as an oracle, was the work of the Olynthian Sthenis in the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> As to the sculptor of the storied statue of Serapis, which according to Tacitus and others was carried off to Egypt, we are not informed.<sup>2</sup> And as to the precise nature of the "sphere" of the astronomer Billarus we are equally left in the dark.<sup>3</sup> In later years statues of the emperors would multiply and doubtless the cylindrical stone, now there, whose top is hollowed out into a mortar for grinding corn, and which bears an inscription to Marcus Aurelius<sup>4</sup> was the pedestal of a statue set up in his honor. No doubt many pieces of sculpture have been carried off to other lands. There is, for example, in the Museum at Constantinople an excellent sarcophagus from Sinope with sculptures of boys bearing grapes. Many of plainer type are still to be seen in Sinope. We have already had occasion<sup>5</sup> to mention the archaic coins of the fifth century bearing a head with bulging eyes, high cheek-bones and typical smile, and on the reverse the simple incuse square, and we have noted the finer coins that were minted after Athenian influences had come with Pericles, after 444 B. C.<sup>6</sup> The relief of Hera with a nymph before her mentioned in the *Syllogos*<sup>7</sup> I could not find; but I discovered a "Funeral Banquet" relief of Roman date, which has not been published. The execution is not of high order but the design is worthy of mention because it is the only specimen, so far as I know, which depicts so many pieces of armor together. Usually there is only a shield or a helmet, but in this one there are helmet, shield, greaves, and spear represented as hanging on the wall. It is about 0.31 high by 0.35m. in width. Perhaps one should not omit the two lions of inferior Roman workmanship, one built into the wall, the other lying on the ground. These and the "Funeral Banquet" relief just mentioned are the only objects of ancient art I noticed in Sinope, aside from a few terracotta figurines. The disfigured bust thought by the inhabitants to represent Autolycus has been carried off from its niche in the wall of the Byzantine tower.<sup>8</sup> Meagre as these materials are, they

<sup>1</sup> Strabo XII 546; Appian, *Mith.* 83; Plut. *Luc.* 23; Löwy, *Inschriften Griech. Bildhauer* 103<sup>a</sup>, 481, 541; Sthenis of Olynthus is identical with Σθέννης Ἡροδόρου Ἀθηναῖος; cf. also Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, 1343-1349.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chap. X init.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo XII 546.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. L. III 239, 6978.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> *Syllogos κζ'* 1900, pp. 263-264.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

enable us to think of Sinope as having some satisfactions, perhaps much more numerous than we can now conceive, for the constant human desire to fix the forms of men and living things in stone.

Of the architecture of ancient Sinope, its art as carried into building, no more can be said than of its other art. Notwithstanding the care<sup>1</sup> with which the city was built, the old structures have perished. The only possible trace I could find of the aqueduct is in the arches against which part of the city wall is built.<sup>2</sup> The wall also contains, as before noted,<sup>3</sup> pieces of architraves with inscriptions and columns. Two of these inscriptions testify to a building, or at least parts of a building, having been erected at the expense of certain individuals.<sup>4</sup> We know that different men did sometimes put their means together to erect a structure, while at other times the whole building was finished at the expense of one person.<sup>5</sup> Either supposition may have been the fact in regard to these fragments. Quarries still exist out on the promontory.<sup>6</sup> The finest of Mithradates' palaces was at Sinope<sup>7</sup> but all its adornments, together with the stoas, gymnasium, and market-place of later times, have disappeared and left no trace.<sup>8</sup>

## CHAPTER X.

### THE CULTS AT SINOPE.

Many deities were worshipped at Sinope. The literary evidence, which consists of Strabo's account of an oracle of Autolycus<sup>9</sup> and of what Tacitus, Plutarch, Macrobius and Clement of Alexandria say about Ptolemy's securing the image of Serapis from Sinope, is scant.<sup>10</sup> But the inscriptions upon altars and upon other stones, together with the legends and figures on coins, afford a considerable bulk of testimony. By collating this we find at Sinope cults of seven gods out of the Great Twelve: Zeus, Apollo,

<sup>1</sup> Strabo XII 545.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 306, no. 33; p. 307, no. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.* p. 307.

<sup>6</sup> Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

<sup>7</sup> Reinach-Götze *op. cit.*, p. 287; Diod. XIV 31; Cic. De Imp. Cn. Pomp. 21(8).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo XII 546.

<sup>10</sup> Tac. Hist. IV 83, 84; Plut. de Iside et Osir. c. 28, 362a (source Manetho); De Sollertia Animalium 36, 984; Eust. ad. Dionys. Per. 255; Steph. Byz. s. v; Clem. Protrept. IV, 48 (26 ed. Sylburg); Macrobius Saturn. I 4; Cyrill. Jul. p. 13



Athena, Hermes, Ares, Poseidon, and Demeter;<sup>1</sup> of five of the later importations: Dionysus, Asclepius, the Dioscuri, Serapis, and Isis;<sup>2</sup> of four mythical heroes: Autolycus, Phlogius, Perseus, and Heracles;<sup>3</sup> of four astral divinities: Helios, Selene, Hydrachoos, and Sirius;<sup>4</sup> and of six of the abstract or generalized conceptions: Nemesis, Themis, Eros, Nike, Hygieia, and Fortuna.<sup>5</sup> I found there also an altar *θεῶ μεγάλῳ ὑψίστῳ*.<sup>6</sup> Lanaras had previously discovered one *θεῶ ὑψίστῳ*.<sup>7</sup> There are no large altars. That such existed we may argue from the presence of the great statues of Autolycus and Serapis, but the iconoclasm of the Christian and of the Mohammedan has left no trace of them. Those to be seen at Sinope, numerous as they are, are small. The largest one stands in a field and is only 91 cm. in height, including the rough portion of 17 cm. which was under ground.<sup>8</sup> Two others about 50 cm. high have been carried into an apothecary shop.<sup>9</sup> Another, 58 cm. high, stands in a back yard,<sup>10</sup> and another, 49 cm. high, supports the wooden post of a porch.<sup>11</sup> All have the same general form, with projecting bases and tops, and

<sup>1</sup> *Zeὺς δικαίουστος μέγας*, Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 302; *Zeὺς ἥλιος ναυδαμῆνος ἐπήκοος*, Ibid. p. 303; for a similar epithet of Zeus, *εὐρυδαμῆνος*, cf. Revue Arch. 1888, II, p. 223; Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition, no. 589; J. H. S. XVIII, p. 96; Ramsay, Cl. Review, 1905, pp. 417, 419. The Sinope inscription does not favor Ramsay's connection of the epithet with Men, the moon-god. The epithet is probably local. Hermes, Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 323; on Poseidon cf. below. All seven appear on coins, cf. works on coins as cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Asclepius, Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 306; Serapis, Ibid. pp. 315, 331; Isis, Ibid. p. 312; for Dionysus, the Dioscuri, Serapis, and Isis cf. works on coins as cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Autolycus, Strabo XII 546; Appian, Mithr. 83; Phlogius, Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 306; Perseus, Ibid. pp. 320-322. Heracles, Ibid. p. 305, also on coins, cf. Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies Grecques p. 230, no. 13; Num. Chron. 1885, pl. II, 18; for Heracles and Perseus cf. also the works on coins cited. For Perseus at the neighboring town of Amisus cf. Cumont, Revue Archéologique V (1905), pp. 180 f. Perseus was the mythical ancestor of the Achaemenidae with whom Mithradates the Great, born at Sinope, claimed relationship.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 323. For the head of Helios on coins of Sinope cf. Mionnet, op. cit. suppl. IV, p. 574, 131; British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Pontus, pl. XXII, 15. De Koehne, Description du musée de M. le prince Kotschoubey p. 59 thinks that the cult of Helios was introduced into Olbia from Sinope. Cf. Hirst, The Cults of Olbia, J. H. S. XXII, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Hygieia, Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 306; Themis, Ibid. p. 323; for the others cf. works on coins as cited above.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 306.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 303.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 306, nos. 28, 29.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 305.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 304.

inscriptions occupying the smooth space between. The inscriptions are upon one side only and have the same general wording, conveying the name of the dedicator, the god to whom set up, and a general votive expression.

The statue and the shrine of Autolyclus imply a temple where those who consulted the oracle of the city's founder might meet.<sup>1</sup> The two-columned portico in which Nemesis stands on many imperial coins is proof that a temple of that goddess existed at Sinope.<sup>2</sup> Another temple appears from the expression of the woman Rheipane, who declared herself honored because she dwelt "near pure Serapis", i. e., near to his temple.<sup>3</sup> If we receive the stories which relate the carrying off of Serapis to Alexandria their mention of a colossal statue and of the worship of the god at Sinope are another indication of the existence of his temple there. Other temples there doubtless were to other gods named in the lists already given, but these three are reasonably certain.

The sea-girt peninsula would not long be without some worship of Poseidon.<sup>4</sup> On coins<sup>5</sup> the figure of the god appears both seated and standing and in both cases with the familiar dolphin and trident, one in one hand, the other in the other. The prominence of this cult at Sinope appears from a decree giving valuable perquisites to the priest of Poseidon Heliconius.<sup>6</sup> He is to be exempt from military duty. At public contests he is to have a wreath and wine. In certain months he is to have the right leg, the loins, and the tongue of public sacrifices, and of private sacrifices the loins or shoulder-blade and breast. The worship of this god would naturally begin at an early date, and we find his image on many pre-imperial coins as well as upon those of the later emperors.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 546; Appian, Mithr. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. coins of Trajan, Caracalla, Maximinus, Gordianus, Philippus Junior, also Faustina, Tranquillinus in works cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 315. The temple undoubtedly stood in the Greek Quarter where this inscription and Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 312, no. 40 were found, not at the narrowest part of the isthmus just outside the walls to the southwest, where a Byzantine church was excavated, as is stated in Parnassos VI 869.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the name Poseidonius on vase-handles from Sinope, Am. J. Arch. l. c. pp. 300, 301. Ποσειδεών occurs as the name of one of the months, cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge<sup>2</sup>, 603.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Head, Hist. Num. p. 435 and other works on coins as cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dittenberger l. c. Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 331, no. 87, also shows worship of Poseidon.

The significance of Sinope's worship of Apollo is somewhat obscure. He was regarded as the founder of Miletus,<sup>1</sup> and Sinope was founded by the Milesians who naturally would promote the worship of their home-god at the new settlement. The migration of the god from the west is further indicated in those forms of the story of the rape of Sinope which spoke of her as being brought from Boeotia by Apollo.<sup>2</sup> The representations on coins are various. One is an archaic figure standing near a tripod, with laurel branch in one hand and an ointment vase in the other. Another represents him with laurel wreath, seated on the omphalos, with lyre in hand.<sup>3</sup>

The most prominent Sinopean deity was Serapis. From the time of Hadrian on by far the most frequent figure on her coins was Serapis,<sup>4</sup> and if we go back to the fourth century B. C. the testimony of the great Cynic is decisive in the same direction. The Athenians declared Alexander to be Dionysus.<sup>5</sup> "Then call me Serapis" said Diogenes, implying of course that that was the important local god of his native city.

The worship of the heavenly bodies was always prominent at Sinope. Its name was probably connected with Sin, the Assyrian moon-god and its early Assyrian settlers doubtless brought that worship with them.<sup>6</sup> There has heretofore been no known Sinopean inscription with Selene expressly mentioned nor even any representation of Selene on coins; but a new inscription contains the names of six deities, one of which is Selene.<sup>7</sup> This is one more testimony to the persistence of the moon cult. It is worth noting that three of the other names, Helios, Hydrachos, and Sirius, also belong to heavenly bodies, the remaining two being Themis and Hermes.

The Sinopeans hearing of Serapis in Egypt, a combination of Osiris, the sun-god, and Apis,<sup>8</sup> identified him with their own native god, Zeus Helios, and the Egyptians in turn hearing of the Sinopean deity, Zeus Hades, who Reinach thinks was none other

<sup>1</sup> Curtius, Gr. Geschichte I 493.      <sup>2</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Head, Hist. Num. p. 435 and other works cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Num. Zeit. XXI (1889), pp. 2 f., 385 f. A table I made shows that Serapis is the most frequent figure on imperial coins. Nemesis is second.

<sup>5</sup> Diog. Laert. VI 63.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. chap. IV (A. J. P. XXVII, p. 144 f.)

<sup>7</sup> Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 323.

<sup>8</sup> Wilcken, Sarapis und Osiris-Apis (Archiv III, p. 249 f.) objects to the derivation of Serapis from Osiris and Apis. But cf. Lehmanns, Sarapis contra Oserapis, Beitr. z. alt. Geschichte IV (1904), p. 396.

than the hellenized national god of the Paphlagonians,<sup>1</sup> identified him with their Serapis, giving him attributes not Egyptian. Something like this, I think, is the explanation of the story that arose about Ptolemy Soter having the colossal statue of the god of Sinope brought to Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> In any case Helios and Serapis were practically identified even in Egypt, just as we know them to have been in Sinope.<sup>3</sup>

Along with the worship of Serapis naturally goes that of Isis, whose head occurs on coins. A priestess of Isis is known from an inscription found at Sinope.<sup>4</sup>

The cult of the emperors, which in the provinces was so strong as a political and social unifying force, flourished in Paphlagonia, where we know there was, for example, a temple and cult of Augustus.<sup>5</sup> A similar worship doubtless existed in Sinope. Perhaps the inscription to Marcus Aurelius found there indicates divine honors paid to him. The strongest evidence of emperor worship in Sinope is the head of Augustus or some other emperor on what we may call the divine side of coins, that is, the side where the figures of deities were usually placed, and the name of some other as yet undeified emperor on the other side.

Finally came Christianity, which placed the cross<sup>6</sup> upon tombstones and churches and for a time caused the pagan temples to

<sup>1</sup> Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II 291. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten*, p. 11 f. thinks Serapis is a chthonic deity native to Egypt and not originally an oriental god as believes Preuschen in his *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult*. So also Bouché-Leclercq, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* XLVI (1902), p. 1 f. On Serapis-cult at Alexandria cf. also Lafaye, *Histoire des divinités d'Alexandrie* p. 16 f.; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 1576 f. (Von Müller's *Handbuch der kl. Alt. V*, 2, 2, 3); Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 72; *The Silver Age of the Greek World* p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Zoega, *Nummi Aegyptii*, p. 133, no. 309, thinks a coin of Hadrian represents the Sinopean statue being taken on board ship. On the whole mooted question cf. Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians* III, p. 95 f.; Plew, *de Sarapide* (Königsberg 1868), p. 20, who takes the name of the mountain near Memphis, Sinopion, to be a mere fiction to connect the Sinopean tradition with that of Memphis, and rightly I think, cf. also J. H. S. VI (1885), p. 289 f.; *Jahrbuch des arch. deut. Inst.*, 1897, *Anzeiger*, p. 169; 1898, pp. 154, 166 f., 172 f. Representations of Serapis in art always follow the Greek type probably created by Bryaxis, cf. Reinach, *Le moulage des statues et le Sérapis de Bryaxis*, *Revue Arch.* XXXIX (1902), p. 5 f.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. G., 4683 f.; *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 306, no. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 256, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., pp. 311, 322, 325, 326, 329.

be all but deserted and nearly ruined the market for sacrificial animals. Many of the Christians, about whom Pliny the younger wrote in his famous letter<sup>1</sup> to Trajan, must have lived in Sinope, for the "contagion of this superstition" "seized upon the cities", of which Sinope was an important one. "The Christians were wont to meet together on a stated day, before it was light, and to sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ as to God and bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be guilty of theft or robbery or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them when called upon to return it". A fuller discussion of the Christian worship of this district as referred to in Pliny's letter belongs to the domain of Church History rather than to this paper. Yet any account of Sinopean cults would be incomplete without this much.

