Traders and Travelers in the Black and Aegean Seas

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Introduction

Sometime in the first half of the 3rd century BC a certain Theon son of Potamon died at Kallatis on the west coast of the Black Sea. On his funerary inscription, which appears on a simple *stele* with a niche cut in the front but without relief, he is identified as a citizen of Alexandria. On the basis of this ethnic Theon has been seen frequently as an Alexandrian trader who had accompanied his cargo to its – and his – final destination in the Black Sea.[1]

Trade between Ptolemaic Egypt and the Black Sea region – and especially Olbia and the Kingdom of Bosporos – has been invoked frequently as an explanation for the presence of persons from Egypt in the Pontic region and persons from Pontic cities in Egypt. It has also been used to account for the popularity and spread of worship of the "Egyptian" deities Isis and Sarapis in the Pontos. There can be no doubt of the presence of goods originating from Egypt in Pontic cities. Glass and faience work from Egypt found in excavations spread into inland Scythian burials along important watercourses (see also Archibald in this volume). Finger rings of Ptolemaic manufacture with portrait heads have been found in Pantikapaion and other cities, and Hadra vases of the type used in Egypt for the interment of ashes of the dead were also used in the cemeteries of Olbia, although it has been suggested that these are local imitations, not imports.[2] Still other evidence, mostly of a documentary nature – some of which I review below – has been added to the mix to produce the common view of close, long-standing trade relations between the two kingdoms – mediated, it must immediately be added, in many cases by intermediaries, most notably Rhodos and, in some views, Delos.

Recently, Zofia H. Archibald has questioned the value of such finds as evidence for direct trade between Pontic cities and Egypt. "Diplomatic relations are often cemented by the exchange of gifts", she writes, and "exotic products may easily have traveled with ships carrying goods from many sources and cannot be used in isolation as evidence of direct contacts with Egypt".[3] These cautionary remarks are well-taken. The complexities of patterns of trade in the Hellenistic world – the frequency of cabotage, the adventitious nature of the acquisition and sale of goods, the problems of transmittal of reliable

information about market conditions, the interventions of states and *poleis* into economic activity, and many other factors – have been emphasized in recent years. New ways of thinking about trade and the economy in general have been the subject of vibrant discussion.[4] I would suggest that connected with this set of problems is a larger body of questions about the meaning of travel – the motivations and implications of the movement of individuals appearing so prominently in many kinds of evidence, from humble tombstones like Theon's to the foundation of whole cities and the movement of whole populations by Hellenistic kings. Many years ago, in what remains a stimulating essay on the Hellenistic world, William Woodthorpe Tarn argued precisely that increased freedom of movement was a hallmark of the Hellenistic world. I would like to explore in this (much less ambitious) essay some of the implications of travel in the context of our understanding of the relationship between travel and trade.

Pontic nuts

Two Egyptian papyri dated to 259 BC record import duties paid at Pelousion in Egypt (one of many entry points for goods brought into the kingdom from outside) on a wide variety of goods transported on two ships. Among them is listed one Chian amphora (holding slightly more than 10 *choinikes*) of "Pontic nuts", *karya pontika.* This entry has been cited often as evidence not only for Pontic-Egyptian trade in general, but also for the structure of that trade. For the ships themselves, and most of the goods they carried, had originated in Syria. P.M. Fraser concluded that "these items from the Black Sea [he refers here to the nuts and to dried fish] were, like the Syrian [goods], reshipped at Rhodes for Alexandria".[5] Thus the pivotal role of Rhodos and its harbors in interchange between Egypt and the Black Sea.

"Pontic" nuts have generally been identified as hazelnuts.[6] They appear in our sources under different names. The medical writer Dioskourides reports that they are called by some *leptokarya*, "light nuts".[7] This identification resonates with a most important discussion of these nuts preserved in the *Geoponika*, a Byzantine compilation of agricultural writers whose sources and history have been subject to considerable discussion.[8] In a wry comment attributed to Demokritos, the *Geoponika* observes that because agricultural writers are the wisest of men they do not necessarily call nuts by the names to which lay persons are accustomed. He gives as examples three types of nut: the *karyon basilikon*, which ordinary people call the simple "nut" (i.e. a walnut); the *Dios balanos* or *kastanon*, the chestnut; and the *karyon pontikon*, identical to the *leptokaryon*.[9] Theophrastos also gives us another, more geographically specific name for these nuts – he calls them *karya herakleotike*, the nut from Herakleia. That is to say, hazelnuts were not just a "Pontic" product but originated in, or at least were associated with, Herakleia Pontike.

