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The cult of Apollo in the Milesian colonies along the coast of the Black Sea: an
inventory of archaeological data

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Abstract

Greek colonisation in the Archaic period had as its goal the expansion and the exportation of a city state's social and religious customs into different regions. Although the subject of Greek colonisation is often vague, and based on erroneous, and generous primary sources, which can confound links between the colonies and their apparent mother city, a connection can nevertheless be established between the colonies in the Black Sea and the mother city of Miletus through the religious institutions that were installed upon colonisation.

The cult of the god Apollo was prevalent throughout the ancient Greek world during the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. For the Archaic period colonizing Greek city state of Miletus, Apollo was patron deity, the god of colonisation, as well as the god of seafaring. For the Milesians, Apollo was the deity who sanctioned the right to set up new cults in new locations, as well as authorising the very act of establishing colonies. In the colonies founded by Miletus located along the coast of the Black Sea, there is a clear disposition towards the cult of Apollo in the literary tradition, as well as in the archaeological record.

This thesis proposes, by means of a well-defined catalogue uniting all pertinent archaeological and literary information relating to the cult of Apollo in 16 colonies located around the Black Sea said to have been colonies of Miletus, that the reason for such a strong representation of the cult of Apollo in these colonies is a result of the Milesians installing the cult of their patron deity Apollo with the wish that the colonies' religious institutions mirror that of the metropolis. The inventory demonstrates that Apollo was the patron deity of the majority of Miletus's colonies in the Black Sea. This thesis will also propose that a proper study of religious trends found in city states and their supposed colonies can act as a methodology for identifying which colonies belonged to which mother city, as I propose that the patron deity in a city state will be the patron deity in their colony.

Key Words: Archaeology. Black Sea. Miletus. Greek Colonisation. Apollo. Cult. Mother-*Polis*. Religious Architecture. Transmission of Cult. History of Colonisation.

Résumé

À la période Archaïque, la colonisation grecque avait pour but l'expansion et l'exportation des coutumes sociales des diverses cités États à travers différentes régions. Bien que le sujet de la colonisation grecque soit abondamment basé sur des sources primaires biaisées, causant une confusion concernant l'établissement du lien entre une cité mère et ses colonies, il demeure néanmoins qu'une connexion entre la cité de Milet et les colonies de la Mer Noire est observée au sein des institutions religieuses instaurées sur ces territoires.

Le culte d'Apollon fut prédominant tout au long des périodes Archaïque, Classique et Hellénistique de la Grèce antique. À l'époque de la colonisation par Milet, la cité avait pour divinité principale Apollon qui était également dieu de la colonisation et dieu de la navigation. Pour les milésiens, Apollon autorisait et sanctionnait le droit de coloniser et d'y instaurer de nouveaux cultes. Dans les colonies fondées le long de la côte de la Mer Noire, une influence claire du culte de cette divinité est discernable dans la tradition littéraire, ainsi que dans les registres archéologiques.

Grâce à un catalogue raisonné, concernant seize colonies dites milésiennes situées autour de la Mer Noire, unissant toute l'information archéologique et littéraire pertinente relatif au culte d'Apollon, ce mémoire propose qu'une forte représentation de ce culte dans cette région est attribuable à son instauration par les Milésiens dans l'espoir que les institutions religieuses des colonies reflètent celles de la cité mère. Il en découle qu'Apollon devint, par le fait même, la divinité principale de la majorité des colonies milésiennes de la Mer Noire.

Mots Clé : Archéologie. Mer Noir. Milet. Apollon. Colonisation Grecque. Ville-Mère. Religion. Temple. Religion et Colonisation.

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Abbreviations

CIRB Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani

IosPE Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae

I.Olbia Inscriptiones Olbiae (Nadpisi Ol'vii) (1917-1965)

I. Tomis. Inscriptiones Tomi

IGBulg Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae,

SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum

Map of the Colonies in the Black Sea



Figure 1.¹

¹ Map taken from:
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/25/Greek_colonies_of_the_Euxine_Sea.svg

Part.1. Introduction

1.1 Objective

The objective of this thesis is to demonstrate that during the colonisation of the Black Sea region by Greek city states in the Archaic period, there is a correlation between religion and colonisation, which can be observed in the archaeological record as well as in the ancient literary sources. This thesis proposes that a colony's religious institutions can aid in the identification, and in many cases the corroboration of the metropolis, as the latter will seek to impose its prevailing religious institution in its colonies. This will be verified through a case study of the city state Miletus, a notorious coloniser, and ardent worshiper of the god Apollo, the patron deity of the city in the Archaic period. The area chosen for this case study is the coastal region of the Black Sea on account of the high concentration of Milesian colonies found therein. To this aim, an inventory has been compiled of all archaeological evidence for the worship of Apollo in the Milesian colonies along the coast of the Black Sea. In the inventory of cities colonised by Miletus, an enumeration of all relevant evidence pertaining to Apollo in the Milesian colonies will be given, followed by a commentary on the numerous aspects of Apollo in the Black Sea. This work will establish a reason for which the Milesians sought to install Apollo in their colonies, and will also reveal the significance of the transfer of cults from the mother *polis* to the colony, which will be discussed in relation to the other colonizing city states that also expanded in the region of the Black Sea. This will validate the hypothesis that a colony is bound to its mother *polis*' religious institutions, and that a mother polis can be identified based solely on the religious inclinations of a colony.

The high concentration of artefactual evidence pertaining to the cult of Apollo in the Milesian colonies in the Black Sea will provide us with proof that the literary sources were right in attributing these colonies to Miletus on account of the archaeological evidence of Apollo, the Milesian patron deity and also the patron deity in all Milesian colonies in the Black Sea, and additionally that the religious institutions found in colonies may provide a methodological framework for proving or disproving who the actual mother city was of any given colony by simply analyzing religious trends in the mother city and comparing them with its supposed colonies. To prove the latter, an examination of the other city states which colonised the region, namely Megara, Samos and Athens will corroborate the data retrieved for Miletus by attempting to find similarities in the religious manifestations in these cities and their colonies in the Black Sea. It is evident that the colonists tended to favour the approach of installing the religious and constitutional institutions which prevailed in their cities proper into their colonies. The Milesians would have installed their form of councils, magistracies, and calendars regulating cults upon colonising a territory.²

Before embarking on this task, several problems must be considered and addressed: One of the most arduous tasks for modern archaeologists is the excavation of supposed “religious centres”, as very little can be inferred. We lack a consistent methodological framework by which we can extrapolate pertinent data from archaeological sites which are deemed to have functioned as religious centers.³ First,

² Avram, A. *et al.* The Black Sea Area. Pp. 925-964. In: Hansen, M. Nielson, H. Heine, T. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 927.

³ Renfrew, C. The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi. Supplementary Volume no. 18. *The British School of Archaeology at Athens*. Thames and Hudson. 1985. p. 1.

a proper definition of religion must be offered; Onions C.T. (ed) 1973. *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford. Clarendon Press, defines “religion” as an action, or conduct which indicates a belief in, or a reverence for, and a desire to please, a divine ruling power. Thus, the assumption that a higher power is owed allegiance for allowing the world's present state.⁴ The word “cult” is defined as forms of religious worship, especially in reference to its external rites and ceremonies.⁵ In the following study I will apply these definitions whenever encountering the terms above.

The first part of this research aims to introduce the geographical area in question, the coastal cities along the coast of the Black Sea, and the conditions into which the colonising Milesians would have been entering, along with relevant information to elucidate a clear understanding of the expanse of water known as the Black Sea. Following this, an examination of the colonisation of the Black Sea region, as well as the role which Apollo had in the Milesian city state and likewise in the Milesian colonies will be explored, in addition to the role which Apollo held in the colonisation efforts of other city states.

Part two explores the role of religious practice in establishing a new colony, as well as discuss religion and colonisation in general terms in order to expound what the standard procedures were regarding installing new populations in new areas, while demonstrating the importance of religion in the colonisation process. To this aim the oracle of Apollo at Didyma will be discussed in connection with Miletus.

⁴ Renfrew, C. *The Archaeology of Cult*. p. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

The goal of part three of my research is to determine the existence of the cult of Apollo in the archaeological record in the various colonies of Miletus by means of a well defined catalogue, so as to prove or disprove the literary sources which associate these colonies with Miletus. For each location I will discuss the geographical considerations and the relevant colonisation history such as foundation dates and possible noteworthy circumstances pertaining to the cult of Apollo. The epigraphic evidence, the literary tradition, and numismatics pertaining to Apollo in each colony of the Black Sea will be catalogued, while also focusing on the temples of Apollo, if located, in the cities mentioned. This information is compiled with the goal of demonstrating that in all Milesian colonies, Apollo should be the prominent deity represented in the archaeological record, which if so, I intend to demonstrate is proof that Miletus was the city which colonised these cities. It must be noted that my inventory pertains only to Milesian colonies, yet the cult of Apollo was likewise present in many colonies of Megara in the Black Sea; (Megara's patron deity was also Apollo). This will also be discussed further in the analysis section. Prior to embarking on this task, a proper introduction to the historiographical tradition of this topic must be addressed

1.2. Historiography

The topic of Greek colonisation in the Black Sea region has arisen as one of the most fascinating of the egregiously understudied topics in the study of ancient populations around the Mediterranean Sea. In Pre-revolution Russia, the subject was seldom undertaken for extensive scholarship; It was not until the 1930s that the history of the colonisation by the Greeks of the Black Sea was undertaken by S.A. Zhebelev in his

seminal work, *The Emergence of the Bosporan State; Bulletin of USSR Academy of sciences and humanities division. 10, 1930.*⁶ Since the publication of this work, several formative publications have been issued which have vastly contributed to our knowledge of the archaeology and history of the Greek colonisation of the Black Sea, most notable is the more recent and extensive volume edited by D. V Grammenos and E. K. Petropoulos; *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*. This work has provided the bedrock upon which this thesis resides, as the edition contains works by various scholars dealing in all facets and aspects of the Greek presence in the Black Sea in the Archaic period until the Roman era, such as cults and religious activities, political and economic situations, masonry techniques of the first dwellings constructed by the Greeks upon arrival, epigraphic evidence relating to cults, as well as civic inscriptions and numismatics produced by the Greek colonies, all information which cannot be found elsewhere.

Although not directly related to the topic of Greek colonisation in the Black Sea, this thesis owes its accomplishment to the extensive catalogue proposed by M. Hansen, and T.H. Nielson. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, without which many of the lesser-known sites discussed herein would not have been identified. “The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area”, in G. Tsetskhladze’s edition *A Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, has offered numerous examples of the contextualisation of archaeological finds in a historical context, allowing for artefactual evidence to be presented on par with historiographical evidence pertaining to the colonisation of the

⁶ Koshelenko, G.A and Kuznetsov, V.D. Greek Colonisation of the Bosphorus. Pp, 249-263. *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area. A Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*. Ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze and Franz Steiner. Verlag, Stuttgart. 1998. p. 252.

Black Sea by the Greeks. I. Malkin's work entitled, *Religion and Colonisation in Ancient Greece*, has provided this thesis with the historical data relevant to a colonies' founding, and the numerous steps which the colonists had to take prior to establishing a colony, as well as the religious significance which the act of colonisation entails. The subject of the archaeology of Greek colonisation in the Black Sea is treated extensively in the series entitled *North Pontic Archaeology: Recent Discoveries and Studies*, edited by G. R. Tsetskhladze. This edition has brought to light many numismatic finds regarding representations of Apollo on the coinage of many of the cities settled by Miletus, as this subject has seldom been advanced on a large scale. The series entitled, *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between conflicts and Coexistence*, edited by P. Guldager Bilde and J. Hjarl Petersen, is another of the noteworthy works dealing with the presence of Greeks in the Black Sea region, as well as some of the political and economic consequences of Greek penetration in the Black Sea. The historiographical tradition relating to Apollo is vast, and though we are best informed by the ancient sources, notably Homer, and Callimachus, I would be remiss not to mention the work by H. Park, *Greek Oracles*, as it is a formative work dealing with several oracles of Apollo, which has proved indispensable to this work.

We cannot overlook the ancient literary tradition when discussing the historiography of the colonisation of the Black Sea. While the ancients cannot offer the raw data which the works mentioned above can, they do offer first and foremost evidence of a general interest in colonisation from a historical, and contemporaneous perspective; these events were worthy of being written and immortalized. While many of the ancient authors must be taken with a grain of salt regarding colonisation on

account of their questionable historicity, those who have contributed extensively to our present knowledge, and to this thesis, are Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Eusebius, Pseudo-Scylax, Seneca, Pausanias, Thucydides, Homer and Callimachus among others. These authors have enabled modern scholars to not only appreciate the complexities of the colonisation process, but also to contemplate the intricacies of the geographical areas which are now no longer available to modern scholars in the conditions which they were to the ancient authors concurrent with the events in question. In order to properly introduce the colonisation of the Black Sea by Miletus, the area in question must be addressed.

1.3. Geographical overview of the Black Sea

This sea was not navigable, and was called Axine [Inhospitable] because of its wintry storms and the ferocity of the tribes that lived around it, and particularly the Scythians, in that they sacrificed strangers, ate their flesh, and used their skulls as drinking-cups; but later it was called "Euxine" [Hospitable] when the Ionians founded cities on the seaboard.

(Strabo 7.3.6; tr. Loeb)

The ancient appellation for the Black Sea was the Ποντος Ευξεινος, as found in Herodotus (1.72.3). This is translated as the "hospitable sea". Yet there is also an earlier form of the name, Αξεινος, which means inhospitable (Strabo 7.3.6). The etymology of the term Black Sea is of Iranian stock. The Greeks borrowed the term Αξεινος from the Iranian root *axsaena*, which means dark. This allows for the confluence of the term Black Sea in the other languages of the area, such as Russian, (*Chernoe Mor'e*), and Turkish, (*Kara Deniz*). Strabo states that prior to Ionian colonisation of the Black Sea, the Greek term for the sea was inhospitable, *Axeinos*, on account of the weather conditions and the barbarian peoples in the vicinity. Only

after the Ionian expansion was it called hospitable, *Euxine* (Strabo VII 3.6.). The Greeks eventually called it the Pontos Euxeinos, or merely Pontos, for the sea.⁷ The following quotation from Herodotus demonstrates the appreciation of the Black Sea.

Darius, when in his march from Susa he came to that place in the territory of Calchedon where the Bosphorus was bridged, took ship and sailed to the Dark Rocks (as they are called) which the Greeks say did formerly move upon the waters; there he sat on a headland and viewed the Pontus, a marvelous sight. For it is of all seas the most wonderful. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred furlongs [about 2,000 km], and its breadth, at the place where it is widest, three thousand three hundred [about 600 km]. The channel at the entrance of this sea is four furlongs broad; and in length, the narrow neck of the channel called Bosphorus, across which the bridge was thrown, is as much as a hundred and twenty furlongs. The Bosphorus reaches as far as to the Propontis.

(Hdt. 4.85; tr. Loeb)

It is evident that the Black Sea would have captivated the Greeks, and according to Herodotus, the Persian king Darius was equally enthralled by the challenges and opportunities which this expanse of water afforded (Hdt. 4.85.). Its vast emptiness and the sparsity of the islands, which are dotted by offshore islets, interminable coastlines, and coasts bereft of harbours would certainly have seemed inhospitable. The Black Sea measures 1,174 km long and 260 km wide, covering an area roughly 423 000 km². The Black Sea coast is home to several mountain ranges, namely the Tauric, and the Caucasus. The rivers which disperse into the Black Sea are the Istros, Borysthenes, Hyspanis, Tyras, Tanais, and the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which would have been the remnants of the Maiotis Lake. These arteries were the main vehicles from which the local populations of the treeless steppe would have interacted with the incoming Greek traders; the commerce dealing mainly in fur products, hides, and slaves; the latter the

⁷ Kocybala, A.X. *Greek Colonisation on the north shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic period*. PH.D thesis, University of Pennsylvania. 1978. p. 94.

Greeks would have procured from the regions of Olbia, Sinope, Histria, and Apollonia.⁸ These rivers would also have been abundant sources of fish for the inhabitants and the colonising forces. The ancient authors were aware of the region, as well as aware of its diversity and potential abundance, namely on account of its fisheries, as both Herodotus and Strabo state that sturgeon were a predominant fish found in the rivers (Hdt. 4.53.); (Strabo 7.3.18; 11.2.4.). According to the Greek geographer Strabo, herring and tunny would also have been prevalent in the region (Strabo 7.6.2.; 12.3.11;19). These food sources would presumably have been the staple object for trading with the native inhabitants of the region, and over time would have generated a sizeable economy, which would have been facilitated through expansion of the navigational efficacy of the Black Sea (Strabo 7.4.6.).

1.3.1 Navigational and Environmental Considerations during Colonisation

The Greeks' penetration into the Black Sea was not a simple task. Many complexities must be addressed concerning this body of water seldom encountered in popular classical thought. The difficulty in navigating this body of water would have been considerable, given that the surface current of the straits, which run from the Black Sea to the Aegean, are accelerated during the summer months. This would have made navigation difficult during what would have been the prime navigational periods in the era in which the Ionian colonisation took place, c. 7th century BCE. The cause of this phenomenon was the vast amounts of fresh water entering the Black Sea during this time, effectively strengthening the already sizeable currents. Additionally, the prevailing

⁸ Avram, A. *et al.* *The Black Sea Area*. p. 925.

winds would have caused an acceleration of this process, as they would have come from the north and north east.⁹ The winds from the south-west have a tendency to weaken the current, and in the winter months they have a propensity to cause a reversal of the current itself, creating a counter current of heavy salt water, and an inflow from the Mediterranean of water along the floor of the Black Sea. This would create a drag effect, which could have been challenging for deep fishing vessels. These conditions are first mentioned by Macrobius in *Saturnalia* (7.12.36f).¹⁰

The Greeks would have found the region entirely foreign as it had an abundance of navigable rivers, something which is not found on the mainland or even in Ionia. The Dnieper-Bug Liman region is an estuary formed by the Hispanis and Borysthenes rivers. It is the site of perhaps the oldest settlement, that of Berezan, and the important city of Olbia.¹¹ There are 6 notable rivers in the north which flow into the Black Sea as stated above. The Danube (Istros), Dniester (Tyras), Bug (Hyspanis), Dnieper (Borysthenes), Don (Tanais), Kuban (also Hyspanis). The fact that these numerous rivers are powerful torrents that disperse into the Black Sea is also a cause of the turbulent nature of this body of water, as well as the complexities of navigating it.¹² The Dniester, Dnieper, and often the Danube, as well as the Straits of Kerch and the port of Odessa, were the only rivers which would have frozen over during the winter month on account of being mostly comprised of fresh water. Another difference for the Greeks would have been the lack of stopover islands in the Black Sea. In the Black Sea there

⁹ West, S. The most Marvelous Sea; The Greek Encounter with the Euxine. *Greece and Rome*. Vol. 50, no 2. Pp 151-167. 2003. p.152.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹¹ Kocybala, A.X. *Greek Colonisation on the north shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic period*. p. 178.

¹² West, S. The most Marvelous Sea; The Greek Encounter with the Euxine. p.155.

is one island, Leuke, known as the white island, it's located 45 km east of the most northerly mouth of the Danube. For the Greeks, islands were used to navigate and communicate. Therefore, it would have been another factor which would have made the Black Sea seem challenging to them.¹³

The great depth of the Black Sea results in up to 90% of its water being sterile. As anything below 200 m, of the roughly 2244 M in total, is the planet's largest accumulation of Sulphuretted Hydrogen. This phenomenon is caused by the rapidity in which the great rivers feed into the sea, which in turn creates an onrush of organic matter which impedes the bacteria in the water from properly decomposing the organic materials.¹⁴ It is for this reason that underwater archaeology has, and will undoubtedly continue to yield great discoveries, pertaining to not only the Greek settlement in the region, but also to the indigenous communities prior to Greek expansion, since it is the perfect circumstances for the preservation of artifacts. The paleogeography of the Black Sea is an interesting topic in and of itself. When studying ancient regions, we are exposed to the fact that environmental, geographical and topographical circumstances change, and this is so with the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, located just north of the Black Sea. Since the 1st century CE, the Black Sea has risen from seven to nine metres, effectively submerging many ancient cities, such as Phanagoria, where portions of its land mass are now submerged.¹⁵ The earth's tectonic plates are also causing the entire Crimean Peninsula to sink at a rate of between 1.6mm to 3 mm every year, creating

¹³ Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁵ Koshelenko, G.A and Kuznetsov, V.D. Greek Colonisation of the Bosphorus. *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area. A Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*. Pp. 249-263. Ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze and Franz Steiner. Verlag, Stuttgart. 1998. p. 249.

further limitations to the study of this region.¹⁶ These circumstances serve only to increase the validity of such an undertaking so as to survey these ancient cities while they remain accessible above sea level, as the colonisation history of the region and the deities installed reflected the harsh nature of the environment.

