

TOMB STONE OF THE SONS OF ATTES FROM MYRMEKION

SERGEI R. TOKHTASIEV

Abstract. The author publishes a tomb stone of the 1st half of the 4th century BC discovered at the necropolis of the Bosporan city of Myrmekion (on the territory of Kerch). The name of the second buried person Κυαιανις should be probably read as Κυλιανις. The latter is known from a 4th century epitaph *CIRB* 162 and is often to be found on the ceramic stamps of Sinope as the name factory-owners. The name seems to be Paphlagonian, derived from the Hittito-Luvian anthroponymic stem *Kul(a)-*. Anatolian name of the father Ἄττης known on the Bosphorus from some other inscriptions of the 4th century BC, is attested in Myrmekion in *CIRB* 178. The author gives other examples from Bosporan epigraphy of how immigrant families from Asia Minor preserved their traditional names. The epigraphic data make it possible to speak about a mass migration of superficially Hellenized barbarians (often with their families) from the northern parts of Asia Minor to the Bosphorus in the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

The stele with an epitaph published here was found in the summer of 1991 during earthworks in the city of Kerch on Moskovskaya Street. The line of this street coincides approximately with the line separating the northern part of the Myrmekion city-site and its necropolis.¹ The stele which had been thrown out of the trench by workmen was noted on its edge by the well-known lover of Kerch antiquities, Boris I. Babich. He informed the head of the Myrmekion team of the Bosporan Archaeological Expedition of the former Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences (now the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences), Yurii A. Vinogradov, about it and also the director of the Kerch State Historical and Cultural Reserve. Thanks to this prompt action on the part of Babich, the stele was transported to the house of the watchman at the Myrmekion city-site belonging to the Reserve. Thus, this stele was preserved for the scholarship and I could study it *de visu* in the summer of 1993.

The stele is made of limestone; height – 1.55 m, width – 57 cm, thickness – 20 cm. At the top it had a smooth pediment with three *akroteria* worked in

¹ See: Gaidukevich 1941, 13 ff.; Gaidukevich 1952, 135-143.

the conventional manner; the central one of these had been broken off. Steles from Pantikapaion of the 4th century BC (*CIRB* 155, 184, 196) had been designed in a similar but more skilful way and the same would appear to apply to *CIRB* 181 and 1069 from Hermonassa.²

The inscription had been carved in the upper part of the stele and consisted of two lines: it was very neat (probably carved after preliminary lines had been marked out, although no traces of these were any longer to be discerned) and the script was nice without any decorative elements (Fig. 1, 2). The height of all the letters – apart from the slightly reduced *omicron* and *omega* – was 5 cm. Both the shapes of the letters, the type of the stele and its decoration point to the first half of the 4th century BC. From among inscriptions found in the Bosphorus, those which resemble this one most, as far as script is concerned, might be the epitaphs *CIRB* 190, 213 and also Nos. 152, 191, 210, which are all from Pantikapaion. (Henceforth all references to the inscriptions assembled in *CIRB* will be referred to simply by number).

Σωσίβιος Ἄττεω,
Κυαϊανις Ἄττεω.

Σωσίβιος: this is an ordinary Greek name, known both in the Bosphorus – admittedly as yet only found in the 3rd century BC (912 II₆, Nymphaion) – and also in Roman times.³

Ἄττης: this is an Anatolian name which has been recorded mainly in the southern parts of Asia Minor – from Caria to Lycaonia, in Heraclea Pontica and also in Lydian and Phrygian inscriptions.⁴ Together with inscription 175

² See, respectively: Kiezeritzky, Watzinger 1909, Nos. 58, 92, 56a, 16c and 61.

³ Tokhtas'ev 2000, 140 ff. (Nymphaion); Vinokurov 2001, 18 ff. (Artezian settlement: Σωσ{τ}ίβι, voc.); *CIRB* 1263₄ (Tanais).