Theophrastos says nothing about their origin, but he does have a lot to say about their characteristics. He notes that the plant is not a tree but more like a bush, lacking major thick branches; that it can easily be domesticated; that it tolerates winter well, growing in the mountains and yielding a crop there. The yield is best, he advises, in places with abundant water. Other sources indicate that hazelnuts were popular in and adapted to other parts of the Mediterranean world; indeed, an alternate name in Latin, *nuces abellanae*, reflects a view that they originated in Campania. An Athenian inscription establishing regulations in the Agora respecting weights and measures for the sale of various goods specifically mentions *herakleotika karya* among fruits and nuts to which a provision of the law applies.[10]

In other words, at least by the date at which Theophrastos was writing his *Historia plantarum*, hazelnuts were already well-known enough and widespread enough that he felt no need to discuss further the origin and significance of their name; the less specific designation as "Pontic nuts" may perhaps reflect a further corruption of memory of origin – somewhere up there around the Black Sea. But this need not mean at all that the Pontic nuts in the shipment from Syria originated in the Pontic region, no more than that all "dried Persian fruits" (i.e. peaches) must have been grown in Persia, or that all *damaskena* (plums) in Damascus. It is perfectly possible for the "Pontic nuts" of the papyri to have been grown very far away from the Black Sea, perhaps even in Syria, or on the Kilikian coast which was famous for its almonds. It is not even necessary, on the basis of the presence of these nuts in the consignment, to presuppose transshipment at Rhodos.[11]

Perhaps we may push speculation a bit further on this point. The person for whom the consignment of goods had been shipped to Egypt was Apollonios, the enormously powerful *dioiketes* in the service of King Ptolemaios II. His agent in this business was Zenon of Kaunos, who worked for him for many years as his most trusted aide. Ptolemaios had given Apollonios an estate of 10,000 *arourai* (slightly more than 2,500 ha) in the Fayum not long before, and a papyrus dated to December 259 – a few months after the shipment in question – records plans for the development of the estate. It is clear that the intention was to experiment with the introduction of new varieties of plants, a project which had occupied Ptolemaios II himself in other contexts, and for which we have further papyrological evidence. Some of the plants were poorly adapted to arid conditions and required a good deal of irrigation, and indeed the plan for the estate shows the attention devoted to putting in place a massive irrigation system (of course such irrigation projects were a *sine qua non* of any agricultural enterprise in Egypt). One may wonder then whether the "Pontic nuts" which Zenon imported into Egypt may have been intended not for consumption but as part of an experiment in raising this water-loving, cold-tolerant shrub in the desert conditions of the Fayum.[12]

Contact between the Bosporan Kingdom and Ptolemaic Egypt

Nuts aside, other evidence for contact between Egypt and the Pontic region remains. Given that trade in nuts may be regarded now as a bit problematic, perhaps we can also ask whether any other, non-trade motivations may help explain the interests at work. The Bosporan Kingdom famously dispatched an embassy from King Pairisades II to Ptolemaios II in late summer 254 BC.[13] The Spartokids who ruled the Bosporan Kingdom could trace their ancestry back well into the Classical period. They had had relations with Athens, one of the great powers of Greece in the 5th and 4th centuries. But the configuration of political power had changed dramatically with the conquests of Alexander the Great, his sudden death at a young age, and the scramble to seize the corpse of his empire that dominated the Aegean basin for a good half-century after his death. I would suggest that, in part, some of the evidence of contact between the Bosporan Kingdom and the Ptolemies may fit in this context.

