

## ABSTRACTS <sup>1</sup>

### I. SACRED WORLD OF EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC BOSPORUS

*I. A. Tul'pe*

#### «Sacral» and sacral (the term and the phenomenon)

The research problems concerned with modernization of the meaning of 'sacral' are denoted in the article. It is the author's opinion that adding theistic content both to term and phenomenon is incorrectly and ineffective regarding to non (mono) theistic traditions.

*\*D. Grigoryev*

#### On the religious function of weapons

Weapons discovered in burials had various functions: they were part of religious cult and they had a practical function that expressed what a man did during his life (for example that he was a warrior). This gives rise to a problem: how do we define or correlate the religious and the practical functions?

Arrows were connected with the cult of Apollon Ietros. Yet most arrows found in burials were connected with warriors. Spears and swords discovered in burials may have been connected with a religious cult, but this was probably rare. This problem is very difficult and demands supplementary study. Coins and ornaments employ the depiction of weapons too. In this case, they are probably closely connected with religious cult.

*\*M. Skrzhinskaya*

#### Women in the religious life of Bosporos (5<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century BC)

This paper is based on the analysis of inscriptions and the interpretation of art objects found in Bosporos. Participation in religious festivals and sacrifices gave to many women the rare opportunity to leave the closed world of their houses. The most significant role in the religious life of the *polis* belonged to priestesses. The priestesses of Artemis, Aphrodite and Cybele are mentioned in Bosporan inscriptions of the Classical and early Hellenistic periods. They led the rituals in Panticapaeum, Nymphaeum, Kepoi, and Hermonassa. In the Hellenistic period, women of the royal family regularly became priestesses of Aphrodite, the most revered goddess of Bosporos at that time.

The excavations of Bosporan necropoleis provide us with the opportunity to imagine the rich clothes worn by women during festivals and sacrifices. The clothes of certain priestesses can be reconstructed from the rich grave goods found in the Pavlovsky Kurgan near Panticapaeum and in the Bol'shaya Bliznitsa Kurgan in the vicinity of Phanagoria. The precious clothes adorned with numerous gold ornaments and precious cloth were very heavy, so the priestess could move only slowly and solemnly, attracting undivided attention not only because of her high status and outstanding role in the festival, but also because of her splendid clothes, shining with gold.

The Bosporan women participated not only in rituals held in honour of goddesses. They were also priestesses of the cult of the heroized Bosporan kings, and they took active part in Dionysos' festivals, where they performed ritual dances as well as special ceremonies at the Lenaia festival. The dedication of statues, altars, terracotta figurines, different vessels and other objects to the gods also underlined the participation of women in the religious life of Bosporos.

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<sup>1</sup> \* – Final variant of abstracts after correction.

### **Images of «the Master of Animals» in the Bosphorus and in Scythia**

The author deals with the images depicting «the Master of Animals» found in the Bosphorus and in Scythia. The author refutes the hypothesis of Y. Ustinova, suggesting that the Kul'-Oba diadem and the acroterium from the State Hermitage depict a bearded androgynous Aphrodite. The author argues that these images represent a pre-dionysiac deity. A bird-like «Master of Animals» from Soboleva Mogila is, of course, a god, but his identity is obscure due to the lack of analogies.

\*A. Belousov

### **Nereides and the cult of Achilles in Bosphorus**

In this paper, renderings of Nereids arming Achilles found in Bosphoran art are investigated as testimonies for the Achilles' cult in the Euxine. It is concluded that we are obliged to accept the connection between mythology and the cult of Achilles and the Nereids. The Nereids are the chthonic marine *thiasos*, which accompanies Achilles throughout the scenes of traditional mythology from his birth from Thetis to his *anabiosis* and wedding on the Island of the Blessed. But what did the Nereids signify to the indigenous population of the Black Sea coast? It is this paper's postulation that they are the multiple chthonic incarnations of the Great Goddess, the *paredros* of whom was called Achilles by the Greeks in this area. Thus, the images of the Nereids carrying arms for Achilles in the tomb chamber of Bolshaya Bliznitsa and on the sarcophagus from Anapa are further witnesses to the Achilles' cult in Bosphorus.

N. Kuzina

### **The peculiarities of Dionysus worshipping in sacral complexes of the Northern Black Sea Coast.**

The article is devoted to researching the peculiarities of Dionysus' worship in sacral complexes of the Northern Black Sea Coast. The rituals of Dionysian cult were corresponded to Hellenic sacral traditions: Dionysus was worshipped in hypostasis of god, personifying fertility, patron of viticulture, wine-making and theatre. At the same time, we must admit that the chthonian aspects had predominance in Dionysian cult. In Classical period the chthonian nature of this god found its reflection in joint worship of Dionysus, Demeter Eleusinian, Kore-Persephone; in Hellenistic times it was marked in combination of sacral actions in honor to the god of wine and wine-making Dionysus and such chthonian goddesses as Aphrodite, Kibela. It is important to note that in Hellenistic period chthonian features had grown in religion of the population of ancient cities and settlements on the Northern Black Sea Coast, and those found reflection in sacral practice of the most popular cults, including the Dionysian one. The predominance of chthonian aspect in worship of Dionysus can be explained by some influence of barbarian neighbors of ancient towns and settlements of that region. The chthonian concepts were prevalent in barbarian sacral views and might have become the reason of revival of archaic chthonian traditions in Dionysian cult.

N. Moleva

### **About the cult of Cybele at Bosphorus**

The article is devoted research Kibele's cult in the Bosporos. In it's there are time and causes of appearance this cult, basic stages and special features it's development from V cent. B.C. to IV cent. A.D. Archaeological artifacts from excavations cities and necropolis used as the principal sources.

*D. Bunin*

### **Bosporan Aphrodite II century B.C. – III A.D.: development of goddess image in the local religious system**

The work is devoted to revealing of Aphrodite's worship aspects in the religious system of the Bosporan Kingdom in II century B.C. – III A.D. The author proceeds from an idea that under the circumstances of Pontus and then the Roman expansion some specific traits in this cult should be revealed. First of all rises Aprodite's role as a grantor of military success (especially at the naval operations). Inscriptions, coins, jewelry and some other sources attest preeminence of Aphrodite as a patroness of the king and the whole kingdom. The goddess function as a guardian of the nether world and also a grantor of rebirth hope also may be traced.

*\*P. Evdokimov*

### **The so-called «Bosporan Amphiktyony»: Some historiographical observations**

That the «confederation of Bosporan *poleis*» at the same time was a military and political union as well as a religious amphiktyony has been proposed by Yu. G. Vinogradov and V. P. Tolstikov as one way of explaining a number of archaeological remains from the early period of Bosporan history (i.e.: coins with the legend ΑΠΟΛΛ, the building of a monumental temple of Apollo Iētros on Pantikapaion's acropolis, and a fortification in the eastern Crimea). A critical analysis of this hypothesis from the point of view of modern discoveries and necessary chronological corrections has recently been carried out by A. A. Zavoykin. This paper presents an attempt to examine the hypothesis of the «Bosporan amphiktyony» taking into account the results of research devoted particularly to the phenomenon of amphiktyony itself or to specific amphiktyonies (the works of F. de Polignac, K. Tousand, L. A. Likhatchova, O. V. Kulishova, M. Yu. Lapteva). This comparison permits us to underline the following problems:

1. The «typical» amphiktyonies seem to emerge rather early and in the historical period look like the legacy of a pre-polis level of social structure. That is why the emergence of an amphiktyony in a zone of colonization in the late Archaic period seems rather odd.
2. The typical amphiktyonies normally seem to have been centered around a non-urban sanctuary, whereas the hypothetic Bosporan one would have its heart on the acropolis of a dominating *polis*. This is also odd, and it would seem more logical to search for the seat of an amphiktyony in the Bosporan region around Apatouros.
3. Indirect evidence in favour of the existence of a Bosporan amphiktyony (such as the «Apollonic» coins and the temple building) do not have any evident analogies in other contemporary amphiktyonies.

*\*S. Prokopenko*

### **The formation of *chorai* of the Bosporan cities, 6<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC**

This paper presents the results of a study of the formation of the *chorai* of the Bosporan cities during the 6<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

At the beginning of the first stage of the development of Bosporus the network of settlements on the coast of the Kerch strait was established, and in the 6th century BC *poleis* were founded

occupying the most convenient living places. During the early stages of development, the *poleis*' spheres of interest did not overlap, as they established their *chorai*, because in the early 6 BC development was mainly restricted to the nearest territory. The size of the *chorai* of the cities in European and Asian Bosphorus during this specific period of time was between 5 to 10 km<sup>2</sup>. At this time the development of the *chorai* took place without the establishment of any permanent settlements. The land was divided between private, public and temple lands. The land-surveying system employed was not linear.

From the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the size of the *chorai* of the cities in European Bosphorus increased to as much as 20 km<sup>2</sup>, while the *chorai* of the cities of Asian Bosphorus exceeded those of the cities of European Bosphorus in size. By the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC 26 rural settlements had been localized on Taman.

In Eastern Crimea, the first *chora* settlements appeared in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. By the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, their total was 10. The *chorai* in the European Bosphorus mainly extended along the coast. The development of *chorai* inland was restrained due to the instability of Greek-barbarian relations. On Taman by the end of the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC the number of rural settlements reached the sum of 63.

Settlements in the *chorai* of European Bosphorus at this stage were insignificant and belonged to small farmers. In Asian Bosphorus, however, already in the middle of 6 BC large settlements - Ahtanizovskaya 4, Golubitskaya 2, etc. (among the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC rural settlements more than 30 were larger than 25 hectares) – were established.