⁴ Zgusta 1964, § 119-9 f.; for the earliest (since 4th century BC) evidences see: Brashinskii 1980, Nos. M 80–83 etc.; Monakhov 1999, 358 ff. (ceramic stamps of Heraclea Pontica, *kerameus*); Blümel 1992, 11. In Ionian inscriptions, it is possible to distinguish two variants of the same Anatolian stem *At(t)-*, Ἄττης (Ἄττᾶς) and Ἄττης (*s-stem), only in oblique cases, cf. Hittite *Atta* (Laroche 1966, 193), Lydian *Atas*, Old Phrygian *Atas* (?), Brixhe, Lejeune 1984, G-128: *atas*]; W-10: *atai*] (dat. *Atai*?) etc.; cf. Ἄττας from Gordion, 3rd century BC: Roller 1987, 126, No. 48; 128, No. 51) on the one hand, and Lydian *Ates*, Old Phrygian *Ates* (Brixhe, Lejeune 1984, M-01), on the other. For the material see also Zgusta 1965, § 119-2 f., 119-10; cf. Gusmani 1988, 191. In an inscription from the 3rd century BC from Balbura (South Phrygia/Lycia, see: Hall, Coulton 1990, 112), we find Ἄττης (gen. Ἄττῆδος), Ἄττης (Ἄττεω), and at the same time Ἄττας. In Heraclea, besides Ἄττης on ceramic stamps (see above), the form Ἄττας has been recorded as well (IG II² 8699: Ἄττου Ἡρακλεώτου).

TOMB STONE OF THE SONS OF ATTES FROM MYRMEKION



Fig. 1. Stele of Sosibios and Kylianis, sons of Attes from Myrmekion.



Fig. 2. Stele of Sosibios and Kylianis, sons of Attes. Detail.

(Fig. 3): Γλαυκίωγ Ἄττεω, it has been recorded twice in Myrmekion (on the find-spot of the stone, see: *CIRB*, p. 479, n.*) and a further three times in other towns of the Bosphorus, also in the 4th century BC: 209 (Pantikapaion), 1102 (Korokondame), 1056 I₉ (Hermonassa). Like the inscription published here, epitaph 175 has been dated by the editors of the *CIRB* to the first half of the 4th century BC. The inscription has been executed in a rather Archaic manner (without the use of a ruler and with the letters arranged very freely in relation to the lines of the inscription). The script itself probably indicates the early decades of the 4th century BC (Fig. 2). Perhaps Glaukion was another son of Attes?

There are no parallels for the name of the brother of Sosibios. The only name which might be mentioned as sounding similar is the name Κυαίος, from Asia Minor, which is derived from Κυαός.⁵ Κυαίανις could be regarded as an

⁵ Zgusta 1964, § 762, Pamphylia and Pisidia; it might be traced back to the Hittite-Luwian



Fig. 3. Stele of Glaukion, son of Attes (*CIRB* 175) from Myrmekion.

extension of *Κυας* by way of the intermediate form **Κυαιος* with the Hittite-Luwian diminutive suffix *-(a)nni*.⁶

It is clear, however, that this is merely conjecture. A more simple and reliable interpretation might be deduced from the non-Greek name *Κυλιανις*, which is attested in the Bosphorus (162, probably from *Pantikapaion*,⁷ 4th century BC); this same name has been found many times on ceramic stamps from Sinope as the name of factory-owners (also *Κυλιανιος*; gen. *Κυλιανιου*).⁸ There is no

anthroponymic stem *Kuwa-*, see Laroche 1966, 101 ff. Parallels like *Σανδας* – *Σανδαιος* (cf. Hittite *Santa-wiya*, Laroche 1966, No. 1102), *Ταρκονδας* – *Ταρκονδαιος* (cf. *Ibid.* 245 ff.) see: Tokhtas'ev 1994, 163–165 (cf. Lycian toponym *Xākbi* and *Xakbija*, the name evidently derived from that: Mørkholm, Neumann 1978, 31; Melchert 1989, 29 ff., 104). Houwink ten Cate (1961, 152 f.), without mentioning *Κυαιος*, traces back the names *Κουας*, *Κουαλις*, *Κουουν* (Pamphylia, Pisidia and Cilicia) to the stem *Kuwa*. Zgusta (1964), probably as an oversight, considers *Κουας* (§ 713) and *Κυας* (§ 762) separately, but correctly links them together in his subsequent book – Zgusta 1964a, 36 ff.