PROSOPOGRAPHIA SINOPENSIS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀγαθόδωρος, φροντιστής*, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. IX, (1905), p. 322, no. 61.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀγ[ελί]δας Βαβύττου, πρύτανις*, *ibid.* p. 313.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀθήναιος Ἀντιάνδρου Σινοπεύς* grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3339.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀθηνίω[ν] Διονυσίο[ν] Σινοπ[ε]ύ[ς]*, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3340.

*Αἰβούτιο[ς] Μά[ξι]μο[ς]*, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 318, no. 53.

*Αἰμιλιανὸς Ὀφιλίου Κουρίωνος*, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 318, no. 52.

*Αἰσχίνης*, vase-fabricant, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 20.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀκύλας*. Cf. *ibid.* p. 324, no. 68 *Φλ]αμν[ί]ου Ἀκύλα*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀμφίλοχος Εὐγ[ενίδου]*, *ibid.* p. 320.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀ[ο]υεῖτος, φοράρις* (forarius), dedicator to Helioserapis, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 30. Cf. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* III, 1, no. 93.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀπατούριος*, vase-fabricant, *ibid.* p. 299, no. 11.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀπήμα]ντος, ἀστυνόμος*, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 15.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀπολλωνίδης Ποσ(ε)ιδωνίου, ἀστυνόμος*, *ibid.* p. 300, no. 12; p. 301, nos. 16, 17.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀπολλώνιος Μεγάνδρου Σινοπεύς*, grave-stone in Athens, cf. Robinson, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1904, no. 49, cols. 1566 f.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. Ep. X 96.

<sup>2</sup> This list includes all names noted in inscriptions from Sinope and those of Sinopeans found elsewhere. Father's names are as a rule not listed separately.

Ἄρια Πρέμα. Cf. s. v. Ἐρμων.

Ἄριστ[αρ]χ[ο]ς [Ἄρ]ιστά[ρχ]ο[υ]. *πρύτανις*, Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 313.

Ἄρτε]μίδωρος, vase-maker, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 15.

Ἄ]σκ[λ]ηπιόδωρος Ὀλύμπου, *πρύτανις*, *ibid.* p. 313.

Ἄτταλος, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 302, no. 22.

Ἄφροδίσιος Ἀφροδισίου, *πρύτανις*, *ibid.* p. 313.

Ἄφροδίσιος Εὐπόρου Σινωπέως, ἔφηβος, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 467. Cf. also s. v. Εὐπορος.

Βάκχιος Μνήσιος, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 54.

Βάτων Σινωπέως, ῥήτωρ and historian; Strabo XII, 546; Athenaeus VI, 251 e; X, 436; XIV, 639 d; Plut., Agis 15; Susemihl, *Gesch. der Gr. Lit. der Alexandrinerzeit* I, 635 f.; Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie* s. v. Baton; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* IV, pp. 347-350. Date, third cent. B. C. Cf. also s. v. Menippus.

Ἐίλλαρος, astronomer, possibly a Sinopean. Cf. Strabo XII, 546.

Βόηθος Λυσιμάχου Σινωπέως, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 334I.

Β]οίσκος Μοναί . . ., dedicator, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 306, no. 32.

Γάεις Ἀπολλωνί[δου] Σινωπε[ύς], grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2907.

Γλανκίας, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 301, no. 21.

Γλήρις Λεμβίου, *πρύτανις*, *ibid.* p. 313.

Δαμόστρατος Σινωπέως, athlete who won six times in the *πάλη* at the Isthmian games, epigram. Cf. *Anth. Plan.* III, 25.

Δημήτριος Φίντιος, *πρύτανις*, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

Δημήτριος Σινωπέως, cavalry soldier and land-owner in Egypt. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Amherst Papyri*, part II, nos. XLII and LV. Date, first half of second cent. B. C.

Δημόστρατος Προμηθίωνος, *πρύτανις*, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

Διογένης, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 297, no. 6.

Δι]ογένης, φιλόσοφος, *ibid.* p. 308.

Διογένης ὁ Σινωπέως, the famous Cynic philosopher (414-323 B. C.); cf. Strabo XII, 546; Diog. L. *Vita Diog.*; epigram in Preger, *Inscr. Gr. Metricae* no. 166. Possibly a tragedian also; cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 3804 and Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie* s. Diogenes. C. I. G. IV, 7074 Διογένης Ἰκεσίου Σινωπαίως is probably a forgery.

Διόδωρος Σινωπέως = Διόδωρος Δίωνος Σημαχίδης in I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343. Comic poet; cf. Athenaeus VI, 235 e, 239 b; X, 431 c; Preuner, *Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenk* p. 72; Meineke,

Hist. Crit. pp. 418-419; Frag. Com. Graec. III, pp. 543-546. Meineke and Kaibel in Pauly-Wissowa op. cit. and A. Müller (Philologus LXIII, p. 354) classed him under the Middle Comedy, but Capps (Am. J. Arch. IV (1900) p. 83) has shown that he is a poet of the New Comedy. He took part in the comic contests at Delos in the years 284 and 280 B. C. (B. C. H. VII, pp. 105, 107. The dates given are those of Homolle, Archives de l'Intendance sacrée pp. 58, 127, which are two years later than in the B. C. H.). Diodorus was also second and third at the Lenaea in Athens in 288 with the plays *Νεκρός* and *Μαινόμενος*. Diodorus was granted Athenian citizenship and is called an Athenian in Auctor Lex. Hermann, p. 324. His deme is given in I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3343 on the family tomb-stone on which the name of Diphilus also occurs. For the inscription, which Wilhelm has rediscovered, cf. Wilhelm, Urkunden Dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen (Sonderschriften des Oest. Arch. Inst. in Wien, Band VI), p. 60. The identification of Diodorus and Diphilus as comic poets is due to Kumanudes, but he thought that Diodorus, father of Dion, was the comic poet. Capps (l. c.) with the aid of I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 972 proves that the comic poet was the son of Dion and flourished about 300 B. C. Kirchner, op. cit. 3959, thinks the *Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος* of B. C. H. VII, p. 105 is not a different poet, wrongly citing Capps. This Diodorus must be different from the *Διόδωρος Σινοπεύς*, whose name follows that of *Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος* among the *κωμικοί*. The ethnonym *Σινοπεύς* is used in the Delian inscriptions (B. C. H. VII, pp. 105, 107) because Diodorus of Sinope did not receive Athenian citizenship till after 282 B. C. or because he preferred to be known in Delos as a Sinopean to distinguish him from an Athenian of the same name who was performing at the same time in Delos. There is no reason for Wilhelm's suggestion (op. cit., p. 61) that *Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος* was also from Sinope and *Διόδωρος Σινοπεύς* was his nephew, son of Diphilus. A comic actor by the name of Diodorus occurs also in B. C. H. IX, p. 134. Diodorus should not be read in G. D. I. 2565, l. 42 as restored by Kirchner Pros. 3934, cf. Wilhelm, op. cit. p. 245.

*Διονύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου Σινοπεύς*, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3342.

*Διονύσιος Σινοπεύς*, poet of the New Comedy; cf. Pauly-Wissowa s. Dionysius (105); cf. Meineke, Hist. Crit. I, p. 419; Frag. Com. Graec. III, 546-555; Athenaeus XI, 467 d, 497 c; XIV, 615 e.

In the last passage Athenaeus quotes the play of Dionysius called Ὀμώνυμοι; cf. also IX, 381 c. This led astray both Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 13 and Streuber, op. cit. p. 90, who say there was a grammarian Dionysius from Sinope who wrote *περὶ Ὀμώνυμων*. In I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 977 m, l. 2 the name Dionysius should be read, cf. Wilhelm, op. cit. pp. 128 f., 135, 180.

Διονύσιος Σιωπεύς, grave-stone in Rhodes, I. G. (I. G. Ins.) XII, 1, 465.

Διονύσιος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 301, no. 18.

Διονύσιος Ἀρχίππου, ἐπιστάτης τῆς βουλῆς and πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313.

Διονύσιος Προκλέους Σιωπεύς, Kumanudes, Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι no. 2396; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1852-1855, p. 921, no. 1505. This inscription is omitted in the Corpus. For Πρόκλος cf. *infra*.

Διόφαντος Ἀσκαλιποδάρου Σιωπεύς, general of Mithradates the Great, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 331, no. 85. Perhaps to be identified with the author of the Ἱστορίαι Ποντικάι (cf. Müller, Frag. Hist. Gr. IV, p. 396). Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa Encycl. s. v. Diophantus gives the third cent. B. C. as the date of the historian Diophantus, but I see no reason for placing him so early. Agatharchides who quotes him belongs to the end of the second cent. B. C. (cf. Niese, Gesch. der Gr. und Mak. Staaten I, p. 12). Diophantus' victory over the Scythians was about 110 B. C. and he may have written the Ποντικά before then. A man who knew all about the Pontus would be just the one to send on such an expedition: Niese, Rhein. Mus. XLII, p. 569 makes the identification.

Διόφαντος Εὐλαμπίχου, πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

Δίφιλος Δίωνος Σιωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343, poet of the New Comedy, brother of the comic poet Diodorus, cf. *supra*; cf. Meineke, Hist. Crit. I, 446 f., Frag. Com. Graec. IV, 375-430; Strabo XII, 546; Anonym. de Com. XXX, XXXI; Susemihl, Gesch. der Gr. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit I, 260 f. Floruit about 320, cf. I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 977 g and Capps, Am. J. Arch. IV (1900) p. 83, note. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa op. cit. s. Diphilus and Wilhelm, op. cit. pp. 123, 132.

Δίων Διοδώρου Σιωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343, father of Diphilus and Diodorus.

Δῶρος Διοσκουρίδου Σιωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2908.

Δῶρος, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 1.

Σ]έξτος Ἐγνάτιος Ἐγνατίου ὁ υἱός, *ibid.* p. 318, no. 51.

Εἰδᾶς, vase-maker, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 16.



Ἐκατόνυμος, δεινὸς λέγειν, Sinopean ambassador to Xenophon's Ten Thousand at Cotyora, Xen. Anab. V, 5, 7; Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 23.

Οὐαλέριος Ἐκλεκτος Σινωπεύς, βουλευτής and athlete, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 1, 129.

Ἐνδημος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 8.

Ἐπίδημος Ἐπ[ι]έ[λ]π[ου], νομοφύλαξ, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

Ἐπιέλπος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 3.

Ἐπιχάρης Θεαρίωνος, Sinopean ambassador, made πρόξενος of Histiaeia, *ibid.* p. 333, no. 96.

L. E[r]en[n]ius Pompeianus, sarcophagus *ibid.* p. 326, no. 72.

Ἐρμαῖος Σινωπεύς. See Φαίδριον below.

Ἐρμων. Inscription<sup>1</sup> found near Sinope, letters 0.03 m. high.

Ἐστιαῖος Σινωπεύς, athlete who won in the ἀγενεῖους πυγμῆν at the Amphiararaia at Oropus, I. G. VII (C. I. G. S., I) 414.

Εὐκλῆς, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 299, no. 10; p. 300, no. 12; p. 301, nos. 14, 17.

Εὐλάλιος, epigram, *ibid.* p. 311.

Εὔνους Βιότου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2909.

Εὐξένη Σινω[πίς], grave-stone, I. G. II, pars V (C. I. A. IV, 2), 3343 b.

Ἐσπ[ορος], sarcophagus, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 314, no. 41.

Γ. Κάιος Εὐ [τυχια]νός, ναύκληρος, πρόξενος, Latyschev, Inscr. Ant. Orae Sept. Ponti Eux. IV, no. 72.

Ζόη, wife of M. Haterius Maximus, sarcophagus, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 315, no. 44.

Ἐγησαῖος Σινωπεύς ὁ Κλοιδὸς ἐπὶ κλην, Cynic philosopher, pupil of Diogenes; cf. Diog. L. VI, 84. The name Hegesaeus occurs also as that of a δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ in a Greek inscription of the year 1781 A. D., still to be seen over the gate-way of Sinope and published by Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* II, pp. 351, 352; IV, pl. XII, 4.

Ἐγησίθεμος Ἐρακλείδω Σινωπέος, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3344.

Ἐδύλη, member of the family of Dion, Diodorus, and Diphilus, grave-stone; cf. I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343.

Ἐρακλείδης, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 2.

Ἱ ΕΡΜΩΝΟΧ  
ΑΡΙΑΤΡΕΙΜΑΕ  
CIOY · ΑΜΦ.

—ε Ἐρμωνος χ[ρηστὴ] χαίρει. | ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ἹΑρία Πρεῖμα ἐ[αυτῆς ἀνδρὶ] |  
..... σίου Ἀμφ[ιπολείτη].

Ἡρακλείδης Μι[κρ]ίου, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 13.

Ἡρακλείδης Σινωπέυς, writer of epigrams; cf. *Anth. Pal.* VII, 281, 392, 465.

Ἡφαίστιος Ἐξηκέστου, πρύτανις, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 313.

Θεμιστῆς Νύμφ[ω]νος, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 322, no. 60.

Θέογυις Σινωπέυς, *ibid.* p. 332, no. 93, epigram attributed to Simonides.

Θεόπομπος Σινωπέυς, wrote *περὶ Σεισμῶν*; cf. Phlegon of Tralles in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* III, p. 622, 48.

Θεόδωρος, vase-maker, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 295, no. 3.

Θρασωνίδης, rhapsode, cf. p. 279.

Ἰκεσίας Ἀντιπάτρου, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 298, no. 9; p. 299, no. 10.

Ἰκεσίας, father of Diogenes the Cynic, *Diog. L.* VI, 20.

Ἰουκοῦνδος, dedicator of altar to Heracles, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 305, no. 27.

Ἰστιαῖος, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 294, no. 1.

Λικίννία Καισελλία, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 317, no. 50.

[Καλλικράτης] Μήτηρις, Σινωπέυς, πρόξενος of Delphi *ibid.* p. 330.

Γάϊος Μάρκιος Κηνωρῖνος, πρεσβευτῆς Καίσαρος, κηδεμὼν τῆς πόλεως, *ibid.* pp. 309, 310.

Κίττος Διονυσίου Σινωπέυς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.) II*, 3, 3345. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques II*, p. 903, no. 1867 reads Σίττος.

Κλαιάντος, vase-maker, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 302, no. 23.

Κλεοχάρης, pirate and prefect of Sinope; cf. p. 253.

Κορνουτίων Σινωπέυς, child who died abroad (Rome), *θεραπεύς* of Diodorus, Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 702; *I. G. (I. G. S., I.) XIV*, 1787; Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. ad Res Rom. Pert. I*, 293.

Κτήσων, vase-maker, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 299, no. 9.

Λάμαχος Χορηγίωτος, γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, *ibid.* p. 313. Also πρύτανις.

Λάμαχος Ἀντίφου, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 319, no. 54.

Λεόνιππος, pirate and prefect of Sinope, cf. p. 253.

Λε[ω]μέδων Ἀριστόνα[κ]τος, dedicator to Phlogius, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 31.

Λέων Σινωπέυς, *I. G. (C. I. A.) II*, 3, 3346. Grave-stele with relief of lion.

Κ. Λικίννιος Φρουγίς, προξενητῆς, sarcophagus, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 315, no. 45.

Λικίνιος Χρυσόγονος Ὀλυ . . . ., *ibid.* p. 306, no. 33.

L. Licinnius Fr(u)gi, an enormous grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 327, no. 73.

Ποπίλλιος Λουπτατιανὸς υἱὸς Ποπ(ιλλίου) Οὐφικιανοῦ δις ἀρχιερέως καὶ Σηστίας Μαρκιανῆς ἱερείας μεγάλης Ἀθηνᾶς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 1450.

Olcinius Macrinus, C. I. L. III, 14402.<sup>b</sup>

Μάης Σαροάνδου, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 316, no. 49.

Σεουῆρος Μάκερ, dedicator to Zeus Hypsistos, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 29.

Μ. I . . . ἀτέριος Μάξιμος, physician, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 315, no. 44.

Μεγαλήμερος, χαλκεύς, *ibid.* p. 322, no. 62.