The facts given above show features of the emerging *poleis* in the two different parts of Bosphorus. On the whole, the *chorai* of Bosphorus developed during this time, but the emergence of *chorai* belonging to the cities in Asian Bosphorus is more dynamic than that of the *chorai* of European Bosphorus. Proceeding from the aforesaid, it is possible to make a cautious conclusion as to the existence of two different models for the emergence of the *chorai* during the period examined. The first model shows a systematic, stage-by-stage development of the nearest *polis* territory, mainly in the coastal zones. This is characteristic for European Bosphorus. The second model was realized in the development of the Taman archipelago and inland areas. This development was of an ongoing character, and probably already at the first stages, the local population was involved therein.

\*S. Smekalov, A. Ermolin, S. Koltukhov, S. Lantsov, V. Lentovsky

### **Investigation of kurgans in the terrain and on topographical maps**

The most common archaeological monuments of a sacred nature accessible for direct observation in the Crimea are the barrows. The measurements of all existing barrows represent an important component in the series of measures taken for the protection of our historical heritage presently being carried out by the authors. Because it is very labour intensive and therefore costly work it will take a longer period to carry it out throughout the entire peninsula. In connection with this work it has become clear that an evaluation of the completeness and authenticity of the information about the barrows provided in the topographic maps, a source, which covers the entire territory of the Crimea, is necessary. This conclusion was reached by the authors on the basis of the topographic map of the Main Staff of the Russian army (scale 1:42,000, surveys of the 1890s), and the map of the General Staff of the USSR (scale 1:25000, survey of the mid-20th century). The correspondence of data represented on the maps and the results of the direct inspections, executed together by the Crimean branch IA NANU and BGTU «Voyenmech» in four regions of the peninsula was investigated. The obtained results make it possible to conclude preliminarily that about half of the barrows discovered during the survey are either not marked on the maps, or their coordinates on the maps have significant errors.

\*V. Zin'ko

## **Sacred extra-urban cult monuments of European Cimmerian Bosporos between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C.**

In spite of a general exploration of the *chorai*, the rural territories of the Greek cities along the coast of European Cimmerian Bosporos have not yet been analyzed. Numerous archaeological monuments of differing religious purposes situated in the territory of the *poleis* form the category of “sacred cult monuments”. This category can be divided into two groups: private and public ones.

Private sacred zones in the rural settlements appeared from the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Private sanctuaries from this period have been revealed in a number of settlements (Gerojevka-1, Gerojevka-2, Andreyevka Juzhnaya, a farmstead near Myrmekion).

The earliest public sanctuary dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. has been located at Cape Takil'. A large sacred territory with several sacred monuments related to the polis is situated north of Panticapaeum (modern village of Adzhimushkai). A monument with a monumental relief from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., set on the one of the Tryohbratny Barrows at the south-western border of the polis of Nymphaeum may correspond to these. A rural sanctuary dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. was revealed at the Yuzhno-Churubashskoye.

As can be seen, even a brief survey of sacred cult monuments located in the rural territories of the European Cimmerian Bosporos gives us the opportunity to imagine numerous private and public sanctuaries of different constructions and importance in the territory between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.

*\*M. Treister*

### **Some observations on objects and their decoration in the contexts of foreign cultures (based on toreutics from the territory of the Bosporan Kingdom and adjacent areas)**

I. «Improvement» of foreign objects.

A bronze mirror of the Attic type, decorated with an engraved palmette with volutes, which was found in the Scythian Kul-Oba Kurgan in Eastern Crimea, is discussed. Its handle was covered with a gold overlay with hammered images of moving animals made in the Scythian animal style. Given the magic character of mirrors, it is quite possible that the religious function of the object in Scythian culture was, thus, transferred to the imported artefact. Moreover, one cannot exclude the possibility that the craftsman had to create a set, decorated in the common style, decorating the imported mirror with the gold overlay, similar to those decorating the hilt of the sword as well as the handle of the knife. Therefore, the modifications could have had both religious and practical aims. The mirror from Kul-Oba was not the only Greek mirror, and not even the earliest one, which was modified in the Scythian milieu. The mid – 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. bronze mirrors, found in the necropoleis of the Bosporan cities of Nymphaion and Pantikapaion, as well in the Seven Brothers Kurgan № 6 in the Kuban River Basin, were furnished with additional engraved images of animals. At approximately the same time, a silver *phiale* with *omphalos* from the so-called Maikop Treasure was additionally decorated with an incised head of a bird of prey.

II. Foreign patterns in the decoration of the objects and the mechanism of furnishing them with a religious meaning.

The bronze cauldrons found in Raskopana Mogila and in Chertomlyk are discussed. They are objects of the Scythian type, but in their decoration use Greek ornamental patterns. According to A. Yu. Alekseev, who discussed these cauldrons in detail, the upper frieze of the cauldron from Raskopana Mogila consists of bucrania and solar symbols. However, it is evident that the frieze shows alternating bucrania and *phialai* and it is thus a «citation» of friezes used in Apulian vase-

painting of the middle to the second half of the 4th century B.C. and in architectural decoration of Greece and Asia Minor in the late 4<sup>th</sup> – second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. As well, the central frieze of the cauldron, showing palmettes oriented alternately in opposite directions and connected with each other with S-shaped volutes, is a «citation» of a pattern known in Greek vase-painting since the late 6th century B.C., a pattern also used by the gold- and silversmiths in the 5th-4th century B.C. (Fig. 1). The upper frieze of the Chertomlyk cauldron, in contrast, seems to be not a «citation» of the Greek patterns, but a free recreation of patterns, learned and rather roughly reproduced by the local craftsman (Fig. 2). I am not going to dwell on the interpretation of the decoration on the cauldrons, which was treated by A. Yu. Alekseev as the Scythian world model, I will just add, that if we accept Alekseev's ideas, the Scythian craftsmen expressed their world model through copying foreign decorative patterns.

The metal objects discussed above, originating in the Bosporan Kingdom and in the neighbouring territories of the North Pontic area, and dating to the 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., allow us to suggest, on the one hand, the diversity of the mechanisms for furnishing foreign artefacts with a religious meaning in the host culture, and on the other hand that the decorative pattern of foreign cultures, used as «citations» on artefacts of the host culture, could serve for transmitting new information and new religious meaning to the objects of the host culture.

*A. Kruglov*

### **A Portrait of Bosporan King in the Hermitage Collection**

A marble portrait of an unknown man, acquired in 1872 from Boris Bouksel, an antiquarian in Kertch, remained unnoticed for decades in the storeroom of the Department of Classical Antiquities of the Hermitage Museum. Although the piece lacks a direct archaeological context, its relation to the history of the Bosporan kingdom is undoubted. The head is diademed so we may assume the representation of a Bosporan king. The hole which was drilled right in the middle of the band from the back side might be used in securing the ties of the golden diadem when placing it on the marble head.

The head is of considerable size (h. 0,46 m), inserted at one time in a monumental statue, and apparently reused in antiquity. It was turned face down and partially buried (the lips and eyebrows have been heavily damaged, the nose broken off) and the back displays three long carvings, so suggesting that it also served as an architectural element.

Several technical characteristics help to determine the date of execution. The combination of plasticity and linear treatment of facial features, and selected drilling used in the modeling in the curls are similar to that of marble work found on the Zoilos Monument in Aphrodisias dated back to the 20s B.C.

There are certain particularities, which relate this piece to the iconography of Mithradates VI. The Hermitage piece belongs among the lesser known posthumous representations. It differs from his earlier portraits of «Mithradatic» royal style revealing instead a certain affiliation with the Classicistic trend as well as the Oriental type of the hair-do. The diadem, tied around the rows of tight curls, clearly evokes the iconography of Mythridates VI predecessors from the Achaemenids dynasty. The Bosporan history of the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. includes his granddaughter, the queen Dynamis. An interesting observation, not mentioned in existing studies, is that the portrait of Dynamis on the golden coin minted in Panticapaeum does not represent a female hair-do typical at the time in Rome but rather a female variant (with long locks) of the Iranian men's hairstyle.

Dynamis tried to maintain a balance between her political relationship with Rome while at the same time preserving her dynastic rights; relying widely on the un-Hellenic, Iranian population of Bosporus. In such circumstances, it would not be not to find the cult of Mithradates and his statue as a divinized ancestor.

### **Bosporan terracotta statuettes with a scene of a hunt**

The group of statuettes with the scene of a hare hunt stands out among the terracotta statuettes of the Bosporan kingdom. These statuettes were mostly found in the funeral complexes of Panticapaeum's necropolis and are dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.-1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.

The central figure among these statuettes is a rider on a prancing horse with lifted right hand. He is clad in barbarian dress. Under the horse are shown a running hare and a dog pursuing it. In reduced variants of this scene the dog is absent; in even further reduced depictions the dog and the hare are both absent.

The depiction of this topic on the Bosporan statuettes generally corresponds to the depictions of a hare hunt on the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. golden plaques from the Scythian Kul-Oba and Alexandropol Kurgans. However the dog is absent in these scenes, although contemporary Scythian depictions of a dog chasing a hare are known. The Bosporan terracotta statuettes reproduce a scene similar to the Scythian ones with a rider hunting a hare. But this scene is a comprehensive version because it unites a hunting scene with a scene of a dog chasing a hare.

E. Kuzimina and D. Raevskiy have identified the figurative representation of the hare hunt with the story about the Nart Khamyts from the Ossetinian version of the Nartian epos. The purpose of Khamyts' hunt was his marriage with the girl-hare and the birth of Batraz – one of the Nartian epos' main heroes. Batraz is a figure comparable to the Scythian god Ares, god of war and the protector of the army.

The image of the dog chasing a hare is known on strictly Greek objects too, and is reproduced in a fable by Aesop. The presence of the chase as a topic in Greek and Scythian traditions allows us to suspect the existence of a general myth, which probably has a general Indo-European background. But because of the hunt's topic, it is also possible to consider a purely barbarian (Scythian and Sarmatian) version, and the Bosporan statuette as presenting one of its versions. In the Scythian and Sarmatian environment the topic of the hunt of a hare had religious value since it was connected with the theogony and with royal genealogical myth.

