

GREEK GRAFFITI IN VERSE FROM OLBIA PONTICA AND BEREZAN ISLAND (6th-5th CENTURIES BC)

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Abstract: *Olbia Pontica, together with slightly remote Berezan island settlement, is an unique city in the ancient Greek world: there are nearly 33 graffiti written in verse on table pottery (mainly shards) from the 6th-2nd centuries BC, which is a larger quantity than Athens has. Among them 26 inscriptions pertain to the 6th-5th centuries, and 7 other to the Hellenistic time. The used poetic meters are: 9 hexameters, 7 ionics, 3 paeans, one by one bacchius, iambic trimeter, trochaic tetrameter, dactylic tetrameter. The Olbians have strongly loved great poet Homer and his poems, owing to it the hexameter was prevailing. The themes of the verses are different, amongst them prevailing the drinking and love motifs – 12 graffiti, half of the total quantity. Among the other content types there are 3 comic verses, 2 theatre and choric actions, one by one dedicatory, sacral, obscene, gift inscriptions. The most important of all the ancient Greek written in verse graffiti is hymn of the 6th century to the sacral Olbian zone Hylaea and its gods, which includes 12 hexameter lines.*

Introduction

Recently, I have gathered a considerable number of the *graffiti* on table ceramic from Olbia, Berezan and Bosphorus. I have revealed their versed character in the article *Greek graffiti in verse from Cimmerian Bosphorus, Olbia Pontica, Berezan island*¹. Such number – 43 graffiti in verse from Olbia, Berezan and Bosphorus – is

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¹ YAILENKO 2020, p. 441–510 (article further abbreviated VGBOB). Other abbreviations used in the catalogue are: GK / Greceskaja kolonizatsiya (= YAILENKO 1982); GLBO I, II/ Graffiti Levki, Berezani i Olvii (= YAILENKO 1980); GOP / Graffiti Olvii Pontiyskoy (= RUSYAEVA 2010); OChB / Istoriya i epigrafika Olvii, Chersonesa i Bospora (= YAILENKO 2017).

unique phenomenon in all the ancient Greek world; in jest and seriously it is good supplement to C. Hansen's *Carmina epigraphica Graeca*. Owing to unique quantity of these versed graffiti, here I shortly present part of them to the foreign colleagues – namely the graffiti of the 6th–5th centuries from Olbia and Berezan settlement². This article is not translation of the Russian 2020 publication, but its shortest paraphrase: here are the simple lemmata (shard or vessel, dating, publications), the Greek texts, translations, verse meters, the very brief commentaries. A reader will find all argumentation of my text criticism, interpretation, verse construction and other matters in the Russian article. Usually graffiti are fragmentary, so that some of them are possibly versed. Here I rearrange the inscriptions and their numeration differs from the numbers in VGBOB. Structurally the present article includes 4 parts: I. Testimonies to Olbians' love of Homer and his poems. II. A hymn to the Olbian sacral zone Hylaea and its gods. III. The inscriptions of the 6th–5th centuries. IV. Some results.

I. Testimonies to the Olbians' love towards Homer and his poems.

Famous rhetorician Dio Chrysostomus has visited Olbia ca. 100 AD and informed us of Olbians' great love towards Homer and his poems (*Or.* XXXVI, 51): almost all the dwellers read zealously the poems by Homer and know *Iliad* by heart, it seems connected with their deep worship of Achilles; they hold this poet sacred. We know archeologically Olbia of that time and Dio's description of the town is right; also, some graffiti confirm his report on the Olbians' strongest love of Homeric poems.

1 (VGBOB, p. 463; GLBO II, p. 88). Olbia, an archive document. Black-glazed cup; there is verse IX, 39 of *Odyssey* on its side:

Ἰλιό[θεν] / με φ[έρον] / ἄνεμ[ος] / Κικ[όν]εσσ[ι] / [πέλ]ασσεν

“having carried me from Ilion away a wind has brought to the Kikones”.

As the shard is lost, it is approximately dated to the 6th–5th centuries due to its black glazing. But why was this verse of *Odyssey* written on the table cup? I take into account that there is Thasos Island in front of the Thracian Kikones' shore and have supposed, that Thasian wine was filled in this cup. A Thasian amphora tare of the 6th–5th centuries is well attested at Olbia³. Such material explanation seems more acceptable, than E. Dettori's opinion, that the inscription has certain Orphic content⁴.

2 (Fig. 2⁵; VGBOB, p. 463. GLBO II, p. 88–89). Olbia. A fragment of a wall plaster with graffito, dated to the 3rd or the 2nd century after its writing. It seems to be a paraphrase of Homeric verse:

² There are omitted the Olbian inscriptions of the 4th–2nd centuries (7 items) and 13 Bosporan graffiti of the 4th–3rd centuries from Pantikapaion (10 items), Nymphaion, Phanagoria, Hermonassa, also the *Conclusions* to each part and *The general results*.

³ LEYPUNSKAYA 1981, p. 70–71.

⁴ DETTORI 1996, p. 299–300.

⁵ The numbers of inscription and drawing are identical.

--υ τι (vel --υτι) κῶς -- | -- στόρησ' ἴ[ρευ--?] “-- one sheepskin he had laid --”⁶.

Cf. *Odyssey*, XX, 2-3: Odysseus κάμ μὲν ἀδέψητον βοέην στόρεσ', αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν / κῶεα πολλ' οἴων τοὺς ἰρεύεσκον Ἀχαιοί “Ulysses slept in the cloister upon an undressed bullock’s hide, on the top of which he threw several skins of the sheep, the suitors had eaten” (translated by S. Butler)⁷. E. Dettori (1996) doubts a hexameter verse in the Olbian inscription: there is strange η in στόρησ', also a shortened form κῶς instead of Homeric κῶεα. But he has in vain overlooked the late Hellenistic era of the inscription, and that it isn’t direct citation, but paraphrase of the Homeric verse. It is owing to a Hellenistic time the graffito doesn’t contain an epic form στόρεσε, but latest στόρησε (as in versed poem *Historia Alexandri*, v. 2199). As to κῶς, Homeric poems contain and various shortened forms (a school example: gen. παρειῶν beside παρειάων). And metrics of 3-4 words in Olbian graffito permits compose hexameter, line 1: [-] √ √ / - ; line 2: √ - - [-], that is [- √] √ / - - / [-].

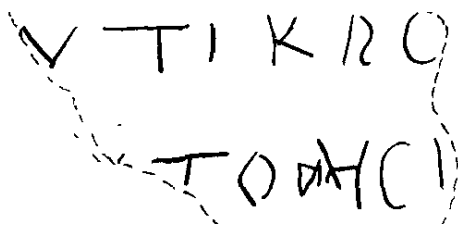


Fig. 2. Graffito on a wall plaster (after GLBO II, no. 17).

3 (Fig. 3; VGBOB, p. 463-467). Berezan. A graffito on the side rim of clay lamp; middle or third quarter of the 6th century. E. Stern has found it in the pot 28 and published majuscule text in 1910, 1913 years; his translation: “I serve as a lamp and give some light to the gods and people”. Then I have given the following text and translation:

ὥς : λύχνον εἰμι καὶ φαίνω θ[εοῖσ]ιν κἀνθρώποισιν
 “since I’m lamp, I shine to the gods and people”.

The inscription includes a recitation from Homeric hymn to Helios (XXXI, 8): ὅς φαίνει θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, which goes in turn to Homeric formula θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φαίνειη (*Iliad*, XX, 64). Both the Homeric citations indicate hexameter in the Berezanian inscription⁸. Some articles were then following – by Yu. Vinogradov, V. Gubochkin (both are entirely erroneous); H. Rix has in vain seen an obscene and parody sense in the graffito, L. Dubois has also in vain revealed some humoristic aspect: as if the simple clay lamp is compared with a Sun – on account of formulary similarity with Homeric hymn to

⁶ Here and further, a stroke | divides the lines of inscriptions, a stroke / separates the metric feet.

⁷ The identical words are marked here with bold type in Greek text.

⁸ YAILENKO 1979, p. 57-58.

Helios (XXXI, 8)⁹. But in Greek poetry there are examples of symposia with lamps at evening or night. For instance, cf. Alcaeus, fr. 96: πώνωμεν· τί τὰ λύχν' ὀμμένομεν; δάκτυλος ἀμέρα. | κὰδ δ' ἄεργε κυλίχναις μεγάλαις, αἴτα ποικίλαις· | οἶνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος υἱὸς λαθικάδεα | ἀνθρώποισιν ἔδωκε (here it is lexical parallelism with Berezanian graffito – λύχνα, ἀνθρώποισιν). I have supposed in article of 1979: φαίνω θ[εοῖσ]ιν means that this lamp was shining at one Berezanian sanctuary. Then A. S. Rusyaeva has observed, that archeological material from the pot 28 resembles it from the Olbian pots in or beside the sanctuaries (GOP, p. 18–20). All the facts reveal quite serious content of the discussed graffito. The inscription is metrically whole hexameter, and there is small difficulty with καί of second foot as short syllable: – ˘ ˘ /¹⁰ – ˘ ˘ / – – / – – / – – / – ˘. But is not unique¹¹, and may be owed to an early shortening of αἰ > ε in Ionic-Attic dialect, so that in pronunciation καί may be taken as short – κέ (for the details see VGBOB, p. 466–467). Cf. similar shortening in no. 22: there is written κύλιξ, but implied phonetically shortened κύλις.