In inscriptions erected in the Bosporan Kingdom itself, the earlier heads of the family – Leukon I (389/8-349/8) and Pairisades I (349/8-311/10)[14] – styled themselves (with variations) typically as *archon* of the Bosporos and Theodosia and *basileus* of the Sindoi and various other groups which changed from inscription to inscription (see also Moreno in this volume).[15] Inscriptions made under Spartokos III (304/3-284/3) deployed analogous formulae except in one fragmentary text where he was called simply "Spartokos son of Eumelos, king" (*CIRB* 19). This new formula recurred in inscriptions erected under Pairisades II (284/3-c. 245) with one notable exception that reverted to the old formula using *archon*; this text, however, recorded a dedication by one of Pairisades' sons (*CIRB* 20-24, 25). Moreover, it is not just the formula that changes but also its placement in the text. In the earlier inscriptions the formula came at the end, whereas the new formula appeared first. Both these features – that is, the new formula itself and its placement – bear a striking resemblance to the ways in which dating formulae are deployed on inscriptions made under Hellenistic kings, especially the Seleukids and Ptolemies. As is well known, the successors of Alexander did not assume the royal title until 306 BC. Spartokos III began his reign but two years later, and he is the first – though inconsistently – under whom the new style appears. I wonder whether perhaps the change may be attributed to his attempting to situate himself in the structure of kingdoms emerging from the wreckage of Alexander's empire. The Bosporan Kingdom had existed long before Alexander was born, and its rulers had a good claim to considerably more legitimacy than the upstart generals now styling themselves as "kings". The Spartokids had already been called kings of neighboring peoples and were even recognized as such outside the Black Sea; it seems perfectly reasonable that they should now seek to place themselves on an even footing with the new kings of the Seleukid, Ptolemaic, and other kingdoms.

There is another way in which the Spartokids showed themselves as "real kings" in the Hellenistic sense, and that was by the patronage of major Greek sanctuaries. An account of offerings from the sanctuary of Apollon on Delos records the dedication by – or surely better, on behalf of – Pairisades II of a *phiale*, one of the commonest types of such dedications. It appears first in 250 BC, unfortunately without further details (such as the date at which the dedication was originally offered).[16] It is possible that the dedication was offered by the ambassadors he had sent to Egypt four years earlier. There is however another possibility, which should also be considered. Later entries recording Pairisades' *phiale* also mention three other *phialai* dedicated by the Chersonesitai in 276 BC.[17] Chersonesos was of course part of the Bosporan realm and had ties to Delos as one of its mother cities.[18] It is possible that a delegation from that town had sojourned in Delos in 277 or 276 and dedicated *phialai* both on their own and their king's behalf. Similar attention to great pan-Hellenic sanctuaries recurs under Pairisades III and his wife queen Kamasarye. The Delphians honored them because of their piety toward the god and their *philanthropeia* toward Delphians who came to them.[19] In 178/7 BC, at Didyma near Miletos, Kamasarye dedicated a gold object (the name is not well read) weighing 187.5 *chrysoi.* The following year her husband topped her with a 200-*chrysoi phiale*.[20] These dedications are in line with those offered by Hellenistic kings from all over the Hellenistic world to these major sanctuaries. They are part and parcel of the representation of piety and claim to close association with and protection by major figures in the Greek pantheon, especially Apollon (who was, as Apollon Iatros, a major cult figure in the Bosporan Kingdom, too).

Pairisades III and Kamasarye draw attention for another reason. The dedication at Delphi makes it clear that they were brother and sister, children of the previous king Spartokos V (ca. 200-ca. 180 BC). Such brother-sister marriages had been standard among the Ptolemies (but not other Hellenistic kings) for a long time, and it is difficult not to suspect that the practice in the Bosporan Kingdom resulted from intentional imitation of Ptolemaic practice. When Pairisades III died about 150 BC, his son Pairisades IV succeeded in joint rulership with his mother, who retained the title of queen.[21] Mother and son adopted in addition the titles *Philoteknos* and *Philometer.* These titles cannot but recall Ptolemaios VI, whose normal epithet was *Philometor,* and who ruled 181-145 BC – precisely the period of Pairisades III and the beginning of the reign of Pairisades IV.

These Ptolemaic echoes in the far Black Sea are, perhaps, not accidental. There are a number of ways in which the two kingdoms might be seen as parallel. Both were major producers and exporters of wheat. Both were ruled by kings whose legitimacy, unlike that of most of their contemporaries, could be traced back to before 306, indeed before Alexander – the Spartokids back into the early 5th century, the Ptolemies, as legitimate heirs of the pharaohs, into misty antiquity. Both kingdoms lay "on the edge" of the Hellenistic world, indeed at opposite ends of that world. Both faced "barbarian" threats from

beyond their borders. It is therefore perhaps no coincidence that Spartokids seeking to legitimate their authority as kings might choose models from the Ptolemaic realm as well as following patterns of behavior expected generally of all Hellenistic monarchs.