1.3.2. Colonisation of the Black Sea

The Pontus was colonised by the Greeks in the 7th century BCE, mostly on the northern, southern, and western coasts. A larger scale colonisation took place in the 6th century BCE and persisted until the late Archaic period. The local population would have formed a minute portion of the Greek colonies, yet their presence is still relevant to this study. The third quarter of the 6th century BCE was a transitional phase in the region, as it marked the beginning of the construction of above ground stone buildings, as opposed to the “native” dug out structures. Temples were constructed, as well as urbanization and the planning of cities on the Greek model. From the time of colonisation until the late Archaic period the native populations of the Black Sea region were supposedly peaceful with the Greeks. Yet near the end of the 6th century BCE and the beginning of the 5th century BCE, the establishment of local kingdoms in Thrakia, Scythia, Colchis, and Paphlagonia under Persian hegemony would alter the course of the initial “cooperation”. In the 4th century BCE, the local kingdoms were thriving, and the Greeks were now dependent upon these new Kingdoms for subsistence.¹⁷

¹⁶Ibid., p. 250.

¹⁷Tsetskhladze, G.R. Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area, Stages, Models and Native Population. Pp 9-68. *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area. A Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*. Ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze and Franz Steiner, Verlag, Stuttgart. 1998. p.67.

Of the two forms of colonisation practiced in the Greek world, (*Apoika* and *Emporia*), the Ionians of Miletus practised a political form, rather than one which directly sought economic gain through exploitation of the native population and their ultimate subjugation. The Ionians were adaptive to the conditions which the locals set upon them, as well as to the local climate and other various circumstances. This is opposed to the Dorian model which sought to exploit and conquer the local population, such as the city state of Megara, which was also a prevalent coloniser in the Black Sea, and also an ardent worshiper of Apollo, their patron deity. Craft production, fishing and agriculture were what brought the Ionian Greeks from Miletus to the Black Sea area, with trade being a secondary consideration according to Tsetskhadze.¹⁸ Yet, in c. 800 BCE to 700 BCE, the Black Sea began to develop as a major player on the international scene regarding trade on account of Greek colonisation of the region. Ballard et al echo the statement of Tsetskhadze, that these economies were mainly concerned with what could be derived from the Sea, namely the fisheries.¹⁹

Following the foundation of the colony of Borysthenes, also known as Olbia, in the 7th century BCE, the Greeks from Miletus commenced to colonise the regions along the southern Bug and Dniester Rivers in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. (See figure 1) The Black Sea shore, particularly the regions in between the Dniester and Dniper Rivers, boasted shorelines which would have allowed easy accessibility for vessels, on

¹⁸Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁹Ballard, R.D. *et al.* Deepwater Archaeology of the Black Sea: The 2000 Season at Sinope, Turkey. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol 105, no. 4 (2001), pp 607-623. p. 608.

account of the calm bays and harbours.²⁰ The cities which are notoriously linked with the colonisation efforts of Greek city states in the Black Sea region are Miletus and Megara. There were other Greek cities which established footholds in the region, yet not on as large a scale as the two cities above. Yet these minor colonisation attempts were eventually eclipsed, much in the same way as Megara has also been eclipsed despite its role being well attested in Classical and Hellenistic sources, by the role which Miletus had as the primary founder of colonies in the region. This is likely caused by the fact that Miletus was an important city state well into the Roman era, allowing it to remain historically and politically relevant, which offers a cause for concern. We must, however, be wary of the inflated numbers of Milesian colonies in the region on account of the aforementioned fact (Strabo 14.1.6). The historiographical tradition is likely skewed as a result, as by the 4th century CE, an inordinately abundant number of colonies were attributed to Miletus. Seneca offers 75 colonies (Seneca. *Helv.* 7.2.) while Pliny offers 90 (Pliny. *NH.* 5.112). This can hinder modern scholarly work in attempting to verify if certain colonies did in fact belong to the mother cities which the ancient sources stipulate. For this reason, it is of the utmost importance to attempt to establish a methodological process so as to forego the limitations inherent in the ancient literary sources, as this thesis proposes by means of the identification of the religious institutions in the mother city, namely the patron deity, so as to determine whether the same god was worshipped in the colonies on the same scale as in the mother city. If this can be validated, then we now have at our disposal a method of

²⁰ Fyodorovna, Y.R. Greek Settlements on the Shores of the Bay of Odessa and Adjacent Estuaries. Pp. 507-537. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*. Ed : D.V. Grammenos. E. K. Petropoulos. BAR International series, 2007. p.507.

proving or disproving the ancient authors' lists of colonies belonging to respective mother cities.

A particularly telling trend emerges when studying the Greek colonies in the Black Sea region; first, they are all mostly restrained to the coast of the sea itself, and secondly, the vast majority were established at the mouths of rivers. These areas were favoured for their easy access to harbours as well as defensible peninsulas. When comparing this trend to the settlement patterns observed in Greater Greece and in the Aegean at large, it has been remarked that there existed a larger space between cities in the Black Sea in the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods compared to elsewhere. This does not necessarily suggest larger territories, but merely for strategic reasons corresponding with a favourable defensible location.²¹

Many areas of the Black Sea were never colonised despite the accessibility of the land by sea. A crossing could be made in a little more than a day from Cape Karambis to Krioumtoyon in the Crimea, on a north-south route. The entrance to the Black Sea did not witness early signs of settlement. The colonisation of the Black Sea was a relatively slow affair when compared to the colonisation of an area such as Sicily. There were not more than six permanent colonies in the Black Sea region by the beginning of the 6th century BCE.²² From c 600 to 480 BCE, the Greeks colonised the Straits of Kerch, much later than the proposed dates for the rest of the Black Sea, including the northeastern coasts and the area surrounding the Sea of Azov, which

²¹Hojte, J.M. The cities that never were: Failed attempts at colonization in the Black Sea. *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between conflicts and Coexistence*. Edited by Pia Guldager Bilde and Jane Hjarl Petersen. Aarhus University Press, 2008. p.150.

²²Hojte, J.M. The cities that never were: Failed attempts at colonization in the Black Sea. p.151.

according to the relative archaeological findings were colonised in c. 725 BCE.²³ Greek penetration into the Sea of Azov itself began relatively later than the rest of the Black Sea in the second quarter of the 4th century BCE.²⁴

The Greek colonies along the Thracian coast of the Black Sea were colonised at a relatively late date following the Ionian colonisation wave in the area headed by the Milesians and to a lesser extent, the Dorian Megarans. In the early stages of a colony's existence, it retains a close association with its mother city with regards to religious associations. When the Athenians took control of all the Megaran and Milesian colonies in the Pontic region following the Ionian Revolt in 494 BCE, the population had already deep set religious roots which they continued to adhere to despite this political shift; their religious models followed more closely those of Asia Minor, rather than those found in mainland Greece.²⁵ Recent archaeological research has shed some light on the various cult practices which have been found along the shores of the Black Sea; namely the existence of a vibrant cult of Apollo. In the region known as the Lower Bug, the area was dedicated to Apollo Iatros, the patron deity of the Milesian colonists.²⁶ The cult of Apollo, according to Gotcheva, was the principal cult of all the Greek Ionian colonies located on the western shore of the Black Sea. The cult was imported from

²³Vinogradov, J.A. Rhythms of Eurasia and the Main Historical Stages of the Kimmerian Bosphoros in Pre-Roman Times. *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between conflicts and Coexistence*. Edited by Pia Guldager Bilde and Jane Hjarl Petersen. Aarhus University Press, 2008. p.14.

²⁴Maslennikov, A.A. Classical Antiquities of the Crimean Azov Sea Coast: A View After Half a Century. *Anthropolgy and Archaeology of Eurasia*. Routledge. 2014.

²⁵Gotcheva, Z. La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec. Pp. 51-85. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*. Ed D.V Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos. BAR International series. 2007. p.55.

²⁶Solovyov, S.L. On the History of the city States in the Lower Bug Area: Borythenes and Olbia. Pp 113-125. *North Pontic Antiquities in the State Hermitage Museum*. Ed, John Boardman, Sergei L. Solovyov, Gocha R, Tsetskhladze. *Colloquia Pontica; Series on the Archaeology and Ancient History of the Black Sea Area*. Brill, Leiden. 2001. p.115.

the mother polis of these colonies, Miletus, on account of the fact that Apollo was a protector of colonisers. In the lower reaches of the Bug river, Apollo Iatros was likewise worshipped.²⁷

1.4. The Cult of Apollo

As Apollo is the primary deity discussed in this thesis, a proper introduction to the history of the cult of Apollo is essential. Apollo was not known to the Mycenaeans in the same form as he would have been to the Greeks of the Classical period. The earliest known dedications in sanctuaries associated with Apollo were bronzes associated with gods whose role was to smite, such as the Semetic god Reshep, whose role was much like Apollo's in that he brought forth plagues. Apollo's iconography closely matches that of the Hittite god Irra, namely the representations of the deity wielding a bow. The etymology of Apollo's name derives from the Dorian annual tribal gathering *Apella*. These gatherings would have been the stage in which young men would pass the liminal stage from childhood to manhood, perhaps explaining why Apollo was often depicted in statuary as a beardless youth. Apollo functioned as an intermediary in this liminal process, yet he is more closely associated with the oracles, as well as to give guidance with matters pertaining to war, family matters, the governance of city states, and colonisation.²⁸

Apollo Delphinios was the patron deity of Miletus, where he was honoured in an annual festival, which included a procession from the Delphinion in Miletus to the

²⁷ Solovyov, S.L. Archaic Berezan; Historical-archaeological Essay. Pp 205-225. *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area. A Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*. Ed. Gocha R. Tsetsckladze and Franz Steiner. Verlag, Stuttgart. 1998, p.217.

²⁸ Larson, J. *Ancient Greek Cults. A Guide*. Routledge. New York and London. 2007. p.86.

oracular shrine at Didyma. The excavation of the Delphinion in Miletus has revealed many decrees of the city regarding citizenship, inscriptions of the cult calendar, and treaties. These same official city documents have been found in the Milesian colonies' temples to Apollo. The Milesian calendar regulating the city's cult system has also survived, and as the inventory provided in this research will demonstrate, has also found its way into the Milesian colonies in the Black Sea.²⁹

1.4.1. Miletus and The Oracle of Apollo at Didyma

The Oracle at Didyma was controlled in the Archaic period by a family of aristocratic prophets called the Branchidai, a family which had traced its origins to a herdsman known for his beauty, called Branchos. The mythology indicates that Apollo was said to have fallen in love with the man, and had passed along to the young man the art of prophecy. The young man, in turn, had passed it down to his decedents, thus explaining the power of prophecy of the oracle at Didyma. This story clarifies some of the epithets associated with Apollo in Miletus, such as Philesios (Loving). Miletus retained a close relationship with the oracular centre throughout the history of the sanctuary. The priests of Apollo Delphinios in Miletus were the Molpoi, the singers, who led the procession along the sacred way in the annual festival mentioned above. These bands of signers are also found in the Milesian colonies in the Black sea of Oblia, Aegiale, Sinope and many more.³⁰ The sanctuary of Apollo at Miletus can be dated archaeologically to the 8th century BCE, when a sacred spring which purportedly had properties of inducing a trance, was enclosed within a sacred precinct. A portico was added in c. 600 BCE, so

²⁹ Ibid., p. 88.

³⁰ Robertson, N. *Government and Society at Miletus*. Phoenix. Vol 41. Pp 356-398. 1987, p. 361.

as to shelter the visitors of the temple, as well as to display the numerous votive offerings contained therein. In the 6th century BCE a monumental Ionic temple, rivaling in size the Ionian temples of Hera on Samos, and Artemis at Ephesus, was erected in Miletus. It was designed contrary to the temples of the mainland, in the form of an open courtyard surrounded by a grove of laurels and inclosing the sacred spring. A small shrine beneath a roof was found at one end, which contained the cult statue of Apollo Delphinios, sculpted by Kanachos. The statue was near life sized, cast in bronze, with Apollo standing in a frontal pose with one leg forward, while in the nude. In his left hand his bow was placed, while in his right hand there was a stag.³¹

In Miletus, Apollo Delphinios was the deity who regulated sea travel, and prior to an expedition, the rite of the *Embaterion* would be performed aboard the ships.³² For the Milesians, Apollo would have sanctioned the act of colonisation as well as safeguarded the Milesians on their travels across the sea. The sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma had a double colonnade of 11 x 21 columns in the Ionic style, derived from Milesian marble. The sanctuary was set atop a platform which was accessed by seven steps. The overall structure measured 51.13 x 109.34 m.³³ (See figure 17)

³¹Larson, J. *Ancient Greek Cults*. p. 96.

³²Robertson, N. *Government and Society at Miletus*. p. 383.

³³Spawforth, T. *The Complete Greek Temples*. Thames and Hudson, London. 2006. p. 205.

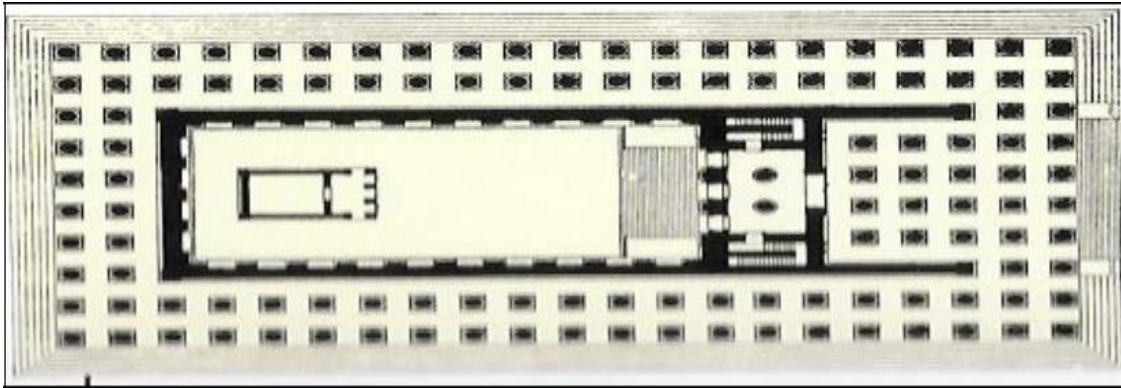


Figure 2 ³⁴

1.4.2. Apollo and other Colonising City States

It is undeniable that Megara was a colonising presence in the Black Sea along with Miletus and other cities. For Megaran colonisation, the oracle at Delphi was the dominant oracle which sanctioned or justified the movement of the Megarans into other parts of the area. The Pontic cities, as with all other Greek cities, wished to attach their foundations to a rich historical tradition, which would have been sanctioned by the Pythia at Delphi in most cases. These were mostly founded upon *post eventum* oracles, as indicated by Fontenrose, which would have served nothing more than propagandistic needs, rather than oracles which would have had an actual historical basis.³⁵ On account of the sheer volume of artefactual evidence pertaining to the cult of Apollo in Milesian colonies, as well as in the Megaran colonies, as Apollo was likewise Patron deity of Megara, as opposed to the scant findings which have been encountered in the other city's colonies, the hypothesis proposed is that Apollo was for the Milesians their patron deity, and upon colonising a new city, it was customary to

³⁴Ibid., p.205.

³⁵Madalina, D. Les Relations des cités du Pont Euxine ouest et nord avec les centres culturels du monde grec. *Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia* 17, Pp 47-70, Brill. 2011. p.55.

install their patron deity who sanctioned the very act of colonising, into their new colonies. In their colonising efforts in the Black Sea, this is reflected through the study of the archaeological data from each colony of Miletus in the Black Sea; colonies which can be verified as being distinctly Milesian on account of the omnipresence of the artefactual evidence pertaining to Apollo. While for the other city states, such as Samos and Athens, whose patron deities were Hera and Athena respectively, Apollo was nonetheless important, yet he was not the titular deity, and thus Apollo is not as prevalent as he is in the colonies of the city states to which he was worshipped as patron deity.

This thesis proposes by means of a detailed catalogue that it was the prerogative of a mother city, in this case Miletus, to install its patron deity in its colonies, and that such behavior is observable by means of the inventory of archaeological evidence provided. In addition to the inventory of Milesian colonies along the coast of the Black Sea, an analysis of the other colonising city states in the region will be proposed with the goal of exposing the patron deities of the latter so as to confirm or deny whether they also installed their titular deities in their colonies. Ultimately the question which this thesis and inventory aims to answer is whether the religious institutions of the Milesian colonies in the Black Sea allow us to identify the mother city as being truly Miletus by exploring the religion in the mother city and attempting to locate them in the colonies. If the goal of colonisation is to install the mother city's most beloved deity, as this thesis proposes, then it must follow that we can locate colonies of any given mother city based on the religious institutions found in colonies. If the colonies' religious institutions mirror those of the supposed mother city, we should be able to observe archaeological proof

of the literary claim of colonisation by a particular city state. Miletus and Megara had healthy cults of Apollo, their respective patron deities, and in their colonies in the Back Sea this practice should likewise be evident, as will be observed in the Milesian inventory. Prior to proposing the inventory, a proper review of the importance of religion with regards colonisation will be provided, so as to validate the methodology in attempting to associate a colony with a city state by means of religious institutions, all while exploring the symbiotic relationship between religion and colonisation.

Part 2: The Role of Religion in Colonisation

2.1. Complexities of Colonisation

In defining a colony, the terminology which is used renders the interpretation of archaeological finds rather problematic, a fact which may continue to hinder further work on this subject and subjects related to colonisation, such as religion. To begin, the territories are defined as either *polis*, *emporium*, or *apoikia*. While *polis* for the purpose of this study will be synonymous with city, the following terms are rather complex. The *apoikia* is defined as a settlement in a foreign country, by a population attempting to recreate their own image on foreign soil, and can be synonymous with a colony. The political status of these *apoikiai* is unclear, yet their foundation was attached with several obligations; they had to establish an *oikist*, which is a founder, and transfer the sacred fire from the mother polis to the new colony, a symbol of the continuing relations between the two.³⁶ All of the Pontic colonies founded in the last quarter of the 6th century BCE established the fundamental institutions of a *polis*, namely cult buildings, public buildings, and stone housing, as well as having found the means to establish a viable production of artisanship.³⁷

An *emporium* is defined as a locally distinct zone which is in contact with a polis by means of trading. It has no political status as such. One of the main problems in discovering the actual chronology of these colonies is the fact that these cities enjoyed continued occupation, and as a result, excavators have for the past century, been excavating layers of Byzantine, Roman, and Hellenistic stratigraphy. The Archaic layers

³⁶Tsetskhladze, G.R. *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area*. p.15.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.16.

are often lost beneath modern cities, as well as lost beneath the ever-encroaching sea levels of the Black Sea, creating further limitations to the study of the subject.³⁸

In my research I have tended to avoid these terms on account of their relevance for the nature of this work, which is negligible.³⁹

2.2. The Transfer of Cult from Mother city to Colony

The act of colonisation was more than the exploit of a *metropolis* merely adding an additional foothold in a new region so as to maintain its socio-political and economic advantages; the gods worshipped by the colonists were to be given new homes, with new places of worship, and new epithets relevant to the new geographical locations, and in some cases the area's prior historical tradition. Founding a new colony implied undertaking certain religious actions, such as the founder, or the *oikist*, going to the oracle of Apollo, to ask to receive his blessing, as well as to be identified as the founder, and to gain the advantages which came with such a title, such as a certain religious authority. The ceremonies involved in the transfer of a cult to a new colony were complex.

The sacred fire transfer, from the mother city to the new colony, was an essential stage in the ceremony in order to ensure the connection between the colony and the *metropolis*. The founding colony was said to have taken the sacred fire from the mother polis, the fire that burned constantly in the city on the communal hearth, and to deliver the fire into its new colony so as keep the bond, and not to sever the link between the

³⁸Tsetskhladze, G.R. *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area*. p.18.