⁶ Laroche 1966, 286, 331; Houwink ten Cate 1961, 183.

⁷ Regarding the origin of the stele all that is known reliably is that it was bought in Kerch in 1891.

⁸ For example, *IOSPE* III 546 and so on. The comparison with the name on the stamps was made by V. V. Shkorpil (Shkorpil 1911, 115).

doubt that the carver of our inscription made an error and that in the manuscript original of the epitaph the form ΚΥΛΙΑΝΙΣ would have been used.

For Myrmekion this is the third piece of evidence after the epitaphs 175 and 871 (Ακκας)⁹ pointing to the fact that individuals with Anatolian names were living in the city during the pre-Hellenistic period.

It is curious, but there does not seem to be any other evidence in Asia Minor of the name Κυλιανις, unless we count the toponym Κολιανο-κόμη (instead of *Κολιανιο-?),¹⁰ which is located in the North-East of Phrygia.¹¹ From this the conclusion might be drawn that the name belonged to the onomasticon of the local inhabitants of an area bordering on Sinope – probably, the Paphlagonians.¹² The absence of Ἄττης (and also Ἄττας) in Sinope is,

⁹ See Tokhtas'ev (forthcoming), nos. 22, 22a.

¹⁰ On the consonantization and dropping of the -ι- before the vowel, see: Schwyzer 1953, 245, § 2.1.α. It is hardly likely to have been derived from *Κολιανος on the basis of the problematical Κολλιανου (Zgusta 1964, § 658-4, Pamphylia), and also of the Phrygian Δορυκανος (Zgusta 1964, § 302-1), Paphlagonian Θορυκανος/Θοροκανος (Conovici 1998, No. 263; cf. Tokhtas'ev 1992, 160, No. 36, with bibliography), Τυργανος (ceramic stamps from Sinope, *IOSPE* III 5550); cf. also Pisidian Αρζανος, Cilician Τηδιανος (cf. Luwian *Tati-*, Lycian *Teti* et al.) etc., which Houwink ten Cate (1961, 180–181) classifies as including the Luwian suffixes *-awanali*, resp. *-iāni*.

¹¹ Zgusta 1984, § 551; cf. Neumann 1988, 19.

¹² Many of the *kerameis* of the 4th-2nd centuries BC and two *astynomoi* (Ἄτταλος, Βορυς) had barbarian, in particular Paphlagonian roots (a number of such names have been recorded in Sinope alone). By way of an illustration I shall cite the list of names known to me: Αθους/Ατους, Ανοπτη(-) (unpublished, Kerch Museum, Inv. No. KKK 14881), Ανους, Αργαιεις, Ἄτταλος, Ἄττις, Ἄττεις, Ατωτης, Βῆς, Βιλλαιος (perhaps Greek, see: Robert 1964, 20 ff.), Γερβης, Γολας, Δᾶς, Δαος (gen.?), Δραλωος/Δραλωιης, Θορυκανος/Θοροκανος, Θῶς/Τῶς, Θουαιης, -ας, Ιαρακτος (gen.), Κίμωλις/Κίνωλις, Κοας, Κουρυλος/Κωρυλος, Κωμανους (gen.?, *IOSPE* III 1737), Λίβυς (this name [cf., in particular, *CIRB* 206, 4th century BC] can mean 'Libyan' [see: most detailed research in Zimmermann 1996], but in our case this is probably a Greek adaptation of a Paphlagonian name, cf. the following toponyms: the city Λίβυσσα on the river Λίβυσσος and Λιβον in Bithynia et al., Zgusta 1984, § 703, 704, 710–711; the anthroponym Λιβα-ορτου, Zgusta 1964, § 811, Pisidia; cf. Scherer 1968, 383), Μάνης, Μανικκος (Greek?), Μίδας, Νιμακτος (gen.), Νονοος/-ους (Tokhtas'ev 1994, 162), Νου(τι)ος, Παπης, Παφης, Σάγαρις, Ταθας -αντος, Τίβειος/Τιβης, Τυργανος (see: Note 10); Persian names: Ἀρσάκης, Ἀσπαμιθαρης, Μιθρα-/Μιθριδάτης, Μιθρωπαστης/Μιτρωβαστης. For the material see, first and foremost: Grakov 1929, 198–212 (list of factory-owners); Brashinskii 1981, 121, 180–195 (stamp catalogues), 259–262 (name index); Conovici 1998, 190–192 (name index); Monakhov 1999, 581–593 (name index); Monakhov 2003, 340–345 (name index).