Into such an analysis would fit nicely, it seems to me, Archibald's recent treatment of Ptolemaic goods found in the northern Black Sea region. That is to say, such goods – faience, glass, and so on – while surely arriving as "trade goods" (however that may have happened structurally) may also have borne strong and important symbolic meaning as carriers of a Ptolemaic aura and markers of Ptolemaic ties. In such an ideological environment it is easy to imagine how the arrival of the trireme *Isis* at Nymphaion provoked excitement enough to enshrine the visit in a vivid graffito in the shrine there of Aphrodite and Apollon. It is also easy to see the interest in a statue of Arsinoe II, the powerful Ptolemaic queen who was worshipped all over the Aegean basin.[22]

In none of this do I mean to disparage or downplay the importance of trade to the Pontos. Polybios' testimony alone is enough to assure us that trade was a very important reason for people to travel, showing up in places far from home. But, as with Theon, trade alone is not necessarily the only, or even the primary, reason why people (or goods) traveled, as I hope my discussion of alternative explanations for links between the Bosporan and Ptolemaic Kingdoms suggests. To pursue this question further from a different angle I would like to turn attention to some people from the Black Sea, whom we find active in the Aegean basin, and in particular at two places long seen as centers of trade and commerce: Delos and Rhodos.

Pontic citizens at Delos and Rhodos

There are a number of proxeny decrees from Delos for Pontic citizens. Probably the earliest was awarded after the mid 3rd century to Koiranos of Pantikapaion.[23] He was declared *proxenos* and *euergetes* for his services to the Delians who came to him, and was granted freedom from taxes, the right to own property, *prohedria*, access to the *boule* and *demos* first after sacred matters, and all the privileges granted to other *proxenoi.* Koiranos' name bears some interest because in an inscription from Pantikapaion itself, a son of Koiranos (whose name is lost) makes a dedication to Artemis Ephesia on his daughter's behalf. That inscription belongs under Pairisades I, and so well before the Delian proxeny decree, but the name is very unusual at Pantikapaion – no others appear in *CIRB* and it may be that we are seeing members of the same, prominent family.

Two decrees honor citizens from Olbia.[24] The first, which is dated to about the start of the 2nd century BC, honors Posideos son of Dionysios with honors like those enjoyed by Koiranos. The name Posideos recurs in a series of inscriptions from Olbia and Pantikapaion, in which Posideos son of Posideos makes dedications to Zeus Atabyrios, Athena Lindia, Rhodos, Aphrodite Eu-

ploia, and Achilleus "of the island".[25] The Tenedians passed a proxeny decree in his favor (assuming we accept the restoration of the name in *IOSPE* I², 78) and the Koans one for a *Posideos[- -]ou*, usually taken to be the same person, but possibly the man honored by Delos.[26] The prominence of Posideos son of Posideos in Olbia and Pantikapaion affairs is easy to see from his achievements – among other things he defeated pirates – so that clearly he enjoyed high standing. It would be very interesting to know whether he was the son of the man honored by the Delians.

The second decree from Delos for a citizen of Olbia honored one Diodoros. The honors are standard. For us the most interesting question is the name of Diodoros' father, which was read originally on the stone as Arotou but has been corrected to Agrotou. This is of course the name of the second husband queen Kamasayre married after the death of her first husband the king around 150 BC. The Delian decree was put to a vote by the same person who put another decree to the vote in 180 or 176 BC, so it is possible that we are looking here at members of the same family.[27]

These connections are speculative and require further research to see whether they are borne out. At the very least, however, they raise the possibility that the Delians were honoring these people from Pontic cities not as traders or merchants, but for reasons linked to high politics, piety, and display flowing from intimate contacts with the ruling family; in this they would fit perfectly with what we know about many awards of proxenies throughout the Hellenistic world.[28]