\*V. Zubar

### **Bosporan coroplastics of the first centuries AD and the character of religious beliefs**

Among the Bosporan clay sculpture of the first centuries AD depictions of a goddess sitting on a throne, Tyche, Men, a riding horseman, and figures of dancers related to mystic cults, singers, *mystai* with pendant legs, as well as toys predominate. The depictions of gods, when compared with images from the previous period of Bosporan history, have lost their subtlety, and most of them have taken the shape of idols full of a special mystic sense and differing markedly from a 'normal' human appearance.

The above-mentioned phenomena in Bosporan coroplastics of the first centuries AD should be explained by the fact that terracotta figurines turned from the human-like representations of gods and heroes into unnatural figures with ascribed supernatural strengths. Their mystic meaning was much more important than their form. Together with the ubiquitous and sudden spread of various amulets and talismans in burials of ancient necropoleis, including the Bosporan ones, they provide a picture of a transformation of a common religious consciousness towards a complicated display of fear of mystic and non-human-controlled forces, including underground powers which had to be fought with the help of magic and sorcery. These characteristics undoubtedly were caused by the progressive crisis of traditional ancient religious beliefs and, as

a result, of artistic values during the first centuries AD. This is apparent in the materials of Bosporan coroplastics too.

*\*A. Yermolin*

### **Finds from a new coroplast workshop of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC in Panticapeum**

During the excavation in Pantikapeysky Lane 16/1 a household pit was found. Fragments of amphorae, tools, tableware, toilet- and domestic pottery were unearthed in it. The most interesting finds are the numerous fragmented terracotta statuettes, protomes and masks. Fragments of plaster moulds, paint in shells and in red-glazed bowls were also found as well as elements of a kiln. All these materials were debris from a coroplast workshop situated near the pit. The coins dated the material to the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.

*A. Ermolin, P. Getsko, V. Kulikov*

### **Red-glazed pottery and numismatic materials from the coroplast workshop in Panticapeum (on the question of dating)**

A unique complex of ceramic workshop waste production has been found on the northern slope of Mithridat mount (an upper city building of ancient Panticapeum). The problem is that it was no any reliable criteria for complex dating because it had no clear stratigraphic context. Over 22 terra sigillata plates, cups and dishes found in complex could be dated no more definitely as a broad space of Roman period: late 1<sup>st</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D.

The authors make an attempt to obtain more specific information basing on numismatic data: 6 coins of Bospor kings are analysed in the paper. The earliest coin – assarius of king Kotys the 1<sup>st</sup> – was struck at the time of imperor Claudius (49–54 A.D.). Four sestertii of kings Sauromatus the 1<sup>st</sup> (93–123 A.D.) and Remitalcus (131–154 A.D.) form the basis of numismatic complex so it should be dated second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century if only one sestertium of king Sauromatus the 2<sup>nd</sup> (174–210 A.D.). The authors prove that it was struck up to 196 when Roman emperor Septimius Severus ordered Bosporians to recast all bronze coins in monetary circulation with his portraits. Therefore excavated ceramic workshop complex must be dated late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.

*\*Ju. Vyleva*

### **Decorated Early Hellenistic Tombs in Thrace and the Cimmerian Bosphorus**

Rich tombs with painted decoration exist both in Thrace and on the Cimmerian Bosphorus. They appeared in the context of the Early Hellenistic *koine* and show accordingly similar features. At the same time there are important differences between them as regards architecture, choice of decorative systems and ideological implications. These differences are based on multiple factors, such as varying ethnic groups, the role of the regions in the historical events of Alexander's campaign and the wars of the Diadochi, the proximity of the Greek colonies and Macedonia, the local cultural tradition, funerary practices and the shapes of burial structures.

An important difference concerns the choice of the decorative program. In Thrace there are several examples of figure painted decoration organized in complex systems, while on the Bosphorus the most elaborate programmes are based on the Greek order.

At the same time comparison between two burials and commemorative complexes such as the Ostrusha tomb in Thrace and Bolshaya Bliznitsa Kurgan on the Bosphorus reveal important common principles in ideology, composition, iconography and style.



### **The myth of Kore-Persephone in monumental Bosporan painting**

The Eleusinian deities Demeter and her daughter Kore-Persephone were especially worshipped in the Bosporus where agriculture played a leading role in the *polis* and in the state economy. Central scenes relating to these religious beliefs are reflected in the Bosporan painted grave chambers. The earliest painting dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. was found in the Bolshaya Bliznitsa Barrow. The images of Demeter and Kore-Persephone in this barrow are of great interest. The two goddesses are also depicted in the monumental painting of Bosporus of the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries A.D. Four grave chambers with a painted scene of the kidnapping of Kore by Hades have been excavated at different sites within Panticapaeum's necropolis.

It should be particularly stressed that the myth of Kore-Persephone was the most popular in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries A.D. when Bosporus was a major exporter of grain. Chambers with such figural painting could be burial vaults for the main priests of that cult.

\*P. Burgunder

### **Du sanctuaire au tombeau: la peinture du Tombeau d'Alkimos**

Le tombeau d'Alkimos passe pour être un témoignage de la peinture hellénistique tardive à Panticapée. Aussi bien le système décoratif imitant un appareillage architectural que la scène de l'enlèvement font du tombeau un monument remarquable trahissant l'influence d'un sanctuaire aux divinités éleusiennes sur le Bosphore cimmérien.

Aujourd'hui considéré comme perdu, le tombeau d'Alkimos fils d'Héguèsippos nous est connu par le matériel d'archives présenté, synthétisé et analysé par M. I. Rostovtseff dans son ouvrage, *La Peinture décorative antique en Russie méridionale*, paru à Saint-Pétersbourg en 1913–1914. Le monument est mis au jour en mars 1867 sur le versant nord du mont Mithridate; il s'agit d'un hypogée creusé dans le sol, de plan rectangulaire, et aux parois peintes de manière à imiter un parement: un appareil de blocs pseudo-isodomes disposés en cinq assises succède à une zone basse évoquant un treillis. Sur l'appareil de blocs repose une frise parcourant les quatre parois: elle est ornée de guirlandes suspendues; un bandeau vert vient par-dessus et sert de socle à une composition se déroulant sur trois parois et affectant la forme d'un fronton. Les dessins dont nous disposons pour analyser la scène sont de qualité suffisante pour y reconnaître un enlèvement de Perséphone.

Rostovtseff range le tombeau d'Alkimos au nombre des monuments de l'époque hellénistique tardive auquel il consacre une partie entière de son ouvrage. L'absence de tout mobilier archéologique à rapporter à la tombe fait de la peinture murale le seul indicateur chronologique potentiel. La structure décorative des parois du tombeau relève sans aucun doute du langage peint et architecturé que l'on nomme «Masonry style», un style répandu dans tout le monde hellénistique et qui connaît un prolongement dans ce qu'August Mau désigne sous le terme de «Premier style pompéien».

L'appareil de blocs pseudo-isodomes surmonté d'une frise puis d'une lunette historiée constitue la structure commune à une série de monuments funéraires panticapéens, dont font partie le Tombeau des Pygmées et le tombeau d'Anthestérios et auquel on peut intégrer le tombeau d'Alkimos. Ce système décoratif imitant un appareillage architectural apparaît au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle et trouve une expression instituée en paradigme à Délos. Le passage du bandeau figuré de la partie médiane de la paroi –que l'on peut voir à Délos– en zone supérieure évoque cependant une tendance propre au deuxième style pompéien. La scène de rapt, représentée de manière très expressive, occupe le centre de la paroi du fond; deux niches rompent le rythme de la narration en même temps qu'elles mettent en exergue l'attelage d'Hadès. La composition s'insère dans un paysage qui s'étend sur les parois latérales du tombeau; bocages et bois peuplés d'oiseaux

jonchant des branches offrent un contraste à la violence de l'enlèvement de Perséphone. La mise en valeur des éléments végétaux et l'attention portée à la représentation de la faune (oiseaux, caprin (?)) rappellent cette affection hellénistique pour les scènes de genre bucolique dont la frise de l'Esquilin présente un aboutissement.

La tête peinte au centre du plafond figure une divinité éleusinienne, à en croire l'identification communément admise. La présence d'une méduse à la chevelure de serpents paraîtrait moins surprenante mais le dessin de F.I. Gross, qui prête des traits poupons à la face au regard fixe, est sans équivoque et la chevelure est ceinte d'une couronne de fleurs. Etablir une continuité entre cette face et le buste représenté sur la dalle formant la clef de voûte du tombeau peint de Bol'shaja Bliznitsa semble audacieux, à considérer que l'auteur des deux dessins est le même Gross.

La scène de rapt présente un schéma narratif contraint par la présence de deux niches ; un attelage de quatre chevaux est mené par un cocher tandis qu'Hadès emmène sa victime sous son bras au grand effroi des compagnes de Perséphone, perchées au-dessus d'une des niches. Un groupe de deux personnes se détachent de la scène en lui tournant le dos. La composition figurée comporte donc trois voire quatre groupes, obéissant à deux axes narratifs, si tant est qu'on puisse en juger. La rupture narrative indiquée trouve un écho dans le découpage des séquences qui prennent place sur les parois du tombeau macédonien dit de Perséphone. La présence d'un cocher qui aiguille les chevaux n'est pas sans faire penser à l'attelage d'un autre tombeau peint de Kertch, le Tombeau de Déméter. R. Lindner compare ce personnage à un «Hippodamos» de l'hypogée de Massyaf, en charge de la conduite du quadrigé.