without doubt, a mere chance: the combination of a father's and a son's name in our inscription demonstrates that Ἄττης was used in Paphlagonia as well. Yet at the same time two other names with the same root were popular in Sinope – Ἄττις (above, note 12) and Ἄττεις.¹³

The rare data concerning Paphlagonian onomastics display for the most part clear features of Anatolian (Hittite-Luwian) origin.¹⁴ Κυλιανις could be compared with the Hittite-Luwian anthroponymic stem *Kul(a)-* (*Kul(l)a*, *Kula-kula*, *Kulia*, *Kul-kulia*, Luwian hieroglyphic *Kulis*),¹⁵ continuing in the Classical period in the forms Κουλας, Κο(υ)λεις, Κουλλις, Κουλα-πιας, Κουλ(λ)α, Κολια and so on in inscriptions from Phrygia, Isauria, Lycaonia, Cilicia, and also from the Pontic region and Paphlagonia, which are of particular interest to us.¹⁶ Phrygian Κολιαν^ο in Κολιανο-κώμη together with Old Phrygian *Kuliya*[, *Kuliyas* (evidently derived from Hittite-Luwian *Kulia*)¹⁷ might point to a formation with the above-mentioned suffix *-(a)nni*, which in Classical times is particularly well represented in Lycian and Cilician (**-ni*).¹⁸ The closest parallels are provided by Δροσανις/Δρυσανις (180: Παφλαγών), Σανδα-νις,¹⁹ Lycian Ταρκυ-ννις, Cappadocian *Tarhu-ni* (relating to the theonym *Tarhu*),²⁰ the Hieroglyphic Luwian *Tuwa-nis* (cf. *Tuwa*, Cappadocian *Duwa*),²¹ *Masa-nis*²²

¹³ Besides ceramic stamps (see above Note 12), see: French 1991, 144, No. 06 = *I.Sinope* 72 (from c. 400 BC): Ἐοκλείδης Ἄττειος.

¹⁴ Scherer 1968, 377–386, with bibliography; the material found in the stamps of Sinope was known to Scherer only to a limited extent, as indeed to his predecessors.

¹⁵ For the material see: Laroche 1966, Nos. 610, 612, 614; Laroche 1981, No. 612; Hawkins 1987, 158; Zgusta 1964a, 151 ff.

¹⁶ Houwink ten Cate 1961, 150 f.; Robert 1964, 443; Zgusta 1964, § 726; cf. Scherer 1968, 380; Duridanov 1981, 31 ff. and the bibliography in the previous note.

¹⁷ Brixhe, Lejeune 1984, G 101, 127.

¹⁸ Cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961, 183.

¹⁹ Zgusta 1964, § 1370-8, Lydia, Paphlagonia; which can be traced back to the Hittite-Luwian theonym *Santa*.

²⁰ Laroche 1966, No. 1266; Zgusta 1964, § 1512-15.