At the same time there is evidence for Pontic persons of humbler origins on Delos. The comic actor Diodoros of Sinope performed twice that we know of for Apollon, in 284 and 280 BC. Another citizen of Sinope, whose name has been lost, contracted in 179 BC to repair the "house belonging to Isis". He was paid a total of slightly more than 141 drachmas for the work, which was completed in less than a year. A citizen of Apollonia served as a guarantor for a Naxian's rental of a house belonging to one of the Delian tribes in 157/6 BC.[29]

Aside from the dedications of Pairisades II and the Chersonesitai to Apollon on Delos there is also a very interesting cluster of dedications from Pontic persons to Isis and Sarapis. Around the start of the 2nd century one Glaukos of Kallatis with his wife Angellis and their son Paramonos made a dedication to Sarapis, Isis, and Anoubis. The son shows up almost certainly in another text, apparently now the father of one Demetrios, dedicating to Sarapis and Isis "by order of the god". The absence in this latter inscription of an ethnic may mean that Paramonos, or rather Demetrios, now enjoyed Delian citizenship. Angellis' activities can be traced further. Inventories from the Isideion, the treasury of Isis, beginning in 157/6 BC, show that she gave the goddess a "relief plaque on a board", *typion epi sanidiou*. A citizen of Apollonia dedicated a *phiale* with a base with 14 "fingers" stored also in the Isideion in or sometime before 140/39.[30]

The popularity of the cult of Isis and Sarapis in the Black Sea is well known.[31] It has often been tied to the links with the Ptolemaic Kingdom. For example, the cult of Sarapis at Sinope began in thanksgiving for the god's help in securing grain from Egypt during a famine in 280-279 BC.[32] However, we must be careful here. The cult of Isis began spreading into the Aegean world well before the Ptolemies; she had a sanctuary at the Peiraieus in Athens by 333 BC.[33] And while it is true that places in the Aegean world where the Ptolemies exercised political authority or influence typically show evidence of this worship, these gods were enormously popular all over the eastern Mediterranean, and indeed in Italy and at Rome. Something of the appeal of the goddess comes out clearly enough in Apuleius' account of his salvation as her devotee, and I cannot but suppose that at least to some degree personal religious feeling contributed to her popularity and the spread of her cult.

At Delos, where we know a fair amount about the origins of the cult of Sarapis thanks to an inscription, worship of the god began as a private cult. Apollonios, priest from Memphis, moved to Delos around 280 BC, bringing along a small statue of the god. He kept the deity in a rented room. Eventually Apollonios' grandson (who was also called Apollonios), moved by the god's admonitions in a dream, bought some land and built a small temple. A lawsuit was brought because Apollonios had failed to secure necessary permission for the construction, but in the end he and Sarapis prevailed. Only subsequently did the Delian state become involved by granting the cult official recognition, which issued ultimately in the establishment of a major sanctuary with temples, storerooms, and a bureaucracy.[34] Such was not always the case. When worship of Sarapis was introduced at Istros, the *polis* itself sent an embassy to Kalchedon on the Straits to fetch an oracle.[35]

Sometime in the late 2nd or early 1st century BC a disaster led to the deaths on Delos of twenty slaves owned by a single man, Protarchos. Several of these slaves originated in the Black Sea. Two were named Isidoros, "gift of Isis", and one, a woman from Odessos, Kalliope. A statue of this muse figured prominently in the Sarapeion at Memphis. While we do not know for certain the identity of the owner of the slaves, it is a striking coincidence that a certain Protarchos of Alexandria is recorded as a donor to Sarapis on Delos in 146/5 BC.[36]

The mix of activities on Delos shows a bewildering complex of reasons bringing people there from the Pontos. Visitors range from high-ranking men almost certainly associated with the court of the Bosporan king on official business of piety to actors, slaves, and contractors. Obviously some of this movement was inspired by hope of economic gain, including trade; but what strikes me most about it all is the variety of motivations that seem intimated and the possibility that a mixture of motives might lie behind the presence of any given individual.