Μένιππος Σινοπέυς, Cynic philosopher, cf. Diog. L. VI, 95. In all the handbooks Menippus, from whom the Menippean satires took their name, is spoken of as coming from Gadara in Syria. Strabo XVI, 759, followed by Steph. Byz. s. v. Gadara; is the only authority for this; and Diogenes Laertius' statement in VI, 99, that Menippus was in origin a Phoenician, is interpreted to mean that he came from Gadara, for Gadara was in Coele-Syria, a part of Phoenicia. But Diog. Laert. VI, 95 mentions a Menippus from Sinope who became ἐπιφανής among the pupils of Metrocles. Diog. L. then gives the life of Hipparchia, which is followed (VI, 99) by the life of Menippus. The probability is that this Menippus is the same as the one in VI, 95, especially since the Sinopean is not included among the Menippi in sec. 101. Diog. L. makes the blunder of calling him a contemporary of Meleager whose date is the first half of the first century B. C. The fact that Meleager of Gadara wrote Menippean Satires is probably accountable for Diogenes' statement and led Strabo to say that both came from Gadara. Menippus probably lived in the third century B. C., cf. Probus ad. Verg. Ecl. VI, 31, Varro qui sit Menippeus non a magistro cuius aetas *longe* praecesserat. This is certainly true if we identify the Menippus of Diog. L. VI, 99, who wrote nothing *σπουδαῖον* and is undoubtedly the Cynic whom Varro imitated in his *Satirae Menippeae* or *Cynicae*, with the Cynic from Sinope who was a pupil of Metrocles (floruit about 270 B. C.). Zeller, *Phil. der Griechen* II, 1, p. 286, n. 3 identifies the two. It is possible to go further. Diocles, who had made a special study of the lives of the philosophers and, therefore, ought to be followed in preference to Strabo, says (apud. Diog. L. VI, 99) that Baton from the Pontus was the master of Menippus. This may be the Sinopean *ρήτωρ* and historian, whose date falls also in the third century (cf. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Baton and Susemihl, *op. cit.* I, 635 f.). That Menippus was a slave, as

Diogenes says, we know also from A. Gellius II, 18, 7 and Macrobius I, 11, 42. Of course it is possible that Menippus was born in Gadara and went to Sinope where he lived with his master Baton (so Susemihl, op. cit. I, p. 44 f. who gives the literature on Menippus) but Sinope had enough slaves of its own without importing any. Menippus is an example of the characteristic Sinopean temper referred to above in c. IX.

Μενίσκος Μήνιδος Σιωπεύς, I. G. II, pars V (C. I. A. IV, 2), 3346 b.

Μένων Σιωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3348.

Μηρόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου Σιωπεύς; Comptes Rendus 1877, p. 277, Roman inscription found at Kertch.

Μηροφίλα Μάου Σινόπισσα, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2910.

Μῆτρης [Κ]αλλικράτους, πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 343.

Μῆτρης Νικάνδρου Σιωπεύς, Athen. Mith. XIII (1888), p. 429. On name Μῆτρης cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 330, no. 82.

Μητ[ρ]ό[βι]ος (?) Δεινίου, Sinopean ambassador, πρόξενος of Histiaea, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 333.

Μιθραδάτης Σιωπεύς, the Great, cf. Strabo XII, 545 and p. 252, n. 1 supra.

Μιθραδάτης, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 7.

Νάννα Διονύσοιο, ibid. p. 319, no. 55.

Ναύπων Καλλιθέου, ἀστυνόμος, ibid. p. 302, no. 23.

Λούκιος Φιδικλάνιος Νέπως Σιωπεύς, lived to be more than a hundred years old, cf. Phlegon, Macrobioi (Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. III, p. 609, 1).

Νικίας Φι[λέου?] Σιωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3348.

Νικο . . . . Πλουτά[ρχου] Σιω[π]π[εύς], I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2911.

Ἵονήσιμος Ἵονησίππου Σιωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2912.

Ἵονησίχα Μέν[ωνος] Σιω[πέω]ς [γυνή], I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3349.

Πάμφιλος Σιωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3350. Published in the Rhein. Mus. 1866, p. 513, no. 308 among the unedited inscriptions. The inscription, Πάμφιλος Σιωπεύς, published in the Bolletino dell' Instituto 1864, 48 has been overlooked. This is probably the same inscription and the Πα has become obliterated since the first publication.

Πασιχάρης Δημητρίου, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 2.

Κ[λαυδία] Παῦλα, priestess of Isis, ibid. p. 312, no. 39. Cf. Cagnat, op. cit. III, 1, no. 95.

Ἵοφίλλιος Πολύκαρπος, dedicator to Asclepius and Hygieia, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 306, no. 28. Cf. Αἰμιλιανός supra.

Ἄλλιος Θερπητίων Ποντιανός, dedicator to θεὸς ὕψιστος, ibid. p. 306, no. 29.

Ποντικός [Θ]άλλου, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 314, no. 42.

C. Ael[ius?] Pontius, *ibid.* p. 327, no. 74.

Π[οσειδώνιος Μει[δίου], *πρύτανις*, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 313.

Ποσιδεῖος [Θ]εα[ρί]ωνος, *ἀστυνόμος*, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 19.

Κλαύδιος Ποτέ[λιος], *γυμνασίαρχος*, *ἄρχων τοῦ πρεσβυτικοῦ, ποντάρχης*, etc., *ibid.* p. 312, no. 39. Cf. Cagnat, *op. cit.* III, 1, no. 95.

Ἄρια Πρεῖμα. Cf. s. v. Ἐρμων.

AUR(ELIUS) PRISCIANUS, *pr(aeses) pr(ovincia) P(onti) d(evo)tus) n(umini) m(ajestati) q(ue) eorum*, *A. J. P. XXVII*, p. 139, n. 2; p. 260 f.

Πρόκλος Σινοπεύς, renders thanks to Nymphs and Poseidon for being cured, *Am. J. Arch.* p. 331, no. 87.

Πρωταγόρας Ἀντισθένης Σινοπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.) II*, 3, 3351.

Πρωταγόρας Κυνίσκου, *ἀστυνόμος*, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 299, no. 11; p. 301, no. 14.

Πύθης Διονυσίου, dedicator to Ζεὺς *δικαιόσυνος μέγας*, *ibid.* p. 302, no. 24.

Πυθοκλῆς *ἀστυνόμος*, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 21.

Πυρρίας Σινοπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.) II*, 3, 3352.

Ῥειπάνη, γείτων καθαροῦ Σαράπιδος, daughter of a pious and virtuous father, *ibid.* p. 315, no. 48. Cagnat, *op. cit.* III, 1, no. 96 wrongly reads *Τειτιανή*.

Ῥουφείνα, joint-dedicator with her husband of an altar to θεὸς μέγας ὑψίστος, *ibid.* p. 304.

Σαιουεῖνιος, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 314, no. 43.

SALVIUS, *vir n(obilis) m(emoriae)*, unpublished grave-stone in church at Ortoi, one hour from Sinope.<sup>1</sup>

Σέλευκος, pirate and prefect of Sinope; cf. p. 253.

Σ]έλλιος, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 324, no. 68.

Τιβ. Κλ. Σεουῆρος, Σινοπεύς, cured at Epidaurus, dedicator to Ἀπόλλων Μαλεάτας and Σωτήρ Ἀσκλάπιος, *I. G. IV (C. I. P., I)*, 956.

Λούκιος Σε[πτί]κιος Ἀπόλαυστος, dedicator of altar to Ζεὺς Ἥλιος *ναυ[δα]μηνὸς ἐπήκοος*, *ibid.* p. 303.

Σερπίων Ἡφαιστῖωνος Σινοπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.) III*, 2, 3633.

<sup>1</sup> Large marble slab with gable at the top, 1.16 m. high, 0.74 m. wide, 0.12 m. thick. Letters vary from 0.08 m. to 0.10 m. in height.

Σινώπη, wife of Midias; cf. I. G. III, 3349 and Bechtel, Die Griechischen Frauennamen, p. 60. Cf. also Sinopsis, daughter of Dionysius, wife of Diophantus in C. I. G., IV, 6991.

Σινώπη, a harlot named after her native town, who lived in the first half of the fourth cent. B. C. Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 133. Add to references there Schol. Dem. XXIV, 762, 4 and Leutsch-Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci I, p. 451 (σινωπίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀσχημονῆσαι ἀπὸ ἐταίρας τινὸς ἐκ Σινώπης).

Σκυδρόθεμις, tyrant and king of Sinope, Tac. Hist. IV, 83.

Σοφοκλῆς Δημητρίου Σινωπέως, grave-stone, I. G. II, 3, 3353.

Σοφοκλῆς Σινωπέως, grave-stone, I. G. XII (Inscr. Gr. Ins.), 1, 466 (Rhodes).

Σπόρος Σινωπέως. See Σωτηρίς below.

Στρατοκλῆς Διονύσοιο, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 55.

Σύρι[ο]ς, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 315, no. 46.

Σφοδρίας Πυθαγγέλου Σινωπέως, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3354.

Σωτηρίς Σπόρου Σινωπέως, θυγάτηρ Νικομήδου Ἀντιοχέως γυνή, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3355.

Τεύθρας Θυμοχάρους, κεραμέως, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 296, no. 4.

Τιβ. Ἄρακτος, *ibid.* p. 324, no. 67.

Τιμησίλεως, tyrant; cf. A. J. P. XXVII, pp. 151-2.

Τιμόθεος Σινωπέως, Epicurean philosopher, Strabo XII, 546.

Τίμων Σινωπέως, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3356.

Τι]μόριος, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 8.

Φαίδριον Ἐρμαίου Σινωπέως θυγάτηρ, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2913.

Φαρνάκης Φαρνάκου Σινωπέως, died abroad, epigram, Kaibel, *op. cit.* 252.

Φειλητίων Σινωπέως, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2914.

Φήμιος Ἀντίφου, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 54.

Φιλή[σιος], grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 319, no. 54.

Φιλοκράτης, vase-maker, *ibid.* p. 302, no. 22.

Φίλων Σινωπέως, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3357.

Φίλων Διονυσίου Σινωπέως, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3358.

Φορμίων Συνήμονος, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 54.

Μάνιος Φούλβιος Πακάτος, grave-stone, same family as Δικιννία Καισελλία and the following name, *ibid.* p. 317.

Φούλβιος Πραιτωρείνος, υἱός of the preceding man, *ibid.*

Φρόνη Σινωπίς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3359.

Χαίρις Ἀφωναῖος Φάλερες = Ἀθηναῖος Φαληρεὺς perhaps, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 56.

Χαρμοσύνα Σινοπίς, grave-stone, I. G. XII (Inscr. Gr. Ins.), 1, 467.

Χορηγίων Λεωμέδοντος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 7. Cf. also s. v. Λάμαχος and Λεωμέδων supra.

Χρηστοῦς Σινοπέυς, λιθουργός, *ibid.* p. 331, no. 87.<sup>1</sup>

*Incomplete names are here added.*

.. αλλιος, vase-maker (?), *ibid.* p. 297.

.. ἀνίτα[ς], Christian tombstone, *ibid.* p. 322, no. 59.

..... α (?) Μάρκου, *ibid.* p. 324, no. 68 and no. 66.

| | Ἴππος Δαμῆ ..... Σινοπέυς, πρόξενος of Cleitor, Athen. Mitt. VI (1881), p. 303 and Beilage 2.

..... υ Θρασωνίδου Σινοπέυς, ῥαψωιδός; cf. Collitz, Gr. Dialekt-Inschriften II, p. 742, no. 2564, l. 11.

.... λος, dedicator with his wife Ῥουφείνα το θεὸς μέγας ὕψιστος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 304.

.... ος Καλλισθένο[υς], πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313. Cf. Ναύπων Καλλισθένους supra.

.... ος Πολυδῶ[ρου], Σινοπέυς, dedicator to Serapis, *ibid.* p. 331, no. 84.

..... ς Φιλίππου, Σινοπέυς, πρόξενος of Cleitor, Athen. Mitt. VI (1881), p. 303 and Beilage 2.

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DAVID M. ROBINSON.

<sup>1</sup>Since this article was paged, I have received copies of three more unpublished inscriptions on grave-stones found last August on the isthmus of Sinope. These I hope to publish in the near future. They marked the graves of Ἰούλιος Καλπικὸς(?), ναύκληρος; of Μάνης, the name also of Diogenes' slave (cf. p. 261, n. 6); and of Νάρκισσος.







American School  
of Classical Studies  
at Athens

GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM SINOPE  
AND ENVIRONS<sup>1</sup>

THE inscriptions the numbers of which are given in heavy-faced type (Nos. 1-12, 24-27, 35, 36, 49, 50, 59, 64-79) I discovered in Sinope and its environs during my stay there in June, 1903, and publish here from squeezes and copies. The others have already been edited but are added, with corrections, for the sake of completeness.

VASE-HANDLES

In the apothecary shop of Mr. Hadji-Anestis in Sinope there are several handles of amphoras stamped with inscriptions, all found in the same place in Boz-tepé near the Greek quarter. Nos. 13-23 come from the same spot, which seems to have been a dumping place for ancient amphoras. Excavations here would prove fruitful.

1. An oblong stamp: length, 0.043 m.; width, 0.015 m. Letters, 0.003 m. in height. To the right a dolphin in the claws of an eagle, the symbol which occurs on coins of Sinope (cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins, Pontus*, etc. pl. xxi, 15, 16, 17; pl. xxii, 1-7; Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 434 f.).

Ι Ξ Τ Ι Α Ι

Α Ξ Τ Υ

Δ Ω Ρ Ο

Ἰστιαί[ου

ἀστυ[νόμου

Δώρο[υ or ς

<sup>1</sup> I desire to express my thanks to His Excellency Hamdy Bey, Director of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople, and to Dr. Wiegand, who assisted me greatly in my visit to Sinope. Mr. Myrodes of Sinope also did me great practical service, and I am under obligations to Dr. Wilhelm and especially to Professor Capps for various suggestions.

The same inscription with the same symbol is found on an amphora-handle from Kertch (cf. Becker, *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. X, p. 34, no. 12). The name Histiaeus as *astynomus* occurs on other vase-handles from Kertch, some with the same symbol (cf. Becker, *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, p. 502, nos. 28, 29; *ibid.* Suppl. X, p. 28, nos. 15 a, 15 b and p. 34, no. 11). The name Dorus as that of a Sinopean occurs in *I.G. (C.I.A.)* III, 2, 2908.

2. An oblong stamp: length, 0.06 m.; width, 0.02 m. Letters, 0.005 m. in height.

Γ Α Ξ Ι Χ Α Ρ ° Υ	[ἀστυνόμου]
Τ ° Υ Δ Η Μ Η Τ Ρ Ι	Πασιχάρου
Ρ Α Κ Λ Ε Η Ξ	τοῦ Δημητρί[ου 'Η]ρακλε[ίδ]ης

The name Pasichares, genitive sometimes Πασιχάρους, sometimes Πασιχάρου, occurs as that of *astynomus* on vase-handles from Kertch and Olbia (cf. Becker, *ibid.* Suppl. IV, p. 471, no. 34; p. 477, no. 10; p. 482, nos. 36, 37; Suppl. V, p. 507, nos. 43, 44; Suppl. X, p. 28, no. 17, and Becker, *Mélanges Gréco-Romains*, I, p. 493, no. 8). Heracleides as the name of the potter occurs on a Thasian vase-handle (cf. Becker, *ibid.* Suppl. X, p. 20, no. 6, from Kertch and references given there in note 17); but this is the first time the combination of these two names occurs, so far as I know. For a Sinopean named Heracleides, who wrote epigrams, cf. *Anth. Pal.* VII, 281, 392, 465. For Demetrius as a Sinopean name, cf. No. 40 and *Amherst Papyri* II, nos. 42, 55.

3. An oblong stamp: length, 0.06 m.; width, 0.02 m. Letters, 0.005 m. in height. To the right a bunch of grapes as symbol.