³⁹For a further discussion of these terms see: Hansen, M. Nielson, H. Heine, T. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. 2004.

two cities.⁴⁰ The colonists would construct new sanctuaries on their new territory, as well as endorsed the cults, develop the religious calendars, and regulate the offices of the religious apparatus of the colony, which in theory would have mirrored the establishments found in the mother polis. The founder of a colony would often be associated with a cult of the hero, or a cult of the founder, and his memory would be perpetuated long after his demise, as his role in the cult of the colony would be given a continued importance, and his image would always serve a role in the civic and religious activities. The historical symbolism of this act for the colonists was profound; it was their first locally grown cult, which was not imported from the mother colony, and it must have served to unite the new citizens under the same objectives in line with the pride which they held for their founder.⁴¹

2.3. The Role of Cult

A cult is determined by many underlying factors which over the course of time can influence its evolution. Each cult is determined by its surroundings, the local conditions which have caused this cult to arise, such as previous heroic figures and other deities of external influences, as well as political motivations pertaining to the manipulation of cults so as to attain a desired status for a particular group of individuals. For Larsson, the power of historical events, such as war, also play a role in shaping the organisation of a city's cults. The goal of the cult according to Larson is to capture the imagination of the society.⁴² For the colonies of Miletus along the coasts of the Black Sea it is

⁴⁰ Malkin, I. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. E.J. Brill. Leiden, 1987. p.114.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.2.

⁴² Larson, J. *Ancient Greek Cults*. p.2.

apparent that Apollo was the deity who achieved the desired goal in transmitting the will of the mother city to the colony.

2.4. Founding a Colony and Oracular Consultation

While founding a colony, the *oikist*, the founder of the colony, would have been invested with the responsibility of the transitional phase of the colony. He would have been either the son of a tyrant, a person acting of his own accord, or a leader of a group of outcasts, fugitives of their own respective cities. Once established, the *oikist* would have consulted an oracle so as to establish himself as the sole *oikist*, as well as to receive the blessing from the oracle in order to continue the colonisation, or to be given the very order to colonise.⁴³ The *oikist* was consequently invested with a certain religiosity, and had the authority required to undertake such an expedition to begin with, as well as to choose the location, decide upon whether to make war on the native populations or to conduct peace, division of land, (which lands were secular and which would be sacred), how to conduct the proper rites, where to establish the cults, as well as the establishment of laws and the general governance of the colony.⁴⁴

2.5. Setting a location for a sanctuary

For the Greeks, to establish a site for cult worship on the mainland, (i.e. not for colonisation purposes), it is necessary to state that the search for the setting of a location for a sanctuary was not necessarily an arduous affair. Often sites were chosen based on the inherent “sacredness” of a site which had been used for cult purposes at

⁴³ Malkin, I. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. E.J. Brill. Leiden, 1987. p.3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.3.

earlier stages in the history of the inhabitants of the area, such as a sacred grove, a place with a fresh water stream, or a hilltop promontory; places where the divine had already been established and worshipped in the past. This, however, is not always the case when colonisation is considered. From colonisation, a new formula was developed with regards to sacred spaces.⁴⁵ Malkin states that when colonising, the sacred spaces which the *oikists* would demarcate had no bearing on the previously used sacred spaces set aside for ritual which the native inhabitants had previously utilized. The placement of the sanctuaries depended on the development of the new polis, and would have been separated according to the urbanization and the planning of the city. These sacred areas which would have been demarcated from the profane areas were just as essential to the survival of the city. They allowed the inhabitants to establish a relationship with their gods in a new land, and to allow them to maintain a connection to their mother city, by worshipping the very same gods as those worshipped in the mother *polis*.⁴⁶

Often the foundation of colonies was discussed by the ancients in terms of *ktisis*, a type of lore found in the literary tradition whose historical value is tenuous at best. However, in order to present a clear analysis of the evidence concerning the cult of Apollo in the Black Sea, I maintain that all aspects of the literary tradition must be divulged so as to develop a complete understanding of the many facets to this subject, not merely the archaeological evidence. The history of the subject must be understood as a whole, a sum of the parts, both artefactual as well as mythological and historical.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Malkin, I. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. p.136.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.139.

⁴⁷ Malkin, I. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. p.4.

The apparent fiction associated with Apollo in effect choosing the *oikist* by means of oracular response would have validated the *oikist* in their quest for new territory.⁴⁸ It is highly probable that most of these oracular responses were orchestrated, and fabricated to serve the ends of a particular group wielding power, yet the existence of the documentation for this ritual, no matter how false it may have been when attempting to establishing historicity, does offer an understanding of the importance attached to these ceremonies, and how they dictated, regulated, and sanctioned particular individuals to perform specific deeds. The god who was petitioned in these situations was Apollo. Apollo was the mediator between the world of men and that of other gods. In Plutarch (Mor. 407f-408a), he states that with Apollo's divine sanction, the *oikist* was free to decide as he saw fit to choose the site in question and the aforementioned duties which came along with act of colonising.⁴⁹

2.6. Apollo and Other Deities Attested in the Back Sea

The cult of Apollo, as will be observed in the catalogue compiled for this research, seemed to have been the cult adopted by all of the west Pontic Milesian colonies, as it was imported by the colonisers, since Apollo was the protector of Milesian colonisers.⁵⁰

The first colony established on the Pontic western coast of the Black Sea was Apollonia, bearing the name of the city' protective deity, Apollo. It must be noted that the cult of Dionysus figures prominently among the west Pontic colonies, along with the cult of the

⁴⁸ Malkin, I. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, p.5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁰ Grammenos, D.V. Petropoulos, E.K. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2* (2 vols.). BAR International Series; 1675 (1-2). Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007. P 54.

Great Mother, Cybele, as well as Demeter.⁵¹ Greek colonisation in eastern Thrace was established along the shorelines of the Thracian peninsula, near the shores of the Black Sea in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE.⁵² Apollo and his cult would have been identifiable to the Thracians of the west coast of the Black Sea. It would have been familiar in relation to their worship of Orpheus.⁵³

2.7. Importance of Apollo in the North and at large

A reason for Apollo's presence and prominence in the north of the Black Sea was that Apollo was the protector of the most northern of boundaries, as he is often known as Northern Apollo, an epithet found on the bone plaque from Berezan which will be discussed in further detail below.⁵⁴ There have been many scholars who have debated that the origin of Apollo was in fact in Asia Minor. Wilamowitz uses Homer to further this, by rightfully demonstrating that Apollo in the epic of Homer is a product of Asia Minor, and that Apollo is in fact the god who is the staunchest defender of the walls of Troy. He has a hand in the death of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, and in the original version of the death of Achilles, Apollo aids Paris in the act.⁵⁵ The cult of Apollo was established throughout Greece from the 8th century BCE, he is not yet attested in Linear B, and thus the age of the cult is reliant on the available information from the 8th century BCE. The Dorians held Apollo in high esteem, as did the Argives, for whom he was Apollo Lykeios. In Sparta, Apollo was the presiding god over the festivals of Hyakinthia,

⁵¹ Grammenos, D.V. Petropoulos, E.K. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2* (2 vols.). BAR International Series; P. 1675 (1-2). Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007. Pp. 54-73.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.1179.

⁵³ Tsetsckhadze, G.R. *Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area, Stages, Models and Native Population*. p.63.

⁵⁴ Solovyov, S.L. *On the History of the city States in the Lower Bug Area*. p.116.

⁵⁵ Burkert, W. *Olbia and Apollo of Didyma: A New Oracle Text*, in: J. Solomon, *Apollo: Origins and Influences*. Tucson/London 1994. p.49.

Gymnopaïdia, and the Karneia. Apollo was worshipped by the Corinthians, who brought the cult over to Syracuse and Corcyra. The Ionians of Eretria had their main temple devoted to Apollo Daphnephoros dating to the 8th century BCE, linking the god with the Theban cults and Delphi. A depiction of the first representation of the triad of divinities on the Sphyrelaton of Apollo, his mother Leto and sister Artemis was found in Dorian Dreros in Crete, dating to the 8th century BCE. The triad is attested in the *Iliad* (Hom. Il. 5.447).⁵⁶

The Dorians and the Ionians of Asia Minor held prominent places for Apollo in their sanctuaries. Their common sanctuaries at Cnidos and Mycale are prime examples of this fact. The Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of Delos and Delphi were already prominent by the 8th century BCE. At Delphi there seems to be votives which antedate this. Therefore, there seems to have been a sacredness already in place prior to Apollo in the precinct at Delphi. On the coasts of Asia Minor, there are numerous oracular centers of Apollo. There is an oracle at Mopsus and Amphilochos in Cilicia. In Lycia there are the oracles of Sura, Patara, and Telmessus. In the Troad, there are the oracles of Gryneion, and Zeleia and Thymbra. Yet in Asia Minor the most prominent are those of Claros and Didyma. Pausanias (7.2.6) states that Didyma predates the Ionian colonisation. Yet the archaeological evidence of the temple at Didyma of Apollo dates it only to the Hellenistic period when it had become active again, since the Persians had destroyed it in 494 BCE. Prior to the Hellenistic period the oracle had been directed by the Branchidae, the priestly class, and the oracular centre was in close relations with

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.50.

the city of Miletus.⁵⁷ Spawforth states that Miletus controlled the oracle of Didyma.⁵⁸ In 494 BCE when Miletus fell to the Persians, all oracular activities ceased. Darius deported the Branchidae and burned and pillaged the city. After 150 years, the city organized the revival of the oracle to welcome the conquering Alexander the Great, with state appointed priests. Alexander presumably encountered the true Branchidae in Bactria, and rather than restore them, he slaughtered them.⁵⁹ The importance of Apollo transcended borders in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. Apollo is present in the majority of regions, and the Black Sea is no exception.

⁵⁷ Burkert, W. *Olbia and Apollo of Didyma*. p. 51.

⁵⁸ Spawforth, T. *The Complete Greek Temples*. p 204.

⁵⁹ Larson, J. *Ancient Greek Cults*. p 97.

Part 3

Inventory of archaeological data pertaining to the cult of Apollo in the Black Sea

The following is an inventory of evidence pertaining to the cult of Apollo in the colonies of Miletus along the coast of the Black Sea. Methodological limitations in the inventory include the disparity in available archaeological evidence and literary source. Some sites are well documented while others are not. Relevant archaeological documentation can vary from colony to colony, explaining some of the disparities in content between sites. As will be observed, not all colonies follow the same subheading categorization chronology. This is on account of the relevant availability of information as well as for purposes of presenting a clear and logical progression of details so as to describe each colony in its fullest detail.

3.0. Colonies of Miletus on the Western Coast of the Black Sea

3.1. Apollonia

Geographic Location

Apollonia is located in a peninsula in the modern city of Sozopol, which is located in eastern Bulgaria on the western coast of the Black Sea, approximately 35 KM south of the city of Burgas.

History of Colonisation

Apollonia was the first Greek colony founded on the western coast of the Black Sea. The city was colonised by the Ionian city state Miletus in c. 610 BCE, after which the colony became one of the leading centres of Greek

culture on the Black Sea coast.⁶⁰ The Greek geographer Strabo stated that the city developed from an island, the modern island of Saint Kirk (Strabo 7.6.1.). Yet it has been found that even if we were to accept Strabo's information, the city eventually expanded to encompass the mainland, as the remains of domestic stone buildings dated to the 6th century BCE indicate the occupation of the land surrounding the peninsula by the Milesians.⁶¹ Apollonia's trade economy between Thrace and Greece quickly flourished on account of its accessible port and naturally sheltered harbours.

Temple of Apollo

Apollo was the patron deity of Apollonia, where he was honoured with two sanctuaries. The sanctuary of Apollo

latros, an epithet denoting the god's healing properties, is located on the island of St Cyriacus (Svet Kirik). The Sanctuary precinct was extra urban. The sanctuary of Apollo latros has been dated to the 5th century BCE. This date is based on the chronology associated with a statue of Apollo found on site. The Romans captured this statue in 72 CE according to Pliny (Pliny 4.13, 34.7), as well as Strabo (7.6.1), the latter indicating that this statue was the work of Kalamis, who was a sculptor active between 475-450 BCE. Therefore, confining the fabrication of this statue within the lifetime of said sculptor, we can posit that the temple which housed this statue would have been present within the same chronological period as the statue. Locating the two temples of

⁶⁰ Tsetsckhladze, G.R. *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area. Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*. Ed. G.R. Tsetsckhladze, and Franz Steiner. Verlag, Stuttgart. 1998. P 219. p. 98.

⁶¹ Panayotova, K. Apollonia Pontika, Recent discoveries in the Necropolis. Pp 97-107. *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area. A Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*. Ed. Gocha R. Tsetsckhladze and Franz Steiner. Verlag, Stuttgart. 1998. p. 97.

Apollo in Apollonia is problematic. Many authors have claimed that the temple of Apollo Iatros is located on the island of St Kirik in Apollonia as previously mentioned, based on the amount of architectural debris found upon excavations which, according to Frel, would have been the first temple dedicated by the colonisation party from Miletus.⁶² Other researchers locate the temple on the same island but at its most elevated position based on epigraphic evidence of dedications to Apollo, as well as based on numerous architectural finds which are indicative of sanctuaries. The temple may be located at the centre of the city of what is now modern Sozopol, where most of the decrees and the epigraphic

evidence relating to Apollo have been found.⁶³

Numismatic Evidence

Apollonia struck coins of several denominations, namely drachm, tetradrachm, diobol, and obols. One such example features Apollo in bust on the obverse with a laurel, and on the reverse, is found a crayfish as well as an anchor. This coin dates to the 4th century BCE.⁶⁴ One such instance found in the city's coinage is a depiction of Apollo seemingly as a model of statuary with the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΕ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ on the base of the statue depicted on the coin. Pick states that the coin is a depiction of the statue which supposedly was made by Kalamis previously mentioned.⁶⁵ Yet based on the evidence of the large

⁶²Frel, J. *Monuments d'Apollonie Pontique au Musée du Louvre*. IAI, 23. 1960. Pp, 239-251.

⁶³ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec*. p. 56.

⁶⁴ Avram, A, *et al*. *The Black Sea Area*. p. 932.

⁶⁵Pick, B. *Observations sur les Monnaies Autonomes d'Apollonie de Thrace*. *Revue Numismatique*. 1898. Pp 219-230.

corpus of numismatics from Apollonia, this does not appear to be the case. The inscription is only attested on one minting, dated to the 2nd century BCE, well after the construction of the statue in question. The statue is dated to the 4th century BCE, and coinage of bronze and silver depicting the same iconography without the inscription corroborate this. The coinage does not offer a clear interpretation of which incarnation of the deity is being depicted. On the obverse of this particular coin, Apollo is depicted with a branch laurel in his left hand, and his bow in his right hand. On another of the coin types, Apollo is leaning with his right hand on a tree trunk, with an anchor on the obverse. Another coin type depicts a long-haired Apollo's head on the obverse, and on the reverse the

same anchor as on the other types.⁶⁶ Oppermann states that the cult of Apollo Iatros can be relegated to every western Pontic colony.⁶⁷ Yet Gotcheva accurately consigns this theory to the many which have been erroneously accepted as fact presented by Pick, and championed by modern scholars, including Oppermann, without substantial evidence.

On another group of coinage from the 5th century BCE, Apollo is depicted in the nude or in long clothing on the reverse, with his lyre in his hand while leaning on an altar. On the obverse of this coin, he is donning a laurel crown. Gotcheva states that this is a clear representation of Apollo Citharede. This would have been the epithet of Apollo which would have been venerated at certain games and contests in the city.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p. 55.

⁶⁷ Oppermann, M. *Die Westpontischen Poleis.* In: *Zaks 2*, Beir Bern. p. 386.

⁶⁸ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p.55.

In Apollonia, an iconographic symbol present on their coinage was the dolphin. We can associate the dolphin only loosely with the city's titular deity, Apollo. The fact that the reverse on drachma coins from Apollonia depicted a dolphin has led Karayotov to posit that it proves that there was a cult of, or that the deity was worshipped under the epithet Apollo Delphinos. The author also goes on to state that the coinage found also depicted arrows, and may be associated with Apollo Iatros. Yet Karayotov qualifies this statement with the notion that Apollo Iatros was not merely a god of healing, but also the God transported from Miletus in his role as a protector of the new colonies, alongside his role as the healer.⁶⁹

Many other examples depicting Apollo on Apollonia's coinage can be found in the exhaustive work found in *Monnaies Grecques* by Friedrich Imhoof Blumer. Below I will enumerate several pertinent examples of the depictions of Apollo.

A coin dated to the 3rd to 2nd centuries BCE, showing on the obverse an image of a seated Apollo on the Omphalos while holding his bow; and on the reverse, an anchor with a crayfish with the letter A on the right with the letters ΜΥΣ, as shown in figure 3.⁷⁰



Figure 3.⁷¹

Next we find a diobol denomination representing Apollo with laureate, and on the reverse an anchor with a crayfish

⁶⁹Karayotov, I. *Le Monnayage de Messambria et les Monnayages d'Apollonia, Odessa et Dionysopolis*. Pp 127-174. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*. Ed: D.V. Grammenos. E. K. Petropoulos. BAR International series . 2007. p. 130.

⁷⁰Imhoof-Blumer. *Monnaies Grecques* 47; cf. SNG BM Black Sea 188. J. Mhuller. 1883.

⁷¹Imhoof-Blumer. *Monnaies Grecques* 47; cf. SNG BM Black Sea 188. J. Mhuller. 1883.

to the right and the letter A to the left.

The coin labelled as figure 4 is dated to c. 325-300 BCE.



Figure 4.⁷²

A depiction of a lion alongside Apollo is found on coinage type in Apollonia Pontica dating from the 2nd century BCE.⁷³ These examples indicate that there is ample archaeological evidence related to the cult of Apollo at Apollonia based on the numismatic evidence alone.

Epigraphic Evidence

The evidence from 3rd and 2nd century monuments from Apollonia are more indicative of the state of the cult of Apollo in the region. Decrees consisting

of eight fragments aid in our understanding of the cult of Apollo, as two of them have retained the last portion of the inscription, which states that the decrees would have been placed in the temple of Apollo. The six others were always to be kept in the temple. This temple would have been the city's main temple, where all of the public records would have been kept along with the lapidary archives.⁷⁴

The oldest decree found at Apollonia is from the 3rd century BCE.⁷⁵ However, all that remains of this is the lower left corner. This epigraphic evidence denotes the importance of the temple of Apollo to the city, as it was given to the city of Apollonia by Messambria, another Milesian colony, in recognition of a general who had done deeds to

⁷² Imhoof in RSN XIV, p. 141, 2b.

⁷³ Avram, A. *et al.* The Black Sea Area. p. 932.

⁷⁴ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p.55.

⁷⁵ IGBulg. I, No 388.

secure the safety of the city. Other epigraphic evidence linked to Apollo is in the form of a decree which was put forth by the council of Apollonia to honour a man from Histria who came to the aid of Apollonia. In the decree, the temple of Apollo is mentioned on numerous occasions. The person is said to have stopped the attempt of outsiders to desecrate the temple of Apollo, and in thanks of this act a statue of him would be erected and placed in the temple.⁷⁶ It has been interpreted by Gotcheva, based on the fact that in this inscription Apollo has more than one Epithet, *Iatros* here appearing for the first time, that it was most definitely an epithet of the Hellenistic period. The author deduces that on account of the numerous epithets, that there must have been two temples of Apollo in the

city, to cause the author of the decree the need to specify where to erect the statue. The late arrival of this aspect of the cult of Apollo in Apollonia is evident on account of the coinage relating to the *Iatros* aspect of Apollo, which appear in the 3rd century BCE. The decrees are unclear on another crucial detail, they do not specify in which of the cities the statue is to be erected, as it has been found that there were also two temples of Apollo in Histria, another colony of Miletus which will be discussed below.⁷⁷ In 2013 the Balkan Heritage Field School unearthed a fragment of East Greek pottery with a dedication to Apollo on the Island of St Kirk, further advancing the notion of at least one of the temples being located on the island, also denoting the eastern Greek presence in the region.

⁷⁶IGBulg I No, 388 bis.

⁷⁷ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p.56.