Likewise at Rhodos we see citizens of Pontic cities present for a variety of reasons. It is hard to know what brought there persons known only through

their deaths, like Ploutida of Odessos (?), the Sinopean woman Athenais, or Erasinos of Kallatis. The situation is different with Klerias of Sinope, a sculptor responsible for a dedication to Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus in about 260 BC, and with Euandros son of Dionysios, also from Sinope, whose name appears as sculptor on two dedications.[37] People from the Black Sea on lists of public contributors include a certain Eubios from Amastris who apparently received *epidamia* from the Rhodians.[38] Of particular interest is Sindes of Sinope, whose name is recorded in the crew manifest of a Rhodian ship. The crew included other foreigners, two each from nearby Karian Bargylia and Knidos and one from Astypalaia (surely the island, not the synonymous town on Kos).[39] Among the epitaphs from Pantikapaion back in the Black Sea is one belonging to Drosanis the Paphlagonian, who "fought the Maiotai". That he was by no means the only outsider to find employment as a mercenary is proven by another inscription published some years ago. This text, from Phanagoreia dating to 88/7 BC and inscribed under Mithridates VI, bestows citizenship and other privileges, including exemption from taxes and liturgies, on foreign soldiers who had served sufficient years and had given good service.[40]

In this context, it is perhaps worth mentioning an inscription from Kolophon honoring Pyrrhias son of Metrodoros from Sinope. Pyrrhias had settled at Kolophon as a *metoikos* and was eventually awarded citizenship. He had provided many services to the *demos*, paid his taxes (*eisphorai*) with enthusiasm, performed liturgies, and served in the military on both land and sea, earning the praise of his commanding officers. The award of citizenship included explicitly the right to own property, which clearly he had not enjoyed as a metic. Pyrrhias had obviously lived many years in Kolophon and felt genuine devotion to the city. It is too bad – but absolutely typical – that the decree in his honor tells us nothing about how he made his living, thanks to which he could sustain the costs of his liturgies and pay enthusiastically his taxes. Pyrrhias had been successful, whatever he did; perhaps indeed it was economic motives that had brought him originally to Kolophon.[41]

But let me come back to trade by way of one final inscription, this one from Histiaia on Euboia. During a time of great danger to the city – the circumstances are not detailed – the city of Sinope came to its aid with a gift of one talent (6,000 drachmas). The Sinopeans were moved to help by the pre-existing friendship, *philia*, and brotherhood between the two cities. In gratitude the Histiaians, "because the *polis* is well disposed not only to its neighbors but also to the Sinopeans, friends and brothers from old times", granted *asphaleia* and *asylia* to any Sinopeans who came to Histiaia, whether into the *polis* or the *emporion*.[42] That last word brings us immediately back into the world of trade and commerce. The Sinopeans' generosity was rewarded by privileges whose value, while not confined by any means to the commercial sphere, was certainly recognized as facilitating in quite specific ways the commercial interests of its citizens.

This text reminds us again, if we need reminding, of the complexity of the world we are looking at. The Sinopeans helped the Histiaians with money owing to the appeal of their relationship. Such terms of intercity relationship were not empty rhetoric but rested on real convictions about blood ties, whether grounded in myths or more recent historical events. An analogous appeal is known to the Xanthians in Lykia from Kytenion in Doris in Greece. These appeals could also involve states we tend typically to think about in terms of commercial interests, such as the enormous loan of 100 talents by the Rhodians to Argos, exactly again in response to a claim to blood relationship.[43] The decree of the Histiaians, with its sly mention of the *emporion*, reminds us that the lure of profit need never be entirely absent; but neither need it be the sole and single motivation for the activities of the people who have left their traces in the Pontic and Aegean Seas.

I do not mean by any of this discussion to minimize the role of trade and commerce for the Pontic cities and their Aegean partners. The evidence to support such a view is abundant, ranging from the 4th century speeches of Demosthenes about the export of Pontic grain to Athens to the Olbian proxeny decrees of the 4th and 3rd centuries that, read next to the famous Olbian coinage law, certainly sound intended to facilitate commercial activity for certain privileged persons.[44] And, of course, there are thousands and thousands of amphora handles that attest to the regular interchange of certain goods between the Aegean and Pontic Seas.[45] My aim here has been only to broaden our sense of what travel may have meant and to show that our evidence for human movement need not always call forth a commercial explanation. Motivations of ideology, self-representation, politics, religion, "career" (for men serving as mercenaries), may all have played their part in determining where people went, when, why, and what kind of traces they left of their passage.