Ε Γ Ι Ε Λ Γ Ο Υ	Ἐπιέλπου
Α Ξ Τ Υ Ν °	ἀστυνό[μου]
Θ Ε Υ Δ Ω Ρ Ο Υ	Θευδάρου

A vase-handle from Olbia (Becker, *ibid.* Suppl. IV, p. 478, no. 16) is identical. It is not possible to decide whether we

should read ἐπὶ Ἑλπου or Ἐπιέλπου. Neither name is to be found in Pape-Benseler, *Griechische Eigennamen*, or Fick-Bechtel, *Griechische Personennamen*. Elpus might be a *Kose-name* for Elpinicus (for ἐπὶ, cf. Becker, *ibid.* Suppl. X, pp. 113, 230). But the name Ἐπιέλπος occurs in an inscription from Sinope (cf. No. 40). Ἐπιέλπου ἀστυνόμου occurs in *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. IV, p. 478, no. 17; V, p. 498, no. 14; and X, p. 26, no. 7. The form Θευδώρου instead of the Ionic Θεοδώρου, which we should expect in a Milesian colony, shows that the manufacturer was of Doric extraction. The same form appears *ibid.* IV, p. 483, no. 39; p. 484, no. 45; X, p. 31, no. 3; in Dumont, *Inscriptions Céramiques de Grèce*, VIII, p. 317, nos. 121, 122. The Ionic form occurs on vase-handles, *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. IV, p. 469, no. 23, and *Athen. Mitt.* xxi, p. 177, no. 11.

4. An oblong stamp: length, 0.04 m.; width, 0.02 m. Letters, 0.003 m. in height.

Κ Ε Ρ Α Μ Ι	κεραμέ[ως
Τ Φ Υ Θ Ρ Α Τ Ο Υ	Τεύθρα του
Θ Υ Μ Ο Χ Α Ρ ° Υ Ξ	Θυμοχάρους

κεραμέως is not a proper name, but refers to the proprietor of the establishment (cf. Becker, *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, p. 487, no. 47). The name of the fabricant Τεύθρας occurs *ibid.* IV, p. 478, no. 14 (Τεύθρα[ντος]); V, p. 477, no. 6; p. 497, nos. 12, 13; p. 498, no. 14; p. 499, no. 16; X, p. 225, no. 9. The usual form of the genitive is Τεύθραντος. Here we have Τεύθρα (for two forms of gen. cf. No. 2).

5. An oblong stamp: length, 0.04 m.; width, 0.015 m. Letters, 0.003 m. in height.

Ε Ι Ι	ἐπὶ
Α Γ Ε Μ Α Χ ° Υ	Ἄγεμάχου.
Δ Α Λ Ε Ι ° Υ	Δαλείου

The same inscription is found on Rhodian vase-handles from Olbia (cf. *ibid.* IV, p. 454, no. 2) and from Pergamum (cf.

Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamum*, II, p. 436, no. 781). The magistrate's name Ἀγέμαχος occurs frequently on Rhodian vase-handles (cf. *C.I.G.* III, pref. nos. 10–12: Becker, *Mélanges Gréco-Romains*, I, p. 420, nos. 3–7; *I.G.* XII, 1 (*I. G. Ins.*) 1065, 1, 2, 3; *Athen. Mitt.* XXIII, p. 232; on an amphora-handle found at Pergamum, *Athen. Mitt.* XXVII, p. 147). Δαλίου is the usual form for the genitive of the Rhodian month, but here *ει* is carelessly used for *ι*, due perhaps to the form Καρνείου, also a month in the Rhodian calendar (for similar mistakes cf. *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. X, p. 87). It is not surprising to find vase-handles of Rhodian fabric in Sinope, which was on friendly terms with Rhodes. In fact we learn from Polybius (IV, 56) that, when Sinope was attacked by Mithradates II, an appeal for help was made to Rhodes, and the Rhodians sent besides other things ten thousand κεράμια οἴνου. Perhaps we have the handle of one of these κεράμια. (Streuber, *Sinope, Ein Historisch-Antiquarischer Umriss*, pp. 81–84, gives the right year for this attack, 220 B.C., but thinks the besieger was Mithradates IV; I follow Meyer, *Gesch. des Königreichs Pontus*, pp. 52, 56, and Reinach, *Mithradate Eupator*, p. 40.)

6. An oblong stamp: length, 0.03 m.; width, 0.015 m. Letters, 0.003 m. in height.

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗ	[ἐπι]
ΑΛΛΙΟΥ	Διογένη
	..αλλίου

The magistrate's name Διογένης occurs frequently on vase-handles. (Cf. *C.I.G.* III, pref. xiv, nos. 50–57. Dumont, *Insc. Cér. de Grèce*, p. 176, nos. 206–220; p. 282, no. 60; *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. XVII, p. 294, nos. 26, 27; *Athen. Mitt.* XXI, pp. 147 f., nos. 67–76.) For the genitive in *η*, cf. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup>, *Gram. der att. Inscr.* p. 120, 9.

7. An oblong stamp: length, 0.07 m.; width, 0.02 m. Letters, 0.003 m. in height. To the right a Nike driving a quadriga, as symbol.

ΑΞΤΥΝ°Μ°ΥΝΤ°Ξ	ἀστυνομόντος
Χ°Ρ - ΙΩΝ°ΞΤ°Υ	Χορ[ηγ]ίωνος τοῦ
ΛΕΩ ΕΔ°ΝΤ°Ξ	Λεω[μ]έδοντος
ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ	Μιθραδάτης

*Χορηγίων* as ἀστυνόμος occurs in *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, p. 491, no. 59, and *Χορηγίων τοῦ Λεωμέδοντος* *ibid.* no. 60, which has the same symbol as our vase-handle, the name of the fabricant being *Εὐαίветος*. *Μιθραδάτης* as the name of the fabricant occurs in Becker, *Mélanges Gréco-Romains*, I, p. 485, no. 14; *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. IV, p. 465, nos. 4, 5; p. 466, no. 12; p. 480, no. 26 a; *ibid.* Suppl. V, p. 478, no. 11. The combination of these two names has not previously been found, so far as I know. But all three names were known in Sinope (cf. Nos. 31, 40, and Strabo XII, 545). Hence it may be we have here the stamp of a Sinopean manufacturer.

8. An oblong stamp: length, 0.05 m.; width, 0.015 m. Letters, 0.004 m. in height. To the right a dolphin in the claws of an eagle, the same symbol as in No. 1.

ΕΓΙΕΝΔΗ	ἐπὶ Ἐνδή[μου]
ΜΩΡΙΟ	Τιμώριος

*N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, p. 478, no. 13, from Olbia, and *ibid.* Suppl. X, p. 27, no. 9, from Kertch, are identical. The symbol is also the same, but we can draw no argument from that, since it occurs on coins of Olbia as well as of Sinope. For the omission of ἀστυνόμου see Becker, *ibid.* Suppl. V, p. 478. In *N. Jahrb.* Suppl. X, p. 26, no. 8, and p. 220, no. 4, we have Ἐπὶ Ἐνδήμου ἀστυνόμου. In the cases cited above and *ibid.* Suppl. V, p. 479, no. 14, and Suppl. X, p. 219, no. 3, ἀστυνόμου is omitted after Ἐνδήμου. The fabricant Τιμώριος is known also from *ibid.* Suppl. IV, p. 474, no. 11 a; Suppl. X, p. 28, no. 17; *Compte-Rendu* (1859), p. 142, no. 21.

9. An oblong stamp: length, 0.05 m.; width, 0.025 m. Letters, 0.004 m. in height. To the right a herm as symbol.

N ° M ° Y  
 Ϛ Λ Ξ Ι ° Υ Τ ° Υ  
 Α Ν Τ Ι Π Α Τ Ρ ° Υ  
 Υ Τ Η Ξ Ω Ν

ἄστυ]νόμου  
 Ἴκε]σίου τοῦ  
 Ἀντι[π]άτρου  
 Κτήσων

Hicesias the son of Antipater as ἄστύνωμος occurs also in *N. Jahrb. Suppl. V*, p. 481, no. 24, from Olbia, with a statue of Hermes as symbol, and also on a vase-handle from Athens with the same symbol as our example (cf. *Athen. Mitt. XXI*, p. 178, no. 14). Hicesias was the name of the father of Diogenes the Cynic (*C.I.G.* 7074 and *Diog. L. VI*, 20) and so is a good Sinopean name. Have we not here and in the following perhaps a stamp of Sinopean manufacture? For the fabricant Κτήσων cf. Becker, *Mélanges Gréco-Romains*, p. 486, no. 19; p. 487, no. 29; p. 488, no. 31; p. 489, no. 41; *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil. Suppl. IV*, p. 466, no. 13; p. 471, no. 29; *V*, p. 488, no. 48; *X*, p. 30, no. 27.

10. An oblong stamp: length, 0.045 m.; width, 0.02 m. Letters, 0.004 m. in height. Same symbol as in the preceding stamp.

Ξ Τ Υ Ν ° Μ ° Υ Ν  
 Τ Ο Υ Π Ι Ε Ξ Ι ° Υ  
 Τ ° Υ Α Ν Τ Ι Π Α Τ Ρ ° Υ  
 Ε Υ Κ Λ Η Ξ

ἄ]στυνομοῦν[τος  
 τοῦ [Ἴκ]εσίου  
 τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου  
 Εὐκλήης

For the fabricant Εὐκλήης cf. Becker, *op. cit.* p. 487, nos. 26, 30; p. 488, no. 32; *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil. Suppl. IV*, p. 470, no. 25, and Nos. 14, 17 of this article.

11. An oblong stamp: length, 0.05 m.; width, 0.03 m. Letters, 0.003 m. in height. To the right a Nike as symbol.

Α Π ° Υ  
 Τ ° Υ Κ Υ Ν Ι Ξ Κ ° Υ  
 Α Π Α Τ ° Υ Ρ Ι ° Ξ

[ἄστυνόμου]  
 Πρωτ]α[γόρ]ου  
 τοῦ Κυνίσκου  
 Ἀπατούριος

The fabricant Ἀπατούριος is found in Becker, *Mélanges*, I, p. 486, no. 20; p. 489, nos. 43, 44; *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.*

Suppl. V, p. 476, no. 1; p. 485, no. 38; p. 490, no. 57. The same *astynomus* Protagoras, son of Cyniscus, and the same symbol, are found in Becker, *Mélanges*, I, p. 488, nos. 36, 37; *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, p. 489, no. 51. We have the same *astynomus* in another vase-handle from Sinope (No. 14). Yerakis reads Πρωταγόρου [τοῦ Λα]μίσκου, a name unknown on vase-handles. He probably mistook N for M. We should read Κυνίσκου. For Protagoras as the name of a Sinopean cf. *I. G. (C.I.A.)* II, 3, 3351.

12. An oblong stamp: length, 0.06 m.; width, 0.03 m. Letters, 0.004 m. in height. To the right a heart as symbol.

Α Ξ Τ Υ Ν ° Μ ° Υ Ν Τ ° Ξ	ἄστυνομούντος
Α Γ Ο Λ Λ Ω Ν Ι Δ ° Υ	Ἄπολλωνίδου
Τ ° Υ Ρ ° Ξ Ι Δ Ω Ν Ι ° Υ	τοῦ Ποσιδωνίου
Ε Υ Κ Λ Η Ξ	Εὐκλῆς

The same *astynomus* occurs in *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, p. 477, no. 5. An identical vase-handle from Sinope (No. 17) is in the possession of Mr. Syméonidis. For Posidonius cf. No. 40.

Dumont (*Insc. Cér. de Grèce*, p. 141) concluded that vase-handles on which ἄστύνομος occurs are of Cnidian origin. But Becker (*N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. X, pp. 67 and 108) showed that such vase-handles come from a city on the Pontus, and named Olbia as the place of manufacture. The fact that so many names found among Sinopeans (Choregion, Demetrius, Diogenes, Dorus, Heracleides, Hicesias, Leomedon, Mithradates, Posidonius, and Protagoras) occur on our vase-handles leads me to doubt if all with an ἄστύνομος inscription were made in Olbia. Sinope may also have manufactured amphoras, and exported them to the northern shore where so many handles similar to ours have been found.

Nos. 13–17 were published by Yerakis, *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, pp. 352, 353.



13. ἀστυνομοῦντος] | Ἡρακλείδου | τοῦ Μι[κρ]ίου

Yerakis reads Μι[μ]ίου; but no such name occurs on vase-handles. For Ἡρακλείδης τοῦ Μικρίου cf. *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. IV, p. 462, no. 21; V, p. 480, no. 17; X, p. 27, nos. 11, 12; p. 220, no. 6.

14. ἀστυνομοῦντος | Πρωταγόρου | [τοῦ Κυ]νίσκου | [Εὐκ]λῆς  
Yerakis reads τοῦ Λα]μίσκου, but cf. remarks on No. 11.

15. ἀστ]υνομοῦ[ντος] | Ἄπημά]ντου | [Ἄρτε]μιδώρου

Yerakis reads Ἴππολ]ύτου in the second line. For Ἄπημάντου cf. *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, p. 477, no. 8.

16. ἀστυνομοῦντος | Ἀπολλωνίδου | τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου | Εἰδᾶς

17. ἀστυνομοῦντος | Ἀπολλωνίδου | τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου | [Εὐ]-  
κλῆς

Cf. No. 12. Ἀπολλωνίδης τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου occurs in *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, p. 477, no. 5 a

18. *Parnassos*, VI, p. 869.

ἀστυνόμου Διονυσίου

19. Ἑλλ. φιλ. Σύλλογος ἐν Κωνστ. (1880–81), ΙΕ', παρ-  
άρτημα, p. 47, no. 8 a.

ἀστυνόμου Πο[σι]δείου τοῦ [Θ]εα[ρί]ωνος

Mordtmann in the *Syllogos* reads τοῦ Ἐάμωνος, but no such name is known on vase-handles. The Θ escaped his eye, and he mistook ΠΙ for Μ. For Ποσιδεῖος τοῦ Θεαρίωνος cf. *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, p. 486, no. 45; p. 488, no. 48. For Θεαρίων cf. *ibid.* V, pp. 499, 500, and No. 96 of this article.

20. *Syllogos*, *ibid.* 8 β.

ἀστυνόμου | ..... | Αἰσχίνου

21. *Syllogos*, *ibid.* 8 γ.

ἀστυνόμου | Πυθοκλέους | Γλαυκία

22. *Annali del. Inst.* XIX (1847), p. 342.

ἀστυνόμου | Ἀττάλου | Φιλοκράτου[ς

23. *Ibid.*

ἀστυνόμου | Ναύπωνος | Καλλισθένου[ς] | Κλεαίветος

The reading in the *Annali* is *Ναυτίωνος*; but cf. *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* Suppl. V, pp. 485, 493, 506.

#### DEDICATIONS

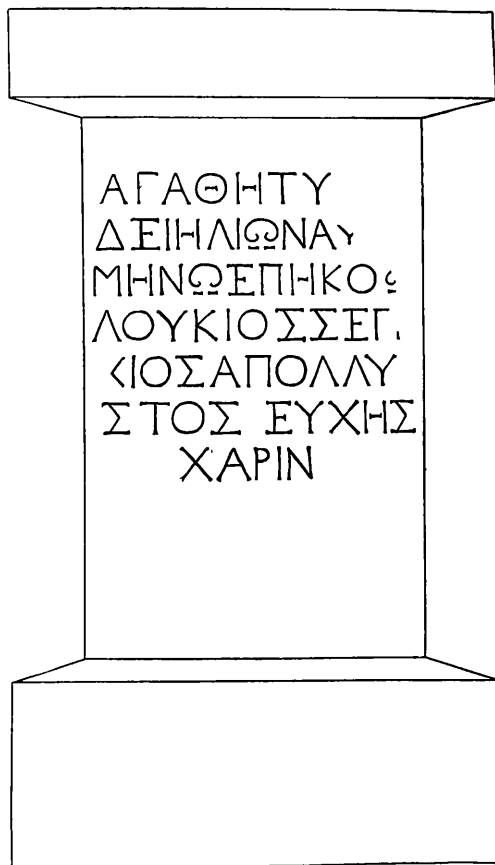
24. In a district called Φούλα, near Gherzeh, the ancient *Karousa* (cf. Arrian, *Peripl.*), six hours east of Sinope, a very large block of native stone, 1.14 m. long; 0.73 m. high; 0.22 m. thick. The inscription is in the upper left-hand corner, 0.22 m. high, 0.43 m. long. Letters, 0.03 m. high, well cut.

ΔΙΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΩΙ  
ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ  
ΠΥΘΗΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ  
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ  
ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

Διὶ δικαιοσύνῃ  
μεγάλῃ  
Πύθης Διονυσίου  
στρατηγῶν  
χαριστήριον

*Δικαιοσύνης* as an epithet of Zeus is known, though rare (cf. Bekker, *Anecd.* 34, 11; Eust. 918, 48; *Schol.* Hom. *Il.* 13, 29; Kock, *C.A.F.* III, Adesp. 752). Kock says, "videtur epitheton a comico fictum," but its occurrence in an inscription brings new evidence against him. Dionysius is known as a name for Sinopeans, but this is the first instance of that of Pythes at Sinope. *χαριστήριον* is common in inscriptions after the time of Alexander and of the Roman Age. It is foreshadowed in old Attic inscriptions by *σοὶ χάριν ἀντιδιδούς* or the like; cf. *I.G. (C.I.A.)* I, 397 and *I.G.* IX, 1 (*C.I.G.S.* III), 390. Rouse (*Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 329) gives a list of inscriptions in which *χαριστήριον* occurs.

25. At Lalá in the Oretzan χωράφι (farm), about four hours east of Sinope, a rectangular native-stone altar, with projection at top and bottom and hole, 0.07 m. square, in top. The lower part is rough, showing that it was meant to be set in the ground. Total height, 0.91 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.32 m. Inscription, 0.305 m. high. Letters, 0.03 m.



ἀγαθῇ τύ[χη]  
 Δεὶ Ἡλίω να[υδα-  
 μήνω ἐπηκό[ω]  
 Λούκιος Σεπ[τί-  
 κιος Ἀπολαυ  
 στὸς εὐχῆς  
 χάριν

On Zeus Helios cf. Robert-Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 136, note 1; Farnell, *Greek Cults*, I, p. 44; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* s. Juppiter. Zeus Helios at Sinope would be identical with Serapis (cf. Nos. 30, 64). No such epithet as να...μήνω is given either in Robert's index or Bruchmann's *Epitheta Deorum*

or in the article 'Jupiter' in Daremberg et Saglio. Perhaps *να[υδα]μήνω* is to be read. Traces of  $\Upsilon$  appear on the stone. A somewhat similar epithet of Zeus is *Εὐρυδάμηνος* (cf. *J.H.S.* XVIII (1898), p. 96). *Ἐπήκοος* also is wanting in the lists of Robert and Bruchmann, but it occurs in inscriptions from the Pontus (cf. *B.C.H.* XXV [1901], p. 28; Latyschev, *Insc. Ant. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.* II, nos. 438, 446-448, 454, 455, 457; Dittenberger, *Orient. Graec. Insc.* 28; 72, note 2; *C.I.G.* 2290; *J.H.S.* XVIII [1898], p. 311, no. 13). On the interchange of  $\epsilon$  and  $\iota$  as in  $\Delta\epsilon\iota$  cf. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup>, *Gram. der att. Insc.* § 10.  $\Delta\epsilon[\iota]$  is found in *J.H.S.* XIX (1899), p. 77, no. 35.

26. In the district Giousouphlou, in the *Χωριὸν Ἐμριλῆ* near Chalabdé, where No. 27 was found, a marble altar upside down, used as the base for a post of the porch of a house. It has a round hole cut through from front to back, connecting with a similar hole from the bottom. Height, 0.49 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.30 m. Letters, 0.035 m.



θεῶ μεγάλ[ω  
 ὑψίστῳ εὐχῆ[ς]  
 χά[ριω ἀνέ]θη-  
 κε . . . . [λ]ος  
 μετὰ [τῆς γυ]ναι-  
 κ]ῶς Ῥου[φ]εῖ[νης]

In an inscription from Sinope already published (No. 29) *θεὸς ὑψιστος* occurs, on which cf. Farnell, *Greek Cults*, I, pp. 51, 151, 155; Robert-Preller, *op. cit.* p. 116, 11; p. 159, 2; p. 866; *B.C.H.* VIII, p. 456 and XXV, p. 25. For the name *Ῥουφείνη* cf. *J.H.S.* XIX (1899), p. 129, no. 152, and *B.C.H.* XXV (1901), p. 88.

27.<sup>1</sup> In Chalabdé, two hours from Ajandik, which is twelve hours west from Sinope, a marble altar, 0.58 m. high, 0.265 m. wide, 0.28 m. thick. Letters, 0.025 m. in height, except in first line, where they are 0.015 m. high.



ἀγαθῇ τύχη  
θεῷ Ἡρακλεῖ  
Ἰουκοῦνδος  
εὐχῆς χάριν  
τὸν βωμὸν  
ἀνέθηκε

This inscription was very poorly published (*Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 357, no. 17) by Yerakis, who had not seen the altar at all. He reads τῷ θεῷ Ἡρακλεῖ | τόνδε βωμόν | Ἱεροκούνδος | εὐχῆς χάριν | ἀνέθηκε. I give the correct text from my copy and squeeze. It is not surprising to find a cult of Heracles at Sinope, for Autolycus, its mythical founder, was a member of the expedition of Heracles against the Amazons (Plut. *Luc.* 23; Appian, *Mithr.* 83; Apoll. Rhod. II, 959; Val. Flaccus, V, 116; Hyginus, *Fab.* XIV). And it was Heracles who took Sinope and established Greeks in it, cf. *I.G.* XIV (*I.G.S.I.*), 1293 A, l. 101.

<sup>1</sup> Since this article was written I have noticed that Gustave Mendel also has published Nos. 26 and 27 in *B.C.H.* XXVII, p. 333. In No. 27 he omits the first line and fails to mention Yerakis.

28. *Syllogos, ibid.* p. 45, no. 2; *B.C.H.* XIII, p. 304, no. 8, an altar.

Ἄσκληπιῶ | Σωτήρι καὶ | Ἑγείᾳ τὸν | βωμὸν Ὀφίλιος  
Πολύκαρπος εὐχῆν.

The name Ophillius occurs in an inscription from the neighboring Karousa (cf. *C.I.G.* 4166, our No. 52).

29. *Syllogos, ibid.* p. 45, no. 3; *B.C.H.* XIII, p. 304, no. 7.

θεῶ ὑψίστῳ | Ἀἴλιος Θρεπτίων | Ποντιανὸς Σευρήρος Μάκερ  
οἱ | ἀδελφοὶ εὐξάμενοι

30. *Syllogos, ibid.* p. 44, no. 1.

θεῶ | Ἡλιοσαράπει | Ἀ[ο]υεῖτο[ς] | Φοράρι[ς] | εὐχῆν

31. *C.I.G.* 4162; Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, App., no. 60.

Λεωμέδων Ἀριστόνα[κ]τος Φλογίω

Λεωμέδων is known as a Sinopean name. Δωμέδων or Λωμέδων is not. Phlogius was a companion of Autolyceus, the mythical founder of Sinope (cf. Plut. *Luc.* 23; Apoll. Rhod. II, 956; Val. Flaccus, V, 115; Hyginus, *Fab.* XIV; Anon. *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* sec. 22 = Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Min.* I, p. 407; Ps. Scymnus, *Orbis Descriptio*, 945 = Müller, *op. cit.* p. 236).

32. *Syllogos, ibid.* p. 47. Fragment of architrave built into wall of the acropolis near No. 33.

Β]οῖσκος Μόλαι . . .

The name is probably to be restored as Βοῖσκος, which occurs in oriental inscriptions (cf. Dittenberger, *Orient. Gr. Insc.* 20, 26, 27, 29).

33. *Syllogos, ibid.* p. 47; Le Bas et Waddington, *Voyage Arch.* III, 1814; Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, IV, p. 350, pl. xii, 2.

οὐ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν καὶ τῇ  
πατρίδ[ι] δ[ιὰ τοῦ] τρο[φέ]ως αὐτοῦ Δικινίου  
Χρυσογόνου Ὀλυ . . . .

34. Built into the north wall, near No. 36, an architrave upside down, with the following inscription. Length, 1.85 m.; width, 0.58 m. Letters, 0.06 m. in height. Broken at both ends.

ΙΟΝΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΥΣΜΕΤΑΤΩΝΣΠΕΙΡΟΚ

ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκε τοὺς κίονας εἰς τὸ περιστύλιον, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν σπειροκ[εφάλων λιθίνους κατεσκεύασεν]

The recent destruction of the hospital brought to light this inscription as well as No. 36. It was first published in 1829 by Rottiers, *Itineraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, p. 283, who made a very careless copy, reading μετὰ ὧν σπειροσ-. It was not seen by Hamilton, who visited Sinope in 1836. Some ten years later Le Bas published a correct copy of the stone (Hommage de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, 1846-48, IV, p. 346 and pl. xi, 2), but he gives no credit to Rottiers for its discovery. Both Rottiers and Le Bas say that the inscription is built into the south wall, whereas it is in the north wall. The inscription is also found in *C.I.G.* III, p. 1114, Add. et Corr. 4158. There it is taken to be the "residua ex praescriptis" of the epigram *C.I.G.* 4158, and the idea is given that it is on the same stone. The form of the alpha is wrong. It is in every case A, not Α. In fact, the inscription is on an architrave, while *C.I.G.* 4158 is on a rectangular block, also built into the north wall, but some distance away, and is perhaps to be connected with the similar inscriptions on architraves at Sinope (cf. No. 33). In *C.I.G.* 3148, l. 19, occurs the phrase κείονα σὺν σπειροκεφάλῳ, and *ibid.* l. 29 κείονας σὺν σπειροκεφάλοις. So the likelihood is that αὐτοὺς is equivalent to κίονας and that the columns for some structure, perhaps a περιστύλιον, have just been mentioned. Le Bas takes αὐτοὺς to be "chapiteaux," and σπειροκ[εφάλων], "les volutes." But the word comes from σπέερα, the base of an Ionic column (cf. Pollux, *Onomasticon*, VII, c. 27, sec. 121), and κεφαλή, the capital of a column. It therefore means "base and capital." In imperial times it was

the custom for people of wealth to share the expense of a building (cf. for example, *C.I.G.* 2713, 2714 = Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage Arch.* III, nos. 313–318). One paid for the columns, another for the entablature. In the case of the inscription from Sinope one man paid for the columns, including base and capital.

35. Built into the wall of a house in the Turkish quarter, a stone, broken on all sides, 0.26 m. by 0.26 m., with the following inscription. Letters, 0.05 m. in height.



Δι]ογένη [τὸν  
φι]λόσοφο[ν ὁ δῆμ-  
ος] Σκυρεί[ων τὸν αὐ-  
τῶν] εὐεργέ[την

One is tempted at first sight to restore Διογένη τὸν φιλόσοφον, and this may be right; but the form of the sigma dates the inscription much later than the time of Diogenes the Cynic from Sinope, of whom statues were erected (cf. *Diog. Laer.* VI, 78). It might be a later Diogenes, who lived in the time of Vespasian (cf. *Dio Cassius*, LXVI, 15). Still the restoration is uncertain. The name might be Athenogenes or Protogenes, or the like. For the practice of decreeing honors and even statues in the provinces, cf. *Mommsen, Röm. Gesch.* V, p. 266, and *Pliny, Ep.* X, 58 and 60, where the case concerns a philosopher. For εἰ representing short ι cf. *Meisterhans*<sup>3</sup>, *Gram.*



*der att. Insc.* § 15, 27. The earliest datable example previously reported is *I.G. (C.I.A.) III*, 694, 4 (after 98 A.D.). Ours would be still earlier.

36. Built into the north wall near the main central gateway, where the hospital formerly stood, a large block of grayish marble: height, 0.98 m.; width, 0.49 m.; height of letters, 0.03 m. The inscription begins 0.20 m. below the top of the stone and ends 0.41 m. above the bottom.

ΓΑΙΟΝ ΜΑΡΚΙΟΝ  
 ΚΗΝΣΩΡΙΝΟΝ  
 ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΝ  
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ  
 ΚΗΔΕΜΟΝΑΤΗΣ  
 ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΟΔΗΜΟΣ

Γαῖον Μάρκιον  
 Κηνωρίνον  
 πρεσβευτὴν  
 Καίσαρος τὸν  
 κηδεμόνα τῆς  
 πόλεως ὁ δῆμος

This Censorinus is undoubtedly the C. Marcius Censorinus<sup>1</sup> who was consul in the year 8 B.C. along with C. Asinius Gallus, and proconsul in Asia and died there about the year 2 A.D. (Velleius, II, 102). He was praised by the Jews of Asia (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 16, 6, 2), and is called by Velleius (*loc. cit.*) a “vir demerendis hominibus genitus,” which suggests the epithet *κηδεμόνα τῆς πόλεως* which is applied to him in this inscription. He is honored in inscriptions from Pergamum<sup>2</sup> and Mylasa (*C.I.G.* 2698 b). One might be tempted to identify him with the Censorinus, the commander of the Roman fleet which was defeated by Cleochares and Seleucus, tyrants of Sinope, shortly before the capture of the city by Lucullus in 70 B.C. (cf. Memnon, 53 and 54 = *Frag. Hist. Gr.* III, pp. 554 ff.). But it is unlikely that a man who was old enough to be commander of the fleet then should live till the year 2 A.D. Furthermore, Horace in an ode to Gaius Marcius Censorinus (*Od.* IV, 8), who is probably the same man, includes him among his *sodales*, and from this we are justified in assuming that Gaius Marcius Censorinus was born about the same time as Horace (65 B.C.). *κηδεμών τῆς πόλεως* occurs already in Plat. *Rep.* III, 412 c.

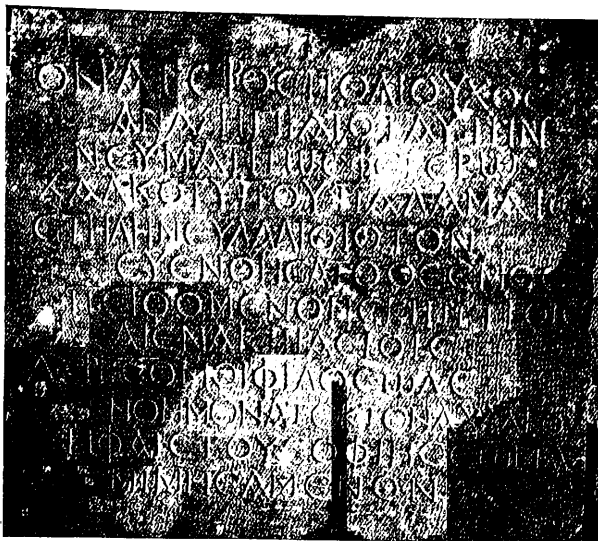
37. *B.C.H.* XIII, p. 302, no. 3; *Syllogos, ibid.* p. 47, no. 5. Built into the wall of the Képhéli-Djami.

Ἀγριππείαν Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος | ὁ δῆμος

38. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus*, no. 907; *C.I.G.* 4158; Hamilton, *op. cit.* no. 58; Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 347, pl. XI, 4; Le Bas et Waddington, *op. cit.* III, no. 1812. Large stone, 0.86 m. wide, 1.50 m. high, and 0.85 m. thick, now built into a square tower of the north wall. Letters, 0.04 m. high. Three Christian crosses at the top of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dessau, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, II, s. ‘C. Marcius Censorinus’; cf. also Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie*, s. ‘Censorinus,’ no. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamum*, no. 422.