Le rendu de la scène de l'enlèvement dont l'intensité dramatique est particulièrement marquée suggère que le peintre a pu s'inspirer d'une représentation peinte ou d'un groupe statuaire façonné à l'époque hellénistique. Les spécificités tant du rendu architectural que de la composition centrale font du tombeau d'Alkimos un monument de première importance pour la compréhension des thèmes picturaux d'époque hellénistique tardive à Panticapée; elles mettent également en lumière une adaptation peut-être orientale de la représentation de l'enlèvement de Perséphone. La popularité et la pérennité du culte rendu aux divinités éleusiniennes tendent à prouver l'importance religieuse et politique d'un sanctuaire à Panticapée.

*\*A. Ermolin, R. Sinenko*

### **The fragments of painted plaster from an excavation at the Mithradates Hill (Kerch)**

In 2007 the archaeological expedition of KF IA NAS of Ukraine on the north slope of the Mithradates Hill provided intriguing results. Fragments of pottery and painted plaster were exposed in an archaeological layer pertaining to the ancient city of Panikapaion. The pottery was found in a mixed layer with finds from different periods from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Among the finds were fragments of painted plaster.

The painted plaster fragments have the same characteristics as plaster from buildings excavated by K. Dumberg and U. Marty. M. Rostovtsev has attributed a similar style of painting to the period between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. All fragments are executed using the normal technology. The plaster and inlaid flaps can probably be attributed to a building of the Hellenistic period on the basis of the painting itself and on the technique of execution. The exact dating will be defined on the basis of a detailed inspection using a variety of methods. The painted plaster can be related to a cult building.

*O. Sokolova*

### **On the question of Aphrodite cult in Nymphaeum**

## **Black-glazed crater from Demeter sanctuary in Nymphaeum**

*E. Gritsik*

### **The Hellenistic house with altar from Mirmekion**

Mirmekion is an ancient greek city, situated in the Eastern Crimea, Ukraine. Systematic excavations of it have lasted for about 70 years. All layers that existed in Mirmekion from Archaic to Roman periods have been discovered there. The problem of Hellenistic Mirmekion was first formulated by V.F. Gajdukevich 60 years ago. Since then this problem has not been dealt with sufficiently. The recent studies were focused mainly on the earliest as well as the latest phases, whereas constructions of 3<sup>rd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B.C. were regarded as well known objects. Meanwhile, there isn't any general work with detailed consideration of Hellenistic constructions, their understanding and interpretation and some aspects of it still remain poorly understood. The aim of the article is to give a discription of the dwelling house with an altar discovered at the center of Hellenistic Mirmekion.

The building had several phases and the first is date from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. B.C. We can with confidence attribute to this period two rooms, one of which has an altar. In the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. there were added several rooms and a big courtyard on the west side of the house. The house were rebuilt again at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. and it has existed till the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent B.C. The room with an altar existed during all this periods. The isolation of this room, the altar and the terracotta statuettes of Demeter allow us to suggest that it was special sacral place, a small sanctuary in the dwelling house. Another interesting fact is the location of this house. To the south there were discovered another building of Archaic period with an altar, after which the ashhill appeared. In the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. were built so-called «sanctuary of Demeter» on this place and when it was destroyed another ashhill arised. Apparently, this territory had sacred meaning and the hellenistic house with an altar was concerned with it.

*A. Butyagin, A. Kasparov*

### **Animal bones from the «West ash-hill» in Myrmekion site**

In 2002-2006 some ash layers with 5 m thickness was excavated in the western part of Myrmekion site. They are named «west ash-hill», and date about end of 4 cent. B.C. – 2 cent. B.C. The animal bones analysis shows that ash-hill was an ancient dump, since the bones assortment structure of ash-hill and other Hellenistic layers of the site have no difference. We can establish a fact, that population of this site part fed slightly worse, that population of the Bosporos capital – Patikapayon. The number of more usable in food parts of small corned cattle is more than number of beef bones. The quite high number of wild animal bones shows hunting as a typical business of ancient inhabitants.

*М. Вахтина*

### **Еще раз о погребениях собак на Боспоре**

### **The burial vaults of necropolis of Belonskoe city-site**

The article describes the results of two-year investigations of necropolis belong to city-site Belonskoe situated in the Eastern Crimea at Kerch peninsula in 1,5 km to the south from the village Belonskoe. The city-site was discovered in 2003. Its regular excavations conduct from 2005. The authors give the typology of the unearthed vaults and characterize the main categories of grave offerings.

*\*Я. М. Хоїме*

### **Боспорские цари как жрецы имперского культа**

Подчиненные Риму цари всегда должны были сохранять хрупкое равновесие: с одной стороны, они обладали верховной властью над населением, с другой – находились в зависимости от римского императора. В отличие от других зависимых греческих государств на Востоке, существовавших относительно недолго, Боспорское царство дает возможность на протяжении многих веков проследить развитие отношений между императорами и царями.

Как и все другие зависимые цари, правители Боспора, с тех пор как Фарнак заручился дружбой Помпея, именовались «друзьями римлян». Позднее Аспург добавил к царской титулатуре слова «друг цезаря». Однако одна специфическая черта отличает боспорских царей от других зависящих от Рима правителей – судя по надписям, некоторые (если не все) цари с IV по начало I в. н.э. были верховными жрецами имперского культа. Ничего подобного не известно о других зависимых от Рима правителях.

Самым первым их известных нам царей-жрецов был Котис I (45/46–67/68 г. н.э.), но, возможно, имперский культ был введен на Боспоре гораздо раньше. Август назван «божественным» в надписях на базах двух статуй, посвященных царицей Динамией, что свидетельствуют о том, что идея обожествления императора была, как и в остальном греческом мире, воспринята на Боспоре. На это также указывает и переименование Пантикапея в Кесарию примерно в то же время. Давление Рима могло вызвать переосмысление роли царя. Исполнение роли жреца имперского культа одновременно возвышало царя в глазах подданных и связывало его с императором. Важность роли жреца как символического связующего звена между царем и императором подчеркивает то, что титул жреца, наряду с «другом римлян» и «другом цезаря, становится органической частью царской титулатуры до начала III в. до н.э., когда культ императоров был также утвержден в Риме.

Для царя было важно то, что он находился в центре взаимодействий между Боспором и Римом, его успехи полностью зависели от сохранения хороших отношений. И потому было совершенно естественно, что царь принимал роль главного жреца.

Обычно царю оказывались почти такие же почести, как и императору. На Боспоре известны восемь баз, принадлежащих статуям римских императоров; по крайней мере, семь из этих статуй были посвящены самими царями. Конечно, существовали и обычные жрецы.

Практически ничего не известно о том, как именно отправлялся имперский культ. Хотя изображения храмов, посвященных императорам, достаточно часто встречаются на монетах римских провинций, в боспорской монетной чеканке ничего подобного неизвестно. Единственный представленный на монетах храм, скорее всего, является изображением храма Юпитера Капиталийского в Риме. В надписи из Гермонассы, однако, упоминается «кесарион», что должно означать культовое строение или храм. Если уж кесарион был в

Гермонассе, то мы с большой степенью вероятности можем предположить, что они также были в Пантикапее и Фанагории, но пока что с ними не отождествлены никакие строительные остатки. Возможно, уже существовавший храм был просто переименован в честь императора, как, например, Метроон в Олимпии. Другая любопытная особенность заключается в том, что на Боспоре до сих пор не обнаружено посвященных императорам алтарей. Хотя алтари, посвященные императорам, встречаются не так часто, как, например, статуарные базы в Греции и Малой Азии, эти находки, судя по надписям Боспора римского времени, вполне можно было бы ожидать. Этот факт можно объяснить тем, что такие алтари ставились близ еще не открытых святилищ. Менее удивительным представляется отсутствие упоминаний о каких-либо празднествах или играх в честь императора.

*V. Khrshanovsky*

### **Necropolis near Acropolis**

This article is devoted to the preliminary results of the research of Iluraton necropolis. Ilurat was one of the small cities of Bosphorus realm existed at its west boarder in I–III centuries B.C.

It is 180 years since the archeological excavations organized by Paul du Bruux had taken place, and this anniversary gave us the cause for writing the article.

The discovering of several burial grounds near the Iluraton – fortress was the result of the following excavations. The lower necropolis was in 1 km to the north-west and the upper one – on a limestone plateau in 0,3–1 km to the south and south-west of the city.

The location of three plots of the upper necropolis (northern, southern and south-western), some differences in the periods of their functioning, predominated types of funeral monuments, peculiarities of funeral and memorial rites, greatness and architectural refinement of some crypts and existence of the necropolis for thousand years after the end of the site of ancient settlement allow us to assume that this site could have a special sacral status in various ethnos' perception. The adjoining territory could be used for funeral ceremonies not only by its inhabitants – Iluraton citizens, but also by some nomadic tribes (Sarmatians, Alans, Huns).

*\*V. Korentsvit*

### **A sanctuary in Ilurat**

The long-term excavation of the ancient settlement of Ilurat has provided us with highly valuable and in many respects unexpected material for studying the religious beliefs of the local population of Bosphoros in Antiquity. Here in 1948 was found a sanctuary with traces of human sacrifice. Ancient writers have documented the existence of a cult of human skulls among Taurians and Scythians, but these passages do not reflect the originality of the Ilurat sanctuary. It was an isolated, one-storied building measuring 5.8 x 15 - the biggest building in Ilurat. In the eastern corner, there was an original altar constructed from uncut plates of limestone (Fig. 3). Inside the altar were the remains of a hen or a cock and on the top plate a human skull was found. Under the skull placed in anatomic order were four cervical vertebrae below which were traces of a straight cut. Beyond doubt, the decapitated head, which according to anthropological estimation belonged to a man aged 30–35 years, had not remained long on the alter. In the opposite corner there was a depression in the rocky floor with traces of a large fire and in which part of a skeleton of a goat was found. In the next house a clay stamp was found intended for stamping the relief image of a deity on the flat cult cakes as well as a complete set of ritual terracottas.