Perhaps I may be permitted to end with a few observations on another traveler, of later date and with different motivations. Arrian, best known to us for his history of the campaigns of Alexander, served as governor of the Roman province of Kappadokia. During his first year in office, 131/2 AD, he undertook a tour of inspection of the Black Sea. His account in Greek (as opposed to his lost official report in Latin) for the emperor Hadrian offers some insights into the multiplicity of motives and interests that drove him.[46] His fundamental interest was, of course, military – he undertook inspections of garrisons he visited, drilling troops, examining their gear, checking on stocks of grain and weaponry. But he also kept his ears open to political intelligence, relaying to the emperor his impression of the loyalty of local kings. He described travel routes, weather, sea conditions, and harbor facilities – interests which earned his report the title *Periplous*. And he recorded his observations about interesting sights and marvels, including a lengthy description of White Island and its temple of Achilleus.[47] All in all, Arrian's observations fall into a variety of categories and correspond to a variety of

reasons to travel. Some overlap with motivations explored above. In any case, his report offers a refreshingly immediate insight into the impact of travel on one particular person, and the complexity of the ways those impacts may play out.

Notes

1 *I.Callatis*, 155 with Avram's commentary; Rostovtzeff 1941, 1641-1645; Fraser 1972, 1.171-172, 2.291, n. 312. For an excellent overview of the entire Black Sea region as a political, economic, and cultural unity, see the first chapter of Vinogradov 1997b, 1-74 (originally published in 1987).
2 Parlasca 1955, 148-149. For a faience vase at Istros, see Alexandrescu 1988. On Istros, see Avram 2003; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 932-933, no. 685.
3 Archibald 2004, 11. See also Archibald in this volume.
4 Horden & Purcell 2000, *passim*. I have reviewed some of these factors in recent publications: Reger 2005b, 2007.
5 *P. Cair. Zen.* 59012.46 and 59013.24. Fraser 1972, 172, but see p. 150, where he argues that the Pontic nuts "were normally acquired in Syria and re-exported thence to Egypt".
6 There are several species of *Corylus*; for a discussion, see Whitcher 1999, *non vidi*.
7 Dioskour. *De mat. med.* 1.25.3. I have used the edition of Max Wellmann.
8 For a recent brief overview, Christmann 1998; the starting point remains Oder 1890, 1893.
9 *Geopon.* 10.73.1-2. Oribasios (*Syn.* 2.58.4) calls them *leukokarya*, "white nuts". This name may derive from Theophrastos' observation (*HP* 3.15.2) that domesticated hazelnuts are whiter, *ekleukoteron*, than the wild variety. See Grant 1997, 185.
10 Theophr. *HP* 3.15.1-2, see also 3.3.8, 3.7.3, and *Caus. plan.* 4.2.1; Plin. *HN* 15.88; Isid. *Etym.* 17.7.24, and other sources cited by Grant 1997, 185-186; *IG* II^2, 1013.21.
11 By which I mean supposing that the ships had begun their journey somewhere in Syria like Laodikeia, coasted along the south coast of Asia Minor, stopped at Rhodos to pick up additional goods including the Pontic nuts (shipped, on this reconstruction, south from the Black Sea along the west coast of Asia Minor to Rhodos), before undertaking the last leg of the journey from Rhodos to Alexandria – this last was a very common route; see Zimmermann 1992.
12 On Ptolemaic agricultural expansion in the Fayum, see Manning 2003, 99-125.
13 *P. Lond* 1988 (*SB* 7263); see Fraser 1972, 2.290-291 n. 311: "The Bosporan kings had no direct political interests in Egypt, and Paerisades' envoys, who were sent by Philadelphus on a sight-seeing tour, were probably on a commercial mission", and Skeat 1974, 63: "The reasons for the mission of Pairisades are unknown, although it has been conjectured that some form of economic cooperation between the two greatest grain-producing areas of the Near East may have been involved".
14 For the dates see Hind 1994a, 495-506.
15 *CIRB* 6, 8, 37, 1037-1038, 1111; 9, 113, 972, 1014.
16 *IG* XI 2, 287B126.
17 *ID* 298A95-96.
18 Vinogradov & Zolotarev 1999b; Zolotarev 2003; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 941-944, no. 695.
19 *Syll.*^{3} 439.