I add a reproduction from a photograph to show clearly the forms of the letters and the division of the verses. It should be noted that the pentameter begins further in than the hexameter, and that the second half of each verse has a somewhat deeper indentation than the beginnings of the pentameters. Line 4 begins where the hexameters do because it is longer than the others. The hexameters and pentameters are divided at the caesura. This inscription shows probably the Alexandrian method of writing elegiac verse. Neither *Ευλάνοιο* nor *Ευδάμοιο* nor *Ευλάμοιο* is the correct reading in line 5. *Ευλαλίοιο* is clear on the stone.

39. *C.I.G.* 4157. Yerakis, *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 357, no. 16, gives a poorer copy than the *C.I.G.* and publishes the inscription as if it were unknown.

.... ος, [γ]εν[όμ]ε[νον γυμ-  
 ν]ασίαρχον, ἄρχο[ντα τοῦ  
 πρ]εσβ[υτ]ικ[οῦ, πο]ντάρχῃ[ν, ἐπιτε-  
 λέσαντα ταυροκα[θάψια  
 καὶ κυνηγέσιον καὶ .. [εὐ<sup>ω</sup>  
 ορ μα]

χίαν μ[εγ]αλο[π]ρε[π]ῶς, ἔκγονον  
 Κλαύδιον Ποτέ[λιον  
 ἀδελφ[ὸν δ]ὲ [τῆ]ς κρα[τίστης  
 συγκλητικῆς Κ[λαυδίας  
 Παύλης, ἱερείας [θεῶς  
 Εἰ[σ]ιδ[ος, ο]ῖ συνπροσ[τάται  
 καὶ ὁ συνέφορ(ος) [ἐ]π' εὐ[νοία τῆ] εἰς αὐ  
 τοὺς.

The reading in line 7, Κλαύδιον Ποτέ[λιον, is not given in the *C.I.G.*, but is clear on the stone.

40. Yerakis, *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, pp. 354, 355. Stone 0.56 m. high, 0.31 m. wide, 0.08 m. thick. Letters very indistinct. Inscription of the Macedonian epoch.

Ν Μ ΟΦΥΛΑΚΟ ΝΤ ΞΕΓ ΔΗΜΟΥΤΟ  
 ΕΓ ΞΙΓ, ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΝΤΩΙ  
 ΑΝΗΙ ΜΗ ΤΙΣΤΙΑΠΡΥ ΝΕΙΑ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤ Χ Ξ ΙΣΙΑ Ο  
 ΜΗΤΡΙΞ ΑΜΙΚΡΑΤΟΥ  
 ΔΙΟΝΙ ΣΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΓΓΟΥ  
 ΛΑΜΑΧ <  
 ΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΞΘΕΝΟ  
 ΨΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΟΣ  
 ΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΕΙ/  
 ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΥΛΑΜΓΙΧΟΥ  
 ΑΓ ΑΣ ΒΑΒΥΤΤΟΥ  
 ΓΛΗΡΙΞ ΛΕΜΒΙΟΥ  
 ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΥ  
 ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΟΣ ΕΞΗΚΕΣΤΟΥ  
 ΣΥ ΗΓΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ Ο/ ΓΜΓΟΥ  
 ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΙΩΝΟΣ  
 ΟΥΛΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤ ΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ  
 ΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΓΓΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ  
 ΛΑΜΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΟΡΗΓΙΩΝΟΣ

ν[ο]μοφυλακ[οῦ]ντ[ο]ς Ἐπιδήμου το[ῦ] | Ἐπ[ι]έ[λ]π[ου]  
 πρυτάνει[ς οἱ] ἐν τῶι | [Π]ανή[μωι] μη[νὶ] τῆι Ἐστίαι  
 πρυ[τα]νεία[ι] Ἀρίστ[α]ρχ[ο]ς Ἀρ[ιστά]ρχ[ο]ν | Μητρὶς  
 [Κ]αλλικράτου[ς] | Διουσίος Ἀρχίππου | Λάμαχος | . . . . ος  
 Καλλισθένο[υς] | Δημήτριος | Φίντιος | [Π]οσειδώνιος Μει[δίου] |  
 Δίοφαντος Εὐλαμπίχου | Ἀγ[ελίδ]ας Βαβύττου | Γλήρις Λεμβίου |  
 Ἀφροδίσιος Ἀφροδισίου | Ἡφαίστιος Ἐξηκέστου | [Α]σκ[λ]η-  
 πιδάρος Ὀλύμπου | Δημόστρατος Προμηθίωνος | [β]ουλῆς  
 ἐπιστ[ατ]εύοντος Διουσιό[ν] τ[οῦ] Ἀρχίππου ἑγραμματούχου |  
 Λαμάχου τοῦ Χορηγιώτος.

Yerakis' copy of this inscription is unsatisfactory. In the first three lines he made out only the word *δήμου*, and thought we had a list of *proxenoi* or *epheboi* or founders or benefactors of the temple of Serapis. The reading is, however, as I have given it, and the list of names contains the *πρυτάνεις* for the month Πάνημος. It is interesting to know the number of the *πρυτάνεις* in Sinope, and to learn that the office was about the same as in Athens. Out of the fifty *πρυτάνεις* in Athens one was chosen as president (*ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων*) and presided at the *βουλῆ* (cf. Arist. *Ἀθ. Πολ.* c. 44 f.). A secretary (*γραμματεὺς*) was also appointed. So in Sinope one of the fourteen *πρυτάνεις* (*Διουσίος Ἀρχίππου*) was *ἐπιστάτης βουλῆς* and another (*Λάμαχος*) was *γραμματεὺς*. In l. 7 the name Lamachus is written in large letters and the father's name, given in the last line, omitted. For the number of the *πρυτάνεις* in places other than Athens cf. Swoboda, *Griechische Volksbeschlüsse*, pp. 71, 88, 94, 200. For a postscript being used instead of a prescript, cf. Swoboda, *op. cit.* pp. 225 ff. For *Ἐστία πρυτανεία*, to whom the list is dedicated, cf. *C.I.G.* 2347, k 11 (p. 1059). *Ἐπίδημος* (l. 1) is formed similarly to the name *Ἐνδημος*, which occurs on a vase-handle found at Sinope (above, No. 8). The name *Ἐπίελπος* (l. 2) occurs also on vase-handles (above, No. 3). We already knew that the Ionic calendar was used at Sinope. In an inscription from there (below, No. 63) we have the months

Ταυρεών and Ποσειδεών. In l. 3 of this inscription occurs Πάνημος. In l. 4 Yerakis omits the father's name. In l. 6 he reads ΑΚΝ..... Αρχιππα. The stone gives Διονύσιος Ἀρχίππου. In l. 7 he reads ΝΑΥΛ, but ΛΑΜΑΧΟΞ in large letters is clear on the stone. In l. 12 he reads ΑΜ for ΑΓ, in l. 18 ἐπιτροπεύοντος for ἐπιστ[ατ]εύοντος. In l. 2 there is a vacant space of two or three letters before πρυτάνεις, and in the postscript, l. 19, before γραμματεύοντος. Yerakis fails to note this and other minor matters.

## SARCOPHAGI

41. *C.I.G.* 4160; Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 344, pl. x, 5; Hamilton, *op. cit.* no. 61. Sarcophagus, 2.10 m. long; 0.71 m. wide; 0.67 m. high. Letters, 0.04 m. in height.

CYII P ENΘA ΔΕΚΕΙΜΑΙΕΤΩΝ ΚΘ	Εὐπ[ορος] ἐνθά- δε κείμει ἐτῶν κθ'
-----------------------------------	--

The reading in the *C.I.G.* is Εὐν[ομ]ι[ανός], but an examination of the sarcophagus itself and of a squeeze from it shows that there is not room enough for that name. The reading of Le Bas (in Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.*) Εὐπορος has been overlooked, but is undoubtedly right. For the name Εὐπορος cf. *I.G. (C.I.A.)*, II, 467, l. 154.

42. *C.I.G.* 4163; Hamilton, *op. cit.* no. 56; Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 345, pl. x, 6.

Πουτικὸς | [Θ]άλλου ἐτῶν νη' | ἐνθ(ά)δε κείω

The reading on the sarcophagus is CAΛΛΟΥ. The *a* in ἐνθάδε is omitted on the sarcophagus.

43. *C.I.G.* 4164; Hamilton, *op. cit.* no. 62.

Σαιοεῖνιος ὀπλότερος ὠνησάμην  
 τὴν πύελον ἐμαυτῶ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἀνοῖξει  
 μετὰ τὸ ἐμὲ κατατεθῆναι, ἐπεὶ τοι δώσει τῇ  
 λαμπροτάτῃ κολωνεῖα \* ἀφ'

The reading of Hamilton and the *C.I.G.* in l. 1 is Σαιουείνιος ὁ [νεώτ]ερος, but there are no traces of the letters νεωτ. The letters are ΞΑΙΔΥΕΙΝΙΔΞΔΓΙΑΔΓΕ. \* is the sign for δηνάρια.

44. *C.I.G.* 4165; Hamilton, *op. cit.* no. 59; Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 350, pl. xii, 3. A sarcophagus at Nesi Kieui.

Μ. Ι... Ατέριος Μάξιμος ἰατρὸς ἔθηκα  
τῆ[ν σ]ορὸν ἑαυτῆ καὶ Ζόη τῆ γυναικί μου· χαίρετε

There is no need of changing ἑαυτῶ to ἔμαυτῶ as is done in the *C.I.G.* The third person reflexive is often used in inscriptions of late date for the first person.

45. *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 353, no. 6. Sarcophagus used as a watering-trough near the Turkish Hospital.

Κ. Δικίνυιος Φρουγίς | προξενητῆς ἐνθάδε | κείται βιώσας καλῶς | ἐτῶν μῆ'

46. *B.C.H.* XIII, 304, no. 9. Sarcophagus used as a watering-trough at Καρου.

Σύρι[ο]ς ἐνθάδε κείμει ἐτῶν | κθ'

47. *C.I.G.* 4161; Hamilton, *op. cit.* no. 57; Le Bas et Waddington, *op. cit.* III, no. 1813.

Τι(βέριον) Κλαύδιο[ν]  
Ῥηγεί[νον]  
ΤΙΕΤ  
ΟΤ

48. *C.I.G.* 4159; Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* p. 348, pl. xi, 5.

Οὐδὲν ἀφαιρότερος χ[ρυ]σοῦ λίθος ἐ[ὐκ]λέο[ς] ἀνθεὶ  
παρθενίης αἰδοῖ πεπυκασμένος. ἐ[ὶμ]ὶ δὲ γείτων  
Ῥειπάνη καθαροῖο Σαράπιδος, ἔνθα με βουλ[ῆ]  
θῆκε χαρισσαμένη ἀρετῆ πατρός, ὃν περὶ πάντων  
τίμησαν βασιλῆες ἐ[π'] εὐ[σ]ε[βία] βιότοιο,  
μά[ρτυρι] πιστεύσαντες [ἐπιστας] ἴην Ἀμίσοιο  
... ἀπαιδείησι [?]

## GRAVESTONES

49. In an Armenian village or farm (*χωριό*) owned by Constantinos Balasides, near the village where No. 50 is, stone built into the hearth of a house, 0.65 m. long; 0.27 m. wide at the bottom, at top 0.25 m.; 0.075 m. thick. Letters, 0.03 m. high.



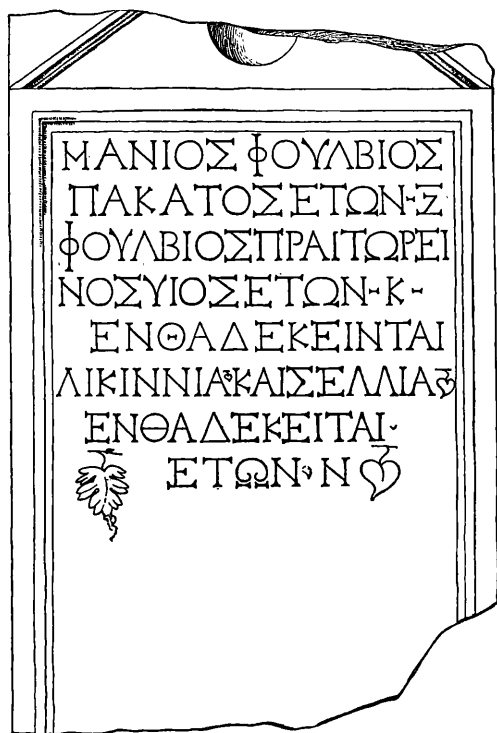
Μάης  
Σαροάνδου  
χαίρει

For Μάης as a Sinopean name cf. *I.G. (C.I.A.)*, III, 2, 2910, *Μηνόφιλα Μάου Σινώπισσα*. Maes is a name which occurs in the mother-town Miletus (*I.G. [C.I.A.]*, III, 2, 2746) and on the north side of the Pontus (cf. Latyshev, *op. cit.* I, no. 86; II, nos. 172, 427, 452; cf. also Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones*, no. 375, and *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 532, no. 2. Strabo, XII, 553, informs us that Μάνης is a Paphla-



gonian name, and perhaps Μάνης is also. Σαροάνδης is a barbarian name. It reminds one of such Persian names as Ἀροάνδης (cf. Dittenberger, *op. cit.* nos. 264, 390, 391, 392, 393).

50. In an Armenian village, Pachar Oglou Akel, about three hours east of Sinope, large marble slab with moulding at the sides and broken gable at the top, 0.80 m. high, 0.54 m. wide, 0.08 m. thick. Height of inscription, 0.30 m.; width, 0.30 m. Height of letters, which are beautifully cut, 0.025 m.



Μάνιος Φούλβιος  
 Πακάτος ἑτῶν ξ'.  
 Φούλβιος Πραιτωρεῖ-  
 νος υἱὸς ἑτῶν κ'  
 ἐνθάδε κείνται :  
 Λικιννία Καισελλία  
 ἐνθάδε κείται  
 ἑτῶν ν'

As might easily be the case on a family tombstone the last three lines seem to have been added later. They contain marks of punctuation which are lacking in the first five. Moreover the form of the  $\theta$  is different, being in the last three lines  $\Theta$ , in the first five  $\ominus$ . The form of the  $\omega$  also differs.

51. Inscription on gravestone built into the *ἐκκλησία τῶν ταξιαρχῶν* at Karousa, 0.32 m. high, 0.33 m. long, broken on all sides. Letters, 0.03 m. Built into the same church are Nos. 52, 53.

ΣΤΟCΕΓΝ  
 ΕΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ  
 ΙΤΗCCTΕΙΡΗC  
 VBLILIA·VRB  
 EGN

Σ]έξτος Ἐγν[άτιος  
 Ἐγνατίου ὁ...  
 πρ]ὸ τῆς σπείρης  
 P]ublilia. Urb.  
 Egn.

This inscription has already been published by Demitsas in the *Athen. Mitt.* XIV (1889), p. 210, but his copy was incomplete. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik* (1888-94), p. 285, mentions it as a gravestone. The combination of Greek and Latin in an inscription of Roman date is not surprising. For the repetition of a name or *signum* at the end, cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, 1902, pp. 443 f., and Wilhelm, *Wiener Studien*, XXIV (1902), pp. 596 f. The cognomen Sextus forbids us to identify this man with the Egnatius who was consul of Bithynia and Pontus in the time of Augustus (cf. Dessau, *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.* s. 'Egnatius,' no. 29).

52. *C.I.G.* 4166; Hamilton, *op. cit.* 50. Stone built into same church at Karousa.

Αἰμιλιανὸς Ὀφιλλίου Κουρίωνος καὶ...

53. *C.I.G.* 4167; Hamilton, *op. cit.* 51. Also at Karousa.

Αἰβούτιο[ς] Μά[ξ]ιμο[ς]

54. *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 356, no. 14.