Statuary

The geographer Strabo states that the cult statue of Apollo sculpted by Kalamis was present in this colony up until the invasion by Marcus Lucullus, who promptly brought it back to Rome at the conclusion of his campaign (Strabo 7.6.1). Pliny states that the statue was a colossus measuring 45 feet in height (Pliny. N.H. XXXIV, 39). The statue however is wholly missing from the archaeological record, making any true assessment impossible. The ancient literary accounts of the colonisation of the Black Sea by the Milesians, whose patron deity was Apollo, indicate that they exported the cult into their colonies to serve the same purpose as it had done in their own city. It is not mere coincidence that the first colony was named after the deity in question. It has

been postulated that the titular deity of Apollonia was Apollo with the Epithet *ἰατρόσ*; yet Gotcheva refuses this postulation, which he states has been founded mostly on misinterpretations of the statue of Calamis in the literary sources, a result of uncritical readings, and the numismatic evidence found by studying the coinage produced by Apollonia.⁷⁸

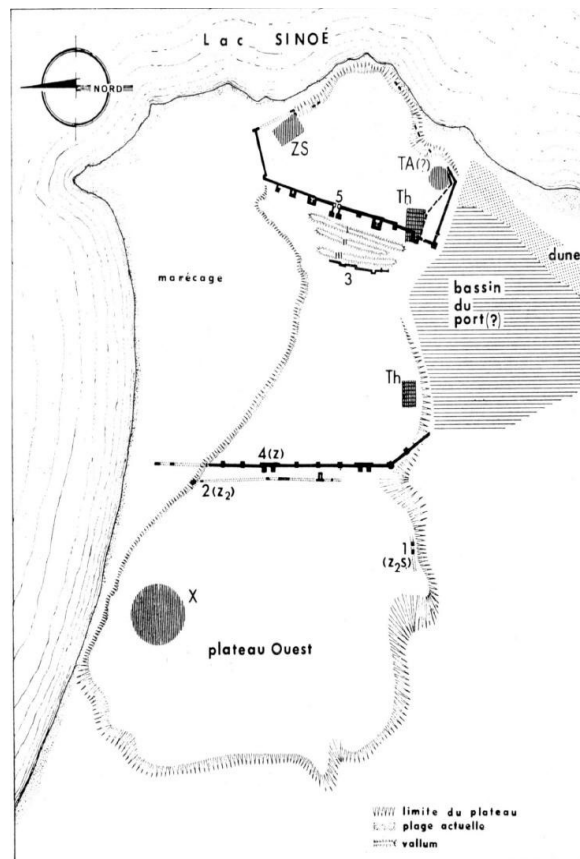
3.2. Histria

Geographic Location

The name of the city is derived from its geographical location, as it was at the mouth of the River Istros, later Latinised to Histria. Histria is located on a rocky promontory. Its coastal waters are deep, and it was attached to the mainland by an isthmus, making the city easy to defend. The inhabitants would have had an ideal view of the area surrounding

⁷⁸ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p. 55.

them, as the promontory stuck out into the Sea; they could have seen as far as the mouth of the Danube (Istros River) towards Cape Midia. The placement by the sea would have been advantageous for a colony, while the river Istros would have also yielded its own benefits.⁷⁹ It is located in modern Romania, near the village of Istria. (See Figure 5 for detailed map of the city).⁸⁰ Since 1990 the site has been excavated by P. Alexandrescu and A. Suceveanu.⁸¹ On Histria, Pippidi published fragmentary decrees and dedications to Apollo Pholeuterios.⁸²



13. Histria, plan schématique d'ensemble. 1(Z2S) : Traces de l'enceinte du VI^e siècle av. n. è. ; 2 (Z2) : Enceinte du V^e siècle av. n. è. ; 3 : Enceinte hellénistique ; 4 : (Z) : Enceinte romaine du Haut-Empire avec des réparations postérieures ; 5 : Enceinte de la forteresse du Bas-Empire ; X : Secteur des habitations d'époque archaïque ; ZS : Zone sacrée (secteur du temple grec) ; TA (?) : Emplacement hypothétique du temple d'Apollon ; Th : Édifices d'époque romaine, à caractère thermal.

Figure 5.⁸³

⁷⁹Romanescu, G. *The Catchment Area of the Milesian Colony of Histria, Within the Razim-Sinoie Lagoon Complex (Romania): Hydrogeomorphologic, Economic and Geopolitical Implications*. University of Iasi, Romania. 2014 . p. 324

⁸⁰Theodorescu, D. Notes Histriennes. *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, Fasc. 1 (1970), pp. 29-48. Presses Universitaires de France. p. 42.

⁸¹Karayotov, I. Le Monnayage de Messambria et les Monnayages d'Applonia, Odessa et Dionysopolis. Pp 127-174. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*. Ed Dimitros V Grammenos. Ellias K. Petropoulos. BAR International series . 2007.p. 126.

⁸²Hind, J.G.F. *Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea. (1982-1992) Archaeological Reports*. No. 39. (1992-1993) pp 82-112). P 90. and D. Pippidi et al, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Grawcase et Latinae Vol 1. Histria*. Bucharest, 1983.

⁸³Theodorescu, D. Notes Histriennes. p.42.

History of Colonisation

Histria was founded by Miletus soon after the colonisation of Apollonia, in the 7th century BCE according to Herodotus (Hdt. 2.33).

For the colonisation of the city it is probable, according to Malkin, that Miletus would have consulted the oracles of Apollo.⁸⁴ Other authors propose that perhaps the Milesians would have consulted the oracle of Apollo at Didyma.⁸⁵ Yet the lack of evidence for this assertion will be discussed further below.

Statuary

Evidence from Histria regarding the cult of Apollo dates to the 4th century BCE, with a dedication on a statue base with

the inscription in honour of Apollo Iatros.⁸⁶ The statue is depicted on Roman imperial coins from Histria.⁸⁷ This aspect is also found on three inscriptions in the city.⁸⁸

Epigraphic Evidence

An inscription found on what appears to be an architrave of the temple,⁸⁹ which along with the inscription mentioned above, seem to honour the eponymous priests of Apollo, which in this case, based on the same patronymic construction of their names, seem to be related.⁹⁰ This has led to the conclusion that the cult of Apollo Iatros was of a more ancient origin in Histria, and that its priests could have been hereditary. Based on the epigraphic evidence from

⁸⁴ Malkin, I. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. p. 17.

⁸⁵ Shachar, I. Greek Colonization and the Eponymous Apollo. *Mediterranean Historical Review*; 15:2, 1-26. p. 6. 2000. And H W Park *The oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*. London, 1985. Pp 10-11.

⁸⁶ ISM I no 169.

⁸⁷ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. PH.D at the University of Pennsylvania. 1998 Pp 51-53.

⁸⁸ Shachar, I. Greek Colonization and the Eponymous Apollo. p. 247.

⁸⁹ ISM I no 144.

⁹⁰ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec*. p. 57.

Histria, it is clear that the cult of Apollo which was brought over by the Milesians was replaced by the cult of Apollo Iatros, by the end of the 4th century BCE. Yet in the Hellenistic period, a temple to the original Apollo, as protector of the city, was erected.⁹¹

Temple of Apollo

Much like at Apollonia, the temple of Apollo Iatros in Histria served as the city's archives for public enactments and records.⁹² The sanctuary to Apollo Iatros, has been dated from the 2nd century BCE, yet it may have its origins in the 6th century BCE.⁹³ The Cult of Apollo Φωλευτηριος is also attested to in the 3rd century BCE.⁹⁴

The site of Histria was discovered in 1914 by V. Parvan. In 1994, A.

Suceveanu and M.V. Angelescu. The archaeologists uncovered a Hellenistic era marble frieze depicting several deities, including Apollo, found in a foundation deposit.⁹⁵ The location of the temple of Apollo is beneath the foundations of a basilica just south of a Roman fortress. The epithet associated with this temple would have been Apollo Iatros, the city's patron deity, based on the analysis of certain architectural fragments as well as the remnants of the base of the cult statue. In the temenos, a Doric marble architrave dated to c. 340-330 BCE has been discovered, it would have belonged to a *naiskos*, or a stoa. This indicates that there would have been another temple within this

Theodorescu has stated

91

92 temenos.⁹

⁹¹ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p. 58.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 58.

⁹³ Hansen, M. Nielson, H. Heine, T. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. 2004 p. 933.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 933.

⁹⁵ Bilde, P. Et Al. *Archaeology of the Black Sea Region in Classical Antiquity. 1993-2007. Archaeological Reports. No 54 (2007-2008) pp. 115-173. p. 126.*

⁹⁶ Theodorescu, D. *Notes Histriennes.* p. 46.

that based on the findings relevant to a sima, (Figure 6) and comments on its stylistic qualities, that the structure would have been assembled similarly to the style of the mother *polis*, Miletus.

This can enlarge our scope in future research of understanding the numerous influences which the metropolis would have had on her colonies in the Pontic region.⁹⁷

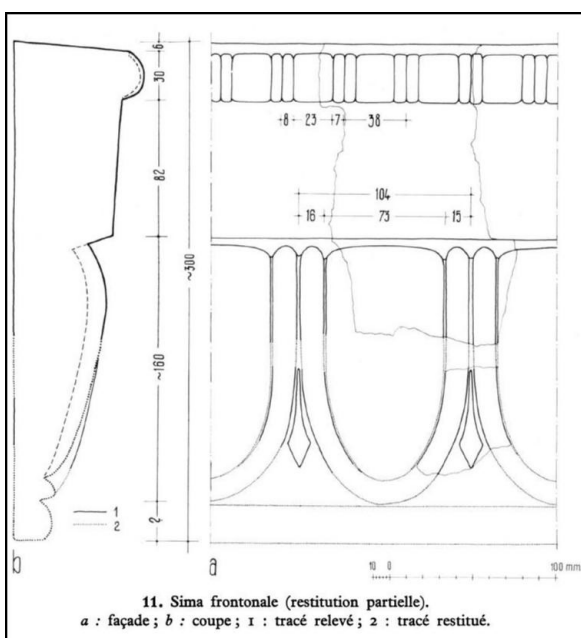


Figure 6.⁹⁸

⁹⁷Theodorescu, D. Notes Histriennes. p. 39.

⁹⁸Theodorescu, D. Notes Histriennes. p. 39.

Numismatic Evidence

The cult of Apollo *latros* in Apollonia and Histros are evident based on the numismatic evidence according to Karayotov. The author states that the coins depicting the god with his arrows, points to the mythology of the Hyperborean, where Apollo struck down the cyclops with his arrows.⁹⁹ Apollo is also depicted on the coinage of the city in his *latros* aspect. In Histria and in Olbia, as will be discussed below, there are also coins depicting the wheel, which the author signifies is a symbol of Apollo *latros*, yet does not offer any further proof for this attestation.¹⁰⁰

3.3. Odesso

Geographic Location

Odesso is located in the modern city of Varna in Bulgaria, on the western coast of the Black Sea.¹⁰¹

Colonisation History

Odesso was a colony of Miletus, and was colonised in the reign of Astyages in Media, c 593-587 BCE (Strabo 7.6.1), (Plin NH 4.11.45). Odesso was the third Milesian colony, founded in the same era as the previous, and based on the etymology of the name, it has been widely agreed upon that the name is derived from Thracian, without any Hellenic significance. Like all other Milesian colonies of the west Pontic shore, the cult of Apollo was predominant, although there is no

⁹⁹ Karayotov, I. *Le Monnayage de Messambria et les Monnayages d'Apollonia, Odessa et Dionysopolis*. p. 128.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.131.

¹⁰¹ Hansen, M. Nielson, H. Heine, T. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p. 936.

evidence for a cult of Apollo Iatros specifically with that epithet.¹⁰²

Statuary

According to Hoddinott, there is a marble bust of Apollo's head which has been found in the city, yet the author does not offer more information on this discovery.¹⁰³

Numismatics

Apollo appears on the first coins produced by Odesso in the 4th century BCE, and this trend continued into subsequent centuries.¹⁰⁴

Temple of Apollo

Evidence of an Ionic temple dated around the time of the founding of the city has been tentatively identified based on the remnants of an architrave seeming to be associated with a temple.

An inscription found on the architrave of the structure shows the inscribed name of the deity Απολλω. Much like in Histria and Apollonia, and nearly all of Miletus' colonies in the Black Sea coastal region, Odesso's priests of Apollo were eponymous.¹⁰⁵

During the pre-Roman era, it can be stated that Apollo was the patron deity of Odesso, much like Apollonia and Histria. Also, much like these two earlier cities, nine of the 45 recorded names of the priests have patronymic names derived from Apollo.¹⁰⁶

Epigraphic Evidence

The cult of Apollo is attested based on Epigraphic evidence dating to the 5th century BCE.¹⁰⁷ Epigraphic evidence along with numismatic findings have led

¹⁰² Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p. 59.

¹⁰³ Hoddinott, R. F. *Bulgaria in Antiquity: An Archaeological Introduction*, London. 1975, p. 51.

¹⁰⁴ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p. 59.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁷ Hind, J.G.F. *Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea.* Pp 82-112.

archaeologists to infer that the cult of Apollo was brought over with the Milesians in their waves of colonisation in the area and that it remained as one of the main cults of the city until the Roman period.¹⁰⁸

3.4. Tomis

Geographic Location

Tomis is located in the modern city of Constanta in Romania, on the western coast of the Black Sea.

Colonisation History

Tomis was colonised by Miletus in the 6th century BCE. This colonisation process was rather indirect, as they were founded by Histria, a colony of Miletus.¹⁰⁹ The eponymous officials of the city were priests of Apollo.¹¹⁰ There was a cult of Apollo which is attested in

the second century BCE, having its origin in Miletus.¹¹¹ The Tomian calendrical system has also been found to correspond to those found in Miletus.¹¹²

Epigraphic Evidence

The epigraphic evidence relating to Apollo is scant yet still existent. Founded at the same time as Odesso, Apollo was also the protector of the city at the time of its foundation. Several decrees naming Apollo as the deity of the city have been found, yet evidence of a temple is lacking. These inscriptions state that the decrees are to be placed in the Agora. Given that there is little evidence for a temple, this would be an apt location for such decrees. More evidence of the cult of Apollo in

¹⁰⁸ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p. 60.

¹⁰⁹ Buzoianu, L and Barbulescu, M. Tomis. Pp. 287-336. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea.* Ed: D.V Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos. BAR International series. 2007 p. 289.

¹¹⁰ I. Tomis. 2, 5.

¹¹¹ Hansen, M. Nielson, H. Heine, T. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis.* p. 941.

¹¹² I. Tomis. 2, 5.

Tomis can be found in the Roman era, at least an indication that the cult may have survived from its early origins well into the imperial era, proof that the cult was present prior to the Roman era.¹¹³

Numismatics

Coins from the city depict the god Apollo in various forms which can also be found in the cities already treated in the inventory.¹¹⁴ Apollo's representation on coins with the possible Puthios epithet have also been attested to in the numismatic record of the colony.¹¹⁵

Temple of Apollo

According to Buzoianu and Barbulescu, there were several temples to Apollo dating to the 3rd century.¹¹⁶ A 2nd century CE altar to Apollo Agyeus has been found, allowing nonetheless for

evidence pertaining to continuity into the Roman era, and the longevity of the cult, which may indicate an earlier cult of Apollo with a temple.¹¹⁷ The epithet seems to have a connection with the protection of the roads of the city; Apollo's traditional role.¹¹⁸ The Tomians also sent a participant to the games in honour of Pythian Apollo at Smyrna. Whether this is proof of a long standing traditional devotion to Apollo or merely the duties to which a city would have had to abide by is unclear, yet this still remains an interesting factor, and could not be ignored in the inventory.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p.60.

¹¹⁴ ISM II 5.6.

¹¹⁵ ISM II p.144.

¹¹⁶ Buzoianu, L and Barbulescu, M. *Tomis. Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea.* p 299. And (ISM II 6)

¹¹⁷ (ISM 116. 304).

¹¹⁸ Buzoianu, L and Barbulescu, M. *Tomis. Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea.* p. 312.

¹¹⁹ Buzoianu, L and Barbulescu, M. *Tomis. Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea.* p. 312. And (ISM II 189)

3.5. Burgas

Geographic Location

Burgas was located on the Shiloto Hill, on the Bulgarian coast of the Black Sea.

Temple of Apollo

In Burgas there was a sanctuary of Apollo Karsenos, within which a horde of treasure and coins was discovered.

Numismatics

The coins discovered depicted the anchor on the Medusa on the obverse and the anchor on the reverse. It has been found that these coins represent a coin type found in late mintings in Apollonia.¹²⁰

Colonies of Miletus on the Northern Coast

3.6. Olbia

Geographic Location

Olbia is located in what is now modern Parutino, in the area of the River Bug, or Hyspanis as the Greeks called it, and the Dnieper. Olbia is located on the west bank of the Bug Liman, and East of Odessa. The city is triangular with its three points being the edge of the shore

of the Bug Liman to the east, the Zaiachaia Balka (Hare's Ravine) to the west, and the Severnaia Balka (North Ravine), to the north. The city is naturally divided in two, first by a large natural terrace nearly 40 m above the Bug which is traversed by two ravines, the first and second Transvers Balkas, effectively known as the upper city, and

¹²⁰Karayotov, I. Le Monnayage de Messambria et les Monnayages d'Apollonia, Odessa et Dionysopolis. p. 131.

the lower city, which is a lower terrace which runs along the shores of the Bug. The lower city, (pictured in figure 7), is now in the Bug Liman.¹²¹



Figure 7.¹²²

Colonisation History

Olbia was a colony of Miletus according to Herodotus (Hdt.4.78.3). Eusebius states that the colony was founded in 647 BCE by the Milesians. Archaeological work has tended to corroborate a date near this one,

namely c. 600-500 BCE by Greeks from Miletus on the Hypanis.

Epigraphic Evidence

The Olbian patron deity is attested epigraphically, namely Apollo Delphinios, who's first dedications began c. 5th century BCE. A grafitto found on a skyphos dated to the mid 5th century BCE mentions Apollo under the following epithets, Delphinios, Istros, Thargelios, and Lykeios.¹²³

A circular inscription engraved on an outer and inner lip from an attic vase dated to the 5th century BCE, coated with black lacquer, details a personification of the north wind, Boreas, in connection with the people, the *boreikoi*. This inscription also suggests that the patron deity of the society was Apollo Boreas. Herodotus

¹²²Treister, M.J. and Vinogradov, Y.G. Archaeology on the northern Coast of the Black Sea. *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol 97. No 3. (1993) pp 521-563) p.535.

¹²³Hansen, M. Herman, N. Heine, T. An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis. p 939, Y. Vinogradov and Rusyaeva 1980-25 and Dubois 1996.

states that Athens set up a sanctuary to Boreas after a victory which they thought was by the grace of the north wind (Hdt. 7-189). Yet Apollo Boreas is so far only attested at Olbia. A 6th century BCE dedication by Ionian settlers also points to Apollo Boreas.¹²⁴ These inscriptions relate to the northern manifestation of Apollo. The inscription pertains to Bios, Phos and Cosmos, all attributes and perhaps epithets of Apollo Boreas. Apollo in all his manifestations was a patron deity of Olbia. The fact that Olbia was a colony of Miletus, a city with a profound dedication to the Oracle of Apollo at Didyma, justifies the overt reverence for Apollo. The two sanctuaries of Olbia which were dedicated to Apollo, one to

the east of the city and one to the west, also show this dedication to Apollo Delphinios, an attribute of the god likewise honoured in Miletus. At Olbia Apollo is alongside Zeus and Athena in the eastern sanctuary. In the western sanctuary, he is honoured under the epithet Iatros, the Healer, as well as Boreas in this same sanctuary.¹²⁵ Other inscriptions of Olbia point to the worship of Apollo Neomenios, Apollo of the first month.¹²⁶ Unlike the previous inscription which is dated to the 3rd century BCE, this one is dated earlier to the 6th century BCE.¹²⁷ There is an additional dedication which refers to Apollo under the epithet Prostrates, meaning the protector, in his traditional role as protector of the city.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ OlbiaD 83a-b: Rusjaeva 2007- 100: Birzescu 2010,101: SEG 53;788.

¹²⁵ Harland, P.A. *Greco-Roman Associations: texts Translations and Commentary*. II North Coast of the Black Sea and Asia Minor. De Gruyter. 2014 p 11: Rusjaeva on Apollo Iatros 2008. p.93.

¹²⁶ OlbiaD 96.

¹²⁷ Harland, P.A. *Greco-Roman Associations: texts Translations and Commentary*. p 12.

¹²⁸ Heinen, H. Greeks and Iranians and Romans on the Northern Shore. Pp 1-24. *North Pontic Archaeology: Recent Discoveries and Studies*. Ed: Gocha, R Tsetsckhladze. Colloquia Pontica, Vol 6. Brill: Leiden. 2001. p. 22. In iosPE 1, No. 93.

Temple of Apollo

An intramural sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios, located next to the Agora, as well as vestiges of a 3rd century BCE temple, overlooking an altar have been located.¹²⁹ These findings have been linked with fragmentary evidence of Ionic columns found sparsely scattered around the site. The temple, which would have been colonnaded, measured 17 x 34-40 m, and was a hexastyle comprising 13 columns on the length sides, with six on the flanks. These measure's are nonetheless tentative, as the evidence is fragmentary.¹³⁰

This sanctuary was located in the central eastern *temenos*, which is dated to 530 BCE. This *temenos* also contained the main altar of Apollo

Delphinios as well as his temple *in antis*.¹³¹ There is also evidence of another cult of Apollo, denoting the epithet *Iatros*, which was attested with a sanctuary in the western *temenos* as stated previously dating to the late 6th and early 5th century BCE. In the area surrounding the temple there were finds of nearly twelve stone altars, two round altars, along with the remnants of an Attic portico.¹³² The eastern and western walls of the *temenos* have also been recovered, along with another walled area within the *temenos* with its own *propylon*. Given that the temple dates to the 6th century BCE, it is heretofore the earliest attested temple archaeologically in the North Pontic region. Based on the trenches of the temple walls, which have been looted,

¹²⁹Spawforth, T. *The Complete Greek Temples*. p.187.