20 *I.Didyma* 463.29-31 and 464.
21 She remarried a certain Agrotes, whose title was evidently "husband of the queen": *CIRB* 75.7-8.
22 For the *Isis*, see Grač 1984, esp. fig. 2 and English abstract at p. 88. On Nymphaion, see Sokolova in Grammenos & Petropoulos 2003, II, 759-802; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 948, no. 704.
23 *IG* XI 4, 609. On Pantikapaion, see Tolstikov 2003; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 949-950 no. 705.
24 On Olbia generally see Vinogradov & Kryzickij 1995; Kryzhytskyy *et al*. 2003; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 936-940, no. 690.
25 *IOSPE* I², 670, 671, *BE* 1965, 272, *IOSPE* I², 168, 672. There is disagreement about the date of the last inscription. Jeanne and Louis Robert (*BE* 1965, 252, followed by Kontorini 1981) placed it in the 2nd century BC with the balance of the dedications while Dubois 1996, 100, n. 23, places it in the 1st century AD, but without giving reasons. See also briefly Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 433-434.
26 It would be no problem to restore *Poside[os Dionysi]ou* in *IOSPE* I², 77.4-5.
27 The name does not appear in *CIRB* but is in *IOSPE* I², 189 and 201.
28 The idea that proxeny decrees typically mark trade relations remains a prominent view; see, for example, Vinogradov 1997b, 29.
29 *IG* XI, 105.21 and 107.20; *ID* 442 B229-231; *ID* 1416 B I 79.
30 *IG* XI, 4, 1238 and 1256; *ID* 1416 A I 48; *ID* 1439 Cb 6-10. See Hamilton 1999, 228. On these words ending in *–ion*, see Prêtre 1997, 673-677.
31 For a recent discussion of a dedication to these deities at Sinope, see Avram 1998-2000 on French 1994, 105-106, 107 (*SEG* 44, 1021).
32 Bringmann & von Steuben 1995, 278-279 no. 244.
33 *IG* II², 337; see Dow 1937 generally on the Egyptian cults; Bricault 2001, 2. The bibliography on this matter is enormous.
34 *IG* XI, 4, 1299.
35 *I.Histriae*, 5; *I.Kalchedon*, p. 116b.
36 Couilloud 1974, 418; on the statue of Kalliope, see Lauer & Picard 1955, *non vidi*, but see Merkelbach 2001, 72; *ID* 1442A59.
37 Epitaphs: *IG* XII, 1, 147, Konstantinopoulos 1969, 470, no. 2b, Konstantinopoulos 1963, 20, no. 33; dedications: Morricone 1949-1951, 371-372; *Tit. Cam.* 16.19. It is perhaps worth mentioning the Dionysios of Sinope honored by the Koans in *I.Cos* ED 20.
38 *IG* XII, 1, 11.3 and 12-13.
39 Pugliese Carratelli 1955-1956, 159, no. 4 II 20.
40 *CIRB* 180; Vinogradov & Wörrle 1992.
41 Meritt 1935, 377-379, no. III, line 10.
42 *IG* XII, 9, 1186. For recent discussion of the world of the *emporion*, see Bresson 1993; 2000, 74-84, and Hansen 1997.
43 See Curty 1995, 10-12, no. 4. For a parallel case, i.e. non-trade related gift of 10,000 jars of wine from Rhodos to Sinope, see Gabrielsen 1997, 65.
44 Dem. 20 and 35; Dubois 1996, 28-39, no. 14 (coinage law) and 39-47, nos. 15-21 (proxeny decrees). For an example of wheat from Egypt shipped to Pontic destinations, see Bringmann & von Steuben 1995, 278, no. 243 (Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F 17) and 278-279, no. 244.
45 For the suggestion that Thasian policies may have been set to facilitate trade with the Black Sea, see my overview with references at Reger 2005b, 350-351.

46 I have used the text in Baschmakoff 1948, 80-107. On this episode in Arrian's career, see Stadter 1980, 32-41, and Tonnet 1988, 1.44-48.

47 Dubois 1996, 100, n. 23 associates *IOSPE* I^2, 672 – which he dates to the 1st century AD (see above, n. 25) – not with this cult of Achilleus but with the cult at Berezan, which more recent excavations have now identified as a cult of Aphrodite; Kryzhytskyy *et al*. 2003, 1.469. See also Hind 1996.