²¹ On this material see: Laroche 1966, No. 1398; Laroche 1981 No. 1400a; Hawkins 1987, 160; Houwink ten Cate 1961, 136 ff., 183.

²² Hawkins 1987, 159. Or a hypocoristic of a composite name from the Luwian *mas(s)ani-* 'deity' (Lycian *mahana-*)?

(cf. *Masa*, Lycian *Masa*, Μασαs,²³ also in Pisidia and Phrygia;²⁴ in the Bosphorus: 461 *et alii*),²⁵ Κουσ-ανι (Eastern Phrygia, cf. Κουσου, Hieroglyphic Luwian *Kus*).²⁶

In the Roman period (from the 1st century AD) in the Bosphorus and once in Olbia (*IOSPE I*² 103₈), we find the name Κουλιαs (344, 518, Pantikapaion; in all cases in the genitive: Κουλιου),²⁷ and also the feminine Κουλια (446, 526, 758, Pantikapaion; 1025₃, Fantalovskii Island), Κολια (795, Pantikapaion), which directly corresponds to Anatolian *Kulia* and Phrygian *Kuliyas*.²⁸ If these forms, as far as I know, have not yet been found in Greek inscriptions in Sinope, anywhere else in the southern part of the Pontic region or even in Asia Minor as a whole,²⁹ this can in part be explained as mere coincidence and in part by the fact that in the Classical period names with this root had probably lost their popularity.

The difference regarding υ : ου in Κυλιανιs : Κουλιαs, is possibly of a diachronic nature; in other words the spelling Κυλιανιs could be traced back to the times when υ in Ionian was [u]. Yet υ much later as well often served to convey [u] in foreign words, and sometimes is found instead of the Greek ου,³⁰ so that the name of the Bosphoran family Κυλειδαι (1021_{7/8}: Διει και Ἡρα Κυλειδων,

²³ From the 4th century BC, see: Wörrle 1991, 220, l. 2.

²⁴ Zgusta 1964, § 875.

²⁵ Cf. the feminine name Μασα-τιs 282 *et al.*, which can be traced back to Hittite-Luwian *Masa* with the suffix *-t(i)* (Laroche 1966, 287, 332; Houwink ten Cate 1961, 183); cf. Hittite *Ammi-ti* (Laroche 1981, No. 53a, cf. *Ammi*, No. 48a), *Arma-ti* (Laroche 1966, No. 139), Αρμα-τιs, Σανδα-τιs (Zgusta 1964, § 97-9; 1370-2, 9), *Tuwa-tali* (see: Note 31).

²⁶ Zgusta 1964, § 739-1 ff. resp. Hawkins 1987, 158.

²⁷ In the indices provided for *IOSPE* and *CIRB* the nominative is presented in the form Κουλιος.

²⁸ In a 2nd century AD dedication of Olbian *agoranomoi* to Achilles Pontarches from the island of Berezan (Solovyov 1999, 118, Fig. 107_{6/7}; Solovyov 2001, 137, Fig. 12 = *SEG XLIX* 1028; Tokhtas'ev in: Solovyov 2005, 148, No. 272) we also find Κουλιs, which corresponds to the Luwian hieroglyphic *Kulis*, Paphlagonian Κουλειs (above). Yet Κόλλιs, Κόλλα, Κολλίων, Κολλαρίων, Κόλων from the Bosphorus and from other places are Greek, see (with bibliography): L. Robert in Firatlı, Robert 1964, 167 ff.; Tokhtas'ev 2000, 145, No. 102.

²⁹ Cf., however, the feminine Κου(λ)ια (?), Zgusta 1964, § 726-5, Paphlagonia (with ample justification has been corrected from ΚΟΥΙΑ; cf. *SEG XXXII* 1109, 1110).