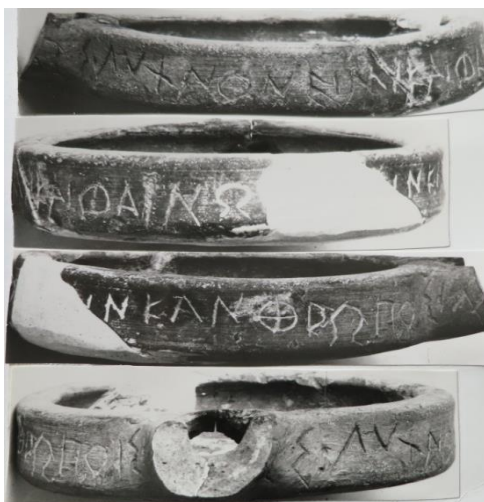


Fig. 3. Graffito on an archaic lamp (after Yailenko 1979, p. 57).

4 (VGBOB, p. 468). Olbia, the 5th century. A shard of black-glazed vessel with first verse of the *Little Iliad*: Ἴλιον ἀλέδω καὶ Δαρδαλίην “I sing Ilion and Dardania”¹².

Also the next graffito no. 5 contains some Homeric expressions: ἐπιτέλλειν πέμπων, νηλῆς χαλκός, χάλκεον ... κάμε and others (see below).

⁹ RIX 1991, p. 41–48. DUBOIS 1996, no. 91. At VGBOB (p. 463–464) I have critically reviewed the articles of all the named authors.

¹⁰ *Muta cum liquida* of the word λύχνον doesn't make position, so υ is short.

¹¹ For instance: FRIEDLÄNDER 1948, no. 21a.

¹² VINOGRADOV 1969, p. 142–150.

II. A hymn to the Olbian sacral zone Hylaea and its gods.



Fig. 5. Graffiti on a body sherd of Fikellura style vase (photo and drawing after RUSYAEVA & VINOGRADOV 1991, p. 201).

5 (Fig. 5; VGBOB, p. 468; RUSYAEVA & VINOGRADOV 1991, p. 201–202). Olbia. A queen of local poetry (and among all the ancient Greek graffiti as a whole!) is inscription on wall fragment of a vessel Fikellura style (ca. 550–530). The inscription was published by Yu. Vinogradov as some “Brief des Priesters”, his translation: “... dem Agonotheten (oder: Verfasser der Hymnen) Honig und einen Schafbock... und ein Schiff (?), wie du befiehst zu senden, ... damit er die gottgeschaffenen Orte befahre und sich ständig in der Nähe des Kaps befinde, und auch neben mir ein Mann des Heiligtums, die Insel (?)... (und sie brachten Opfer?) würdig der Frauen in Chalkene, (er selbst jedoch?) reiste von hier zu Schiff nach Hylaia... Aufs neue sind die Altäre beschädigt... und zwar diejenigen der Göttermutter, des Borysthenes und des Herakles..., nach dem Schiffbruch entflohen die Sklaven..., mittels der Kunst des Metrophanes bleibt es, heilige... (anzufertigen?), die schlechten Kiefern und zweihundert andere Bäume..., Pferdejäger fanden, indem sie sich Gefahren aussetzten...”¹³. L. Dubois has adopted the publisher’s text and understanding as some “Brief des Priesters”, though he made several little textual corrections, it’s essentially Vinogradov’s text: [--]νοθέτη μέλι καὶ κριό[v-- | --]ΥΝ ὡς ἐπιτέλλεις πέμπ[ων -- |³ --ἐ]ς τόπους θεοποιήτους περι[--| --]ΡΑΚΡΗΝΑΙΗΚΑΜΕ ἰρῶ φῶς ΝΗΣ[--| --]δικαίως ἐν τῇ Χαλκίῃ αἱ γυν[αῖκες -- |⁶ -- ἐκπ]λῆι ἐντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην -- | --] αὐτίς οἱ βῶμοι βεβλαμμένοι [εἰσί -- | -- Μ]ητροῦς Θεῶν καὶ Βορυσθέ καὶ Ἡρακλ[έος |⁹ -- μετὰ τὸ ναυάγιον οἱ δοῦλοι καταδρα[μόντες -- | -- τ]ε ἰουργίη Μητροφάνεος ἰρῶς ἔλιπε τ[-- | -- τ]ῶν πιτύων κακαί, τῶν δένδρων διηκόσι[α -- |¹² -- ο]ἱ θηρευταὶ τῶν ἵππων ἠύρηκασι μετὰ κινδύνων ΤΥΡΑ[--]. L. Dubois has given also an extensive commentary, so that it is he, who has introduced the inscription in scientific use¹⁴. Also B. Bravo has generally taken publisher’s interpretation and made slight textual corrections¹⁵. Here I have rejected Vinogradov’s text and interpretation as jerky, incoherent, because really this inscription includes above 12 hexameters, each in separate line, so it isn’t “Priest’s letter”, but poetic hymn to Hylea, the remote sacral zone of Olbia near Lower Dnieper river¹⁶. I have read sufficiently another text, it was criticized by A. Avram (BE 2016, no. 347 = REG 129, p. 499) and A. V. Belousov (Aristeas 14, 2016, p. 259), they have mainly doubted my hexametric arrangement of the text¹⁷. But itself conserved text demonstrates, or may surely demonstrate, its poetic character¹⁸:

[--/ ὕμ]νοθέ/τη μέλι / καὶ κρι/θ[ἄς --]
 - ~ ~ / - ~ ~ / -- / -
 [-- ο]ῦν / ὡς ἐπι/τέλλεις / πέμπ[ων / --]
 - / - ~ ~ / -- / -- /

¹³ RUSYAEVA & VINOGRADOV 1991, p. 201–202 (= SEG 42, 1992, p. 196, no. 710). A. Rusyaeva is an archeologist, so that epigraphic part is written by Yu. Vinogradov. She has noted afterwards (GOP), that this shard is unattainable now, maybe lost, so that we have only the photo and drawing of the publishers.

¹⁴ DUBOIS 1996, no. 24.

¹⁵ SEG 51, 2005, p. 283, no. 970.

¹⁶ YAILENKO 2015, p. 88–99; OChB, p. 252–260.

¹⁷ Alexandru Avram and me, we were sometimes strongly debating.

¹⁸ On metric details see YAILENKO 2019, p. 161–162.

- [--]ς / τῶπους / θεοποιή/τους περι/[--]
 -- / =¹⁹ / -[~] /
- [--]ρα / κρηναί/η· κάμε / ἰρῶ / φῶς νή/σ[ῶ --]
 - / - - / -[~] / - - / - - / [-[~]]
- 5 [--] δι/καίως ἔν/τη χαλ/κῆ νη/λῆ υι/[--]
[~] / = - / - - / - - / - - /
- [-- / λῆι ἔν/θευθεν / ἔς τῆν / Ὑλαί[ην --]
 - - / - - / - - / - - / [-[~]] /
- [--] αὔτις / οἱ βω/μοὶ βεβ/λαμμένο[ι / --]
 - - / - - / - - / -[~] ²⁰
- [οἱ δ' Μ]ητ/ρὸς Θεῶν, / καὶ Βορυσ/θῆ καὶ / Ἡρακ/λ[ῆ --]
 [-] - / - = / -[~] / - - / - - / [-[~]]
- [--]ἔατόν / αὐ̄ ἄπο/νοι δοῦ/λοι κατα/δῶν[το·]
 -[~] / -[~] / - - / -[~] / -[~]]
- 10 -- ε ἰρουρ/γίη ἴν' / Ἰητρῶ / φανεὸς / ἰρὸς ἔ/λίπεν.
 = - / = - / = - / -[~] / -[~] / -[~] / -[~]
- [τ]ῶν πιτύ/ων κακὰ / ἰτῶν / δένδρων / διηκόσι/[α --]
 -[~] / -[~] / - - / - - / =[~] /
- [ο]ί θη/ρευταὶ / τῶν ἴπ/πων ηὔ/ρήκα/σι(ν τὰ)
 - - / - - / - - / - - / - - / -[~]
- ἰκίνδου/να ἰντυ/ρε[ύοντα --]
 - - / - - / - [- - /].