Ethnographic parallels can be found for ancient farmers worshipping a deity of the bread, a cult in which the entire community took part. The sanctuary in Ilurat perhaps also performed an

economic function as a barn, a room for drying sheaves, and as such was employed in the interests of all inhabitants. The excavation of the sanctuary in Ilurat has provided us with new, also archaeological material confirming the basic conclusions of the English ethnographer J. Frazer.

*E. Molev*

### **Ritual complex of the first centuries AD in Kytion**

In the period excavations Kyta in 2005–2006 years was opened complex of buildings which may be defined as shrine. In this complex there was sacrifice of animals and among of them predominated sacrifice of dogs. It's date is II–V cent. A.D.

*\*N. Bolgov*

### **The town of Cyta in late Antiquity: peculiarities of topography and new finds**

Cyta was one of the Bosporan towns, situated south-east of the Kerch Peninsula not far from the Kerch strait. This town was founded in the 2nd century B.C. and existed for more than a thousand years. It was mentioned as a town or fort in all of the ancient sources. Cyta's territory was established during the first century of its history and was not subject to any radical change thereafter. Cyta was 10 hectares in total area, but more than 40% of this has been destroyed as a result of the rising sea level.

Since 1970, when systematic archaeological research of this town began, five sectors have been investigated. The results obtained provide us with a general idea of the town's topography.

Material from late Antiquity, in particular pottery dated to the 6th century A.D., was found during the first year of the archeological excavations. In 1957 in the south-western sector 1, a stratum dating to the late 4th-early 6th century A.D. was found. The monumental finds there were all dated to the 6th century A.D.

In sector 2, which consists of a sacred ash hill covering an area of 3,750 m<sup>2</sup>, of which more than 330 m<sup>2</sup> have been examined, a late Antique stratum was found. Here was the famous temple of the Great God Brontos dating to the 3rd-early 4th century A.D. While the sacred ash hill dominated the town topographically, no clear acropolis was revealed.

In sector 3, the northern town wall with gates was found, together with pottery dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

In 1986, in sector 4, the eastern part of the fortification, a second late Antique complex, dated by a *solidus* of the Emperor Justinian the Great, was found. In this sector many ceramic fragments with Christian symbols were unearthed.

The continuation of archaeological research in Cyta (the expedition organized by the Nyzny Novgorod State University, headed by Prof. Evgeny Molev) in 2005–2006 gave us new and important results concerning the final period of Cyta's history. An assumption that a Christian basilica had existed in Cyta was not confirmed. Instead two circular buildings were found. They were not, however, nomadic yurts, such as we know from the *chora* of Taurian Chersonesos.

The results of the work in the town were supplemented with the materials from the necropolis (by V. A. Khrshanovsky) and from the sector Djourg-Oba (by A. L. Yermolin), where some earthen tombs of the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. were found.

Cyta was gradually abandoned by its inhabitants during the late 6th century A.D. in all likelihood because of the lack of water. Cyta is one of the most promising late Antique locations for archeological research in the East Crimea.

*\*A. Zin'ko*

## **Characteristic features of the religious life of Tyritake in the 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD according to materials from archaeological excavations**

During the excavation of Tyritake a range of cult monuments dating to the 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. has been discovered. A sanctuary built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. functioned up to the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century in the central part of the city (excavation area XXVI), while a basilica church was built in the port area in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

Public religious practice completely changed in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. This change was connected with the Christianization of the ruling elite. Old sanctuaries were abandoned. New basilica churches were built with the help of Byzantium. At the same time old pagan rites were still practiced to some extent in private. Thus, the period between the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. can be determined as a period of the public conversion of pagan rites into Christian liturgies.

*\*A. Zavojkin*

### **Aphrodite in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore**

This paper is devoted to an analysis of the finds from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Beregovoe 4 (Taman' peninsula), which is dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, and which is connected with the worship of Aphrodite. In the sanctuary were found terracotta figurines depicting a goddess who is seated on a rock with an «apple» in her hand, figurines of Aphrodite with Eros, and also protomes of a goddess holding a bird (a dove?) in her hand. These symbols do not always allow us to identify the goddess unequivocally because it is difficult to define the fruit (apple or pomegranate) and bird (a dove, a quail or a duck). But the image of Eros and a goddess sitting on a rock with a fruit in her right hand can reliably be connected with Aphrodite.

The main problem is to find the proper answer to the question: were the representations of Aphrodite in the sanctuary connected with the Eleusinian tradition or could they be explained as the Εἰρήνη-Ἄβδος Ἰσθμίου cult, which was very popular in the «Asiatic Bosphorus» and which partly duplicated the cult of Demeter as the goddess of fertility?

As well, in the Beregovoe 4 sanctuary objects and images related to the cult of Cybele and Attis from the period between the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. were also found. Accordingly, a syncretism of several fertility cults may have taken place in Bosphorus in the Hellenistic period. This is confirmed by finds from the «Sirenevaja Buchta» sanctuary situated on the opposite coast of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and excavated by A. A. Maslennikov. There Demeter and Kore, Cybele and Attis, as well as Aphrodite, were worshipped in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Thus, it may be suggested that we are dealing not with a local cult feature, but with a phenomenon which is characteristic for Bosphorus of the Hellenistic period as a whole. An additional reason for the intensified process of syncretism may have resulted from the inclusion of Bosphorus into the state of Mithridates VI Eupator.

*\*V. Goroncharovsky*

### **Investigation of a *temenos* in the southern part of Labrys (Semibratnee)**

Labrys (the ancient city site of Semibratnee) is located 28 km northeast of the modern city Anapa (ancient Gorgippia) in the valley of the lower reaches of the Kuban River. The settlement is at its widest point (the northern part) about 360 m wide; it faces the river and covers about 9 hectares. Its southern part has a rectangular form about 180 x 150 m. The first small excavation

was carried out here in 1878 by Vladimir Tizengauzen, who was the first to describe the ancient ruins and discover a great three-stepped altar. Recently the real name of city – Λάβου[ς] – has become known because of a chance find of an inscription with a dedication made by the Bosporan king Leukonos I (389/88–349/48 B.C.). In this inscription is mentioned his victory over Octamasades, the son of the Sindian king Hekataios, who attempted to dethrone his father (cf. Polyaen. VIII, 55).

In 2001, the author of this paper reopened the archaeological investigations of the city and we now have results from several field seasons. At first, layers of the Hellenistic period were investigated and building remains of a *temenos* dating to the first half of the 3rd century B.C. were found on the hill in the southern part of city. The external wall of this sacred zone measuring almost 18 m in length consisted of massive limestone blocks. In the wall there is a gate more than 3 m wide, and in the small yard to the right of it stands a two-stepped limestone altar. The altar had an upper slab with sides of about 1 m and an additional small step from the west. Similar construction can be recognized in another altar (1.67 x 1.6 m), which was found in 2006 to the west of the first altar. Near it is a tile pavement and remains of a building with rubble pavement.

Geophysical investigations made in 2006 testify that the square of the entire *temenos* was about 0.3 hectares. Undoubtedly, further archaeological study of Labrys can give essential new information about the religious practices of the Bosporan kingdom in the early Hellenistic period.

*\*I. Vinokurov*

### **Finds of cult objects from an ash layer of the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD from the Bosporan fortresses Artesian**

The past three years of excavation on the site of the ancient settlement Artesian have provided us with an abundance of material that allows us to understand the religious life of the population in this Bosporan fortress with more certainty. Among the finds are the burnt remains of temple utensils (fragments of cooking ware, handmade ware and red-glazed pottery), ornaments, astragals, graffiti, fragmentary terracotta figures of Demeter, Kore, Kybele, Aphrodite with a dolphin, Eros and Psyche, young girls with gifts, Hermes, Attis, soldiers on foot and at horse of heroic type, and young men with naked torsos. All of these had a certain symbolism within the cult. It is important to note that the objects were found in a layer from a fire dated to 44–45 A.D.; this layer was situated in the central and peripheral part of settlement.

The fire, in which the fortress and the entire site of the ancient settlement was lost, has been connected with the fierce struggle between the children of the King of Kings, Aspourgos and Dynamis: the lawful king Mitridates III and his brother Kotys I, the usurper and Roman protégé for the Bosporan crown. The defenders of the fortress were killed together with their families and their bodies burnt. In a thin gray-white layer from the immense fire strongly crushed calcinated human bones fused together – of adult men, women, old people and children – were revealed.

The Artesian material shows that cults and beliefs occurring at different times in the history of the site of the ancient settlement remained Greek; barbarian influences on the religious system are hardly perceptible. As a whole, the spiritual and material culture of the fortress was typical for the Bosporan city centers of the middle of the 1st century A.D.

*D. Zhuravlev, G. Lomtadze*

### **Terracotta relief of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC with the scene of «carrying of Dionysos» from the Taman' peninsula (preliminary information)**



A unique monument of ancient art – terracotta relief with the scene of «carrying of Dionysos» – is preserved in the collection of the State Historical Museum. The relief of rectangular shape presents images of two men (actors?) carrying the figure of Dionysos. The both men are wearing short chitones and you can see their phalluses down from under the chitones. The both men are carrying a sitting figure of a man or his image (most probably, Dionysos) on their crossed arms. A sitting person is wearing a long hymation, covering his legs. Only feet are seen from under it. The exact place of this find is unknown. Because of some strange circumstances this relief was being preserved in the State Historical Museum without inventory number for a long period and there was no possibility to study it. It is rather possible that this relief was an accidental find at Taman' peninsula and was found or more probably bought by N. I. Sokolskii and N. P. Sorokina from local people in the 60-s or 70-s of the XX century.