³⁰ Cf. Ἄγαθῦ (376), Ἀπολυδῶρυ (1028), Thracian Αλυζελμιs (587); for examples in Sarmatian names attested by inscriptions from the Bosphorus and Olbia see: Abaev 1979, 324; Zgusta 1955, § 370 ff.; in general, see: Thumb 1901, 193 ff.

Fantalovskii Island, 105 AD), would appear to have been derived from Κουλις.³¹ The forms Κυας : Κουας which coexisted in Greek inscriptions at the same time have been mentioned above.

It is worth noting that one of the sons, like his father, bore a name which he had inherited from barbarian ancestors or simply one that was popular within the given ethnic group. In Bosporan epigraphy of the 5th and 4th centuries BC even more vivid examples of the preservation by families of immigrants from Asia Minor of their traditional names can be found. There is not one Greek name to be found in a family tomb-stone from Pantikapaion 228: Τυαιης Τεττεου του Μιδαο; in epitaph 209 almost all the names are non-Greek: Νάνα : Νικομάχου γυνή : Τατυς : Ἄττεω, Ἄννη Τατυος γυνή; cf. also 225: Τιβης ὁ υἱός, Νάνα Τιβείο γυνή, and 222: Ξ(?)αρια Μάνεω γυνή, Να Μάνεω (θ)υγάτη[ρ]. As we can see, these men often took wives from amongst their own milieu. Another example (168), also from Pantikapaion, shows how – thanks to mixed marriages – the range of names in these families was gradually Hellenized: Αρμαδης, Δη[μ]ητρ[ίη] Αρμα(δ)ου γυνή, Γορδης Αρμαδο, Ἄρτεμιδώρη Αρμα(δ)ο: a son was given a non-Greek name by Armades himself (*Armades*³² was also an Anatolian name traceable back to the Hittite-Luwian *Arma*, ‘Moon’), while his wife Demetria would appear to have chosen a Greek name for her daughter. It is, of course, no coincidence that both the female names were formed from the names of female deities (incidentally both the name Αρμαδης and, possibly, also Γορδης³³ were theonymic as well). Given the patrilineal system of relationships which existed in that society, the children of mixed marriages usually inherited male names of ancestors via the male line and female names via the line of the wife.³⁴

Over the course of time these barbarians turned into just the same Greeks, as those next to whom they had at some time in the past come to settle: in

³¹ Lycian *Xulida* (Zgusta 1964, § 728; Melchert 1989, 105), apparently containing the same element, indicate that Κυλειδαί could have been formed directly from *Κυλ(ε)ιδας; cf. also Lycian *Xuwada*/Κοατα (bilingual inscription) in relation to *Kuwa* (Laroche 1966, no. 659) and *Tuwada* (Melchert 1989, 105, 102), Hittite *Tuwati* (Laroche 1966, No. 1406) to *Tuwa* (*ibid.* No. 1398; or maybe directly to the theonym *Tuwatali* [*ibid.* 292]?). It is hardly written instead of *Κυλλειδαί to the Greek κυλλός, cf. Κύλων, Κύλλος and so on (Bechtel 1917, 480, 492, 532) or Κύλλις (cf. St. B. s.v. Κυλλίγη).

³² It should perhaps be read as Αρμαλ-, cf. Μωης Αρμαλου (and his wife Γις, Durugönül 1992, 61 ff., Amisos, 2nd century BC) and Tokhtas’ev (forthcoming), No. 24.

³³ See: *Ibid.*, Nos. 24, 25.