Also, I myself wasn't satisfied with this text, because there was a weak connected narrative. Then I have undertaken more advanced restoration and have achieved an entirely connected narrative of all the text²¹. The lines 4–5 refer to a man of the sacred island, who has made copper arms. He is surely Homeric Hephaestus, who, following Thetis' request, has forged on Lemnos island the arms for Achilles. Consequently, the Olbian graffito means that Achilles, and the arms were sent him from Lemnos (ἐνθευθεν) to Hylaea: [Αχι]λῆι ἐνθευθεν ἐς τὴν Ὑλαί[ην]²². My renovated text:

- [e. g. ὦ θεός, / ὑμ]νοθέ/τη μέλι/ καὶ κριθ/[ἄς μὲν ὄπ/αζε]
 [δι' ὕμνῳ ο]ὔν/ ὡς ἐπι/τέλλεις/ πέμπ[ων/ e. g. νίκας/ υἱοῦ]
 [ἄσαι/ τὰ]ς τῶ/πους²³ θεο/ποιήτους/ πῆρ γ[ἔ λό/γων μὲν]
 [ροῆι]ρα / κρηναί/η· κάμε / ἰρῶ / φῶς νή/σ[ῶ τε]
 5 [στεῖλε ?] δι/καίως ἔν/τη²⁴ χαλ/κῆ νη/λῆ υἱ/[ῶι σῶ ?]
 [ἄρ' δ' Ἀχι]/λῆι ἐν/θευθεν/ ἔς τῆν/ Ὑλαί/[ην, ὄς]
 [νίκησ', ?] / αὔτις²⁵ / οἱ βω/μοὶ βεβ/λαμμένο[ι / ἔσταν]

¹⁹ The fused metrically together vowels are here marked as =.

²⁰ With supposition, that after ο[ι] there was following vowel.

²¹ YAILENKO 2019, p. 156–190.

²² In the beginning of several hymns and lyrical poems there are the appeals of poets to deity for some reward (for example, Pindar, *Nem.* III, 9). As protagonist of Olbian hymn is Achilles, it's possible assumption, that his author (ὕμνοθέτης) appeals for reward to his mother Thetis – e. g. [ὦ θεός] “o goddess” in l. 1. She is Μήτηρ of l. 8.

²³ τῶπους = τοῦ ἔπους in crasis.

²⁴ ἔντη κτλ. = ἔντεα χαλκῆα νηλέα. To the reading ἐντη χαλκῆ νηλῆ see the drawing and photo, l. 5.

- [οί Μ]ητ/ρός Θεῶν, / καὶ Βορυσ/θῆ καὶ / Ἡρακ/λ[ῆ]²⁶
 [ἦδη / δ]ῆτατόν,²⁷ / αὖ ἄπο/νοι δοῦ/λοι κατα/δδν[το-²⁸
 10 [ἦδ]ῆ ἰ/ρουργίη ἰν' Ἰητροῦ / φανέος²⁹ / ἰρός³⁰ ἔ/λ(ε)ιπεν.
 [τ]ῶν πιτύ/ων κακὰ / ἰτῶν / δένδρων / διηκόσι/[α (e. g.) ὑγιῆ]
 [ο]ί θη/ρευται / τῶν ἴπ/πων ἡύ/ρήκα/σι(ν τὰ ?³¹)
 [ἰκίνδ]υ/να ἴντυ/ρε[ύο--³²]

“O goddess, give³³ a honey and a barley to poet for this hymn, if you order, sending him away, to glorify son’s victories, which were made well by god, with a source stream of the words of this song. A man of the sacred island³⁴ has made and sent thence with reason the fighting pitiless and copper arms to this Hylaea, to her son, who has conquered; and in turn the damaged Mother’s of the Gods altars have raised, while those parts of Borysthenes’ and Heracles’ altars, which need to be stretched, were anew clamping by lazy slaves³⁵. And a sacrifice filled with divine

²⁵ This *iota* is metrically long before etymological σφοί > οί.

²⁶ Βορυσθένης – a river god, the Olbians have worshipped him from the 6th century (OChB, p. 16, no. 16, 17). Here Βορυσθῆ is possible shortened dative form instead of Βορυσθένει, as another shortened forms – Βορυσθένης on a shield from Dura-Europos, or phonetically natural Ὀρυσθένης by Anonymus Ravennatis (*Cosmogr.* IV, 5). Consequently, there is to reconstruct as dative and Ἡρακλ[ῆ] = Ἡρακλεῖ. Gen. [Μ]ητρός and datives Βορυσθῆ, Ἡρακλ[ῆ] indicate different fate of their altars.

²⁷ [ἦ | ἦδη δ]ῆ τατόν: here ἦ – epic acc. of demonstrative pronoun; [δ]ῆ = δεῖ. To a meaning of the adj. verb. τατός cf. Aristotle, *Hist. anim.* 519a 32: a skin οὔτε ἔστι σχιστόν οὔτε τατόν, also *Scholia vetera in Iliadem*, II, 43: παρὰ τὸ τείνομαι τατός γίνεται. A meaning of sentence [ἦ | ἦδη δ]ῆ τατόν – “that which must be tightened”: the stone blocks of the Borysthenes’ and Heracles’ altars were dismembered, but now the serves were bounding them again.

²⁸ On the photo there is after Δ letter ρ, but *koppa* was used only once in Olbian graffito of the 5th century (YAILENKO 2022, no. 527), at the second time by visitor (see below no. 9), so this letter is presumably O, not P.

²⁹ The publishers have read a proper name Μητροφάνεος, but M of their drawing seems too wide, cf. this letter in another lines. I see there on photo usual in this inscription archaic letter N with little raised right stroke and read ἰν' Ἰητροῦ, where ἰν' is adverb ἵνα “there” in crasis before the next vowel. Ἰητροῦ: the stroke of *iota* is destroyed by long line of orthogonal net; in this line there are such also second *iota* of precede word ἰουργίη and *iota* of the next word ἔλ(ε)ιπεν. (such examples are and in the other lines). Gen. Ἰητροῦ is frequently represented among the Olbian graffiti of the 6th–5th centuries (OChB, p. 16–17). The consequent reading: ἰν' Ἰητροῦ φανέος (= ἀφανέος).

³⁰ ἰουργίη ... ἰρός “a sacrifice filled with divine power”, here ἰρός is adjective of two endings.

³¹ The letters between HYPHKAΣI and KINAYNA are uncertain on photo, so the drawing of the publishers here and a reading META are uncontrolled.

³² ἰκίνδυνα ἴντυρε[ύο--] = ἀκίνδυνα ἐντυρε[ύο--] in aphaeresis. This neutr. ἀκίνδυνα has here adverbial sense; then one follows some form of the verb ἐντυρεύω (=ἐνταράσσω “toss about”, LSJ): ἐντυρε[ύο--].

³³ The restored text is cursive in translation.

³⁴ That is Hephaestus of Lemnos.

³⁵ The Olbian altars consist of the limestone blocks, which were stretched with the cramp-leads.

power of unseen Ietros³⁶ has left *healthy* two hundred ill pines, willows; the horse-hunters have found *them* (i. e. horses) without danger, tosse --“³⁷.

Metrically there are 31 dactyls, 39 spondees, they give to the hymn slow rhythm and importance of narration. The inscription includes graphemes εἰ (ἐπιτέλλεις) and ε̄ (Βορυσθε̄, [δ]ε̄), the last is frequent in Olbian inscriptions from the late 6th century³⁸. More interesting is grapheme ὄ = ου, which occurs 3 times in Olbian hymn (τῶπους, ἰρῶ, Ἰητρῶ), but there are 4 ου (τῶπους, θεοποιήτους, ἰρουργίη, δοῦλοι), such the ratio is unique in early Ionic epigraphy, where ὄ is rare. For L. Dubois this ὄ indicates late date of the graffito (ca. 400), but it is erroneous conclusion, because a writing of the inscription, as the publishers rightly state, quite corresponds to time of the Fikellura style. We add: especially as grapheme ὄ = ου in different positions is very frequent in Olbian epigraphy from the early 6th century³⁹. A destruction of the Hylaeon altars indicates historical character of that hymn, it gave occasion to compose it. Herodotus (IV, 76) tells a story of Anacharsis, a brother of Scythian king Saulius: he becomes worshipper of Greek Mother of the Gods, but Saulius has found him worshipping her at Hylaea and killed him. So, the Olbian hymn is partly mythological (there are the gods), but essentially historic.

III. The inscriptions of the 6th-5th centuries.

6 (Fig. 6; VGBOB, p. 470; GK, p. 298-299). Berezan, end of the 7th or early 6th century. There is on fragment of a kitchen vessel lid:

--ς ἄψ ἀργός ὀλώ[δης --]

“-- there is again inedible muddy food--”, or “-- there is again inedible muddy --”.

A word ἄψ “again” is poetic (Homer and others), ὀλώδης is known to Hippocrates (*apud* Galenus, *Lingu. Hippocr.* XIX, 126, 5) equivalent of θολώδης “muddy, turbid” (of water), i. e. the Ionic word. Hexameter: [-] - / - ~ ~ / - [-]. It's an example of joke stylistic device: a high poetic meter is used for a kitchen humorous inscription; the other such examples are the next nos. 7-8. This graffito is the most ancient written in verse among the Berezanian and Olbian inscriptions.

³⁶ Ietros is that Apollo, who was ab origine wind deity (OChB, p. 19-23), he was widely worshipped on Berezan island and in Olbia from the early 6th century (see catalog: OChB, p. 16-17; *Borysthenes* 2005, no. 257); owing to his atmosphere nature he is ἀφανέος “unseen”.

³⁷ See my detailed argumentation of the text reading, restoration, interpretation: YAILENKO 2019, p. 163-189.

³⁸ DUBOIS 1996, p. 184; OChB, p. 106, 204, 210, 211, 233, 287, 288, 298, 336, 632.

³⁹ See OChB, p. 1012, index. *Borysthenes* 2005, no. 257: Ἰητρῶ, second quarter of the 6th century.