ΛΑΜΑΙΛ	Λ	
ΑΝΤΙΦΟΥ		
ΦΟΡΜΙΩΝΙ		
ΣΥΝΗΜΟΝΟΣ		
ΦΗΜΙΩ	Ε	
ΑΝΤΙΦΟΥ		
ΒΑΚΧΙΩ		
ΜΝΗΣΙΟΣ		
ΦΙΛΙΩ		

Λαμάχ[ω]  
 Ἄντιφου  
 Φορμίω  
 Συνήμονος  
 Φημίω ἔ  
 Ἄντιφου  
 Βακχίω  
 Μνήσιος  
 Φιλισ[ίω]

Yerakis, *ibid.*, reads ΛΑΜΑΙΛ, but the λ is the upper part of the φ in the next line, and Λ is not λ but the lower part of χ. Yerakis' reading in the last line also is wrong. He reads ΦΙΝ. He gives the form of the ω as Ω, but it is Ω. In l. 5 the Ε perhaps indicates that it is l. 5.

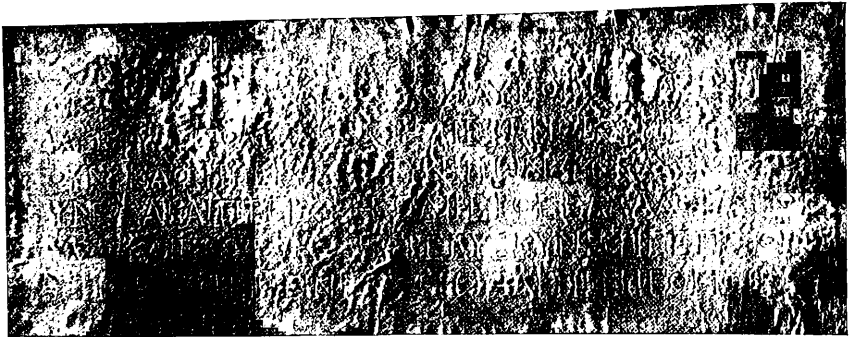
55. *Parnassos*, VI, 869; *Neologos*, 1882; *B.C.H.* XIII, p. 304, no. 10.

Νάννα | Διονυσοί | Στρατοκλῆς | Διονυσοί

56. *Syllogos*, *ibid.* p. 46, no. 6.

Χαίρις | Ἄφεναιῖος | φαλερες (?) = Ἀθηναῖος Φαληρεὺς

57. *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 353, no. 7. A metrical inscription on a large stone built into the north wall to the right of a gateway. Yerakis (*ibid.*) gives an incomplete copy, and makes no attempt to divide into words, to restore, or to interpret the verses.



- 1 ο]υτός [τοι τάφος ἀ]ν[δρ]ός δν αὖ σοφίης ὑποφήτην
- 2 οὐ]δ' ἀνέφυ[σε] πόλ[ις ...]ος Περσῆος ὄμηρον
- 3 οὔνεκα ὁ πτεροί[ης] τιν' ἐπάνυμον αὖ ἐ δν[ησε
- 4 ο]ὔνεκα καὶ πτεροίης δι' ἥeros Ἑλλάδος ἄγοι (?)
- 5 οὗτος καὶ πρ[ονοεῖ] Περσεὺς κυνικῆς ἐπινοίης
- 6 ὄ]ττι φέρ[ε]ι κίβισιν β[άκ]τρω(ι) ἄρπην ἰσόμοιρον

After the first six verses is a space; and then follow at least three more verses, so badly mutilated that only a few letters can be read.

ο Λ Ο Ο Ν Ε Ρ Ο Σ  
 Γ Ω Α Ψ Ι Λ Ο Χ Ω Ε Υ Γ  
 † Φ Ι ! Ω † ρ † Ο Χ Ω - Α

ὁ φθονερός  
 τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ Εὐγ[ενίδου]  
 -φενωι ο[.]τοχος α?

“Behold, this is the tomb of a man the like of whom, once more, a prophet of wisdom, not even the (divine) state of Perseus caused to spring up as her hostage, because that winged one in turn benefited a namesake, for that he too on wings led the way through the air of Hellas. This Perseus also is mindful of the Cynic philosophy, because he carries a wallet and, as the equivalent of the staff, the scimitar.”

In l. 3 *πτεροίης* is to be read as in l. 4, where it is clear on the stone. We should expect *πτερόεις*. In l. 3, at the end, we have *ΑΥΕΟΝ* or *ΑΥΟΝ*. Perhaps we can restore *αὖ ἐ δν[ησε]*, in which case *ἐ* equals *αὐτόν*, or *ἐόν[ησε]*. In l. 4 the reading of Yerakis, *ΑΓΟΝ*, can hardly be right, since the alpha is short. But there is the same objection to *ἄγοι*. The *Γ* might be *Σ* (sigma). On the stone *Ν* is not visible, only *λ*. In l. 5

πρ[ουοεῖ just fills the space. The letters often are not close together. The ΕΙ of φέρει in l. 6 takes the space of three letters. In l. 2 there is an empty space between Περσῆος and ὄμηρον; and in l. 4 it seems as if the stonecutter intended to join the Η and Γ of πτεροίης, but did not carry out his intention, and left a space between the two letters. The stone reads Η Γ. In l. 6 after ΒΑΚΤΡΩ (not ΒΑΤΤΩ, as Yerakis reads) occurs Α, which is clearly an error of the stonecutter. He cut Α, the first letter of ἈΠΤΗΝ, and then realized that he had omitted an Ι. He tried to add the Ι before the Α, ΑΙ. Then he crossed out the Α thus, ΑΙ, and began again the word ἄρπην.

The clew to the interpretation of this inscription in dactylic hexameters is in the sixth verse. Yerakis reads ··ΙΚΙΒΙΕΙΝ as if it were the infinitive of some verb. But read Γ for Ε, making κίβισιν, the wallet which Perseus wore (cf. Hesiod, *Scut.* 224; Pherecyd. *frag.* 26). The ἄρπη (l. 6) also suggests the mythical Perseus, whose cult at Sinope is attested by many coins (cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 435; Knatz, *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices tractaverint*, pp. 34 f.; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* s. 'Perseus'). There was a legend that Perseus went to the Hyperboreans (Pindar, *Pyth.* X, 45 f., and XII), and perhaps the Greeks would think that his route was *via* Sinope (cf. Paus. I, 31, 2). The characteristic temper of mind of the frontier town, Sinope, seems to have been cynical. Thence came the three comic poets, — Dionysius (Athenaeus, XI, 467 D, 497 C; XIV, 615 E), Diodorus (Athenaeus, VI, 235 E, 239 B; X, 431 C; *B.C.H.* VII, pp. 105, 107; *Am. J. Arch.* IV [1900], p. 83), Diphilus (Strabo, XII, 546; *I.G.* II [C.I.A. II], 3, 3343). Thence came the cynic philosophers, Diogenes (Strabo, *l.c.*; Diog. L. *Vita Diog.*) and Hegesaeus (Diog. L. VI, 84). Menippus, whose skilful combination of prose and poetry led the Roman Varro into imitation, was perhaps born in Gadara (Strabo, XVI, 759; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Gadara), but he must have lived at some time in Sinope, since he is called Σινωπεύς by Diog. L. VI, 95 (cf. Susemihl, *Geschichte der Gr. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I, pp. 44 f.). Perhaps, then, our inscrip-

tion refers to some cynic philosopher, possibly named Perseus (cf. l. 3, ἐπώνυμον), who is likened to the mythical Perseus. In the κυνικῆς ἐπινοίης of l. 5 there is possibly a hint at the ἄιδος κυνέη which Perseus wore (cf. Hesiod, *op. cit.* 226). Just as Perseus carries his wallet (κίβισις) and his scimitar (ἄρπη) and flies through the air, so the cynic has his pouch and staff (βάκτρον) and feeds on air (Diog. L. VI, 2, 76).

58. *B.C.H.* XIII, 305, no. 12; *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 356, no. 15.

..... καὶ κτερίσματα κτερίσ[αντα]  
ἤδη πληρώσαντα, περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν,  
πεντήκοντα ἔτη, καὶ τελέσαντα χρόνον

59. Built into the wall of a house in Sinope, a block of marble, 0.25 m. long, 0.20 m. wide, and 0.13 m. thick. Letters, 0.03 m. in height. A Christian tombstone like Nos. 60–62.

  
 ΘΕ C I C  
 Λ Λ N I T Λ  
 Λ Ι Ο Π Ρ Υ

60. *B.C.H.* XIII, p. 305, no. 11. In the Tchetlambouk-mezarlik.

† θέσις | Θεμιστοῦ | τοῦ Νύμφ|[ω]νος

61. *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, 354, no. 8.

† θέσις | Ἀγαθο|δώρου | φροντιστοῦ

62. *Ibid.* no. 9.

† θέσις | Μεγαλη|μέρου | χαρκέ|ου

χαρκέου is another form for χαλκέως.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

63. Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 603; Michel, *Recueil*, 734. Decree telling what parts of the sacrifices and what privileges the priest of Poseidon Heliconius is to receive. Poseidon occurs

as early as the first half of the third century on coins of Sinope; cf. *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 17, pl. ii; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 435.

64. Built into the north wall of the Acropolis near the entrance to the prison, a block of native stone, 0.36 m. by 0.38 m. Height of letters, 0.03 m. Stone much weathered. Near it another inscription, which is no longer legible.

ΘΕΜΙΣ  
 ΗΛΙΟΣ  
 ΣΕΛΗΝΗ  
 ΕΡΜΗΣ  
 ΥΔΡΗΧΟΟΣ  
 ΣΕΙΡΙΟΣ

Θέμις  
 Ἡλῖος  
 Σελήνη  
 Ἑρμῆς  
 Ὑδρηχόος  
 Σείριος

The cult of Helios, with whom Serapis is often identified, we knew already from inscriptions found in Sinope (Nos. 30, 48), and we could infer from names of Sinopeans like Menippus, Meniscus, Menodorus, Menophila, Menon, that there was a cult of Selene in Sinope. In fact, the very word Sinope may be derived from the Assyrian moon-god, Sin. For the cult of the moon-god Men Pharnakou on the Pontus, cf. Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II, 2, p. 2690, s. 'Men.' Hermes occurs on coins of Sinope (cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 435; *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Pontus*, etc., p. 98, no. 31, and p. 99, no. 36). In Trapezus, which was founded by Sinope, there was a temple and a statue of Hermes (Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 3 = Müller, *Geog. Gr. Min.* I, p. 370). But here for the first time we meet Themis, Hydrachous, and Sirius in Sinope.

65. Built into the wall of the house of Hadji-Photides in the Greek quarter, a block of marble, broken at both sides, 0.34 m. long, 0.16 m. wide. Letters, large and well cut, 0.08 m. in height.

ΡΑΔΟΞΟ

π]αράδοξο[ς

Here we have an athlete who conquered in the *πάλη* and *παγκράτιον* on the same day. Whether the shorter form *παράδοξος* or the longer form *παραδοξονίκης* is to be restored we have no means of knowing. Both occur often in grave-inscriptions. For the latter cf. also Plut. *Comp. Cim. c. Lucull.* 2; for the former cf. Arr. *Epict.* 2, 18, 22; Dio Cass. 77, 11.

66. Built into the wall of the same house, a broken block of marble, 0.43 m. long, 0.28 m. high, and 0.13 m. thick. Letters, 0.05 m. in height.

ΙΑΜΑΡΚ

67. *Sylogos, ibid.* p. 47, no. 7.

Τιβ. ἸΑρακτος

68. In the Greek quarter, in the house of Mr. Alexandros, marble slab, 0.19 m. high, 0.18 m. broad, 0.07 m. thick. Letters, 0.02 m. in height.



Φλ]αμιν[ί-]  
ου Ἀκύλα \* φο ιφ  
έ' ἔων τόκο[ς].  
Σ]ελλίου  
Μάρκου  
\* Ἄ



This is a business account of some kind on which interest (τόκος) is paid. Perhaps *ι'* (16) is the rate *per cent*, and \*φοέ' (575 *denarii*) is the total of interest on \*ἄ (1000 *denarii*). The time would be something over three years. For Ἀκύλας (Aquila) cf. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Insc.* nos. 206, 533. *Ibid.* no. 544, l. 9, occurs another form of the genitive (Ἀκύλου).

69. In Tinkilar, in the blacksmith's shop of Chrestos Michael, on the high-road, six hours from Sinope, stone with cross in the middle and the following inscription around it. Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. Letters, 0.025 m. high. Found originally in the ruins of a mediaeval church in the neighboring mountains.

Ε Ο Υ Θ Ε Ο Τ Ο Κ Ο

θ]εοῦ, θεοτόκου

70. Nos. 70 and 71 were found in a place called Προφήτης Ἡλίας, two hours from Sinope, by Mr. Myrodes, who was kind enough to send me squeezes of the inscriptions. They are two of the boundary stones of some precinct, renewed in the time of Justinian. The inscriptions are the same, but the lines are differently divided, and in No. 71 σ is omitted in παραφάστου.

+ΑΝΕΝΕΩΘΗΣΑ  
ΟΙΟΡΟΙΕΠΙΤΟΥΕΥ  
ΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΦΙ  
ΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΟΥΗΜΩΝ  
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΙΟΥΣΤΙ  
ΝΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΥΑΙΩΝΙ  
ΟΥΑΝΓΟΥΣΤΟΝΚΑΙ  
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ  
ΠΑΡΑΦΑΥΣΤΟΥΤΟΥ  
ΕΝΔΟΣΟΤΑΤΟΥΙΛ  
ΛΟΥΣΤΡΙΟΥ + ☩

† ἀνεενώθησα[ν  
οί ὄροι ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐ-  
σεβεστάτου καὶ φι-  
λοχρίστου ἡμῶν  
βασιλέως Ἰουστι-  
νιάνου τοῦ αἰωνί-  
ου Ἀγγούστου καὶ  
αὐτοκράτορος  
παραφάστου τοῦ  
ἐνδοξοτάτου ἰλ-  
λουστρίου †



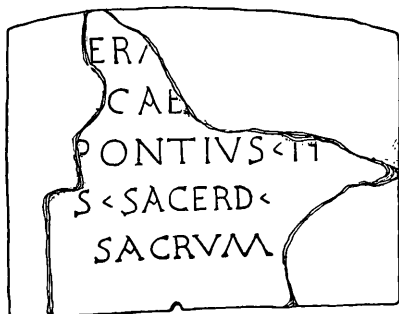
scription begins 0.15 m. below the top and 0.81 m. from the left side. Letters, 0.135 m. in height, some 0.14 m. This would be a good place for excavations.

·L·L·I·C·I·N·  
N·I·V·S·F·R·  
G·I·  
·H· ·S·

*L. Licin-*  
*nius Fr.*  
*Gi.*  
*H. S.*

This is perhaps L. Licinius, who was *praefectus frumenti dandi* and proconsul of Bithynia (cf. Dessau, *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.* s. 'Licinius,' and Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*, s. *frumentarius*, vol. III, p. 252). *FR.* is an abbreviation for *frumentarius* and the inscription is in Bithynia, and deals with an important man, as is shown by the size of the stone and the letters. Φρορυγίς (No. 45) might suggest *Frugi* here, but no line after R or V before G was ever cut on the stone. For name Licinius cf. also No. 33.

74. On the farm of Hamil Kegia, about two hours and a half east of Sinope, a block of native stone, broken and mutilated. Height, 0.54 m.; width, 0.44 m.; thickness, 0.39 m. Letters, 0.03 m. high. Probably the dedication of a *servus*.



*Imp]era[tori*  
*Cae[sari*  
*Pontius . . .*  
*S. Sacerd.*  
*Sacrum*

75. In Kiren Tsoukourou, seven hours southeast from Sinope by the only good high-road out of Sinope, a Roman milestone,

used as a post for a porch, 0.92 m. in circumference at the top, 1.04 m. at bottom. Height, 1.35 m. Letters vary, 0.03 m. to 0.06 m. The natives told me that this column and No. 76 were brought from the mountains near by.

·DIO·L· MVA /

.. *Diocl[etiano]*.....

.....