³⁴ Cf. Herman 1990, 352 ff., 357 ff.

this way the processes which had taken place in the Ionian metropolis since pre-historic times were repeated. A model example of this is to be found in the Carian-Greek genealogy of Herodotus, son of Lyxes – Λύξεω. Even in his day one of his closest relatives – the future epic poet – was given the Carian name Πανύασσις, while the famous inscription from Halicarnassus *SGDI* 5727,³⁵ dating from the last quarter of the 5th or first half of the 4th century BC, provides one of the main sources of Carian names. The extensive list contains combinations of Greek and barbarian names like [Z]ηνόδωρος Ἀρυασσιος, Ἄρτέμων τοῦ Παναμνω (A_{9 sq.}), Ἀρλιωμος τοῦ Πύργωνος (A₂₀), Πανύασσις Δημητρίο (A₅₀). In Halicarnassus Hellenization was very much delayed in comparison, for example, with Miletus (in early Milesian inscriptions Anatolian names have not so far been found),³⁶ or, as is more likely, it was held up by the constant influx of the barbarian population. Thanks to that we can observe it *in statu nascendi*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abaev, V. I. 1979: Skifo-sarmatskie narechiya. In V. I. Abaev, M. N. Bogolyubov, & V. S. Rastorgueva (eds.), *Osnovy iranskogo yazychoznaniya. Drevneiranskije yazyki* (Moscow), 272-364.
- Bechtel, F. 1917: *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle a.d.S.).
- Blümel, W. 1992: Einheimische Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften aus Karien. *Epigraphia Anatolica* 20, 7-33.
- Blümel, W. 1993: *SGDI* 5727 (Halikarnassos): Eine Revision. *Kadmos* 32, 1-18.
- Brashinskii, I. B. 1980: *Grecheskii keramicheskii import na Nizhnem Donu* (Leningrad).
- Brixhe, Cl. & Lejeune, M. 1984: *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes I-II* (Paris).
- Conovici, N. 1998: *Histria. VIII. Les timbres amphoriques. 2. Sinope* (Bucarest, Paris).
- Duridanov, I. 1981: Zur kleinasiatischen Toponymie. *Linguistique Balkanique* 24, 39-50.
- Durugönül, S. 1992: Zwei Grabstelen einer Familie aus Amisos (Samsun). *Epigraphia Anatolica* 19, 61-70.
- Firatlı, N. & Robert, L. 1964: *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris).
- French, D. 1991: Sinopean Notes 2. *Epigraphia Anatolica* 18, 46-58.
- Gaidukevich, V. F. 1941: Arkheologicheskoe issledovanie Mirmekiya. *MIA* 4, 96-109.
- Gaidukevich, V. F. 1952: Raskopki Mirmekiya v 1935-1938 gg. *MIA* 25, 133-220.

³⁵ For a re-publication of the inscription recently found again in the Izmir Museum, see: Blümel 1993, 1-18.

³⁶ Not counting the name of a historical person – Σαδυάττης, *Milet I/III* 122 I_{55, 108}; II₅₂ (list of the *aisymnetai* of the association of the *molpoi*); cf. Tokhtas'ev 2002, 302, n. 10.