Fig. 6. Graffito on a lid of cooking ware (GK no. 165).

7 (Fig. 7; VGBOB, p. 470–471; GK, p. 299–300). Berezan, second half of the 6th century. On wall fragment of black-polished little jug, there is two-lined boustrophedon inscription:

[--] Τύχωνος ψωρῶ[ι -- | --]κεω χάρε̅ α[--]

“-- with Tychon’s mangy -- | -- of --kes has been rejoiced at --”.

A general sense of the graffito may be caught approximately. Tychon is mangy, and whoever or whatever made him glad for a while – χάρε̅ (= χάρη, the epic aor. pass.). Gen. --κεω is very possible ending of some personal name, parallel to gen. Τύχωνος, this man may be object of Tychon’s gladness. A remote parallel is inscription on the Duris’ vase with Eos and Memnon (in my reading): Ἐρμογένης καλός, ἦν ἐμὲ κνή ρίνη “Hermogenes will beautiful, when he scrapes me with a file”; here are implicated the scabs on lover’s skin⁴⁰. The scabs figure also in joke inscription on Attic kylix of late 6th or early 5th century: Μελανθίου εἰμί, ὅστις ἄλλως εἶπαι ψωρῶνι “I’m Melanthios’ kylix; who will contradict, let him to be scabbed”⁴¹. The Olbian inscription composes hexameter, line 1: [- ~] ~ / - - / - - /, line 2: - ~ ~ (--κεω is metrically contracted: -). Other examples of such stylistic device are nos. 6, 8.

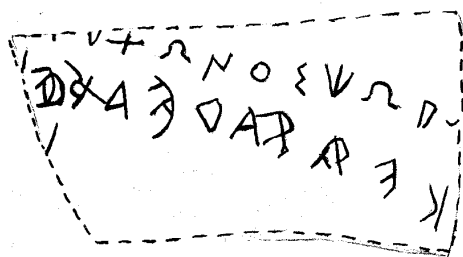


Fig. 7. Graffito on black-polished little jug (GK no. 166).

8 (Fig. 8; VGBOB, p. 471–472; GK, p. 268–275; OChB, p. 312–325). Berezan, middle or third quarter of the 6th century. There is on the wall of simple little jug / scent bottle (with meter feet):

⁴⁰ Here κνή is conj. to κνάω “scrape, grate”, ρίνη - dat. instrumenti “with a file / rasp”.

⁴¹ FRIEDLÄNDER 1948, p. 164, no. 177g.

Ἰδά/νῶ ἐμί / τῶϊ/φῶλη ἀ/ρῦστιχος “I’m Idanes’ little scent bottle, *belonging to this lewd*”.

Content of the inscription is play-fool. As many others, a name Ἰδάνης (-ος) is formed after name of the mountain in Troas Ἰδα, whose both the vowels are long. The graffito includes 4 hexameter feet, possibly and 5: – – / – ˘ ˘ / – (– ?) / – ˘ ˘ / – ˘ ˘ (there are many inscriptions with incomplete hexameter). Here foot 3 is metrically questionable. There are two diphthongs – article τοῦ and οἱ- (Aeolic gen. οἰφῶλη), they form spondee; but there is crasis, which normally gives τῶϊ-, i. e. only one syllable. Possibly, an author of the inscription has implied τοῦ and οἱ as separate diphthongs. Or, owing to crasis of two diphthongs, there arises some drawl accent of τῶϊ – as τῶϊ̄-, which made spondee. The language of inscription includes Aeolic and Ionic features. The Aeolic are gen. τῶϊφῶλη and connection of the name Ἰδάνης (-ος) with mountain Ἰδα in Troas. The long vowels η, ω are Ionic. According to TLG, the form ἐμί (= εἰμί) was rare at Ionic writers (Hekataios, fr. 361 Jac.), both the Aeolic (Herodianus, *Rhet.* III, 2), but in epigraphy it was frequent. Author of the Berezanian graffito uses this ambivalent form, but no usual Aeolic ἔμμι or Ionic ἤμί, and this fact reveals, that he wants to build a dactyl: Ἰδά/νῶ ἐμί is metrically – – / – ˘ ˘. All the mentioned peculiarities could testify, that author of the graffito was originated from boundary of Ionia and Aeolis, where one took place some mixing of the dialects (OChB, p. 317–318). Cf. VGBOB, p. 451–452: a graffito from Phanagoria has Aeolic alphabet, but Ionic language; it finds explication in a closest to Phanagoria town Hermonassa, which was founded by Aeolians and Ionians.

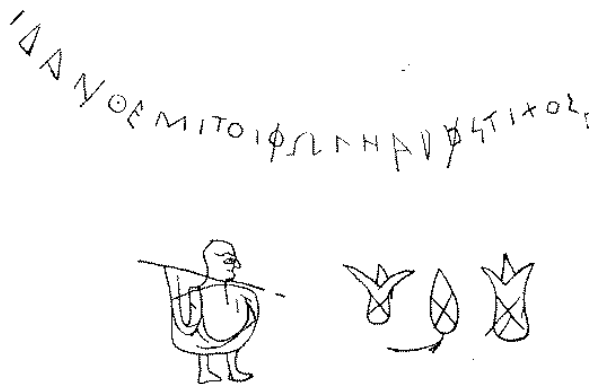


Fig. 8. Graffito on a little jug (after OChB, p. 313).

9 (Fig. 9; VGBOB, p. 485–486; CHISTOV 2019, p. 103–104, drawing; PAVLICHENKO & CHISTOV 2020, p. 887–913). Berezan, Ionian cup with dedicatory inscription on rim, middle of the 6th century. D. Chistov has published drawing, after which I have reproduced the majuscules ΕΡΜΩΕΜΙΦΟΛΙΞΕΝΠΟ-----ΣΑΟΕCΡΑΦΕΔΕΜΕΜΕΝΩΝ and read: Ἐρμῶ ἐμὶ φόλιξ Ἐνπο[λαῖῶ, e. g. λιπόντος δ' ὄλβῶ γε] σάῶ· ἔγραφε δέ με Μένων “I’m kylix of Hermes, patron of sales, because he made the stock safe; Menon wrote me”. Some lately, N. Pavlichenko & D. Chistov have read: Ἐρμ<έ>ω ἐμὶ φόλιξ: Ἐνπο[λαῖῶ? --]ΡΑΟ ἔγραφε δέ με Δένων “I’m kylix of Hermes, patron of sales (?), ... Denon wrote me”. They have questionably took into account my reading Ἐνπο[λαῖῶ?], in turn, now I adopt their reading of the name – Δένων (i. e. Δένων = Δείνων) and interpunction after φόλιξ, my text now:

Ἐρμῶ ἐμὶ φόλιξ : Ἐνπο[λαῖῶ, e. g. λιπόντος δ' ὄλβῶ γε] σάῶ· ἔγραφε δέ με.
Δένων

“I’m kylix of Hermes, patron of sales, because he made the stock safe; Deinon wrote me”.

There is a questionable letter after the shard’s break: it may be P, as D. Chistov & N. Pavlichenko read, but their reading PAO is meaningless. This letter may also be read as *sigma*, and the reading σάῶ (gen. to σάος “safe, whole”) corresponds to Hermes’ epithet, patron of sales: there were saved Deinon’s goods. According to another graffito, there was in Olbia at the 5th century a sanctuary of that Hermes patron of sales: [ἄ]ξιός Ἐρμέω ἐμ[ὶ Ἐμπο]λαῖῶ “I’m (kylix) worthy of Hermes, patron of sales” (GLBO II, p. 77). Gen. σάῶ may explain a cause of Deinon’s dedication to this god (i. e. σάῶ is *gen. causae*), and Pindar’s expression ὄλβος σάος “weal saved” (*Pyth.* III, 106) gives a prompt, that Deinon’s goods were saved (consequently, it’s possible to supply [-- ὄλβῶ] σάῶ “because he made the stock save”). An alphabet of the dedication is unique among the early inscriptions of the North Pontic area (they almost all are Ionic) owing to letter C = *gamma*. On the whole, the letters *omega* and Ξ without vertical stroke state Ionic alphabet Deinon’s graffito. There is sporadic writing of *gamma* as C in alphabets of Ionia proper and Euboea, so that Deinon has originated from here. Consequently, he was not a Berezanian, but visitor; and another visitor was in Olbia at 6th century – Xanthas from Doric Aegina (OChB, p. 296–298). Also there isn’t Ionic an exchange *v* > *o* in a word φόλιξ (= ρύλιξ) – it is feature of Aeolic, Arcado-Cyprian, Pamphylic dialects⁴². And it isn’t mistake, because *koppa* uses only before *o*, *v*. Let note also contracted Ἐρμῶ (normative Ionic Ἐρμέω), and there one waits instead of Ἐνπο[λαῖῶ] a labialization *v* > *μ*, i. e. Ἐμπο[λαῖῶ], as in above mentioned another Olbian graffito. Deinon was possibly not natural Greek, but the Ionian of local native origin, may be Carian: firstly, there is changing *u*-*o* in Carian language⁴³ (from here φόλιξ instead of ρύλιξ); secondly, there is in Carian alphabet letter Γ as C. And Deinon was not sole Ionic Carian at Olbia: Herodotus (IV, 76) was talking here with certain Tymnes from Ionia, whose name is Carian.