¹³⁰Spawforth, T. *The Complete Greek Temples*. p.187.

¹³¹Hansen, M. Nielson, H. Heine, T. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p. 940. And Karasyov 1964 49-97; and Pichikyan 1984. Pp 178-184.

¹³²Treister, M.J. and Vinogradov, Y.G. *Archaeology on the northern Coast of the Black Sea*. Pp 535-536.

as well as the two sections of the floor which had been found in situ, the plan of the temple can be tentatively reconstructed. The temple was *in antis* or prostyle, and its façade would have been 7.30 m wide. Many remnants of architectural adornments and ceramics were found. A set of painted Ionic architectural terracotta, dated to the Archaic period were found, as well as fragments of simas, antefixes, calypters, and acroteria. The remnants of Ionic bases in the Asia Minor style, which would have been painted in red, as well as stone acroterion were also discovered in the western *temenos*, dating to the 6th century BCE. The *temenos* with the sanctuary of Apollo latros was in use until the 2nd century BCE. There are also fragments of a

marble statue of Apollo dated to this period.¹³³

Other Cults Attested

The cult of Apollo at Olbia was conducted by the *melpoi*, the band of wealthy dancers and singers. Other cults were also attested in the area of Apollo's sanctuary, which included, Dionysus Bakcheios, Bakchos, and Lakchos, all of which are attested from the 6th century onward. The eastern *temenos*, dated to c. 530 BCE, held the cults of Apollo Delphinos, Zeus, and Athena. All of these were encompassed within the main sanctuary of Apollo, with its altar, and a temple *in antis*. The western *Temenos*, dated to the 6th BCE, contained the sanctuaries Apollo letros, Hermes, Aphrodite, and Kybele.¹³⁴

¹³³Treister, M.J. and Vinogradov, Y.G. *Archaeology on the northern Coast of the Black Sea*. p 536.

¹³⁴Hansen, M. Nielson, H. Heine, T. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p 939.



Figure 8. ¹³⁵

In the area which has come to be known as the Roman citadel, the remnants of a temple to Apollo Prostates were found in 1905 near the northern bounds of the city at Severnaia Balka, where Hellenistic fortification walls are found along with the city gates, attesting to a third sanctuary to Apollo in the city.¹³⁶

By the second half of the 6th century BCE, the *temenos* (see figure 8) held temples of Apollo and Zeus. The remains of the temple of Apollo include a stone path, which has a preserved length of 20 m, which would have presumably led from the agora, a small grove of trees, filled with black earth, a stone socle remnant of an altar located just east of the stone path, and a square structure, measuring 4.80m² (see figure 10 of Olbia below for measurement of temple). Within the *temenos* there were over twenty circular pits and four depressions excavated. The hollows were full of late Archaic pottery, with many fragments dedicated to Zeus, Athena, yet mostly to Apollo Delphinios.¹³⁷ Also in these hollows were late 6th and early 5th century BCE skyphoi fragments with dedications to

¹³⁵Treister, M.J. and Vinogradov, Y.G. *Archaeology on the northern Coast of the Black Sea*. p. 536.

¹³⁶Kocybala, A.X. *Greek Colonisation on the north shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic period*. p.227.

¹³⁷ Kocybala, A.X. *Greek Colonisation on the north shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic period*. p.243.

Apollo.¹³⁸ Excavations of the southern boundary of the *temenos* revealed another fill of late 6th and early 5th century BCE of approximately fifteen dedications to Apollo Delphinios.¹³⁹

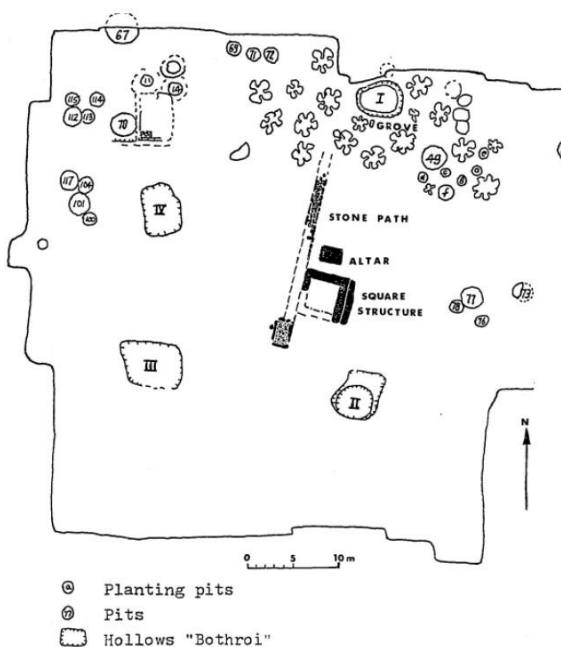


Figure 9.¹⁴⁰

For a plan of the Archaic *Temenos* of Olbia, see figure 10.

The figure below offers a clear image of the temple remnants on site.

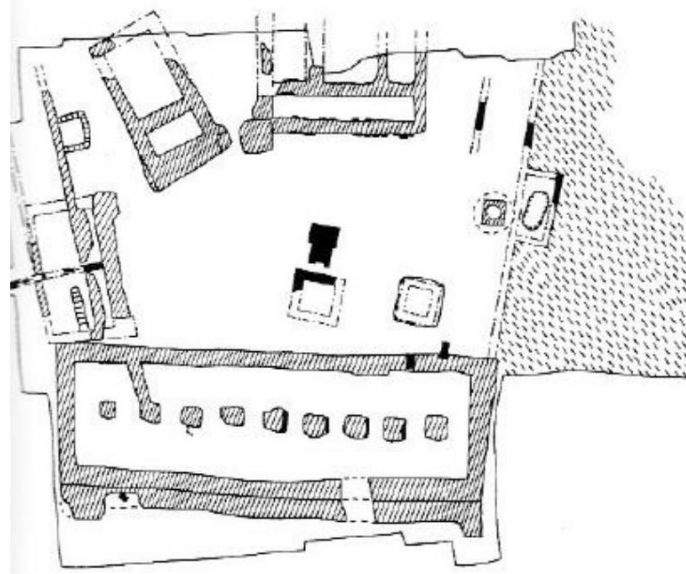


Figure 10.¹⁴¹ Olbia, plan of the sanctuary of Apollo: the putative colonnaded temple is the structure partially shown in the upper centre

Numismatics Evidence

Numismatic evidence from Olbia reveals that the city did indeed have a thriving cult of Apollo. Starting from the 4th century BCE, there appears to be a larger representation of the bust of Apollo on coins than for any other deity in the city. In the Berlin Collection alone

¹³⁸ Ibid., p.245.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p.247.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p.244.

¹⁴¹ Spawforth, T. *The Complete Greek Temples*. p.187.

there are over 146 Olbian coins, and of these over thirty show the bust of Apollo. The cult of Apollo in the colony of Olbia may be traced back to the mother city Miletus, where Apollo was also the titular deity. Most of the colonies of Miletus seem to have had a strong relationship with Apollo, and thus we can infer, they also upheld a strong relation to their colonizing city. Another reason for the prominence of Apollo's cult in Olbia, the northernmost Greek colony along the coast of the Black Sea, was Apollo's attachment to the mythology surrounding the Hyperborean, and his aspect of Apollo of the North. The Hyperboreans are often linked with the Greek's perception of the north Pontic region. They were associated with the river Istros, Thrace, and with Boreas.

The Greeks viewed

the Hyperboreans, the worshippers of Apollo, as the personification between the liminal boundary between life and death. Herodotus names four of the tribes of Scythia, namely The Hyperboreans, the Issedonians, the Arimaspians, and the Griffins (Hdt 4.13.27-32). Herodotus here is citing Aristeas of Proconnesus' poems describing the authors visit to the land of the Issedones. Apollo Hyperborean's cult was an important facet of the cults in the Olbian, and Histrian region.¹⁴² These coins from the Collection of the Berlin Museum, (see figures 11 and 12), are presumably dated to the roman imperial period, yet the archaicizing nature of the representation of a cult statue of Apollo could indicate an earlier cult of Apollo at Olbia.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Okhotnikov, S.B and Ostroverkhov, A.S. Achilles on the Island of Leuke. Pp. 537- 562. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*. Ed : D. V. Grammenos. E. K. Petropoulos. BAR International series . 2007 p. 547.

¹⁴³ Hirst, G.M. The Cults of Olbia. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol 22. (1902) pp 245-267. p 253 and p.258.



FIG. 2 — BRONZE COIN OF OLBIA IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM



Figure 12.¹⁴⁵

In both examples, the god is represented with the *calathus*, the crown representing the local deity. Pick argues that the representation of this feature on the coin must indicate that the coin was recreating an existing statue, which the author dates to the 6th century BCE based on an Apollo statue type from Naxos. Pick argues that the second coin depicts Apollo leaning on a

column, which is his aspect as Apollo Prostates, or Agyieus.¹⁴⁶ According to Hirst, the Epithet of Apollo represented here is most probably Apollo Prostates.¹⁴⁷ Although Apollo Iatros seems to have been the titular deity of Olbia in the 6th century BCE, it is clear that during the later Roman imperial period, Apollo Prostrates was given this role, based on the numerous inscriptions dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. Based on the permanence of Greek city cults, it is likely that the cult of Apollo would have been brought from Miletus and would have survived well into the common era. The epithet Prostates would have been the protector of those who entered new lands or left their homes, much like the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 253.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p.258.

¹⁴⁶ Hirst, G.M. The Cults of Olbia. p. 257; Pick, B..Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien, Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands i.1. Berlin, 1898.

¹⁴⁷ Hirst, G.M. The Cults of Olbia. p.254.

role of Apollo Aguius.¹⁴⁸ Numismatic evidence has found coins with arrows and Dolphins, perhaps pertaining to aspects of Apollo, such as the archer, and Delphinios.¹⁴⁹

There has also been the discovery of bronze bars in the shape of dolphins. Evidence of these dolphins have been found in several cities along the west Pontic shores, yet their relation to Apollo is merely hypothetical.¹⁵⁰ An Olbian coin found in Berezan featuring Apollo on the obverse, with his head turned to the right has been dated to the 4th century BCE. The reverse has a dolphin, turned to the left, with a corn ear and grain above the animal. The word OLBIO is written below.¹⁵¹ These coins were found in the

north-western area of the

excavation area named B, in Pit 71. (Figures 13 and 14 show similar coins).



Figure 13.

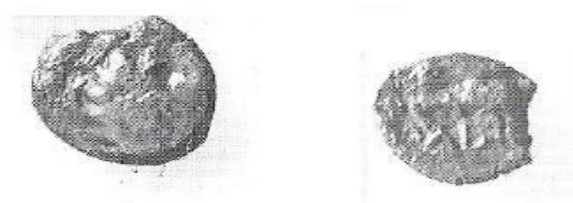


Figure 14.¹⁵²

The religious life of Olbia can thus be linked with that of Miletus, a fact which can be attested to in the calendrical interpretations, as will be discussed with

¹⁴⁸Hirst, G.M. *The Cults of Olbia*. p.255.

¹⁴⁹Hansen, M. Nielson, H. Heine, T. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p.940.

¹⁵⁰Karayotov, I. *Le Monnayage de Messambria et les Monnayages d'Apollonia, Odessa et Dionysopolis*. p. 130.

¹⁵¹Gilevich, A.M. *Coins from the Excavation on Berezan Island, 1962-1991*. Pp 127-154. *North Pontic Antiquities in the State Hermitage Museum*. Ed, John Boardman, Sergei L. Solovyov, Gocha R, Tsetsckhladze. *Colloquia Pontica; Series on the Archaeology and Ancient History of the Black Sea Area*. Brill, Leiden. 2001 p 138. ((Olbia-Inv, No. B. B.90.,273, figs 21 22.

¹⁵²Gilevich, A.M. *Coins from the Excavation on Berezan Island*. p.147.

the Olbian Calendar inscription graffito.¹⁵³

Olbia Calendar Inscription Graffito

The Olbian Calendar Inscription is a collection of three texts scratched underneath the foot of an Attic Black Glazed skyphos. The first inscription is the calendar inscription, inscribed in a long spiral, and on this there is also an inscription which offers a dedication to Apollo with numerous Epithets. The Olbian Calendar inscriptions denote the Milesian/Olbian calendar, and also denotes the importance of the cult of Apollo in the region¹⁵⁴ (See figure 15).

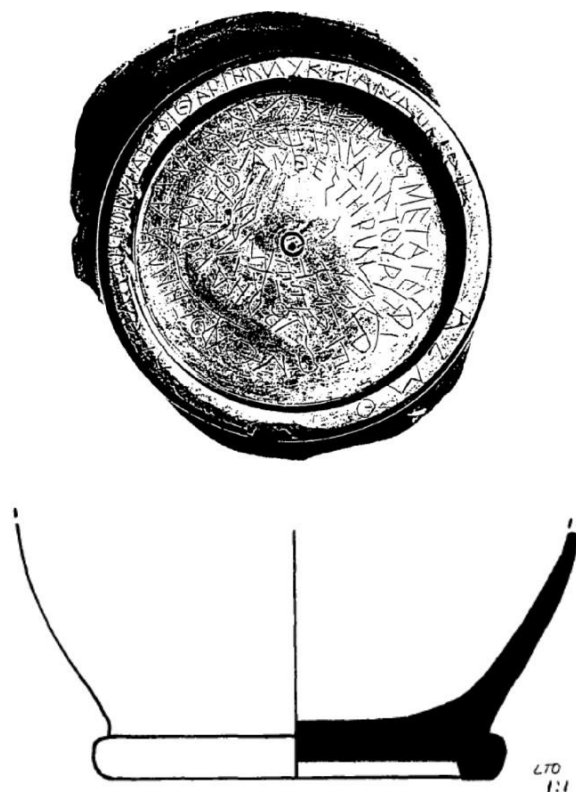


Figure 15. ¹⁵⁵

The Olbian Calendar Inscription allows for a clear representation of the relation the city had to the cult of Apollo, as well as the colony's relationship with its mother city, Miletus. The Graffiti contains the 12 months of the Olbian calendar, all while providing valuable

¹⁵³ Osborn, R. Reciprocal Strategies: Imperialism, Barbarism, and Trade in Archaic and Classical Olbia. Pp333-346. *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between conflicts and Coexistence*; Edited by Pia Guldager Bilde and Jane Hjarl Petersen. Aarhus University Press, 2008. p.337.

¹⁵⁴ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 6.

¹⁵⁵ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 324.

information regarding the patron deity of the city, Apollo. The first publication relating to this inscription was by Vinogradov and Stanislavivna Rusiaeva.¹⁵⁶ The piece itself is being housed at the Archaeological Institute of Ukraine in Kiev. The remaining fragment measures 7.3 cm in diameter at the base, 4.5. cm in height, and 0.5-0.6 in width. The clay used to fabricate the skyphos is of fine quality, orange in colour, and covered in black glaze approaching an olive hue.¹⁵⁷ The two authors, Vinogradov and Rusiaeva have dated the graffiti to the second quarter to the mid 5th century BCE, yet Onyshkevych finds this date problematic.

The piece was found in the western *temenos* in Olbia, near one of the

numerous altars.¹⁵⁸ The altar was discovered in 1975, located in the northwestern portion of the *temenos*. The altar was constructed of gray limestone. The archaeological contexts in which the object was found raises many problems, namely it was found in a layer containing materials dating to the 5th century BCE, such as votives, and a portion of an ionic capital, as well as decorative elements which may have adorned a sculpted metope. Above this layer there was a layer of yellow clay, also dated to the 5th century BCE.¹⁵⁹ Onyshkevych's issues arise from the fact that the authors use this to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the first half of the 5th century BCE, all while providing very scant evidence relating to their reasoning. For further information,

¹⁵⁶ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 11

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

pertaining to the problems of dating this object, and further methodological limitations, see Onyshkevych. A safer date for this object would be from the 5th century to the mid-4th century BCE.¹⁶⁰ In addition to the graffiti mentioning Apollo, there is also a pedestal base which was found with the inscription {To Apollo latros, Lord of the Ister}.¹⁶¹

The graffito is comprised of three separate texts, on the skyphos foot and in a spiral underneath. The longest text is in the spiral, and consists of the naming of the months of the calendar.

ΤΑΥΡΕΩΝΘΑΡΟΓΗΛΙΩΝΚΑΛΑΜΑΙΩΝ
ΠΑΝΗΜΟΣΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΩΝΒΟΗΔΡΟ
ΜΚΥΑΝΕΨΙΩΝΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΛΗ
ΝΕΩΝΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΠΙΩΝΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΩΝ.

Followed by the dedication by an Andokidos on the base of the ring of the

skyphos. It is dedicated to Apollo, and the god is given four Epithets.

ΑΠΟΛΛΑΗΛΦΙΝΙΑΤΡΟΙΘΑΡΓΗΛΙΛΥΚ
ΕΙΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΟΣ.

While the third inscription is comprised of four letters, ΑΖΜΘ.¹⁶²

What is noteworthy about the first inscription, namely for this study, is that the calendar of Olbia is identical to that of its mother city Miletus, an attestation perhaps of the continued contact which the colony would have entertained with its mother city. This is not a feature mutually exclusive to Olbia, as many other Milesian colonies in the Black Sea have the identical names for their calendrical months, and in identical order as their mother city, most of which correspond to Miletus. The other cities which share this characteristic are

¹⁶⁰ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 16.

¹⁶¹ J.G.F. Hind. *Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea*. p.95.

¹⁶² Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 20.

Sinope, Histria, Odesso, Tyras, Apollonia Pontika, and Cyzicus.¹⁶³

The second inscription relating to the dedication to Apollo Delphinios, Iatros, Thargelios, and Lykeios is also of great interest. As will be discussed in further detail in this study, Apollo was Olbia's titular deity. Just as in Miletus, where Apollo's worship in the city, as well as at the oracle of nearby Didyma usually involved numerous epithets, Apollo played a central role in the development of the colony of Olbia. Many of Apollo's aspects concerned colonisation, as well as the functioning of the socio-economic apparatus of the city. The seasons were also Apollo's duty, as well as the months of the year, namely on account of him being the sun god, who also would have regulated the aspect of time through his

divine will in his representation as one who ordains order and logic.¹⁶⁴

Regarding the four Epithets in the second inscription, Thargelios is undoubtedly linked to the calendrical month of Thargelion, as well as with the festival of Apollo known as the Thargelia. This festival would have taken place on the seventh day of Thargelion, (Seven being a number sacred to Apollo as found in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*) with a procession of appeasement and the expulsion of the Pharmakoi. The god Thargelios would have been a god of the harvest. Appearing in the list from the first Olbian inscription, as well as in the Milesian calendar.¹⁶⁵ Lykeios is an aspect of Apollo which may be connected to light, λυκη, yet in antiquity it was also associated with the wolf,

¹⁶³ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 23

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

λυκος, making Apollo a protector of the herd against wolves. Apollo is known as a god of the chase and the hunt, and often cited as receiving offerings from hunters. The epithet does not appear often in the other cities in the Black Sea region, and it is unclear when it would have first appeared.¹⁶⁶

The third inscription AZMTH, may refer to an abbreviation for the first and seventh days of the month of Thargelion, given its connection to Apollo. The number seven is the sacred number of Apollo, as seen in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. The seventh day of the month was always sacred to Apollo, yet this theory proposed by Vinogradov and Rusiaeva is tenuous, yet it is a possibility, and as no other alternatives of note have been offered,

it remains the best estimation of the meaning of this obscure inscription.¹⁶⁷ In sum, the Olbian calendar inscriptions illustrate the link between Olbia and Miletus, in that Olbia adopted the same calendrical system as its mother city. It also demonstrates the importance of the cult of Apollo in the region, which is another factor linking the two cities, as Apollo was the patron deity of Miletus as well as Olbia.¹⁶⁸

3.7. Pantikapaion

Geographic Location

Located in what is modern Kerch, this Greek Milesian colony in eastern Crimea became the main port of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which were the straits which linked the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov (See Figure 16).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. Pp. 35-38.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.69.