- Grakov, B. N. 1929: *Drevnegrecheskie keramicheskie kleima s imenami astinomov* (Moscow).
- Gusmani, R. 1988: Anthroponymie in den lydischen Inschriften. In Y. L. Arbeitman (ed.), *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz. Studies in Anatolian, Italic and other Indo-European Languages* (Louvain-la-Neuve), 179-196.
- Hall, A. S. & Coulton, J. J. 1990: A Hellenistic Allotment List from Balboura in the Kibyris. *Chiron* 20, 109-155.
- Hawkins, J. D. 1987: The Kululu Lead Strips. Economic Documents in Hieroglyphic Luwian. *Anatolian Studies* 37, 135-162.
- Herman, G. 1990: Patterns of Name Diffusion within the Greek World and beyond. *CQ* 40, 80-98.
- Houwink ten Cate, Ph. H. J. 1961: *The Luwian Populations Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden).
- Kiezeritzky, G. & Watzinger C. 1909: *Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrussland* (Berlin).
- Laroche, E. 1966: *Les noms des Hittites* (Paris).
- Laroche, E. 1981: Les noms des Hittites. Supplément. *Hethitica* 4, 3-58.
- Melchert Craig, H. 1989: *Lycian Lexicon* (Chapel Hill, N.C.).
- Monakhov, S. Yu. 1999: *Grecheskie amforj v Prichernomor'e. Kompleksj keramicheskoi tarj* (Saratov).
- Monakhov, S. Yu. 2003: *Grecheskie amforj v Prichernomor'e. Tipologiya. Katalog-opredelitel'* (Moscow, Saratov).
- Mørkholm, O. & Neumann G. 1978: *Die lykischen Münzlegenden* (Göttingen).
- Neumann, G. 1988: *Phrygisch und Griechisch* (SB Wien 499).
- Robert, L. 1964: *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine I* (Paris).
- Roller, L. E. 1987: Hellenistic Epigraphic Texts from Gordion. *Anatolian Studies* 37, 103-134.
- Scherer, A. 1968: Paphlagonische Namenstudien. *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 14, 377-386.
- Schwyzler, Ed. 1953: *Griechische Grammatik I* (Munich).
- Shkorpil, V. V. 1911: Zametki k izdannym bosporskim nadpisyam. *Izvestiya Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Komissii* 40, 115-117.
- Solovyov, S. L. 1999: *Ancient Berezan. Colloquia Pontica* 4 (Leiden, Boston, Cologne).
- Solovyov, S. L. 2001: The Archeological Excavation of the Berezan Settlement (1987-1991). *North Pontic Archaeology. Recent Discoveries and Studies. Colloquia Pontica* 6 (Leiden, Boston, Cologne), 117-141.
- Solovyov, S. L. 2005: *Borisfen – Berezan': Nachalo antichnoi istorii v Severnom Prichernomor'e. K 120-letiju arkheologicheskikh raskopok na ostrove Berezan'. Katalog vystavki* (St. Petersburg).
- Thumb, A. 1901: *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (Strasburg).
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. 1992: Iz onomastiki Severnogo Prichernomor'ya: II. In A. K. Gavrilov *et al.* (eds.), *Étyudy po antichnoi istorii i kul'ture Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (St. Petersburg), 178-199.
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. 1994: Iz onomastiki Severnogo Prichernomor'ya: III-IV. *Hyperboreus* 1/1, 155-166.
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. 2000: Iz onomastiki Severnogo Prichernomor'ya: X-XVII. *Hyperboreus* 6/1, 124-156.

- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. 2002: Imya kimmeriiskogo tsarya Λύγδαμης. In V. A. Livshits, I. N. Medvedskaya, V. A. Yakobson (eds.), *Istoriya i yazyki drevnego Vostoka. Pamyati I. M. D'yakonova* (St. Petersburg), 299-306.
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. (forthcoming): Iz onomastiki Severnogo Prichernomor'ya XIX: Maloaziiskie imena na Bospore. *VDI*.
- Vinokurov, N. I. 2001: Nadgrobnnye pamyatniki nekropolya i gorodishcha Artezian v krymskom Priazov'e. In V. N. Zin'ko (ed.), *Bospor Kimmeriiskii i Pont v period antichnosti i sred-nevekov'ya. Materialy II Bosporskikh chtenii* (Kerch), 18-22.
- Wörle, M. 1991: Epigraphische Forschungen zur Geschichte Lykiens IV. *Chiron* 21 (1991), 203-239.
- Zgusta, L. 1955: *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Praha).
- Zgusta, L. 1964: *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prag).
- Zgusta, L. 1964a: *Anatolische Personennamensippen I-II* (Prag).
- Zgusta, L. 1984: *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg).
- Zimmermann, K. 1996: Zum Personennamen Λίβυς/Λίβυσσα. *Chiron* 26, 349-370.

Abbreviations

- MIA* *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR* (Moscow).
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin 1873-).
- I.Sinope* D. French, *The Inscriptions of Sinope. I (Inscriben griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 64)* (Bonn 2004).
- SEG* *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden, Amsterdam 1923-).
- SGDI* H. Collitz, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen 1884-1915).

Copyright of *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* is the property of Brill Academic Publishers and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.