⁴² BUCK 1968, p. 27.

⁴³ SHEVOROSHKIN 1965, p. 172–173.

Nevertheless, possibly Carian, Deinon is educated Greek, because he has composed dedication as verse of ionic meter: Ἐρωῶ ἐμὶ ρόλιξ Ἐνπο[λαί/δ, e. g. λιπόντος /³ δ' ὄλβῳ γε] σά/δ· ἔγραφε /⁵ δέ με Μένων, i. e. --[˘]˘ /1 --[˘]˘ /2 --[˘]˘ /3 --[˘]˘ /4 --[˘]˘ /5[˘]˘ --, there is in the feet 1, 2, 4, 5 descending ionic, in the foot 6 ascending ionic, in the foot 3 ascending irrational ionic.



Fig. 9. Graffito on an Ionian cup (after Pavlichenko & Chistov 2020, p. 905).

10 (Fig. 10; VGBOB, p. 472; GLBO II, p. 89–90). Olbia. On lip fragment of a Little-Masters kylix, ca. 550–530:

[--καλλ]ιχόροις τε ε[ὑ-- ?] “with beautiful round dances and good--”⁴⁴.

An adjective καλλιχόρος pertains to poetic language: Homer, Homeric hymn to Heracles, Simonides, Pindar, Euripides and others. The Olbian inscription contains two dactyls: [-][˘]˘ | -[˘]˘ |, so that we may expect a hexameter, especially as before the time of the graffito this adjective καλλιχόρος was used by Homer and Homeric hymn to Heracles, therefore the Olbian inscription continues Homeric tradition. At *Odyssey* (XI, 581) there is καλλιχόρου Πανοπήρος, town Panopeum in Phokis region. Also at Homeric hymn to Heracles (XIV, 2) the adjective is epithet of town: Θήβης ἔνικαλλιχόροισιν. And Euripides (*Heraclidae*, 359–360) uses this Homeric trope: καλλιχόροις Ἀθήναις εἶη. Likewise, our

⁴⁴ A reading by C. Hansen is slightly incomplete: [καλλ]ιχόροι τε (HANSEN 1989, no. 903).

graffito could contain this trope, so it was Olbia “with beautiful round dances and *good--*”, and its name could figure at the lost part of inscription.

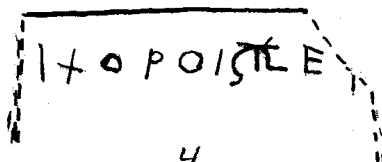


Fig. 10. Graffito on an Attic kylix (after GLBO II, p. 113, fig. 19).

11 (Fig. 11; VGBOB, p. 472–473; GK, p. 302–303). Berezan, near the third quarter of the 6th century. A round base of black-figured kylix stem, above there is two-lined inscription, boustrophedon:

-- φίλιος Μελησίης πόμη -- | καί τε κάτω μῖμος ὀφρύ[ας --]

“-- a drink from Melesia’s friendly *cup* -- and an actor has dropped his eyebrows --”⁴⁵.

Perhaps, an adjective φίλιος pertains to Melesia’s cup with πόμη (for example, [σκύφος φ]ίλιος). We may connect a sense of the broken lines 1 and 2 by assumption that Melesia offers her wine cup to an actor, who responds artistically – dropping his eyebrows. Cf. verse by Agathias (*Anth. Graeca*, V, 216, 3–4): ὅσον ἐρύσσαι ὀφρύας, ὅσον ἰδεῖν βλέμματι φειδομένω (cf. and Oppianus, *Cyneg.* II, 261). The verb ὀφρυάζειν “signify anything with the eyebrows” is too rare to see it in ὀφρύ[–], while a noun ὀφρῦς “eyebrow” is often used. As Μελησίης and πόμη are the Ionic forms, we may restore Ionic acc. pl. ὀφρύ[ας]; according to TLG, this form is most common. Its nom. and acc. forms has ῦ, so word ὀφρύ[ας] includes 3 long syllables. The metrics of the inscription areas follows (without contraction of the vowels). L. 1: $\check{\text{v}}\check{\text{v}}\text{--}\check{\text{v}}\text{--}\check{\text{v}}\text{--}\check{\text{v}}\text{--}$, l. 2: $\text{--}\check{\text{v}}\check{\text{v}}\text{--}\text{--}\check{\text{v}}\text{--}\text{--}[-]$. L. 2 consists of 3 descending ionic, the middle among them is irrational: -- καί τε κάτω μῖμος ὀφρύ[ας --] is metrically $[-]\text{--}\check{\text{v}}\check{\text{v}}/ \text{--}\check{\text{v}}\text{--}/ -[-\check{\text{v}}\check{\text{v}}]$. Consequently, line 1 includes ionic meter (with vowels’ contraction in Μελησίης; also epsilon may be long in a personal name): $[-\text{--} / \text{φίλιος Με/λησίης πόμη /, i. e. before Με there is ascending ionic: } \check{\text{v}}\check{\text{v}}\text{--}\text{--}, \text{ then one follows irrational descending ionic: } \text{--}\text{--}\check{\text{v}}\text{--}$.

⁴⁵ Fig. 11 is my drawing of that graffito from Odessa Archeological Museum, but several letters are lost, as it states a sketch drawing of the inscription in the field diary by E. Stern and E. Kagarov (The digs on Berezan island at 1906 year, archive of the museum, see: YAILENKO 2022, no. 55); this sketch is here fig. 11a. There are lost in the l. 1 letters OMH, l. 2 KAITE, also in the beginning of l. 1 Φ.



Fig. 11. Graffiti on an Attic kylix (GK N 173), 11a (after YAILENKO 2022, no. 55).

12 (Fig. 12; VGBOB, p. 473–474; GLBO II, p. 91–92; GOP, p. 37, lit.). Olbia. A fragment of black-glazed kylix, early 5th century. There are 3 parts of the inscription on wine drinking, the main part begins on a lip and continues on a wall:

- a) [--]ος ὃς ἀμ[υσσὶν ἐκπιῆ, ἀ]ναγορε[ύσεται --] “ – who drinks off at one draught, that will proclaimed – ”;
- b) ἀμυσσὶν ἐκπιῆ ΙΟ -- “who would drink off at one draught -- ”;
- c) [? -- ἐκπιῆ] “-- ? who would drink”.

An expression ἀμυσσὶν (ἀμυστίν) πιεῖν (ἐκπιεῖν) “drink off at one draught” is steady, even proverbial, its sense was explained by scholiast to Lucian: «ἀμυστίν means to drink with unclosed lips and open mouth” (TLG, s. v. ἀμυστίν). To (ἀν)αγορεύω there is close by sense the poetic verb ἀγοράομαι “speak in the assembly, harangue” in graffiti from Pantikapaion: [--] τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου φίλοις ? | οὗτος ὁ ἀρυ]τήρ ἀγορήσε[ται -- | -- εὔπο] | τος “-- this easy to drink cup will announce, e.g. *who is the better among Apollonios’ friends --*” (VGBOB, p. 445). The Olbian inscription b) consists of 3 iambic feet: $\sim \sim \sim \sim$ [--], there was and another foot (ΙΟ), so this graffiti was at least iambic dimeter. The inscription a) contains paeon verse: $\sim \sim \sim - / \sim - - / 2 - \sim \sim \sim / - \sim -$; the second foot is bacchius, the fourth foot is cretic. Also the graffiti nos. 18, 21 are paeans. An expression ἀμυσσὶν ἐκπιῆ is also in the next graffiti no. 13.

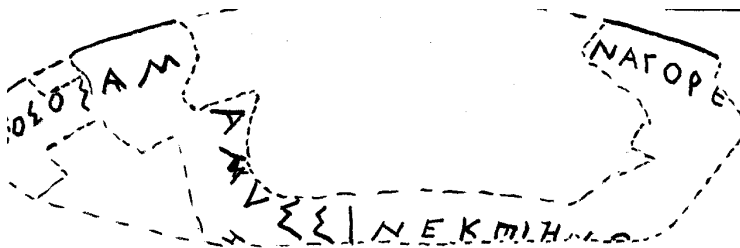


Fig. 12. Graffito on a black glazed kylix (after GLBO II, p. 111, fig. 3).

13 (Fig. 13; VGBOB, p. 474; GLBO II, p. 91). Olbia. A lip fragment of black-glazed cup, third quarter of the 6th century. The rests of two-lined graffito, boustrophedon:

[ἄπνε]υστιν | ἐκπιῆ υ[--] “-- who would drink off at one draught --”⁴⁶.

There is metrically a part of iambic trimeter (its 1, 3, 5 feet may be spondaic): -- / ~ - / ~ - etc. To ἄπνευστιν (ἐκ)πιεῖν cf. also the verse by comic of the 2nd century Alexis (fr. 244 Kock): ἀπνευστὶ τ' ἐκπιῶν ὡς ἄν τις ἦδιστ' ἴσον ἴσῳ κερραμμένον. Cf. and by comic of the 5th century Cratines (fr. 291): θεῶ σπεῖσαντ' ἄμυστιν δεῖ πιεῖν. These analogies and precede no. 12 may indicate an approximate content of this Olbian graffito.