The closest analogy for the published relief is a small terracotta composition from Kerch which is kept in the State Historical museum. This relief is presenting two actors carrying Dionysos. The Kerch terracotta is preliminary dating to the Hellenistic time. Our relief must show people carrying a figure of Dionysos during Dionysian festival. It is very probable that a performance in the honor of Dionysos is present on this terracotta relief, as actors are taking part in carrying. This relief could have been a part of a more complicated composition placing in church or in another cult complex. It is difficult to determine now the exact date when the relief was produced. However analogies to satyros and general chronology of Greek architectural terracotta and terracotta sculpture of large shapes lead us to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The published relief is a unique evidence that Dionysian cult and festivals devoted to it existed at Asian Bosphorus.

*A Novikova*

### **Silenus with a musical instrument**

Artushenko I is an ancient settlement on the Black sea coast, a few kilometres far from Artushenko village, Temruk District, Krasnodar region.

Area II of this site provides us with the majority of finds, the grate part of information. Hellenistic period of occupation (mid-3 – mid-2 cent. B.C.) is marked by the which was dressing iron ore and producing iron. It was connected to a series of cultic installations, in which abundant terracotta figures were found. One of such complexes contained three female protomae and a fragment of a black-glazed relief vessel with a representation of a musician. The musical instrument he is holding cannot be identified, but it is obvious however, that it is far from being a Pan-flute. This may be a xylophone, despite the fact that xylophone was considered a female instrument. In his right hand Silenus hold something like baton, with which he may be striking the instrument. The fragment has no any analogy.

*\*S. Kashaev*

### **Funerary rites in the necropolis Artjuschenko 2**

Artjuschenko 2 is a rural settlement with an adherent flat ground necropolis. It is located on a high, steep cliff protected by the Black Sea 3 km southeast of the modern settlement Artjuschenko and approximately 15 km southeast of the village Taman, ancient Hermonassa (Temrjuksky county, Krasnodar region). Artjuschenko 2 is constantly being eroded by the sea.

This paper is devoted to the analysis of the funerary rites, which took place in the ground necropolis of Artjuschenko 2. During the years 2003–2006 more than 900 m<sup>2</sup> of the site's necropolis has been investigated by the talus of coastal erosion, and 35 burials with various grave goods dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. were excavated.

During excavation of the necropolis and the analysis of the finds there it was possible to reveal and systematize a number of elements of the funeral ceremony. There are six main elements, and almost all of them are represented by several variants:

1. Funeral constructions (soil holes, holes with overlapping, сырцовые crypts).
2. Orientation of the interred (towards east, western, and north).
3. Grave goods (3.1 Pottery (*oinochoai*, jugs, amphorae, bowls, salt cellars, plates, *lekythoi*, *amphoriskoi*, etc.); 3.2 Weapon (*akinakes*, points of spears, arrows heads, knives); 3.3 Ornaments (rings, pendants, beads); 3.4 Coins; 3.5 Objects of use and tools (mirrors, spindle whorls, needles, awls, horse gear, ladles, astragals); 3.6 Bones of animals (remains of funerary meal); 3.7. Unusual grave goods (skeletons of snakes, small stones)).
4. Funeral feasts.
5. Gravestones and other signs of recognition.
6. Cenotaphs – symbolical burial places.

The main elements of the funerary rites found in the necropolis of Artjuschenko 2 do not deviate from the necropoleis of Bosporan tradition, but even so they allow us to distinguish individual features, characteristic only for Artjuschenko.

\*A. Tsin'ko

### **Terracotta figurines from the rural settlement of Vysteblievskaja 11**

A huge quantity of ancient terracotta figurines are found in the excavation of all ancient cities and settlements. They are an important element of ancient art. Here we wish to present the new materials connected with the religious beliefs of the ancient inhabitants of Asian Bosporos. The present work is devoted to the terracottas from the rural settlement Vyshesteblievskaja 11, located northwest of the Kiziltashs Estuary (Taman Peninsula). In household pits and in the cultural layer of the settlement fragments of terracottas dating to the end of 5<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC were excavated. All terracottas have a cult character.

The earliest terracotta according to its stylistic features and find place is a fragment of a protome featuring Herakles. The second fragment is the female head with large features of a figurine - presumably Demeter. The third terracotta is a protome of Dionysos. The third fragment is a female head protome. Finally, the fragment of a high headdress, a *kalathos*, was alone preserved, the obverse part being completely chopped off.

Although few terracottas were found at the settlement Vyshesteblievskaja 11, those that were enable us to assume cautiously that here there were cults connected with fertility, winemaking, and agriculture. All the terracottas in this rural settlement were imported from the larger Greek cities in both European and Asian Bosporos. Thus, they are part of a larger religious environment allowing us to study religious representations belonging to the population of this settlement on the Taman Peninsula.

Yu. Vinogradov, I. Shaub

### **Borrows with Figure Vessels from the Necropolis of Phanagoria**

Two burials with the figure polychromian vases were excavated near Phanagoria in 1852 and 1869. These masterpieces of Greek classical art (the end of the V century B.C. – early IV century B.C.) are well-known in scientific literature, but many specialists understood the burials in a different way. Ya.M. Paromov suggested not long ago, that both graves belonged to priestesses of Eleusinian goddesses (Demeter and Core). We cannot agree with such interpretation. The finds from the burial of 1852 demonstrate that it was connected with the cult of Dyonis and beliefs in a revival after the death. The same beliefs can be traced in materials of the burial of the 1869, but the main person in this assemblage is Aphrodite, maybe identified with the Great

Goddess of the barbarian tribes of the Kuban river region.

*A. Medvedev*

### **Late Ancient Necropolis of Phanagoreia (excavations performed in 2005)**

This report states the main results of research carried out at the Eastern necropolis of Phanagoreia (4–5<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.) in 2005. Excavations were performed in the central part of the Eastern necropolis, about 1.5 km east from the town site. Excavated area amounted to 2234 sq. m. The research revealed 41 burials, 3 spots of funeral feasts, 3 tombstones, a circular trench, residential and household buildings, as well as clusters of amphorae, etc. 22 burials date from the Late Antiquity. Most of them were concentrated around a trench forming a regular circle with diameter of 14–15 m. Six late ancient burials were made in vaults, four – in cuttings, and others – in narrow ground pits. People were buried on their backs, in stretched position, with their heads mainly oriented to the north, sometimes – with a deviation to the west. In many cases one hand was placed on the lower belly and shanks were crossed. In most of burials grave goods are represented by gray-clay glossy jugs and bronze (sometimes – iron) clasps. In vaults and cuttings grave goods are notably richer than those in simple ground pits. The most interesting burial is one with a number 39, where a golden necklace was found, having analogies in the territory from Tanais to Southern Spain. Most likely, such jewelry marks a migration route of Alans in the very beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Most of studied burials date from D1 – D2 period according to Central European chronological system, i.e. from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. It is essential to note that there are a lot Sarmatian and Alanian elements in the culture and rites of Phanagoreian population, which buried their dead in this part of the necropolis. Materials from the Eastern necropolis of Phanagoreia dating from the 4–5<sup>th</sup> centuries do not support a concept of continuity between Antiquity and Middle Ages – at least for the Asian part of Bosphor.

*N. Limberis, I. Marchenko*

### **Antique burials from the tumulos necropolis at settlement «Vinogradnoie 7» in vicinities Fanogoria**

In 1993, 2005–2006 years 5 barrows of the necropolis of rural settlement «Vinogradnoie 7» have been excavation. The investigated burials enable to define time of functioning of a necropolis within the limits of second half IV century B.C. – first half II century A.D.

In barrows 22 crypts have been investigated. Quantity of skeletons in crypts – from 3 up to 11 persons. For all chronological periods presence of east orientation is noted. The western orientation is met only in a crypt which is dated I century A.D. Except for crypts, 20 burials in narrow holes are investigated.

It is investigated also five burials in holes with a niche. Three from them are dated III–II centuries B.C., one – I century B.C., the fourth burial – without burials goods. In floors of barrows often buried children in amphoras (41 burials).

The lot of the investigated burials concern to one chronological group III-II of centuries B.C. The basic category of funeral stock, both in crypts, and in holes, the ceramics local Fanagoria manufactures is.

It is allocated three types pelicaes. For each type chronological frameworks are certain. Pelicaes, as a rule, meet in pair with lecanaes. There were ornaments.

Among numerous funeral stock special interest are terracotta figurines. Almost in all burials III–II centuries B.C. there were ornaments. Special interest is a bronze ring with image Arcinoia II.

To late group of second half I – first half II century A.D. four burials concern. The funeral ceremony of the necropolis as a whole is typical for the population of the Asian Bosphor. However barbarous elements are allocated also.

*T. Egorova, T. Iljina, T. Kutinova*

### **On the question of dating of the ritual complex at Majskaya Gora**

In the course of archaeological excavations on the Maiskaya Mount (a dirt volcano, 1 km to the south from Phanagoria, Asian Bosphoros) conducted under the auspices of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow) in the late 1950s – early 1960s, a rectangular building *in antis* (temple?) has been uncovered. On the southern side of this building a *favissa* was excavated, which mostly contained numerous fragments (up to 1164 pieces) of female protome and figurines, black-glazed vessels, local table-ware, as well as amphora fragments (about 11,000 fragments). According to the preliminary analysis of the finds from *favissa*, it seemed to have functioned in the late VI–III centuries B.C. That was the chronological frame given to the whole cult complex that perished in fire in the beginning of the II century B.C. However, careful study of archaeological material allowed to challenge this dating.

Study of iconography of the protomes allowed to distinguish three chronological groups that include one or several iconographical types known in Greece: 1) protomes – masks of Ionian type (late VI – early V century B.C. or until the mid – V century B.C.); 2) protomes – masks and half-figures of a goddess with objects (middle-second half of the V century B.C. – beginning of the IV century B.C.); 3) protomes – half-figures of Boeotian type (IV–III century B.C.). It has to be noted that the existence of the imported types in the local coroplastic production lasted longer than in the areas of their origin.