¹⁶⁹ Spawforth, T. *The Complete Greek Temples*. p.187.



Figure 16. ¹⁷⁰

The dominant topographical trait of the city is the hill, called mount Mithridates, the summit of which was the city's acropolis. This hill had two irregular stone formations, earning them the names of the first throne of Mithridates and the second.¹⁷¹

Colonisation History

The city was founded by the city of Miletus in the late 7th century or early 6th century BCE. The city had its own

mythological foundation story stating that a son of Aietus founded the city. In the *Odyssey*, Aietus was the son of Helios (Hom. Od. 10.138), this indicates a possible pre-existing connection to Apollo, as the cult of Apollo *latros* was strong in the city.¹⁷²

Temple to Apollo

A monumental Ionic peripteral temple dated to c. 475-450 BCE was located on the acropolis, with dimensions of roughly 20 x 40 m. Tolstikov is of the opinion that the temple is earlier, and can be dated stylistically to c. 510-490 BCE.¹⁷³ The deity honoured may have been Apollo, god of Colonisers.¹⁷⁴ Moschakis advances the notion that it

¹⁷⁰ Bilde, P.G et al. *Archaeology of the Black Sea Region in Classical Antiquity*. p.142.

¹⁷¹ Kocybala, A.X. *Greek Colonisation on the north shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic period*. p.313.

¹⁷² Braund, D. *The Myths of Panticapaeum: Construction of Colonia Origins in the Black Sea Region*. *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea*; Ed G. R Tsetshkhladze. A.M. Snodgrass - BAR International Series 1062. 2002 p.73.

¹⁷³ Tolstikov V.P., *The Early Temple of Apollo on the Acropolis at Panticapaeum: Questions of Dating, Typology and the Periods of its Construction*, *Ancient Sacral Monuments in the Black Sea*, (ed. E. K. Petropoulos Al. A. Maslennikov), Thessaloniki 2010. Pp. 334-365.

¹⁷⁴ Spawforth, T. *The Complete Greek Temples*. p. 187.

was a temple of Apollo Iatros.¹⁷⁵ In the 6th century a sanctuary to Apollo was erected on the upper plateau of Mount Mithridates.¹⁷⁶ In the 5th century BCE a temple to Apollo was constructed in the *temenos* on the acropolis.¹⁷⁷ There is sufficient evidence that in the 4th century BCE there were temples, altars and shrines to Apollo Prostrates on the acropolis.¹⁷⁸ The temple dating to the 5th century would have had a mint in it.¹⁷⁹ (See Figure 17).

Epigraphic evidence

An Inscription dedicated by Stratokles, dated to the early 4th to mid-3rd century

BCE, indicates that he was the son of a priest at a temple of Apollo named Deinokrates.¹⁸⁰ It reads,

Στρατοκλῆς ὑπὲρ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ
Δεινοστράτο ἱερησαμένου Ἀπόλλωνι
Ἰητρῶι ἀνέθηκεν Λεύκωνος
ἄρχοντος Βοσπόρο καὶ Θεοδοσίης
καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σίνδων, Τορετέων,
Δανδαρίων, Ψησῶν.

An additional inscription related to Apollo is a dedication to Apollo Iatros, by a priest named Satyrion. dated from 349 to 310 BCE:¹⁸¹ It reads,

Σατυρίων Παταίκου ἱερησάμενος
ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρῶι
[ἄ]ρχοντος Παιρισάδεος Βοσπόρο
καὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος
Σίνδων καὶ Μαϊτῶν πάντων.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁵ Moschakis, K. *Healing Gods: The Cult of Apollo Iatros, Asclepius and Hygieia in the Black Sea Region*. International Hellenic University. Thessaloniki, Greece, 2013.

¹⁷⁶ Tolstikov, V. P. 1992. "Pantikapey–stolotza Bospora" (Panticapaeum, the capital of the Bosporus), *Ocherki istorii i arkhologii Bospora (Essays on the history and archaeology of the Bosporus)*. Ed. G. A. Koshelenko et al. Moscow, Pp. 45-93.

¹⁷⁷ Pichikyan, I. R. *Malaya Aziya-Severnoye Prichernomor'ye. Antichnye traditsii i vliyaniya (Asia Minor—the Northern Black Sea Littoral. Classical traditions and influences)*. Moscow. 1984 Pp. 156-165.

¹⁷⁸ CIRB 6,10,25; Tolstikov 1992, 95.no 9.

¹⁷⁹ Hansen, M. Nielson, H. Heine, T. An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis. p. 950. and J.G.F. Hind. *Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea. (1982-1992) Archaeological Reports*. No. 39. (1992-1993) pp 82-112). p. 102.

¹⁸⁰ CIRB: 6, IosPE II: 6.

¹⁸¹ CIRB: 10, IosPE II: 10.

¹⁸² Moschakis, K. *Healing Gods*. Pp 24-26.



Figure 17. ¹⁸³

The epigraphic evidence clearly indicates the presence of a thriving cult of Apollo, as well as the unique properties of its monumental temple which housed a mint.

3.8. Tyras

Geographic Location

Tyras has been tentatively located between the cities of Olbia and Histria.

It is located on the right bank of the Dniester River. ¹⁸⁴

Colonisation History

Tyras is a colony of Miletus founded at the end of the 6th century BCE. The original name of the city was Ophiussa, which denoted the winding nature of the river, yet it was later changed to Tyrias, a not uncommon situation in antiquity. ¹⁸⁵ It may have been located on an island at the mouth of the Dniester. In Tyras, they had adopted the same Ionian lunar calendar as in Miletus, much as Olbia and Histria and many other colonies had done. The Calendar of the Tyranians was Ionian in origin, and linked to the worship of Apollo, indicated by the numerous inscriptions and graffiti found identifying

¹⁸³

¹⁸⁴ *latros.*¹ Apollo

Based

on
these

¹⁸⁴ Bilde, P.G et al. Archaeology of the Black Sea Region in Classical Antiquity. p.129.

¹⁸⁵ Samoylova, T. L. The Greek City on the river Tyras. Pp. 435-470. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*. Ed Dimitros V Grammenos. Ellias K. Petropoulos. BAR International series. Pp 435-470. 2007. p .448.

¹⁸⁶ Samoylova, T.L. The Greek City on the river Tyras. p. 446.

findings, we can rightly state that there would have been calendar festivals in honour of Apollo as in other places with the same calendrical system.¹⁸⁷

Epigraphic Evidence

The cult of Apollo Iatros is attested in the 3rd century BCE based on Hellenistic inscriptions (Dacia 3-4 1927-1932- 564-566). Apollo would have been the city's patron deity.¹⁸⁸ An inscription which read simply Apollo Ietros, Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητροῶι, found on a marble base, is among the only inscriptions found thus far attesting to the cult of Apollo in the city.¹⁸⁹

3.9. Berezan

Geographic Location

The island of Berezan is located in the estuary of the Dnieper and Bug rivers. The site has been excavated by the

Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the State Hermitage Museum on the Island of St Kirk for the last fifteen years. The directors of the program are V.V Krutilov and D.E. Cistov.¹⁹⁰ Berezan is now an island, yet it has been posited that at the time of colonisation it was most likely a peninsula, as the island has lost nearly half of its surface area.¹⁹¹ Yet Strabo describes it as an island (VII.3.17).

Statuary

A large Kouros statue was found in a sealed fill, allowing it to be dated to the 6th century BCE. The only preserved portion is the upper torso of the statue. It is of a naked male, 7,3 cm tall, and 4.7 cm in shoulder width. It was sculpted of fine white grain marble. The

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p.446.

¹⁸⁸ Hansen, Mogens Herman; Nielson, Thomas Heine. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. P 941

¹⁸⁹ Ustinova, Y. *Apollo Iatros: A Greek God of Pontic Origin*, EIKON, Beiträge zur antiken Bildersprache, Band 9, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 2009, pp. 245-298. p.259.

¹⁹⁰ Bilde, P.G. et al. *Archaeology of the Black Sea Region in Classical Antiquity*. p.129.

¹⁹¹ Kocybala, A.X. *Greek Colonisation on the north shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic period*. p.182.

total height of the statue has been estimated at 15-17 cm. It has been posited that it was an offering to Apollo in his temple at Olbia, but it had been left in Berezan for an unknown reason, possibly for apotropaic purposes or as an amulet.¹⁹² Of the other finds, a limestone *kouros* which may represent Apollo based on asimilar types, was found in a grove near the *temenos*.¹⁹³

Epigraphic Evidence

Berezan, much like Olbia, also produced cult related graffiti referring to Apollo in the early stages of its colony. The Berezan bone plaque refers directly to Apollo and to Berezan's mother city of Miletus, and its most favoured sanctuary at Didyma. The bone plaque has three distinct inscriptions; one running horizontally, and one running

vertically. The third is inscribed on the obverse of the bone. The inscriptions portend to the worship of Apollo, and particularly the aspects of the god which would have been associated with his worship in Miletus. It has been controversially interpreted by Rusyaeva as an inscription of a Milesian oracle from Apollo of Didyma. Another fragment of an inscription relating to Apollo in the region was found on a vase;¹⁹⁴ The vase was dated to the 3rd century BC, and the relative information pertains to Milesian Apollo. The first publication regarding this complex graffito was Rusyaeva, who interpreted it as being an oracle from Didyma referring to the people of Olbia and Berezan, as well as the changing nature of the cult of Apollo in the early phases

¹⁹² Davydova, L.I. An Archaic Kouros from Berezan. 1986 field season.- pp 155-158. North Pontic Antiquities in the State Hermitage Museum. Ed, John Boardman, Sergei L. Solovyov, Gocha R, Tsetskhladze. *Colloquia Pontica; Series on the Archaeology and Ancient History of the Black Sea Area*. Brill, Leiden. 2001 p. 158.

¹⁹³ Davydova, L.I. An Archaic Kouros from Berezan. 1986 field season. p. 157.

¹⁹⁴ Dubois, L. Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont (Geneva). 1996, # 93, 95.

of colonisation.¹⁹⁵ Burkert has also championed the interpretation that it is an Oracle from the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma. Other interpretations refer to the potential orphic nature of the graffiti. The archaeological context of the object is not ideal, as the object was given to Rusyaeva for publication in 1982 after it had been found in the private collection of the excavator of the Berezan site Lapin after his death, and thus anything contextual in significance regarding stratigraphy, or provenience is lost, which hinders our ability to properly date the object.¹⁹⁶ Although authenticity is a factor to consider, for the purposes of this study, the evidence will be nonetheless presented, as the overwhelming majority of scholarly works pertaining to this object champion its authenticity.

The plaque is derived from a polished fragment of an animal bone, presumably a long bone of a bull or horse. It measures 4.8 cm in length and 3.5 cm in width, with a thickness of 0.30-0.45 cm. It is rectangular, with the front having been smoothly polished, as well as the edges.¹⁹⁷ Both sides of the bone fragment have inscriptions, with letters incised with an object which would have been thin and sharp. There are scratches on the front which Rusyaeva has interpreted as representations of dolphins and a bow, yet Onyshkevych does not agree with this assessment. Unfortunately, there has been no laboratory testing done on the bone so as to attempt to date it. Lacking an alternative, the dating of this object has been interpreted based on the analysis of the letters used. Rusyaeva dates it to

¹⁹⁵ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 70.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

the second half 6th century BCE.¹⁹⁸ Yet the date for this object is open to interpretation.

The first text on the bone plaque which Rusyaeva introduces is comprised of eight lines, and deciphers as follows;

Seven, a wolf, weak;
 Seventy: a lion, terrible;
 Seven hundred, an archer, friendly-a
 gift of the strength of a physician.
 Seven Thousand. A dolphin, wise.
 Peace to the Olbian Polis, I bless
 there, I am blessed by Leto.¹⁹⁹

The author states that this text reveals the intricate relationship which the cult of Apollo had in the evolution of Olbia and Berezan, or in the region in general, perhaps the numerical formulae hinting at the exponential growth of the colonies of the region. The number seven was sacred to Apollo, as were the seventh days of each month, since the god was said to have been born on the seventh

day. The epithets in the text are linked to Apollo, and the deity is also identified by the mention of his mother Leto.²⁰⁰ The line referring to the terrible lion is a direct reference to Apollo, specifically his role as such in the cults of Miletus and Didyma. There is further evidence of this found on coinage from Miletus, Pantikapaion and Colchis, where the lion appears in connection with Apollo in the mintage.²⁰¹

Pausanias also alludes to this function in his work (Paus 3.18.16; 10.18.7). In general, in Asia Minor, Apollo is often depicted with lions in the adornments of his sanctuaries dating to the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. Although this does not prove a definitive connection with the lion, the archaeological evidence does support the numismatic and literary

¹⁹⁸ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 76.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

²⁰¹ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 87.

evidence mentioned previously, which seems to denote some form of connection between the two.²⁰² In Miletus, there is a grouping of sculpted lions dated to the early 6th century BCE. Also in Olbia there are sculpted lions dating to the second half of the 6th century BCE, which seem to have been appropriated in style from those found in Miletus, which have been attributed as having been manufactured by Milesian craftsmen. Herodotus offers further mention of this connection with the lion and Apollo in his relaying of the story of King Croesus of Lydia having a statue of a lion made of gold to be housed at Delphi, dedicated to Apollo. (Herodotus. 1.50) Further examples of depictions of Apollo alongside a lion can be found in the *Lexicum Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* No. 317-322.²⁰³

The symbolism of the archer is also attributable to Apollo, as he is often depicted in iconography and in the literary works as an archer. In the *Iliad* Apollo is described as “he who strikes from afar” (Homer. *Iliad*. 1.75). In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the deity wishes to carry his bow along with his lyre (Cal. HH. 1.131), and it is also said that the other gods tremble at the site of Apollo with his bow (Cal. H.H. 3.1-5). There is also the sculpture of Apollo holding his bow at Didyma dated to the end of the 6th century BCE, which is witnessed by Pausanias in his travels (Paus. II 10.5; VIII.46.3), and Pliny (NH xxxiv.75).²⁰⁴ Pliny gives the epithet to the statue of Apollo as being Philesios. This is present as an epithet in the bone plaque inscription of Berezan, further evidence linking this inscription to

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p.88.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.89.

²⁰⁴ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 93.

Apollo according to Rusyaeva and Dubois.²⁰⁵

According to Rusyaeva, the inscription indicates that Apollo Delphinios, and his cult were brought into Olbia by the colonists, so as to become the new patron deity of the city, who wished to strive toward a more peaceful city state, and in this, Rusyaeva, indicates that the oracular response from Didyma at the end of the inscription is the oracle's benediction of the replacement of the old and more violent cult of Apollo Iatros, as he was more connected to war.²⁰⁶

However, the context described by the author is merely hypothetical in nature, implying that there was an argument over conflicting views as to who should be the patron deity of the region, an idea not supported by

Onyshkevych.²⁰⁷ However what is unclear in this assertion is whether these two cults opposed each other, as there is no evidence supporting this hypothesis. Also, the two epithets are used seemingly interchangeably in the Olbian calendar graffiti previously discussed.²⁰⁸

The mention of Leto has led to some interesting positions, namely whether this is truly an oracular response as Rusyaeva posits. Leto was honoured at Didyma at sanctuaries of Apollo, and she would have also shared an altar with Zeus in the adyton dating to the 5th century BCE. The cult of Leto in the Pontic colonies is attested, yet it is not extensively prevalent.²⁰⁹ If we are to compare this text with the examples of Didyma Oracles proposed by Fontenrose, it is clear that there are

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p.94. And Dubois 1996 no 93,150.

²⁰⁶ Rusyaeva, Pp 51-52.

²⁰⁷ Onyshkevych, L. Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast. p. 105.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p.108.

²⁰⁹ Onyshkevych, L. Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast. p. 110.

discrepancies in the formulaic approach of the oracle.²¹⁰

The next inscription on the bone plaque begins with,

*To Apollo, The Didymaian, the Milesian.*²¹¹

If the early date is accepted for the bone plaque, these are the earliest known usages of the epithets Milesios and Didymaios in reference to Apollo. As Olbia was known to have maintained its ties with Miletus, the next portion of the text may indicate a wish for Olbia to bring good fortune and wealth to the mother city. However, another interpretation of the inscription would make it a blessing from the mother, presumably, once again Leto. Many graffiti pot sherds have been found in

the Olbian western *temenos* with the words mother rendered on them.²¹²

The next section of the Berezan bone plaque relates Apollo as being the victor of the north or the north wind.

Apollo does have strong ties to the north namely from the mythology of the Hyperboreans. The epithet Archegetes does in fact refer to Apollo the conqueror of the north, who sanctioned the colonisation of the Greeks in the region.²¹³

Further below the inscription there is yet another reference to the Didyma aspect of Apollo, the texts' most likely reconstruction is "Seven, To Apollo, The Didymaia, Milesian. Bringer of fortune to the mother (or motherland), Victor of the north (or northern Wind), to the Didymaian."²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Fontenrose, J. *Apollo's Oracle, Cult, and Companions*. University of California Press. 1988. p.419.

²¹¹ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 123.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p.125.

²¹³ Dubois, L. *Inscriptions arcaues dialectales d'Olbia du Pont*. Geneve: Librairies Droz, . Pp. 131-132. 1996.

²¹⁴ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p 129.

On the reverse side of the bone, the text reads as follows: Seventy oxen to Didymaean Apollo.²¹⁵ These plaques have also been interpreted as belonging to an orphic sect in Olbia, worshipping Apollo rather than Dionysus. As has been stipulated by West, that in order for the plaque to be Orphic in nature, it must have some reference to Orpheus or to an Orphic poem, which it does not.²¹⁶ The Orphic theory does have its parallels as there have been three Orphic bone plaques found in Berezan, yet this hypothesis seems to have arisen out of a lack of credence given to Rusyaeva's theory concerning the Didyma oracular response.²¹⁷ What is not in question here is the fact that Apollo is honoured on the plaque in some way, either by a hymn or prayer,

or perhaps in an oracular response. Yet what it does indicate is the fact that there was a strong tie between the citizens of Berezan and their mother polis of Miletus as well as the oracle at Didyma. It seems that the aspect of Apollo which is most in the forefront here is his connection with Didyma. The Hebdomatic nature of the cult which worshipped Apollo, based on the use of

the number seven, is also represented.²¹⁸

Onyshkevych's insistence upon denouncing Rusyaeva's theory regarding the oracular response is somewhat lessened by Onyshkevych, as in the concluding remarks the statement is made that there is a request made in the inscription for peace, and the compulsory votive action

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

²¹⁶ West, M.L. *The Orphic Poems*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1983. p. 3.

²¹⁷ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 138.

²¹⁸ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 151.

which must be undertaken to secure this peace. To proponents of this theory this seems to be the very definition of an oracular response, although somewhat unique in its composition.²¹⁹

There is evidence, according to Rusyaeva, of a general disagreement between the inhabitants regarding whether they should be worshipping Apollo Iatros, or Delhpinios. In the last quarter of the 6th century BCE, the conflict was presumably settled by the oracle at Didyma, denoting the strong influence which the mother polis still had in terms of religious authority.²²⁰ The oracle rendered was Peace to the city of Olbia. Olbia was the plaintiff in the conflict with neighbouring Berezan, if we are to take Rusyaeva's interpretation.

Other noteworthy passages from the inscription are as follows.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΔΙΔΥΜ
ΜΙΛΗΣΙΩΙ.²²¹ And further

ΜΗΤΡΟΛ ΟΛΒΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ
ΒΟΡΕΩ

Burkert takes the text referring to the enumeration of the number seven as being an oracular response from Apollo at Didyma, given the fact that Didyma is referred to extensively throughout the text.²²²

Burkert refers to the third line of the portion of the text with the numeric to stipulate that on account of the poor nature of the hexameter of the poetry that it may have in fact been an improvised oracular response, and given that our evidence is generally

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 152.

²²⁰ Solovyov, S.L. On the History of the city States in the Lower Bug Area; Borythenes and Olbia. Pp 113-125. *North Pontic Antiquities in the State Hermitage Museum*. Ed, John Boardman, Sergei L. Solovyov, Gocha R, Tsetsckhadze. Colloquia Pontica; Series on the Archaeology and Ancient History of the Black Sea Area. Brill, Leiden. 2001. p.118.

²²¹ Burkert, W. Olbia and Apollo of Didyma. p.52.