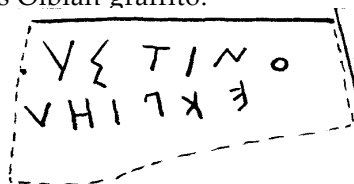


Fig. 13. Graffito on a black glazed cup (after GLBO II, p. 111, fig. 4).

14 (Fig. 14; VGBOB, p. 474). Berezan. According to E. Stern, the graffito is written on bottom of the 6th century cup⁴⁷:

-- | πίνε καὶ ταχύ -- “-- he drinks and quickly --”,

or -- | πίνε καὶ ταχύ -- “-- let drink and quickly --”.

The appeals to drink quickly are usual in the table graffiti. For example, there is one from Roxolany (a settlement between Lower Dniester river and Odessa): [--] ἔκπιιν ὡς τάχος “to drink fast as possible”⁴⁸; Chersonesus: ἀ[μυσ]τιν ἐ[κπιεῖν ὡς τάχος] “drink off at one draught with speed --” (OChB, p. 767); Pantikapaion: [e. g. ἐκπιῆι ἄμυσ]τιν ἀγήνωρ ὡς [τάχος] “let a brave man to drink off at one draught with speed” (VGBOB, p. 445). If there is 3rd person sg. πίνε, it will include spondee and dactyl; if imperative πῖνε, there will trochee and dactyl. As the inscription is broken from the left and possible right sides, there were other feet.

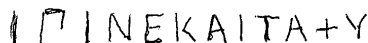


Fig. 14. Graffito on the bottom of a cup (after Stern 1910, p. 43)

15 (Fig. 15; VGBOB, p. 474–475). Berezan. E. Stern and G. Kagarov kept a diary of the digs on the island during the 1906 year (archive of Odessa Archeological Museum). They have given the following majuscules of three-lined graffito: Λ'ΟΣΤΕΣΡΑΣ .ΟΥ | ΜΩΝΟΣΠΑΙΣ'ΠΕΙ | ΔΑΙΗΣ ΞΙ, without any

⁴⁶ It is possible and reading [-- ἄμ]υστιν “-- who will drink the cup --”, but ἄμυστις is “large cup”, used by Thracians (LSJ).

⁴⁷ STERN 1910, p. 43.

⁴⁸ SEKERSKIY 1976, p. 215–218; corrections: GLBO I, p. 85.

information. The inscription may pertain to late 6th century, according to a character of writing. The letters ΜΩΝΟΣΠΑΙΣ' of l. 2 include certainly a word παῖς, and ΜΩΝΟΣ may reasonable pertain to his patronymic: [e. g. Ἀρτέ]μωνος παῖς "Artemon's son". The last letters ΠΕΙ of l. 2 one reads, in connection with boustrophedon letters ΞΙ in beginning of l. 3, as imperative πείνε. The last word of l. 3 is written normally from left to right – gen. δαῖης (to δάϊος "knowing, cunning". We can read ll. 2-3 together: [e. g. Ἀρτέ]μωνος παῖς· πείνε δαῖης "Artemon's son, let drink knowingly". So, it is to understand also l. 1 as table inscription. There Λ' may be the rests of ΕΙ, perhaps -ε[ι]ος, a possible ending of some adjective. Further one reads τ' ἔς ῥᾶ σ[υ]ν[ω]χ[α]δόν τε --" "and let pour easy and continually --". The main word here is ἔς – 2nd person sg. imper. aor. of the verb ἵημι, which has many meanings, but in the table inscription about wine drinking the most real sense is "to pour", as for instance, in graffito of the 5th century from Nymphaeum: εὐθυμίας ἱε̄ (= ἱεῖ) μιν κύλιξ "kylix of cheerfulness, let pour itself!" (VGBOB, p. 448). Full text of the graffito:

--ε[ι]ος τ' ἔς ῥᾶ σ[υ]ν[ω]χ[α]δόν τ', e. g. Ἀρτέ]μωνος παῖς· πείνε δαῖης
"-- and let pour easy and continually, Artemon's son, drink knowingly --!".

A word ῥᾶ is poetic, also δάϊος, which means "hostile, unhappy" and "knowing, cunning", the last is more appropriate to table context of the inscription. Such meaning of the word uses the poet of the 3rd century Posidippos (*Anth. Planudea* IV, 119). Also, the adverb σ[υ]ν[ω]χ[α]δόν "perpetually, continually" is poetic (LSJ). The appeals to drink are usually written on cups, and content of the Olbian inscription pertains formally to a type of "object parlant": the cup demands from the young boy (παῖς) to drink knowingly. And poet of the 3rd century Plato the Junger has written on knowing wine drinking, demanding from Dionysus ἢ νήφειν πείσει μ' ἢ μαθέτω μεθύειν (*Anth. Graeca* IX, 748). The feet of the text: --ε[ι]ος / τ' ἔς ῥᾶ / σ[υ]ν[ω]χ[α]δόν τ' /³, e. g. Ἀρτέ]μωνος / παῖς· πείνε δαῖης⁴⁹, metrics: -- / -- / -- ~ - /³ - ~ -- / -- ~ -, i.e. there are two ascending irrational ionics (feet 3, 5) and one descending irrational ionic (foot 3). Hence, the feet 1-2 with two spondees compose ascending ionic: [~] --.

Λ' ΟΣΤΕΡΑΣ.ΩΥ
ΜΩΝΟΣΠΑΙΣ' ΠΕΙ
ΔΑΙΗΣ ΞΙ

Fig. 15. Graffito on an unknown vase (after VGBOB, p. 508, no. 15).

⁴⁹ Taking *upsilon* of σ[υ]ν[ω]χ[α]δόν] as long syllable (it's possible and before one liquid), also --ε[ι]ος is without fusion.

16 (Fig. 16; VGBOB, p. 475–476; *Borysthenes* 2005, no. 267). Berezan. A fragment of Ionian cup of the middle 6th century, there is *graffito* on the rim, broken from left and right:

--μαίνεσθα[ι] καὶ ἐρᾶν -- “-- to be mad with wine and love --”.

Since *graffito* is written on the cup, the verb *μαίνομαι* means “to be mad with wine” (as *Od.* XVIII, 406 etc.). This inscription is variation of the well known table *skolion* (*Carmina convivalia*, 456 p.): σύν μοι πῖνε, συνήβα, συνέρα, συστεφανηφόρει, σύν μοι μαινομένω μάλιστο (it’s mentioned by Athenaeus, Eustathius, there is and variation by Menander). The verb πῖνε connected with μαινομένω μάλιστο in that prototype confirms relation of the verb *μαίνομαι* in Berezanian inscription to meaning “to be mad with wine”. According to TLG, the *skolion* ascends to poetess of the 5th century Praxilla from Sykion. There is its echo also in *graffito* from Pantikapaion: --ην ἀποδόξ | -- οὐ μάλιστι | -- ἔει θεάν (VGBOB, p. 444). The Berezanian *graffito* of the middle 6th century makes this theme more ancient and introduces in Ionic table poetry. Its meter is ionic:

--μαί/νεσθα[ι] καὶ ἐρᾶν / -- ; here are 5 long syllables and 1 short or long (*epsilon* of ἐρᾶν before liquid): - / - - ~ - /, it includes descending irrational ionic. The long syllable μαί pertains to precede foot, it is ending of descending irrational ionic or ascending ionic.



Fig. 16. Graffito on an Ionian cup (*Borysthenes* 2005, no. 267).

17 (Fig. 17; VGBOB, p. 476; TOLSTOY 1953, no. 11; GLBO II, p. 91–92). Olbia. A fragment of black-glazed cup of the 5th century: ἀπο<α>πίπλη “fill up!” This ἀποπίπλημι is poetic equivalent of a verb ἀποπίμπλημι “full up” (LSJ, s. v. ἀποπίμπλημι). Possibly, there is ascending ionic: ~ ~ -- / ~ .

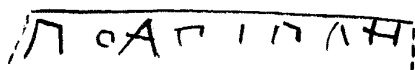


Fig. 17. Graffito on a black-glazed cup (after GLBO II, p. 111, no. 5).

18 (Fig. 18; VGBOB, p. 476–477; TOLSTOY 1953, p. 15). Olbia, near middle of the 5th century. A base fragment of a big krater with two-lined inscription: Ἀναγόρης | Ἀναγόρη □ ἦι ποτε “Anagore’s *krater*; at last, let it be at Anagore!” There are two inscriptions, the first (l. 1) is owner’s mark – “Anagore’s’ *krater*”; a writing of both the graffiti is the same, so that the latter inscription was also written by Anagore. I. Tolstoy has rightly attested her status as *hetaera*, and this krater was gifted by admirer. So, Anagore has firstly indicated desire to have this krater (Ἀναγόρη □ ἦι ποτε), and when it was gifted, she wrote her owner’s inscription: Ἀναγόρης. It is not really a personal name, but nickname, it originates from the poetic verb ἀγοράζομαι (with prefix ἀν-), and what is more, Ἀναγόρη itself forms a paeon foot: $\overset{\sim}{\nu}\overset{\sim}{\nu}\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ –. And ἦι ποτε also forms it, but with converse sequence of the syllables: $\overset{\sim}{\nu}\overset{\sim}{\nu}\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ (such the picture is and in poetic graffito from Hermonassa, VGBOB, p. 458); the paeans are also in Olbian inscriptions nos. 12, 21. As Anagore’s inscription is poetic and her nickname very rare, it is to mention that there was and another Anagore – Sappho’s disciple, poetess from Miletus (Suidas, s. n. Σαπφώ). Olbia was found by Milesians and one may assume, that our Anagora had received her nickname after the Milesian poetess. The Greek *hetaerae* have often taken nicknames after famous professional of the past time⁵⁰.