We use a «mechanical» method that allows to follow the development of the type in the local coroplastic tradition. This method is based on observing changes of the forms, sizes of the figurines and appearance of the new variants in the course of prolonged manufacturing of the same type. This method allowed to detect from three to seven generations in each type and to determine an approximate place occupied by each figurine in the series. Thus, we have established a relative chronology, although a question of precise dating remains open. Since all terracotta figurines were fired, it is possible to apply an archeomagnetic method. Based on residual magnetization of objects, it allows to determine their precise age. In the case of our protomes we were able to date them with approximation of only 17 years.

Such correction allows to date the earliest protomes from the *favissa* to the mid-V century BC; whereas the majority of the terracotta figurines should be dated from the second half of the V – first half of the III centuries B.C.

It seems that the appearance of the cult complex on the Maiskaya Mount should be dated from not before the middle of the V century B.C. The locals used the *favissa* throughout the IV century B.C. From the beginning of the second quarter of the III century BC the sanctuary slowly falls into decline and by the middle of the II century B.C. the inhabitants of Phanagoria ceased to use it.

*\*A. Novichikhin*

### **Traces of post-funeral rites in the necropolis of Gorgippia**

Occasionally ceramic sinkers were found in the fill of the graves during the excavations of Gorgippia's necropolis as noted by the author of the present paper. They were interpreted as presents to the deities of the Underworld. For that purpose the sacred chthonic space of the grave was used. The case of putting a fragment of a finger broken off a marble sculpture into a grave as filler has been noted too. The burial in this case probably belonged to a young priestess

connected with the cult of Dionysos, who was treated as a chthonic deity. This find may be connected with a rite of medical or harmful magic performed in the necropolis.

V. Chkhaidze

### **The Late Antique Grave-chambers on Taman Peninsular**

In 1986-1987 eight ground grave-chambers with burials of 1<sup>st</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> cc. AD were excavated on the antique and medieval settlement's necropolis Krasnoarmejskiy 1 (Krasnodarskiy krai, Taman peninsular).

All the grave-chambers were exposed on the natural. They consisted of deep inlet pit, short vaulted entrance to the chamber, stuffed up with stone slabs, and vaulted funeral chamber. All the grave-chambers were robbed in ancient times. These funeral constructions were used for multiple interments at different times. Constructions of this type were spread wide in Bosporan kingdom in Hellenistic period. However some finds of four grave-chambers (red-lacquered pottery and bronze buckles) indicate of early-Byzantine period and show continuity of funerary custom and creeds from Antique.

## **II. CLASSICAL SITES BEYOND THE BORDERS OF BOSPORAN KINGDOM**

\*A. Podosinov

### **On the localization of Achilles' Island**

This paper deals with the localization of the legendary island of Leuke in the Black Sea, which was dedicated to Achilles. In the ancient literary tradition there were two versions of its localization – the first and the traditional one places Leuke on the modern island Zmeinyi not far from the estuary of Istros (the Danube) and the second one going back to the first century BC claims Leuke as the modern island Berezan by the estuary of the Dniepr. The author analyses, among other references to Leuke in ancient literature, the evidence of the Greek rhetorician and philosopher Dio Chrysostomos concerning the localization of the island of Achilles.

Dio visited Olbia at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. His so-called *Oratio Borysthenitica* (XXXVI) is considered to be the most important account of the situation in the northern Black Sea region at this time. Dio recounts the adoration of Achilles and Homer in Olbia and the construction of two temples dedicated to Achilles – one in Olbia itself and the second one on the Island of Achilles. Some historians think that this island must be Leuke-Zmeinyi, others that it is Berezan. The author proves that the Island of Achilles mentioned by Dio has to be Berezan. The itinerary of Dio's journey to Olbia testifies that Achilles' Island, from where Dio – according to the words of an Olbiopolite – was sent to Olbia, could only be Berezan. The way from Thacian Bosporos to Olbia with the purpose of reaching the land of the Getes (by Istros) had to lead from the Crimea to the Western Pontos and not vice versa. This conclusion confirms the theory of the transferal of the cult of Achilles from Leuke to Berezan in the first centuries AD and contradicts (together with the poetic hymn to the island Berezan from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD) the view of palaeogeographers that Berezan became an island only in the third century AD.

D. Chistov

**«House with the apse» and its environment (some results of the excavation on the section «O» of the Berezan settlement in 1991–2006)**

The article is dedicated to the recent results of excavations on the section «O», situated in the north-eastern part of the archaic Greek settlement on the Berezan island. As the result of the excavations conducted by Ukrainian archaeologist V. V. Lapin in 1962–63, the s. n. «house with the apse» was uncovered in this area. During the recent archaeological research in the same part of the island, the area of the urban structures was investigated to the west of the «house with the apse». Among those structures were the remains of the buildings, made from adobe bricks and stone, dated back from the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Analysis of the urban planning in the area shows us that the «house with the apse» was incorporated in the district of buildings, used for living or household purposes, and probably was not enclosed with the wall or fence.

**Н. Новоселова**

### **Святылище Ахилла на о.Березань в первые века н.э.**

*\*Б. Бегх*

### **Культ Кибелы в Причерноморье в эпоху архаики**

В работе предпринята попытка сравнительного анализа Кибелы на всей территории Причерноморья архаической эпохи. Во Фригии Кибела изначально и преимущественно была богиней, символизирующей силу, и защитницей городов. Материалы из Южного Причерноморья (например, ее атрибуты – гранатовое яблоко и веретено) убедительно свидетельствуют о ее роли как богини плодородия, решительно отличающейся от той, какую она играла во Фригии. Автор статьи полагает, что в Лидии в ее культе преобладал именно этот аспект плодородия, так как главным божеством лидийцев была синкретическая богиня Кибеба или Кубаба, главная богиня Ново-Хеттского царства. Материалы из Западного и Северного Причерноморья однотипны и свидетельствуют об иной роли Кибелы, а именно, характеризуют ее как богиню силы и могущества. И хотя здесь ее роль и похожа на ту, которую она играла во Фригии, ее изображения совершенно иные. Она представлена сидящей на троне в наиске, в позе, ставшей канонической в греческом мире. Можно предположить, что ее поза на троне не является свидетельством ее новой роли, а напоминанием о прежней, и отражает одну из функций фригийской Кибелы – мощь и силу, еще более подчеркнутую иератической позой богини, а также изображением льва, иногда представленного сидящим у нее на коленях. По предположению Вайкла, наиски обозначают отдельные святилища, изображения которых сложились под влиянием вырезанных из скалы фригийских памятников; более того, можно предположить, что наиски производили в «одомашнивающее» воздействие – переносили дом богини на землю не только для того, чтобы ее сакрализировать, но и для того, чтобы сделать неуправляемую землю управляемой. Это обстоятельство, а также ее роль как защитницы городов – вот что сделало Кибелу активной спутницей первых греческих колонистов. Возможно, в пользу этой теории свидетельствует существование позднеэллинистических иконографических типов, представлявших Кибелу в короне-башне на голове. И потому они вовсе не свидетельствуют об изменении роли Кибелы, как это считалось ранее, а всего лишь являются более поздним выражением ее древнего и неизменного аспекта.

Идея, вдохновлявшая древних мастеров Восточной Греции, отчетливо прослеживается в Северном и Западном Причерноморье, в найденных здесь произведениях сочетаются черты, присущие ионийскому и эолийскому искусству. Однако рельефы из Аполлонии Понтийской также могут служить прекрасным примером провинциальной разработки иконографических типов, так как здесь был обнаружен самый ранний тип Кибелы с

тимпаном и фиалой (позже превратившиеся в самый распространенный иконографический тип Кибелы). Поэтому можно прийти к выводу о том, что Западное Причерноморье в дальнейшем оказало самое сильное и решающее влияние на разработку иконографии Кибелы в греческом и римском мире в целом.

*\*E. Kuznetsova, N. Churekova*

### **Didyma, Miletus and the Milesian colonies: on the history of their interrelation**

Miletus obtained the leading position in the colonization process because of its control over the oracle of Apollo in Didyma. Most likely, Miletus represented itself as the organizer of the process of deducing *apoikiai* of the Ionians of Asia Minor. Other *poleis* could participate in the foundation, but Miletus was considered the mother city. It is no coincidence that other Asia Minor *poleis* had practically no colonies in the Pontic region with the exception of Mytilene, Klazomenai, and Teos. For Miletus to carry out the role of organizer, it was necessary to have access to a large volume of information on the coast of the Black Sea and the Black Sea passages. Such data, most likely, were collected by the Milesians as well as by other Ionians, seafarers and dealers. Where this valuable information was kept is difficult to decide, but it is natural to assume, that it was stored in the temple of Apollo in Didyma.

*\*S. Zadnikov*

### **Tableware of the ancient settlement of Belsky (the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC)**

The Scythian agricultural tribes of the Forest-steppe were connected by trade with the ancient centres of the Northern Black Sea Coast. Ancient imports from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC are known from practically all the Forest-steppe settlements, testifying to a regular, well established exchange between the Greek colonies and the local tribes. Among the ancient products found in the monuments of Forest-steppe Scythia, however, only a small amount can be dated as early as the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC – not to speak of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Greek pottery dated to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC has been found in the ancient settlement of Belsky, but only in the ashy layers of Belsky West.

The earliest examples of ancient tableware are represented by fragments of jugs, *kylikes*, plates, *oinochoai*, dishes and less often amphoras, which were produced in the so-called Rhodian-Ionian centers. The earliest types of East Greek pottery have been found in the excavation of Ash hill 5 in Belsky West. Here specimens executed in «Bird bowl», Middle Wild Goat I and II styles have been found. Also a small group of North Ionian pottery dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (LWG) was found in Ash hills 28 and 11, as well as in Barrow 1 in the Skorobor necropolis. Fragments of Ionian *kylikes* dating to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC are encountered, but only in small amounts.