²²² Burkert, W. Olbia and Apollo of Didyma. p.53.

wholly lacking of Didyma's oracular responses, namely of this sort, this remains a possibility.²²³

The animals listed in the main portion of the inscriptions have a relation to Apollo, the wolf, the lion, the dolphin, and the description bow-barer. The appellation of Apollo the power of the healer in the text is in relation to his Apollo Iatros aspect. The dolphin is associated with Apollo as early as the 6th century BCE as a dolphin was to escort priests of Apollo from Crete to Delphi in *the Homeric hymn to Apollo*,²²⁴ and the coffered ceiling at Delphi was arrayed with depictions of dolphins; the dolphins are relevant to this study as they are the guides of mariners, thus aiding in the colonisation expedition. Rusyaeva postulates that the rising sequence of numbers, as first being

representative of Apollo, yet secondly representing the symbol of the small amount of colonisers upon colonising, and following the numbers exponentially grow with fiercer and more assured animals taking form with stronger traits, pointing to the initial weakness of the colony and then its eventual flowering and stability. The text as stated above, according to Rusyaeva is a form of oracular ordinance legislating the transferring of the citizens from the worship of Apollo Iatros to that of Apollo Delphinios. The author notes that after the 5th century BCE the archaeological evidence of the second *temenos* site of the temple of Apollo Iatros seems to have fallen into disuse.²²⁵ Yet it is unclear why the citizens would have had the need to replace an existing cult, as they are both somewhat similar. It has

²²³ Burkert, W. *Olbia and Apollo of Didyma*. p. 54.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²²⁵ Burkert, W. *Olbia and Apollo of Didyma*. p. 55.

been suggested by Burkert that it was not a replacement but more a merger of the two functions of the cult.

Burkert breaks the “oracle” down into stages to offer his interpretation which is slightly different from Rusyaeva’s.

In his stage one, he interprets that for the first seven years of the colony the city had been like a wolf without strength. Then for 70 years she became a frightful lion. Then for the next 700 years Apollo the healer sanctions his worship in the city while protecting it with his bow and offering gifts. Then in the future in 7000 years the city will flourish in its wisdom, as the wise dolphin.²²⁶ This object merits further research, as the scholarly work done to date is conflicting.

The temple to Apollo

A building of rectangular proportions measuring 21 x 5.4 m and dating to the

first half of the 5th century BCE was discovered on the southern shore of Berezan in the 1960s by V.V. Lapin. The structure ran along a north-south axis. It had an apse at the northern side with a radius of 2.7m. The plan of the interior of the structure was divided into three equally sized rooms. The land surrounding the structure was enclosed. The stone foundation wall of the enclosure was visible at the time of excavation. The structure is in all likelihood a temple. However, there has yet to be sufficient scholarly work to establish anything further regarding the deity worshipped. It is worth mentioning on account of its uniqueness, as it is the only such structure found on the northern coast of the Black Sea, namely because it still stands above ground, with a stone foundation of the

²²⁶Ibid., Pp 56-57.

surrounding circuit wall still visible today.²²⁷

The northernmost part of Berezan was an area dedicated to Apollo Iatros, the patron deity of the city, and protector of its northernmost borders. It is in this role that Apollo is mentioned in the Bone Plaque from Berezan as Apollo of the North, as defender of the city.²²⁸

Although it is unclear which divinity was worshipped here, the city's principal deity was Apollo the Healer, who was charged with the defence of the city's borders.

Numismatics pertaining to Apollo

In Berezan there are only scant findings pertaining to Apollo within the numismatic records in the form of a hoard of 31 bronze coins shaped like

dolphins, which may have a connection to Apollo.²²⁹

3.10. Nikonion

Geographic Location

The city is located in modern Roksolanskoye Gorodishche in the Ukraine. It is located on the bank of the river Dniester Estuary.²³⁰ It is on the opposite side of the city of Tyras along the Dniester, roughly 4KM north of Tyras across the estuary.²³¹

History of Colonisation

Nikonion was colonised by Miletus in the late 6th century, or perhaps by one of Miletus's colonies, namely Histria, based on numismatic evidence.²³²

Epigraphic Evidence

The cult of Apollo Iatros is attested to on account of dedicatory inscriptions dated

²²⁷ Solovev, S.L. *Archaic Berezan; Historical-archaeological Essay*. Pp 219-220.

²²⁸ Solovev, S.L. *Archaic Berezan; Historical-archaeological Essay*. p. 221.

²²⁹ Hind, J.G.F. *Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea*. p. 93.

²³⁰ Hansen, Mogens Herman; Nielson, Thomas Heine. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p. 936.

²³¹ Hind, J.G.F. *Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea*. p.92.

²³² Vinogradov, Y.G. *Istriya, Tira i Nikonij, pokinutyj i vozrozhdenyj*”, *Numizmatika i epigrafika* 16: 50–71.

to the 5th and 4th centuries. The epithets Apollo Prostrates and Apollo Delphinios are also attested in the city.²³³

Temple of Apollo

As of yet there has not been ample evidence regarding a temple of Apollo in the city as more archaeological excavations have to be undertaken.

3.11. Hermanossa

Geographical Location

Hermanossa Is located to the west of the modern city of Taman, above the Bay of Taman. The city is bordered by a ravine to the west and a dry lake bed to the south, and to the east again by a ravine.²³⁴ Hermanossa was a large fortified city covering 45 hectares.

Colonisation History

There is much confusion in the sources regarding the colonising city, yet the

colonisation can be attested archaeologically in the 580 – 570 BCE and appears to be of Milesian origin on account of the abundance of evidence pointing to Apollo Iatros, the deity worshipped in all Milesian colonies in the Black Sea.

Temple of Apollo

A temple of Apollo Iatros dated to the 4th century BCE may have been located here on account of the abundance of statue bases with dedication to the deity with his Iatros Epithet.²³⁵ In this inscription, a man makes a dedication to Apollo Iatros on behalf of his wife. Another inscription pertains to a dedication of a statue by a priest at the temple of Apollo, which corroborates the existence of the temple at least at the

²³³CIRB 1034-1044-1038.

²³⁴Kocybala, A.X. Greek Colonisation on the north shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic period. p.339.

²³⁵Hind, J.G.F. Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea. P 108. And CIRB: 1037-1044.

date of the inscription, which is dated to c 150-125 BCE.

[βα]σιλεύοντος Παιρισάδου

[τοῦ Π]αιρισάδου Κάλλων Κάλλωνος

[ἱερ]ησάμενος ἀνέθηκεν τὸν

[ἀνδ]ριάντα Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρῶι.²³⁶

There is also the attestation of the epithet Apollo Prostrates,²³⁷ as well as that of Apollo Delphinios,²³⁸ the later deity would have had a temple under this epithet in the classical period.²³⁹

3.12. Kytaia

Geographical Location

The colony of Kytaia is located on the European side of the Bosphoros.

Colonisation History

According to Molev, the site was colonised by east Greeks of Milesian stock in the 5th century BCE.²⁴⁰

Cult of Apollo

Excavation has found traces of the worship of Apollo, such as the discovery of shrines to Apollo and other deities.²⁴¹

3.13. Myrmekeion

Geographic Location

The colony is located on the European side of the Kimmerian Bosphoros. The patron deity was Apollo Iatros.²⁴² The colony is located on Cape Quarentine, 4 KM northeast of the modern city of Kerch.

Archaeological evidence, namely pottery, has revealed an Ionian presence in c. 580-560 BCE. A graffito

²³⁶ Moschakis, K. *Healing Gods*. p 26.

²³⁷ CIRB. 1044

²³⁸ CIRB. 1038

²³⁹ Hansen, M. *et al.* *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p. 945.

²⁴⁰ Molev, E. A. “Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya Kiteya v 1970–1983”, in E.V.Dvoretckij (ed.), *Arkheologicheskie pamyatniki Yugo-Vostochnoj Evropy (Kursk)*, 1985. Pp 40–67.

²⁴¹ Hansen, M. *et al.* *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. P 947.

²⁴² Hansen, M. *et al.* *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p. 947.

has been found on an attic black glazed kylix, dating to c 500-465 BCE. The inscription is a dedication to Apollo Iatros,²⁴³ ὁ δεῖνα (ἀνέθηκεν) {Ἀπόλλωνι} Ἰητρῶι.²⁴⁴

Temple of Apollo

Per Vinogradov et al, the dedicatory inscriptions mentioned previously allow for the assumption that there was a temple of Apollo Iatros on the acropolis.²⁴⁵

²⁴³SEG 48: 1006,1.

²⁴⁴Moschakis, K. *Healing Gods*. p. 27.

²⁴⁵Vinogradov, Y.A. et al. *Myrmekeion-Porthmeus. Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*. Ed: D.V. Gramenos: E.K.

Petropoulos. *Publications of the Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece*, Nr.4. Vol. 2. Thessaliniki. 2003. p. 815.

Colonies of Miletus on the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea

3.14. Phasis

Geographic Location

Phasis was located in Kolchis in the eastern Black Sea according to Strabo. (Strabo. 11.2.17,12.3.17).

Colonisation History

Phasis was a colony of Miletus founded in the mid 6th century BCE. (Heracl. Lemb. 46) Pompon. 1.108; Steph. Byz. 661.1).

Cult of Apollo

The patron deity of Phasis was Apollo Hegemon (SEG 44, 1298).

Numismatics

Numismatic evidence reveals an abundance of lions depicted, perhaps an iconography originating from its ties to Miletus.²⁴⁶ The remains of the city

have yet to be found, yet on account of the complexities of this coastal area, along with the alluvial conditions of this coastal area, which is somewhat akin to a wetland, this task has eluded searchers.²⁴⁷

The numismatics which have been found range from tetradrachms which have on the obverse a lion's head which may denote a connection to Miletus, as well as hemidrachms which are inscribed with Greek letters, perhaps denoting the names of magistrates.²⁴⁸ Hind has studied the coin types dated to the mid 5th century BCE, and posits that Milesian die-makers could have been employed by Phasian's in Kolchis.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶Hansen, M. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p. 953.

²⁴⁷Bilde, P.G. et al. *Archaeology of the Black Sea Region in Classical Antiquity*. p. 152.

²⁴⁸Hansen, M. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p. 953.

²⁴⁹Hansen, M. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. p. 953. And J. G. Hirst. *The Types on the Earliest Silver Coins of the Phasians 'Kolkhidki'*", in Lordkipanidze and Lévêque (1996) 203–13.

Colonies of Miletus on the Southern Coast of the Black Sea

3.15. Sinope

Geographic Location

The city of Sinope was a port in the southern portion of the Black Sea which would have functioned as a strategic stronghold for the exploitation of trade by the Milesians. It would have allowed the Milesians to further exercise a controlling interest in the economy of their colonies in the south and elsewhere in the Black Sea.²⁵⁰

Colonisation History

The city was a colony of Miletus (Pseudo Skymnos. 981-997). The earliest evidence of Miletus' involvement in Sinope dates to the late 7th century BCE. Sinope would go on to colonise its own cities, taking advantage

of the rich metal region of the east Black Sea trade network.²⁵¹

Epigraphic Evidence

The archaeological finds from this city have mostly been found in its cemetery. The sculpted grave stele have proved pertinent. They date to the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, and they bear the theophoric names of Delphinios and Molpagoras, both of which are Milesian types.²⁵²

Numismatics

The earliest numismatic evidence found at Sinope dates from 480 to 460 BCE. Many examples have been found bearing the image of the Dolphin, representative of Apollo. The eagle, representative of Zeus has also been found. The variant of the Dolphin

²⁵⁰Doonan, O. Sinope Landscapes: Towards an Archaeology of Community in the Hinterland of a Black Sea Port. *Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia 16 (2010)* pp 175-187. 2010. p. 175.

²⁵¹Doonan, O. p.180.

²⁵²Hansen, M. p.962.

underneath the eagle is found in other Milesian colonies such as Olbia and Histria.²⁵³

3.16. Amisos

Geographic Location

Amisos is located approximately 165 km to the east of Sinope, and just to the west of the modern city of Samsun.

Colonisation History

Amisos was colonised by Miletus in c. 564 BCE not long after neighbouring Sinope.²⁵⁴

Statuary

There is very little information provided on this colony. Yet discovered during excavations were several figurines depicting Apollo.

Temple of Apollo

A temple to Apollo dated to the 1st century BCE has been found; The Apollo worshipped in the temple was directly connected to Miletus, as he was worshipped under the epithet Apollo of Didyma.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ Hansen, M. *et al.* An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis. p. 963.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 955.

²⁵⁵ Anderson J. *et al.* *Studia Pontica. Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie.* 3:1 (Bruxelles 1910), p. 29 no. 18; Atasoy S., "Amisos", in Grammenos D.V., Petropoulos E.K. (edit.) *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2* (Thessaloniki 2003), Pp. 1334, 1363.

Part 4

“And Phoebus it is that men follow when they map out cities. For Phoebus evermore delights in the founding of cities, and Phoebus himself doth weave their foundation.”

(Call. Hymn. II.55-57)

4.0. Analysis and Commentary on the Inventory

This section is devoted to further clarifying the many aspects of Apollo as they have been presented in the inventory. It will also serve to ascertain the role which the other city states, namely Megara, Athens, and Samos had in the colonisation of the Black Sea, offer analysis on some of the most pertinent cities in the region, as well as the most important finds discussed in the inventory. It is clear based on the inventory that in the northern and western coasts of the Black Sea that Apollo, through his epithet as *Iatros*, the Healer, was the patron deity of the Milesian colonies in the region. In Apollo's role as the Healer, he was not only charged with healing and medicinal characteristics, yet also with the role as the protector of the city. It is probable that Apollo's role in the region has its roots in the colonisation of the area by Miletus, and that his worship would have been entrenched by the colonisers.²⁵⁶ In Miletus, the epithet *Iatros* is not as of yet attested to, yet Apollo filled out the roles ascribed to *Iatros* in the mother polis under the Epithet *Oulios*.²⁵⁷ (Strabo 14.1.6.).

²⁵⁶ Ustinova, Y. *Apollo Iatros; A Greek God of Pontic Origin*. 2009. p. 260.

²⁵⁷ Ustinova, Y. *Apollo Iatros; A Greek God of Pontic Origin*. 2009. p. 262.

4.1. Findings and Results

The archaeological material in the region of the Black Sea gathered in the inventory indicates a strong East Greek presence in the Pontus region in the third quarter of the 7th century BCE. Although the Milesians were thought to have colonised the majority, it has been found that this task was shared by other cities such as Samos, Athens, as well as Megara. By studying the inscriptions found thus far in the Pontic region, the abundant numismatic evidence, as well as the remnants of temples, it can be stated that the Greeks who colonised the region sought to worship the same gods which they had worshipped in their mother polis. Most cities colonised by Miletus had sanctuaries honouring one or several of the numerous epithets of Apollo. They also minted their coinage with iconography related to the manifestations of Apollo. Many of the colonies adopted the same political and calendrical system as in Miletus, as has been observed in the numerous epigraphic decrees and graffiti, as well as the lunar calendars in the cities of Olbia, Histria, and Tyras, which all follow the Milesian model of calendrical interpretation. In the Black Sea, Apollo shared the same role in the colonisation process as he did in the colonisation of other areas, such as Sicily for example, where upon arrival, altars of Apollo were set up on the beaches. These altars were to a maritime Apollo, Apollo Ekbasios, of those who disembark from ships, as well as Delphinios,

such as in the *Homeric hymn to Apollo*.²⁵⁸ The cult of Apollo Delphinios was common to all Ionian Greeks in their colonisation of new territories.

4.1.1. Attributive Epithets of Apollo found in the Inventory

In the inventory gathered for this research, it is apparent that Apollo was known under many attributive epithets, such as Prostaterios, referring to his protective duties, in this role he was often represented by a stone pillar or a stone base. His lesser-known epithets, were Agyieus (of the street), Thyraios (of the door), Propylaios (before the gate). Apollo Agyieus was also charged with protecting travelers, as found in *Agamemnon* by Aeschylus.²⁵⁹ He was also known in the Near East as Apollo Smintheus (of Mice) who was charged with protecting crops from mice. Yet it is in this role of Smintheus that he also brings the plague in the *Iliad* (Hom. 1.37-42).²⁶⁰ He was also given the Epithet Apotropaios, (The Averter). Citizens would sacrifice to this Apollo in order to help a city if a disease should befall. Foremost in the region of the Black Sea, the epithet Iatros, the Healer, indicates his healing properties.

Apollo Delphinios, a widespread epithet, for both Dorian and Ionians, stems from the word Dolphin, *delphis*. The epithet is derived from its association with the dolphin in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (ll 493-496) which could account for the representations of dolphins on the coinage in many of the cities colonised by Miletus, who worship Apollo in this form. Under this epithet, he is the guardian of seafarers, much the same role in which dolphins are perceived as guiding wayward ships back onto course.

²⁵⁸ Malkin, I. *A Small Greek World: Networks in the ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp 102-103.

²⁵⁹ Larson, J. *Ancient Greek Cults*. p. 87.

²⁶⁰ Larson, J. *Ancient Greek Cults*. p. 87.

Delphinios is also concerned with civic life, and in particular the relations between cities. Documents and treaties were for this reason kept in his sanctuaries, as observed in the cities of Olbia, Apollonia, Tomis, Histria, Pantikapaion, and Nikonion in the Black Sea, discussed in part three of this research. Olbia has come to be identified as the nexus of the religious life in the Lower Bug river region around the coast of the Black Sea. Sanctuaries dedicated to both Apollo Iatros, the healer, and Apollo Delphinios were established in the city.²⁶¹ Soon after the colonisation by Miletus, Greek characteristics began to blend in with those of the indigenous population, most notably in their religious customs. Inscriptions, namely the bone plaque found in Olbia, is a testament to this fact.²⁶²

4.1.2. The Importance of Olbia as Religious Center alongside other cities

The epithet Delphinios is common in Miletus and elsewhere in the Greek world when referring to Apollo. This attribute of Apollo could have aptly arisen out of the Ionian coastal city's reliance and dependence upon the sea for trade and the establishing of colonies and outposts.²⁶³ Apollo Delphinios offered fair weather to sailors. He would have been a useful deity for the Olbians, whose wealth was derived from the sea. Prior to the Archaic Period, it appears Delphinios was a deity separate from Apollo. Yet by the Archaic period, as seen in the *Homeric Hymn*, as well as in the Delphinion in Miletus, it is apparent the two became conflated. It has been suggested that the merging of the minor deity with Apollo would have developed when the coastal cities

²⁶¹Solovyov, S.L. The Archaeological Excavation of the Berezan Settelement. p. 132.

²⁶²Solovyov, S.L. The Archaeological Excavation of the Berezan Settelement. p. 132.

²⁶³ Onyshkevych, L. Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast. p. 40.

were exploring further afield for their colonies.²⁶⁴ In Olbia, as described in the inventory, there were two sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo, one of which more specifically to Apollo Delphinios. The *temenos* is dated to the 6th century BCE as seen previously. Yet in the last quarter of the 4th century BCE the sanctuary underwent extensive refurbishments, and by the Hellenistic period the sanctuary had a large peripteral temple which housed inscriptions of the decrees of the city of Olbia.

In the 3rd century BCE Apollo Prostrates began to replace the Delphinios aspect at the sanctuary, as from the 6th century to the 3th century BCE, the dedications were to Delphinios, and after the 3rd century BCE, Prostrates is more prevalent, and would remain as such in Olbia well into the Roman period, denoting the shift of focus from colonising and seafaring to agriculture and war, goals which Prostrates fulfilled. The clear link between the Delphinios of Olbia with that of Miletus is worth noting. Regarding the evidence suggesting that the temple was, in fact, dedicated to Apollo Delphinios, there are marble dedicatory inscriptions on stele, pottery bearing the epithet, and nearly 50 graffito's dedicated on black figure pottery dated to the 6th and 5th centuries BCE.²⁶⁵ Most of these show examples of the formulaic composition of the dedication. One example is, Τυχων Απολλωνι Δελφινιωι ανεθηκε. This example is found on several of the above mentioned black glazed cups. These are dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BCE. The remainder of the examples do not contain the complete formulae, only the remnants of the epithet.²⁶⁶ Epigraphic evidence related to Apollo Delphinios in Olbia include Apollo's name with the epithet carved on a fragment of a marble statue

²⁶⁴ Onyshkevych, L. Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast. p. 41.

²⁶⁵ Onyshkevych, L. Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast. Pp 41-43.

²⁶⁶ Onyshkevych, L. Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast. p. 43.

base, dated to the 3rd century BCE.²⁶⁷ The same is found on a fragment of an Attic black figure glazed bowl of the 5th to 4th century BCE, and the same found on an inscription regarding the Melpoi of Olbia.