M N  
PFINVICTOAVC ET  
FLVALCONSTANTIOET  
GALVALMAXIMIANO  
NOBILLCAE  
MILI  
AVRPRISCIANV  
PRPRPDNMQEORVM  
XXXV  
DNIMPCAESVALERIO LICINNIANO  
LICINNIOPFINVICTOAVC  
CAE

*P.F. invicto Aug. et*

*Fl. Val. Constantio et*

*Gal. Val. Maximiano*

*nobill. Caes.*

*Mil. I*

*Aur. Priscianu[s*

*Pr.Pr.P.D.N.M.Q. eorum*

*XXXV*

*D.N. Imp. Caes. Valerio Licinniano*

*Licinnio P.F. invicto Aug.*

*Caes.*

On other side

FL'LCO' TANTINO  
FLVICONSTANTIO  
ETFLCOSTANOBBC  
ONTIVS  
-----

*Fl. Cl. Constantino*

*et] Fl. [I]ul. Constantio*

*et Fl. Costano (?) B.B.C.*

*P]ontius*

76. In same place as No. 75 another milestone, also used for supporting the same porch. Height, 0.78 m.; circumference at top, 1.02 m.; at bottom, 1.08 m.

IMPCAESARI  
MAVREZ  
GAROPFINVICTOAYG  
ETMAYREZCARINO  
PIKIQE'YS-EMAYGMN  
NOBIZOC Aesarizz  
VPPRAES

*Imp.' Caesari*

*M. Aurel*

*Caro P.F. invicto Aug.*

*et M. Aurel. Carino*

*?*

*Nobillo Caesari L.L.*

*V. P. Praes.*

I have failed to find in *C.I.L.* III a milestone from the Roman province of Pontus and Bithynia or Helenopontus, which belongs to Carus or Carinus. This may be the first one known.

77. In Erikli Djami near the village where Nos. 75 and 76 were found, a milestone with a much mutilated inscription.

IMPC " SAR	<i>Imp. Caesar</i>
VESPASIANVS AVG	<i>Vespasianus Aug.</i>
PONTMAXTRPOT	<i>Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. [VIII].</i>
CO DESIGN	<i>Co[s. VIII] desig. [IX]</i>
IMPAVG " " COS DES	<i>Imp. Aug... Cos. des</i>
- - - - -	
RIOCAEIM .....	
.....	

For a similar milestone from Bithynia, cf. *B.C.H.* XXV, p. 39 f.

78. In the fields near Chalabdé (fourteen hours west of Sinope), a Roman milestone, 1.68 m. in length; circumference at bottom, 0.95 m.; at top, 0.78 m.

PROBO	<i>Probo</i>
PFINVICTOAVGPO	<i>P.F. invicto Aug. Po[nt.</i>
MAXTRIBPOTIIIPR	<i>Max. Trib. Pot. IIII. P.R.</i>
PROCASINOPBMP	<i>PRO. Casino P.B.M.P.</i>
CASINO	<i>..... Casino</i>
..NOVPRPRP	<i>PR.PR.P.</i>

79. In the same place as No. 78 another Roman milestone, 1.49 m. long. Circumference at bottom 0.96 m.; at top, 0.82 m. Two Christian crosses at the end of the inscription. I failed to make an accurate copy of this. The inscription is about the same as No. 78 and contains the name of the emperor Casinus.

The published Latin inscriptions from Sinope are *C.I.L.* III, 238, 6977, 12219; 239, 6978; 240, 6981; 6979; 6980; 12220; 12221; 12222; 14402 b; 14402 c.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM OTHER PLACES WHICH MENTION  
SINOPEANS<sup>1</sup>

80. *Athen. Mitt.* VI (1881), p. 303 and Beilage 2. Inscription from Cleitor, giving a list of *proxenoi*. Date, before the time of the Achaean League. The part relating to Sinope is as follows:

Σινωπεῖς  
ΙΓιππος Δαμε  
-ς Φιλίππου  
καὶ ἔκγονοι

81. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. III (1884), p. 128, no. 5; *I.G.* VII (*C.I.G.S.* I), I, 414. Date, between the years 366 and 338 B.C. Inscription giving list of those who won in τὰ μεγάλα Ἀμφιαράια at Oropus.

1. 24. ἀγενείους πυγμαῖν
1. 25. Ἐστιαῖος Σινωπεύς

82. *B.C.H.* VI (1882), p. 225, no. 58; *Jahrbuch*, 42, 629; Collitz, *Samml. der griech. Dialekt-Inschr.* II, 2624. Date, 240–200 B.C. Decree by the Delphians to grant *προξενία* to a Sinopean, son of Μῆτρης. Μῆτρης is the right name, not Δήμητρης or Δημήτριος; cf. Wilhelm, *Arch. Epigr. Mitt.* XX, p. 73. For name Μῆτρης cf. Dittenberger, *Inscr. Orient. Gr.* no. 299; Collitz, *op. cit.*, 3029, 38; Latyschev, *Pontische Inschriften*, p. 67, col. b, l. 10. Attention has not been called to the inscription found in Athens and published in the *Athen. Mitt.* XIII (1888), p. 429, Μῆτρης Νικάνδρου Σινωπεύς, which confirms the name Μῆτρης in the Delphian decree. Bourguet (*Revue des Études Grecques*, XVI, 1903, p. 96) would read [Καλλικράτει] Μῆτριος in the Delphian decree. (Cf. No. 40, l. 5.)

83. *C.I.G.* II, 2059. Decree of the Olbians to crown Θεοκλέα Σατύρου ἥρωα. Σινώπη stands at the end of the list of those who have already crowned him.

<sup>1</sup> I omit inscriptions which give only the man's name, his father's name, and ethnikon. These will all be included in the *Prosopographia Sinopensis* which the author expects soon to publish.

84. *Syllogos*, ΙΓ', παράρτημα, p. 65, no. 6. Inscription found in Tomi.

Σαραπίδ[ι . . . | ος Πολυδώ[ρου] κατὰ ὄναρ Σινωπεύς

85. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 326; Michel, *Recueil*, p. 258, no. 338. Found near Chersonesus. Date about 110 B.C. Decree to crown Diophantus, son of Asclapiodorus, the Sinopean and general of Mithradates the Great, for his many services in the wars against the Scythians. A bronze statue of him is to be set up.

86. Latyshev (1901), *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Sept. Ponti Euxini*, IV, no. 72. Fragment which fits *C.I.G.* II, 2134 b. Proxeny decree in honor of Γ. Καίος Εὐτυχιανὸς Ναύκλαρος Σινωπεύς. In *C.I.G. ibid.* read Καίον for Κά[ρ]ον.

87. Cumont in *Revue des Études Grecques*, XV (1902), pp. 332-333, no. 51. Found near Kavsa, now in Mersivan.

Πρόκλος Σινω[πεύς ὕγι]εῖνας εὐχαρι[στῶ ταῖς] | Νύ(μ)φαις  
καὶ Πο[σειδῶνι] | τῷ παντωφ(ε)λ[ίμφ . .] | κόπτ(ε)ιν πρεπ(ε)ι  
[πόδα? ἰά]θη δὲ καὶ . . | αὐτοῦ συνφόρο|υς. Χρησοτὸς Σινω-  
[πεύς] | λιθουργὸς ἐποίει

88. *C.I.G.* 897; *I.G. (C.I.A.)* III, 2, 1450. Found in Athens.

Ποπίλλιος | [Λ]ουτατιανὸς | Σινωπεύς, υἱὸς Ποπ(ιλλίου) Οὐ-  
φικιανοῦ | δις ἀρχιερέως καὶ | Σηστίας Μαρκιανῆς | ἱερείας μεγά-  
λης Ἀθηνᾶς, | ἐνθάδε κατάκειται | ἐτῶν κβ'

89. *I.G. (C.I.A.)* III, 1, 129. Date, 248 A.D. List of victories won by Οὐαλέριος Ἐκλεκτος Σινωπεύς, βουλευτής.

90. *I.G.* IV (*C.I.P.* I.), 956. Found at Epidaurus. Date, 224 A.D. Dedication by Tiberius Claudius Severus (Τιβ. Κλ. Σεουήρος Σινωπεύς), who had been cured at Epidaurus, to Apollo Maleates and Asclepius.

I add here five epigrams in honor of Sinopeans.

91. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 252. Found in Panticapaeum. Relief of a man with a boy standing beside him.

Pharnaces, son of Pharnaces, a Sinopean, died abroad and a cenotaph was set up for him at home.

92. Kaibel, *op. cit.* 702. Found at Rome. Κορνουτίων died away from home at the age of two years, two months, and two weeks.

93. Simonides, 101 (174).

Σῆμα Θεόγνιδος εἰμὶ Σινωπέος, ᾧ μ' ἐπέθηκεν  
Γλαῦκος ἑταιρείης ἀντὶ πολυχρόνου

94. *Anth. Plan.* III, 25. Epigram in honor of Damostratus the Sinopean, who won six times at the Isthmian games.

95. *Compte Rendu*, 1877, p. 277. Epigram in honor of Menodorus, son of Apollonius, the Sinopean.

96. Of the following inscription Dr. Wilhelm, secretary of the Austrian archaeological school in Athens, with much difficulty made a squeeze and a copy. With great generosity and kindness he has allowed me to give his copy here. The inscription consists of thirty-four lines of more than sixty letters of very small size. It shows the relations between Sinope and Histiaea in the third century B.C. According to Dr. Wilhelm, the date of the inscription is the first half or middle of the third century B.C. For the first lines cf. Wilhelm, *Eine Proxenliste an Histiaia*, in the *Arch.-Epigr. Mitt. aus Oester.* 1891.

ἔδοξεν | <sup>3</sup> τῶι δῆμῳ· ἐπειδὴ Σινωπεῖς ἄποικοι . . . being on good terms with the Histiaeans and the λοιποὶ Ἕλληνες have sent an embassy to renew the old friendship. l. 7, συν[αί] | ἴτιοι γεγένηται σωτηρίας. l. 11, καὶ ὅτι Ἀρμοξένῳ πολίτει ἡμετέρῳ . . . [ἔδωκεν?] | <sup>12</sup> ὁ δῆμος δωρεὰν τάλαντον περιποιούμενος τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἰστιαίων χάριν, καὶ | <sup>13</sup> τὴν προυπάρχουσαν φιλίαν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνανεοῦνται κ.τ.λ. the ambassadors ask to set aside a ὑπόμνημα δι(α)φόρως? | <sup>15</sup> γεγραμμένον καθελεῖν, τὰ φιλόφθωρα διαφυλάττοντες κ.τ.λ. In ll. 16/17 we have the well-known formula ὅπως | ἂν οὖν εἰδῆ ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Σινωπέων ὅτι ἐπίσταται κ.τ.λ. (that the *demos* of Histiaea is always grate-



ful to its friends for τὰ κοινὰ εὐεργετήματα and taking care καὶ κοινῆ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἰδία τῶν ἀφικνουμένων (εἰς Ἰστιάϊαν]). In l. 20 begins the answer given to the ambassadors of Sinope, ἀποκρίνασθαι | <sup>21</sup> μὲν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ὅτι ἡ πόλις οὐ μόνον πρὸς [τοὺς ἑαυτῆ]ς γείτονας οἰκείως διάκειται ἀλλὰ | [κα]ὶ [τοῖ]ς Σινωπε[ῦ]σιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ φίλοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς... continues friendly, etc. After such phrases in lines 21–26, the decree runs as follows, l. 27 — ορίσθαι ἐξ ἴσου τά τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ φιλόφθωπα ..... τοῖς παραγενομένοις | <sup>28</sup> Σινωπέων καθάπερ τοῖς ἰδίους πολίταις καὶ εἶναι ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν τοῖς ἀφι<sup>29</sup>κνουμένοις Σινωπέων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἢ εἰς τὸ ἐμ[πόρ]ιο[ν ὃ ἔχει?] ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ Ἰστιαίῶν | <sup>30</sup> καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων· ὑπάρχειν δὲ Σινωπεύσιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φιλόφ<sup>31</sup>θωπα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ὧν ἂν χρεῖαν ἔχωσιγ καὶ πρόσδοον πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν | <sup>32</sup> δῆμον μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν καθάπερ καὶ Ἰστιαιεῦσιν ἐν Σινώπῃ· καλεῖν | <sup>33</sup> δὲ καὶ ὅταν τὰ Σωτήρια θύῃ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ ξένια Σινωπέων τοὺς ἐν-ἐπιδημοῦντας, | <sup>34</sup> εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς Μητ[ρ]ό[βι]ον? Δεινίου (the first name is not sure), Ἐπιχάρην Θεαρῖωνος προξένους ... the rest is lost.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.



## CORRIGENDA.

- Page 130, l. 3 of the notes. For 'belongcd' read 'belonged'.
- " 139, note 2, l. 8. For 'N.' read 'M.'
- " 146, n. 5 and p. 148, n. 2. Before 'Eudocia' read 'Ps.'
- " 276, l. 13. For 343 read 313.
- " 299, l. 5; p. 300, ll. 21, 28. For ἀσύννομος read ασυννόμος.
- " 301, l. 3. For Ἡρακλειδης read Ἡρακλείδης.
- " 303, l. 3 of transcription; l. 2 from foot; p. 304, l. 2. For να[υδα]μήνη read να[υδα]μηνή.
- Page 303, l. 11. For Ἀπολαυστὸς read Ἀπόλαυστος.
- " 304, l. 3. For Εὐρυδάμηνος read εὐρυδαμηνός.
- " 304, l. 2 from foot. For Ρουφείνη read Ρουφείνα.
- " 305, l. 6 of facsimile. The second letter should be N.
- " 313, l. 10. For Χορηγιῶνος read Χορηγίωνος.
- " 315, No. 45 and p. 327. For Φρουγίς read Φροῦγίς.
- " 316, last line. Omit sentence beginning 'Strabo', etc.
- " 317, No. 50. For Πακάτος read Πακάτος.
- " 319, No. 54. For Φιλησιζίω read Φιλησιζίω.
- " 319, No. 55. For Διονύσοιο read Διονύσοιο.
- " 319, No. 56. For Χαίρις read Χαίρις.
- " 320, l. 15 from foot. For Ἀμφιλόχω read Ἀμφιλόχω.
- " 323. Omit the last half of the first sentence after the inscription.
- " 323. At end add "In 'The Siege of Sinope', a tragedy by Mrs. Brooke, acted in London in 1781 and based on the Italian Opera of 'Phar-naces', Act. V, scene 4 f. is at the temple of Themis in Sinope".
- Page 325, No. 70 and p. 326, No. 71. For παραφαύστον read παρὰ Φαύστον.
- " 327, No. 73. Transcribe L. Licin|nius Fr(u)|gi|h(ic) s(itus). Cf. p. 274.
- Page 328, at end of first inscription. For 'Cae' read [Μ]ΛΕ. For the restoration of this inscription (No. 75) and the correction of next to last line, cf. p. 139, n. 2.
- Page 328, No. 76. For line 5 cf. p. 139, n. 2. In place of the second M read N.
- Page 329, Nos. 77 and 78. For my corrected transcription cf. my article in Am. J. Arch. X (1906), No. 4 "Mr. Van Buren's Notes on Inscriptions from Sinope." In l. 4 of the facsimile of No. 77 read IX for N. In l. 4 of No. 78 read Proc. A. Sinope M. P. and at end ΔΒ. In l. 3 for R. read P. and in ll. 5, 6 read cu]rante Ael. Casino A | tiano, v(iro) p(erfectissimo) p(r(aeside) p(ro-vinciae) P(onti).
- Page 329, No. 79 will be published in A. J. P. XXVII, 4. For 'Emperor Casinus' read '*Praeses Casinus*'.
- Page 331, l. 3. For Σαραπίδ[ι read Σαράπιδ[ι.
- " " No. 86. For Κάιος read Κάιος, for Κάιον Κάιον.
- " 332, No. 96. The correct reference to Wilhelm will be found on p. 249, note 6.









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