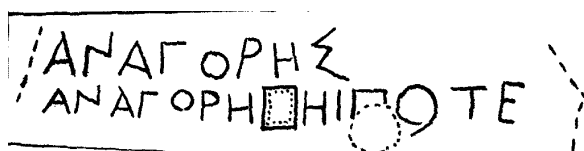


Fig. 18. Graffito on the base of a big krater (after GLBO II, p. 111, no. 7a).

19 (Fig. 19; VGBOB, p. 478; GK, p. 300–301). Berezan, first half of the 5th century. There is on the bottom of black-glazed cup an owner’s name (“Apollphanes’ *cup*”) and on rim:

φάς, ἀήτῶ [–] “– having said, of a wind –”.

The word ἀήτης is poetic (*Iliad* XV, 626; late epic poets and the others). Here is possibly ascending irrational ionic: $\overset{\sim}{\nu}\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ –.



Fig. 19. Graffito on black-glazed cup (GK no. 167).

⁵⁰ For example, there were *hetaerae* with nickname *Aspasia*, *Phryna*: PAPE & BENSELER 1884, p. 160, 1650.

20 (Fig. 20; VGBOB, p. 478; TOLSTOY 1953, p. 18). Olbia, second half of the 5th century. There is a two-lined inscription on a rim of black-glazed kylix:

[ἐκπιών με] Πολυκρά[της | --εὐ]θυμήσεται

“-- having drunk me, Polykrates will of good cheer --”.

A verb εὐθυμεῖν “to be of good cheer” is frequent in poetry (Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus *et alii*), also in prose. There are analogies to the Olbian inscription among the Bosporean table graffiti: [e. g. ὁ δεῖνα ἐκπιών] μεν εὐθυμή(σ)ε(τ)α[ι]⁵¹; also the written in verse table graffito from Nymphaeum εὐθυμῆς ἴε (= ἴει) μιν κύλιξ “kylix of cheerfulness, let pour itself!”, it contains 2 descending irrational ionics: – – ~ – / – – ~ – (see VGBOB, p. 448). Consequently, ionic meter may be equally and in the Olbian inscription, the more as itself name Πολυκράτης includes ascending ionic (cf. no. 18, where nickname Anagore includes paeon foot). Here is in l. 1 ascending ionic: [–] ~ ~ – – |, in l. 2 descending irrational one: [–] – / – – ~ –. The next inscription no. 21 contains the same meter and something cheerful.

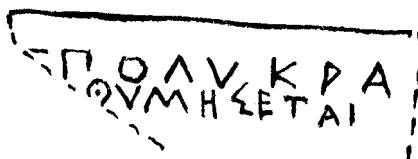


Fig. 20. Graffito on black-glazed kylix (after Tolstoy 1953, p. 18).

21 (Fig. 21; VGBOB, p. 479–482; BILIMOVICH 1958, p. 83–86). Olbia, black-glazed kylix, end of the 5th or first quarter of the 4th century. There is on a base graffito, the text by publisher Z. A. Bilimovich: Ἀκτιγαῖο(υ) ψυχῆ ἡ κύλιξ (εἰμι) σῶς ἡδεῖα ἡδύποτος “the kylix is Actigaius’ soul, unbroken, of pleasing appearance, sweet for drinking”. L. Dubois has reasonably moved off this incorporated εἰμι, but himself put in his translation unnecessary “moi je suis”, his text: Ἀκτιγαῖο ψυχῆ, ἡ κύλιξ σῶς, ἡδεῖα, ἡδύπ<ο>τος⁵². When a soul is quoted, it’s hardly understands something real. For instance, it may be a soul of a drinking lover, as certain Bacchides, who has written on his tombstone: πινὲν φαγὲν καὶ πάντα τὰ ψυχᾶ δῶμεν (Athenaeus, VIII 336d). Poet of love Meleager has liked his soul to a cup, which was drunk by his beloved woman: ἀπνευστὶ ψυχὰν τὰν ἐν ἐμοὶ προπιοῖ (Anth. Graeca V, 171). We notice two “sweet” epithets – ἡδεῖα and ἡδύποτος (κύλιξ), which are strange for a man, but natural for a woman. Possibly here one reads Ψυχῆ as designation of certain beloved woman “Soul / Dear”⁵³. In poetry, ψυχῆ may be analogue of a man or a woman; for instance, Bellerophon says about himself or Auge: σπεῦδ’ ὦ ψυχῆ (Euripides, fr. 308, 1). It is possible text of the graffito:

Ἀκτιγαῖο Ψυχῆ ἡ κύλιξ σῶς, ἡδεῖα, ἡδύπ(ο)τος

“from Actigaius to Soul / Dear this kylix whole, pleasant, sweet to drink”.

⁵¹ TOLSTOY 1953, N 108, with my corrections: YAILENKO 2018, p. 250.

⁵² DUBOIS 1996, p. 72–73.

⁵³ Ψυχῆ as personal name is very popular, but from 1st century BC.

As to metrics, there is significant name Ἀκτιγαῖο itself, which composes paeon foot: – ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘⁵⁴. Here is paeon tetrameter with incorporated spondee: Ἀκτιγαῖο / Ψυχῆ ἢ κύλιξ σῶς / , ἡδεῖα, / ἡδύπ(ο)τος, metrics: – ˘ ˘ ˘ / – ˘ ˘ / – || – /³ – – ˘ / – ˘ ˘ ˘. There is paeon in ll. 1, 5, an interchangeable antibacchius in ll. 2, 4; a spondee in the middle of the verse harmoniously divides all the feet half. It is a usual device: for example, spondee may be in odd foot of iambic trimeter (Euripides, *Troades*, 494 etc.), as in paeon verse by Actigaius.



Fig. 21. Graffito on a black-glazed kylix (after Bilimovich 1958, p. 85).

22 (Fig. 22; VGBOB, p. 482; STERN 1901, p. 26–27; DUBOIS 1996, p. 71)⁵⁵. Olbia. black-glazed kylix of the 5th century with a table graffito on its rim (6 feet):

ἡδύπο/τος κύλιξ / εἰμι φί/λη πίν/οντι τὸν / οἶνον
 “I’m kylix sweet to drink, pleasant to drinking this wine”.

The publisher of the graffito E. Stern has rightly seen hexameter, but there is questionable metrics of κύλιξ with its long ī, while there is to be a short, so P. Friedländer has called this hexameter incomplete, B. Gentili has even attempted to see another metrics: – ˘ ˘ ˘ – | – ˘ ˘ – | – ˘ ˘ – ˘⁵⁶. But all in vain, because the problem finds explanation in Ionic-Attic pronunciation: *ks* was sporadically simplified to *s* from the 5th century⁵⁷. It is also attested in Olbian graffito of the 4th century Ἀφ[ρ]οδίτης ἢ κύλιξ “this kylix belongs to Aphrodite” (GLBO II, p. 76). For this phonetic reason, we may suppose, that author of the Olbian graffito has written κύλιξ, but implied κύλις, where *i* is short, even by nature. This example testifies that skolia were recited by banqueters. The Olbian inscription is very

⁵⁴ A long vowel (here is *ō*) may form short syllable in personal name with 4 and more syllables, when metrics needs it.

⁵⁵ Full literature see: DUBOIS 1996, p. 71; *GOP*, p. 20.

⁵⁶ FRIEDLÄNDER 1948, p. 165; GENTILI 1968, p. 49.

⁵⁷ KRETSCHMER 1894, p. 181–182; THUMB & SCHERER 1959, p. 309.

euphonic owing to intensive alliteration of consonant *n*: there are in 3 words πίνοντι τὸν οἶνον 5 *n* (even 3 *ov*), also 3 *i*, 3 *o*, only *t* and *p* one by one.

Η ΔΥΡΟΤΡΟΣΚΥΛΙΞΕΙΜΙΦΙΛΗΠΙΝΟΝΤΙ
ΤΟΝΟΙΝΟΝ

Fig. 22. Graffito on a black-glazed kylix (after Yailenko 1979, p. 58).