In Berezan, comparable inscriptions have been found in large quantities, such as one dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BCE inscribed on the upper rim of a black figure sherd. In Hermanossa, a similar inscription referring to the Molpoi has also been found on a limestone stele dated to the 4th century BCE.²⁶⁸ This attests to the fact that the colonies of Miletus were propagating the religious institutions, namely the Molpoi, as had been prevalent in Miletus. Olbia appropriated the political institution of Miletus in the way in which the city governed itself. The institutions found in Miletus regulating their cult of Apollo can also be found in the cities targeted by the inventory, such as the Molpoi, the priestly singers and dancers who were the eponymous officials of Miletus, just as the priests of Apollo were eponymous officials in the colonies.²⁶⁹

Another interesting factor regarding the appropriation of Delphinios is the use by the Olbians of bronze coins in the form of dolphins. It has been argued that this represents Apollo Delphinios, and that this could be further proof in determining that the Apollo Delphinios cult was the state cult of Olbia.²⁷⁰ The coinage depicting the shape of a dolphin has also been found in the cities of Sinope, Berezan, and Histria. Additionally, it has been found on the Berezan bone plaque that Apollo was referred to as the dolphin on this artifact.

²⁶⁷ IosPE 1 (2) 163.

²⁶⁸ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 45.

²⁶⁹ Sherk, R.K. *The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV: The Register: Part III: Thrace, Black Sea Area, Asia Minor* (Continued) *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bd. 93 (1992), pp. 223-272. p. 235.

²⁷⁰ Onyshkevych, L. *Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast*. p. 46.

As reported in the inventory in Part 3, the temple dedicated to Apollo Iatros in Olbia is later than that of Delphinios. The epithet Iatros is attested elsewhere in the Black Sea region, such as in Apollonia Pontika, Tyras, Berezan, the cities of the Bosphorus, Pantikapaian, and Tanais. Found in the Olbian necropolis, another statue of Apollo Iatros was discovered in 1962. All that remains is the inscribed statue base. The statue was the work of a 4th century BCE Athenian sculptor.²⁷¹ In the western *temenos* in Olbia, the *temenos* sacred to Apollo Iatros, many graffiti were discovered bearing the god's name with this epithet. The graffiti were found on architectural fragments, suggesting the existence of a temple to Apollo Iatros.²⁷² The two distinct cults of Apollo in Olbia, namely Delphinios and Iatros, may have developed separately prior to the colonisation of the city. Yet given that the main inscription on the Olbian calendar inscription discussed so far grouped these two with two more epithets, namely, Thargelios and Lykeios, it seems to link them together as a whole.²⁷³

In addition to Olbia, in Berezan we have found several indications that the cult of Apollo in the colony sought to pay direct homage to the cult of Apollo in Miletus. This is found through the forms of epithets which are used on the bone plaque inscriptions which are dedicated to aspects of Apollo prevailing in Miletus, such as Didymaios, relating to Apollo of Didyma, and to Apollo Milesios, clearly referring to Miletus. These epithets are unique to Berezan with regards to the inventory of colonies. The epithet

²⁷¹Onyshkevych, L. Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast. p. 53.

²⁷²Ibid., p. 55.

²⁷³Ibid., p. 60.

Archegetes found in the cities' epigraphic inventory also denotes that for the people of Berezan, Apollo was the protector of the north and the northern borders.

4.1.3. Comments on Apollonia

Thus far, what can be derived from the epigraphic evidence is that there may have been two temples at Apollonia, one dedicated to Apollo with his usual civic duties which would have been established upon the colonisation of the city, and the other to Apollo Iatros, an epithet denoting his powers as the healer, a cult which is only attested conclusively in the Hellenistic period. What can be established is that Apollo was, in fact, the patron deity of the city of Apollonia. The priests of Apollo would have been eponymous,²⁷⁴ with the same functions which they would have had in the mother polis of Miletus, and to this fact it can be deduced that the colony maintained strong ties with its mother city. Of all the cities discussed in the inventory, Apollonia offers the richest numismatic evidence pertaining to representations of Apollo on their coinage.

4.1.4. The Importance of Pantikapaion and other cities

Of the information revealed in the inventory regarding the colonies of Miletus, the most noteworthy evidence is that which pertains to behaviours which are repeated in each colony, and which can be associated with Miletus. First, in most colonies of Miletus in the Black Sea, the public decrees of the city were kept in the temple of Apollo, proving Apollo's role as guardian and protector of the city. In Pantikapaion, Apollo's civic role seemed to extend beyond the normal parameters of the other cities. As here in Apollo's temple, there was a fully operational mint, where coinage would have been produced,

²⁷⁴Gotcheva, Z. *La Thrace Pontique et la Mythologie Grec.* p. 56.

most of which contain the image of Apollo. What is striking about Pantikapaion is the temple complex, the monumentality of which is unsurpassed in the northern Black Sea region. The religious complex also has a tholos, dated to the late 6th to early 5th centuries BCE, within which the earliest known inscriptions referring to Apollo *latros* in the Bosphorus have been found.²⁷⁵ Second, each city represented Apollo in his different manifestations on their coinage. The numismatic evidence pertaining to Apollo in the colonies of the Black Sea are well documented and represent a resounding affirmation of the importance of Apollo in the Milesian colonies. Third, all cities have large catalogues of votive inscriptions dedicated to Apollo. The epithet *latros* features prominently in the epigraphic evidence found in the inventory. It can be found in the cities of Olbia, Apollonia Pontika, Tyras, Berezan, Pantikapaian, and Tanais. Although it is unclear where the epithet originated, or whether it is symptomatic of and exclusive to the Black Sea, as is postulated by Ustinova in *Apollo latros; A Greek God of Pontic Origin*. 2009. It remains a point of interest which warrants further research. There is also a vast corpus of fragmentary statue bases in numerous cities representing Apollo which displays the veneration that these cities had for Apollo. The fragmentary evidence regarding cult buildings, namely sanctuaries and temples has also revealed the lasting presence which Apollo had in the region, as many temples which are attested in the Hellenistic period seem to have been refurbished atop earlier temple foundations, this perhaps attests to the longevity of the cult from the time of colonisation well into the Roman era in some cases.

²⁷⁵Tolstikov, V.P. *Panticapaeum: the capital of the Bosphorus: Essays on the archeology and history of the Bosphorus* Moscow, 1992, Pp. 66-67.

4.1.5. Findings on the *Oikist*

What must be kept in mind is that all that we know of the criteria in the founding of a colony, and the formalities of such an undertaking, is based on the Classical period, and of a mostly propagandistic agenda.²⁷⁶ The name of the *oikist* is not found in all colonies in the Black Sea region. There is only one foundation decree which survives, that of the Athenian colony of Brea, founded in 445 BCE.²⁷⁷ The most likely reason for Miletus to seek colonies in the Black Sea according to Tsetskhladze, was the encroachment which the Lydian's were making on their city, so as to gain a tactical advantage for defense.²⁷⁸

4.1.6. Findings on the Oracle of Apollo at Didyma

The inventory has revealed that substantial archaeological evidence is lacking concerning a direct consultation of the oracle of Apollo at Didyma regarding colonisation in the Black Sea by the Milesians to the extent which can be observed in the oracular texts of Megara at the oracle of Delphi. We can state that given that the prominence of the cult of Apollo in Miletus seems to have spread to all of Miletus's colonies in the Black Sea, it is highly probable that the colonisers would have sought a religious sanction prior to embarking on such an expedition, and given the city's proximity, control of, and attachment to the oracle of Apollo at Didyma, the hypothesis is not without merit.²⁷⁹ Unlike the Megaran colonies in the Black Sea, which are almost

²⁷⁶Tsetskhladze, G.R. *Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area, Stages, Models and Native Population*. p. 15.

²⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p.16.

²⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁷⁹Podlecki, A.J. Archilochus and Apollo. *Phoenix* Vol 28, No 1. Studies Presented to Mary E. White on the occasion of her 65th Birthday. Pp 1-17. (1974) p.17.

all associated with the benediction of the Oracle of Delphi, Miletus in its colonising efforts in the Black Sea is never attested as having consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. Pick indicates that the Oracle of Apollo at Didyma was for the Milesians their oracle which ordained their colonisation enterprises in the Black Sea. Our lack of examples from Didyma regarding Milesian colonisation in the Black Sea area and elsewhere will continue to hinder this proposal.²⁸⁰

4.2. Apollo in the Colonies of Megara compared with Miletus

Although not directly treated in this thesis, the city state of Megara also had as its prerogative the installation of Apollo, the Megaran patron deity, in their colonies. By providing another example of a colonising city state whose patron deity was Apollo, and to demonstrate that Apollo was likewise the patron deity in the Megaran colonies, I intend to further validate my position on the Milesians advanced in the inventory, while proposing an example of another city state. In Megara, Apollo Pythian was the patron deity, who according to Pausanias (Paus,42,1-2) and Theognis (v. 773-774) aided the Megarans in the construction of the ramparts of their city. Apollo is also known to the Megarans as Archégete, which denotes his role in the foundation of the city. Callimachus also refers to Apollo in this role, as the builder of cities. (Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*. V. 55-57).²⁸¹ Apollo figured prominently in the numismatics uncovered at Megara, which depict the god in his Pythian aspect on the obvers, and on the revers

²⁸⁰Park, H.W. Greek Oracles. Hutchinson University Library; London. 1967. p. 49.

²⁸¹Robu, A. La Cité Mégare et les établissements mégariens de Sicile, de la Propontide, et du Pont-Euxin. Histoire et Institution. Université de Neuchatel. 2008. p. 309.

is pictured his lyre.²⁸² The Megarans also held Apollo to the same high regard as did Miletus. The cities of Byzanteion, Messembria, Selymbria and Kallatis all had vibrant cults of Apollo, and for Byzanteion and Selymbria it can be stated that Apollo was the patron deity of these colonies of Megara. Although the findings for the Megaran colonies are limited to only four cities, it does offer a stable model for comparison with the 16 cities which have been compiled for Miletus. In the Milesian colonies surveyed in the inventory, every city's patron deity was Apollo.

4.2.1. Other Colonising City States in the Region: Samos and Athens

Although the vast majority of the colonies along the shores of the Black Sea belonged to Miletus and to a lesser extent Megara, the city states of Athens and Samos also had their hand in the colonisation of the region, and in an attempt to add weight to the notion that we can ascribe a colony to its mother city based exclusively on the religious institutions found in the colonies, the sole colonies of these mother cities have been equally researched. Samos was an ardent worshipper of Hera, their patron deity. It is also apparent that in one of Samos' eastern Thracian colony Perinthos, that Hera was the patron deity worshipped there as well.²⁸³ Additionally, the city of Athens, in its veneration of their patron deity Athena, colonised the city of Alopekonnessos, where Athena is likewise worshipped as the patron deity.²⁸⁴ Although the lack of additional colonies from other mother cities is absent on account of scant archaeological findings,

²⁸²Robu, A. La Cité Mégare et les établissements mégariens de Sicile, de la Propontide, et du Pont-Euxin. Histoire et Institution. p. 311.

²⁸³Atasoy, S. Ancient Greek Settlements in Eastern Thrace. Pp. 1179-1194. *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 11*. Ed D.V Grammenos; E. K Petropoulos. p. 1189.

²⁸⁴Ibid., p. 1186.

it does nevertheless present us with confirmation that the hypothesis is observable in the city states of Megara, Samos and Athens, in addition to Miletus, demonstrating that the phenomena of a religious connection between the mother city and the colony is not mutually exclusive to Miletus, neither is it exclusive to cities whose patron deity was Apollo, in his role as god of colonisation.

4.3. Methodological Limitations and Further Research

Several methodological limitations occurred during this research, namely the difficulty with establishing proper foundation dates for the colonising event. The ancient authors distanced themselves from giving historical dates based on the four-year cycle of Olympiads, or in relation to a Greek or Near Eastern historical event. The Christian authors eventually began using the era of Abraham as a historical gauge. Thus, the dates given by late authors such as Eusebius and Jerome are misleading, albeit rather convincing based on their apparent modern historicity.²⁸⁵

Additional methodological limitations to this present work are the lack of cities colonised by a city state other than Miletus and Megara. In order to attempt to verify the hypothesis which states that a colony can be identified on account of its, and the supposed mother cities' religious institutions, I was able to find substantial evidence in Miletus, Megara, and in Samos and Athens to a less significant extent. The problem lies in the number of colonies available for this study. The majority of the colonies along the shores of the Black Sea belong to Miletus, and to a lesser extent Megara. Yet in attempting to verify my hypothesis by studying other colonising city states, it has been

²⁸⁵ Avram, A. *et al.* The Black Sea Area. 925-964. In: Hansen, Morgens Herman; Nielson, Thomas Hein. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. p. 924.

found that while Athens and Samos did in fact colonise the region, their colonies are limited to under three each, making it difficult to establish a pattern where it can be observed that the patron deity of the mother city was in fact established throughout the city's colonies, such as has been established for Miletus and Megara. The volume of the non-Milesian colonies is simply too small, even though the examples proposed do, in fact, display the religious link which was intended as further proof of the hypothesis.

4.3.1. East Greek Pottery as Additional Proof of East Greek Presence

Although not directly discussed in the inventory, the role of pottery in the relations between the Greeks and the native inhabitants must not be overlooked, nor should we overlook the importance of the early presence of East Greek pottery in the Black Sea, such as the Wild Goat Style, in determining a chronology for colonisation. Pottery was not merely an object which the Greeks could barter for better relations, many sherds have been found in Scythian shrines, bearing Greek dedicatory inscriptions, attesting to an adoption of Greek gods, and Greek wares to fit the needs of the local populations cult worship. One such example of this is a dedicatory inscription to Apollo unearthed in a Scythian shrine.²⁸⁶ These, however, do not speak necessarily to overall peaceful relations, nor do they unequivocally imply the purchasing of these object from the Greek settlers. They could have been plundered from the Greek settlements, as many of the colonies show evidence of destruction layers in the late Archaic period's archaeological record. The provenance of these objects aside, it remains a crucial element in

²⁸⁶Tsetskhladze, G.R. Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area, Stages, Models and Native Population. p. 53.

attempting to understand the complexities of the role of religion in colonisation, and would merit further research.

What can be stated definitively is that the Greeks penetrated the Black Sea and began to colonise in the last third of the 7th century BCE. The first Greek settlement in the northern Black Sea region is considered as being Berezan, according to the literary tradition. The date is corroborated by the discovery on the site of eastern Greek pottery, fragments of which have been dated to the 7th century BCE.²⁸⁷ All areas of the Black Sea were colonised by the 7th century BCE except the east coast. The principal orchestration of these efforts of colonising was done by the Milesians, until c. 560 BCE.²⁸⁸ The first western Greek colony in the Black Sea region according to the archaeological record was Histria, which has been identified on account of the Middle Wild Goat style pottery, a pottery style indicative of Ionian craft which has been discovered as having originated in Miletus, Rhodes, and Chios. This style can be dated to c. 630 BCE.²⁸⁹ Apollonia Pontika is another of the earliest Greek Milesian colonies, dated in the literary tradition to c. 610 BCE by Pseudo Scymnos (728-731), a date which has been corroborated by archaeological work found in the inventory compiled for the site. In the southern portion of the Black Sea, the earliest colony was Sinope, another Milesian colony. It was colonised based on the archaeological data found on site in the late 7th century BCE. In the eastern portion of the Black Sea, Miletus founded Phasis,

²⁸⁷ Tsetskhladze, G.R. Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area, Stages, Models and Native Population. p 19.

²⁸⁸ Malkin, I. Religion and Colonisation. p. 36.

²⁸⁹ Cook, R.M; Dupont, P. East Greek Pottery. Routledge, London. 1997.

Gyenos, and Dioscouria, as well as Pichvnari and Tsikhisdziri in the middle of the 6th century BCE.²⁹⁰

²⁹⁰Tsetskhladze, G.R. Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area, Stages, Models and Native Population. p. 35.

Part 5.

Conclusions

In researching this topic, it is apparent that there remains much work to be done on the subject of the colonisation in this specific region, as the majority of the archaeological and literary information is often fragmentary, as are the archaeological traces associated with the religious institutions enacted by the colonising parties. Systematic archaeological excavations as well as pertinent scientific publications are necessary in achieving a broader understanding of this fascinating region. By means of the inventory of archaeological evidence for the cult of Apollo along the coast of the Black Sea region in the colonies of Miletus proposed in this thesis, we now have at our disposal a database for all information pertaining to Apollo-related phenomena in the Milesian Black Sea colonies, as well as a new model for the association of colonies to their respective mother cities by means of corresponding religious trends.

Apollo played a central role in the development of the Milesian colonies. Many of Apollo's epithets concerned colonisation, as well as the functioning of the socio-economic apparatus of the city. The epithet *Iatros*, the healer, is more common in the Black Sea than that of *Delphinios*, which is common on the mainland and in Ionia, and specifically Miletus. Apollo, as is depicted in Homer's *Iliad*, is often associated with plagues, yet also with the power to stop them. Given the fact that he was an oracular deity, he was likewise regarded as having healing properties.²⁹¹ Apollo's aspect as the healer, *Iatros*, would have had a profound impact on the Pontic colonies early in their

²⁹¹Onyshkevych, L. Archaic and Classical Cult Related Graffiti from the Northern Black Sea Coast. Pp 49-50.

existence. Rusyaeva indicates that the cult of Apollo *latros* was fabricated within the Milesian colonisation of the Pontic region as a result of an oracle from Didyma. Interesting as this may be for the purposes of this study, I am in agreement with Onyshkevych, who states that it is difficult to ascertain any evidence for the former's statement, as Rusyaeva bases this statement on the Berezan Bone Plaque representing an oracle from Didyma. Yet as has been discussed in the inventory, there is a lack of sufficient evidence to make that statement conclusively.²⁹²

When discussing religious practices being transplanted from the mother city to the colony, there are two schools of thought. The first, the one proposed by this thesis is that the proliferation of the cult of Apollo in the region of the Black Sea extends from the direct result of the colonising efforts of the city-state Miletus to transmit their own reverence of the god Apollo, as God of Colonisers, into their colonies. The second is that the cause of the reverence of Apollo in the Black Sea region is a matter of local indigenous tribes, the Scythian and the Thracian peoples inhabiting the Black Sea coast already holding a reverence for Apollo through a pre-existing deity similar to the Ionian Greek conception of Apollo *latros*. For this equally valid hypothesis, one should consult the work by Yulia Ustinova: *Apollo latros; A Greek God of Pontic Origin*, the author has provided a notable contribution to this aspect of the origin of the cult of Apollo in the Black Sea, which has not been treated in this paper. In the future, it may be pertinent to attempt to merge these two hypotheses, as they may reveal a symbiotic

²⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 50.

relationship between the religious institutions of the colonisers and the pre-existing beliefs of the native populations.

The link between religiosity and colonisation is observable, not only in the archaeological record as seen in the inventory proposed, yet also in the ancient literary tradition. Apollo was the patron deity of the Milesian colonies in the Black Sea, and while Apollo is present in the other colonies not founded by Miletus in the Black Sea, it is apparent that Apollo was not the patron deity of these cities, and the god is not represented to the extent that he is in the Milesian colonies, allowing to further advance the notion that the overwhelming presence of Apollo in the Milesian colonies is a direct result of the Milesian cult of Apollo being installed in the city's colonies. This has also been observed in the treatment of the colonies of Megara. Megara's patron deity was Apollo Pithius, and in the majority of the Megaran colonies, we find Apollo as the patron deity. Additionally, in the colony of Samos, namely Perinthos, Hera is worshipped as patron deity, as was customary in Samos. In the Athenian colony of Alopekonnessos, Athena is worshipped as the patron deity, as was the custom in Athens. Thus, the religious institutions of all of these city states were transferred to their respective colonies.

With the abundance of evidence pointing towards the widespread worship of Apollo in the colonies of Miletus, and given the importance of founding a cult in a newly established colony so as to transplant the beliefs and religious models from the mother polis to the colony as observed in the second part of this thesis, it can be affirmed, on account of the abundant artefactual evidence contained moreover in the inventory,

including numismatics depicting Apollo, temples to Apollo, the statuary evidence, the epigraphic and literary evidence of decrees linking the colony with aspects of Apollo found in Miletus, as well as through the process of elimination regarding the other colonising cities in the region not holding Apollo to the same standards as the colonies of Miletus and Megara, (i.e. Apollo is the patron deity in all these colonies, while in the colonies of Samos and Athens we see that the colonists have installed the religious institutions found in their cities proper), it can be stated that the presence of Apollo in the colonies of Miletus in the Black Sea demonstrates that Miletus did in fact colonise the cities enumerated in the inventory, while also verifying that the patron deity of any given city state will be installed as such in their colonies. This can serve as a method in attempting to associate a mother polis with a presumed colony, as has been confirmed with the cases of Athens, Samos, Megara, and Miletus.

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