23 (Fig. 23; VGBOB, p. 482–485; CHISTOV 2019, p. 103; BRAVO 2021, p. 15 (*non vidi*); PAVLICHENKO & CHISTOV 2020, p. 896–900). Berezan. Ionian cup, middle or third quarter of the 6th century (now it is in the museum of Nikolaev city, Ukraine). Graffito is written on rim inside, it is the most beautiful graffito of the North Pontic little epigraphy by writing. There are evident initial part of the text (Πύθεω εἰμι τὸ Περικλέος) and final (ἔγρα(φ)ε δὲ μὲ Πύθης). A middle part is more complicated: ΧΕΧΑΡΩΔΕΜΟΝΟΜΑΚΩΣΑΝΜΕΚΠΙΗΧΑΙΕΡΗΣΕΙ. There the verb is clear χεχαρῶ (conj. aor. II redupl. to χαίρω)⁵⁸, then δὲ, and ἄν μ' ἐκπιῆι, χαί<ε>ρήσει. But ΜΟΝΟΜΑΚΩΣ is questionable. B. Bravo reads unattested adverb μονομάκως (to a noun μονόμαχος), which implies table fighting in drinking (N. Pavlichenko and D. Chistov adopt his understanding):

Πυθέω εἰμι τὸ Περικλέος, χεχαρῶ δὲ μονομάκως. ἄν μ' ἐκπιῆι, χαί<ε>ρήσει.
ἔγρα(φ)ε δὲ με Πυθῆς

“Appartengo a Pythes figlio di Perikles; possa io rallegrarmi facendo un duello (di bevuta). Se uno mi berra fino in fondo, ne sarà lieto. E stato Pythes a scrivere su di me”⁵⁹.

As the inscription pertains to a class “object parlant”, it is the cup, which tells χεχαρῶ. Now I suppose that it is to read μονομάκως as hyperionic form of μονόμαχος, such the forms aren't rare in the early Olbian and Berezanian graffiti⁶⁰. Here is my slightly renewed, in comparison with VGBOB, text:

Πυθέω εἰμι τὸ Περικλέος· χεχαρῶ δὲ μονομάκως· ἄν μ' ἐκπιῆι, χαί<ε>ρήσει·
ἔγρα(φ)ε δὲ μὲ Πυθῆς

“I (cup) belong to Pythes, son of Perikles; I (cup) rejoice at fighting in single combat: if one should drink me off, it is he, who would rejoice; Pythes wrote me”.

So, the main sense of inscription is such: the cup rejoices at that person, who fights against him in single combat, but if he should drink cup off, it is he, who

⁵⁸ This initial χ (instead of normative κεχαρῶ) – product of regressive assimilation; for example, cf. variants of perfect forms κεχείρικα and χεχείρικα by Eustathius (*Comm. ad Hom. Iliadem*, vol. 2, p. 744, l. 3).

⁵⁹ As Bravo's book is unattainable, I set forth it after PAVLICHENKO & CHISTOV 2020, p. 898. I've tried to escape the Bravo's unattested adverb with strange ending -κως and have read: χεχαρῶ δὲ μ' ὄνομα κώς ἄν μ' ἐκπιῆι, χαί<ε>ρήσει “there is glad to me (to cup) a name of that person, who will somehow drink me and win” (VGBOB, p. 483). But N. Paulichenko and D. Chistov have rightly noted, that 1 person χεχαρῶ doesn't combine with μ' (= μοί or μέ).

⁶⁰ OChB, p. 33, 42, 312, 317, 472; YAILENKO 2022a, nos. 470, 527, 528.

would rejoice. A meter of inscription is dactylic tetrameter (there dactyl may be changed for spondee):

Πυθέω / εἰμί / τῷ Περικλέος· -- / - / - < / > / - - / - / - /
 χεχαρῶ / δὲ μονομάκως· ἄν / μ' ἐκπιῆι, - - / - - / - - / - - /
 χαί<ε>ρήσ/ει· ἔγρα(φ)ε δὲ μὲ / Πυθῆς - - / - - / - - / - - .

Here are 3 epigraphic formulae: 1) possessive – Πυθέω εἰμί τῷ Περικλέος; 2) table drinking – (ὄς) ἄν μ' ἐκπιῆι (see above nos. 12, 13); 3) auctoris – ἔγραφε δὲ μὲ Πυθῆς, it's usually final. The inscription has 15 words, the most are in the formulae, and Pythes has skilfully joined them, adding some words and names; also, he has vigilantly seen the poetic possibilities of all three formulae. There isn't enough one syllable after εἰμί. It was lyric poet Alcman (670–611) who had made popular the dactylic tetrameter, but some his verses had also defective variations⁶¹.



Fig. 23. Graffito on an Ionian cup (after VGBOB, p. 517; photo by I. A. Snytko).

24 (Fig. 24; VGBOB, p. 486–487; OChB, p. 335–338). Berezan, early 5th century. A round base of black-figured kylix stem, below there is a three-rolled inscription:

κόγραψας τῷ διδόντι θεῆ | δῶρον Εὐδίκη | φείλωι καὶ ἑταίρωι
 “and one, who has written to that friend and companion, who is giving present,
 let make a present to Eudike”.

⁶¹ HANTER 2006, p. 155–156.



Fig. 25. Graffito on an Attic skyphos (after Grakov 1968, p. 115).

IV. Some results

It is a time to sum up the inscribed material from the points of chronology, content types, metrics⁶⁴. The Berezanian are inscriptions nos. 3, 6–9, 11, 14–16, 19, 23, 24, total 11; the Olbian items are nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20–22, 25, total 13. Chronology: the graffiti nos. 3, 5–11, 13–16, 23 (total 13 ones) pertain to the 6th century; the graffiti nos. 1, 4, 12, 17–22, 24, 25 (total 11 items) pertain to the 5th century⁶⁵. It is important, that almost all the inscriptions of the 6th century originate from Berezan settlement (nos. 3, 6–9, 11, 14–16, 23, total 10), whereas only 3 graffiti are Olbian (nos. 5, 10, 13). Such proportion has historical causes: the Greeks lived during the second half of the 7th and during all the 6th century mainly on Berezan emporion settlement, while Olbia was found by Milesians under Median (Persian) supremacy, as Ps. Scymnus states (*Descr.*, vv. 808-809), i.e. near 546 year (see OChB, p. 122–130). But graffiti of the 5th century are mostly Olbian – nos. 1, 4, 12, 17, 18, 20–22, 25 (total 9), only nos. 19, 24 originate from Berezan (after the 5th century the island was slightly populated). Also, it is interesting some prevalence of the 6th century inscriptions – 13 ones, in compare

⁶⁴ There are in the VGBOB 26 Berezanian and Olbian graffiti of the 6th–5th centuries, here we have omitted two little ones. Our no. 2 pertains to the 3rd or 2nd century, we don't take it in consideration, so that here are really 24 graffiti.

⁶⁵ Our lost graffiti no. 1 pertain to the 6th, or 5th, or 4th century, we suppose conditionally the 5th century.

with 11 inscription of the 5th century. And in time there became the lesser number of the written in verse Olbian graffiti – only 7 ones from the 4th–2nd centuries (VGBOB, p. 491–499). These 24 Berezanian and Olbian little verses on table ceramic vessels of the 6th–5th centuries are unique – no one other Greek polis has such a number⁶⁶, and it is important to find out the obstacles and conditions of that phenomenon. In history, there are some examples of such a creative poetic outburst – after the Great French revolution of 1789 year, after the Great Russian revolution of 1917: these great revolutionary events have given freedom to the wide people masses, what in turn gives strong push to poetic creativity among these masses. So, a prevalence of the early written in verse graffiti of Berezan and Olbia may be combined with a revolutionary and very creative character of the Great Greek colonization. This wide poetic creation was also a means of communication of the Berezanian – Olbian Ionians with their mother land Ionia, where some poleis have developed a cult of Homeric poetry. It is a source of wide popularity of hexameter in early Berezanian – Olbian poetry: 9 graffiti (nos. 1, 3–8, 10, 22) from the total 24 ones. Some of these 9 inscriptions include Homeric recitations, paraphrases, tropes (nos. 1, 3–5, 10).

The other verse meters follow. Ionic is also popular – 7 graffiti (nos. 9, 11, 15–17, 19, 20). The Ionic together with hexameter verses prevail seriously in early Berezanian – Olbian poetry: 16 graffiti (9+7) from the total 24 ones. The other verse meters are rare: 3 paeans (nos. 12, 18, 21) and one by one bacchius (no. 24), iambic trimeter (no. 13), trochaic tetrameter (no. 25), dactylic tetrameter (no. 23). As to content types of the verses, there absolutely prevail the table drinking and love graffiti – 12 (nos. 12–23), it is a half of the total quantity. To the other content types pertain 3 comic verses (nos. 6–8), 2 theatre and choric actions (nos. 10, 11), one by one dedicatory (no. 9), sacral (no. 3), obscene (no. 25), gift (no. 24) inscriptions. And Regina of all the ancient Greek written in verse graffiti is hymn to the sacral Olbian zone Hylaea and its gods, which includes 12 hexameter lines (no. 5). For example, in comparison with Olbia, there is behind all the Bosporan kingdom, where are 13 Greek written in verse graffiti, mostly from capital city Pantikapaion (VGBOB, p. 443–461). And their time is later: 5 ones are from the 5th century, 3 ones from the 4th century, 5 items from the 3rd century. Among these 13 Bosporan graffiti prevail 6 table drinking and love inscriptions, 5 obscene ones; the used meters are 4 ionics, 2 hexameters, one by one trochee, iambic trimeter, paeon, and bacchius.

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⁶⁶ As a whole there are in VGBOB 33 Olbian and Berezanian in verse graffiti.

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