Thus, Belsky's earliest painted tablewares can be dated to the third quarter to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, the time of the earliest occurrence of ancient Rhodian-Ionian pottery in the Forest-steppe and the first contacts between the barbarian world and the Greeks of Northern Black Sea Coast.

*V. Zuev*

### **Bronze mirrors from Berezan' island**

The article is devoted to publication of fragments of two bronze mirrors from the excavations in Borysthene (Berezan' island), dated the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The analysis of

technology of their manufacture allows assuming their local «Borysthenes» production. Consideration of analogies of this type gave a chance not only to make a reconstruction of their probable appearance, but also attribute the bronze mirror from I. I. Tolstoy collection with interesting ancient images (now in Hermitage museum) as originated from Berezan’.

*\*E. Fialko*

### **An engraved bronze mirror from the North-Western Azov Sea region**

Bronze mirrors are common in Scythian graves, and a relatively large body of mirrors has already been published. Nevertheless, a relatively new find – a mirror from Burial 6 in Barrow № 3 near the settlement Akimovka in the Zaporozhye Region – will be considered here. This mirror has earlier been mentioned in the context of burials of Scythian female warriors. Lately a restoration has revealed the drawing engraved on its handle, which is the reason for the present publication.

The mirror was found in the grave of a woman aged 25. It also contained an iron knife and food remnants; a stone to heat water and a small black-glazed bowl; two spindle whorls; a bronze-wire bracelet, golden ear-rings, a glass bead as well as a spear, a javelin and four bronze arrowheads. The burial dates to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

The mirror was made in one piece with a side handle. The original full length is 34 cm; the disk diameter is 20.5 cm; the handle length 13.5 cm. A lion’s profile occupies nearly the entire handle surface. The animal is shown in a crouching position. The body and head were finely sketched, whereas the muzzle fore-part was vague. The profile could hardly be discerned on the back side of the handle.

The posture of the lion is of interest. It is characteristic of scenes of either torment, fight or of animal processions. In Greco-Scythian art the lion symbolizes death, but it can also represent an embodiment of power and grandeur, the sun and the fire. In any case, the picture furnished the object with a notion of sacredness.

Mirrors with engraved ornaments were scarce and scattered over a large area. Those with side handles (type V) are known to have had pictures of female figures, rosettes with multi petals, or primitive arrows with a shaft. It is therefore the picture that makes the mirror from Akimovka unique. For a mirror belonging to an Amazon, the picture is quite relevant, and the religious meaning of the latter is also evident. Animal style pictures were meant to make the owner of an object strong and brave. The role of the mirror was therefore quite significant in Scythian rites, as the picture augmented the sacred power of the object.

*L. Gratsianskaya*

### **On the Divine Providence by Strabo (Strab., XVII, 1, 36)**

The father and theorist of political geography Strabo ment it as a means to help a would-to-be statesman in reasonable, conscientious, and competent government over lands under his control. Among diverse theoretical passages there occur many discourses concerning religious and cultic issues vital, according to Strabo, for his addressee, who should be in part “a philosopher”. Strabo views the work of Providence and Nature from purely functional positions, and the text under discussion shows that Strabo had a definite and original concept of the activities of Providence. This concept was developed on the basis of ideas of Plato and Aristotle combined with the elements of learning of stoic philosophers and considerations of his own.

*L. Nosova*



## **On the ancient *zolniks*, or «applying the attic terminology imparted to us by Pausanias», on *escharas* of the Northern Black Sea coastal region**

A group of peculiar archeological sites «*zolniks*» (ash-hills) has continued to occupy the interest of researchers. In the present study, two practically mutually exclusive variants of interpretation of *zolniks* (by A. S. Rusiaeva and by A. M. Butjagin) are considered.

According to A. S. Rusiaeva, *zolniks* are sacral sites that served a double function. On the one hand, they were «cult dumps» where all «sacred rubbish» was stored. On the other, they were primitive altars. Overall admitting these conclusions, the author cannot agree with A.S. Rusiaeva on two points.

The first one concerns a process of accumulation of the mass of *zolniks*. A. S. Rusiaeva believes that *zolniks* were mounds. It is the author's opinion that naming a concrete *zolnik* an altar, the researcher must be sure that religious rites and sacrifices were performed not only *near* the *zolnik*, but also *at* it, and that ash layers, even partly, are the rests of sacrifices burnt *at* the *zolnik*, *in situ*. If a *zolnik* is a mound (embankment) and its ash layers did not form *in situ*, and were only dumped here, the definition of the *zolnik* as «altar» seems incorrect.

The second objectionable point refers to terminology. A. S. Rusiaeva believes the Greek term «*eschara*», that was proposed for *zolniks* by V. F. Gaydukevich 40 years ago, does not correspond to the type of altars in question. The author supports Gaydukevich's opinion. To her mind, the correctness of the first researcher of *zolniks* of Myrmekion is confirmed by ancient testimonies (e.g. Strab. IX, 404; Paus. V, 13, 8) as by archeological evidence. *Zolniks* are similar to ancient primitive altars (sacrificial places) of Greek world. The author supposes Athenians were naming those altars «*escharas*».

A. M. Bytjagin's interpretation of *zolniks* is more disputable, it has more points that are controversial. According to A. M. Bytjagin *zolniks* 1/2 of Myrmekion served as an ordinary garbage heap which *periodically* could have been used in religious purposes.

The layers of pure ashes or shells of *zolniks* sometimes occupy some square meters. It is difficult to explain its formation as result of that some habitant of the town threw out ashes from the hearth. A. M. Bytjagin notes that there were remains of pyres, hearths at Myrmekion *zolnik*, but he neither explains their presence nor explains why a huge garbage heap was organized in the central party of the town, and why from time to time habitants (there were Greeks among them) performed religious ceremonies at the town dump. Reconsidering Gaidukevich's interpretation of *zolniks*, A. M. Bytjagin, in fact, comes back to the preliminary interpretation of *zolniks* by their first researcher. However, a follow-up stratigraphic study changed the opinion of V. F. Gajdukevich and led him to the conclusion, that « here, first of all, sacrifices by burning were performed», and *zolnik* was substantially formed of the rests of sacrifices made on the place.

There are naturally many lacunae and uncertainties in our knowledge. On basis of her own observations, the author considers that the «sacral version» of an origin of *zolniks* answers more questions and is more plausible than the utilitarian one.

A. Rybakova

## **On Semantics of Astragals in the Greek Burial Custom (based on the materials discovered in the necropolis of Northern Black Sea towns)**

The author in this article considers the issue of sacral functions and ritual meaning of astragals in the Greek burial custom. Over an extended period of time (from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AC) they were used in town necropolis as burial implements. They have been mainly discovered in the child and teenage burials, which raises a question why they were placed in graves and only associated with buried humans of a certain age.

The purpose of astragals was not restricted to a game. Their relation to cultic life has been suggested by vases featuring game scenes, found in burials and ritual sites, deities holding astragals depicted in temple reliefs and astragals used as offerings in temples and shrines where chthonian rites were performed. This seems to impart some chthonian features to the astragal semantics, while their cybomantic application testifies to their mediator functions. An astragal game could also have a sacral meaning, which is prompted by such facts as arranging games in the temples and mythological depiction of children-gods playing and/or inventing a game with astragals. Its contestable nature might have a religious meaning of the conflict of the great opposites, i.e. light and dark, cosmos and chaos, life and death, which correlates with cosmogony ideas of the sacral vision.

In a burial rite, however, the mediator and chthonian functions of astragals appear secondary, while what is in fact actualized is their cosmogonic semantics. This may be well due to the age of the buried (approximately, from 5–7 to 16 years). They are no longer infants and have already lost their chthonian nature, nor are they adults as yet. Their status in the mythoritual system is transitive, so their death was a major threat causing chaos to penetrate into the orderly world. It was most probably believed that astragals helped to restore the order upset by a baby's death, by way of performing a cosmogonic act.

*\* В. Лунгу*

### **Свидетельства орфических культов в Западном Причерноморье**

Раскопки греческих колоний на западном побережье Черного моря дали разнообразные находки, связанные с орфическими культурами. Среди них – надписи на камне, граффито на керамике и других небольших предметах, например, на костяных пластинках, содержание которых отражает различные аспекты религии греков. К числу самых интересных находок из этого региона принадлежат гробница в Каллатисе, опубликованное посвящение Орфею из Истрии (во время недавних раскопок А. Аврама и К. Циммермана на участке теменоса Истрии было обнаружено еще несколько подобных каменных плит), костяная пластина из Истрии с процарапанными именами и посвящениями, два канфара с граффито, которые можно связать с дионисийскими аспектами орфического культа и несколько неизданных граффито из гробницы-героона в Оргамуме.

Датировки этих вещей укладываются в промежуток времени между второй половиной IV в. до н.э. (монументальная гробница Папируса в Каллатисе) до III в. до н.э. (граффито на остродонных амфорах, датирующиеся по археологическому контексту IV–III в. до н.э. и граффито на костяной пластине, которое по данным палеографии можно отнести к III в. до н.э.). Все эти находки свидетельствуют об интересных аспектах религиозной жизни греческих колоний Западного Причерноморья в эпоху эллинизма.

*\*Л. Бузояну, М. Барбулеску*

### **Общие черты в искусстве коропластики. Изображения Западного и Северного Причерноморья**

В работе представлены изделия коропластики, найденные на греко-варварском поселении Альбешти на хоре Каллатиса. Эти материалы важны для понимания духовной жизни жителей сельских поселений эллинистического времени. В работе мы основывались на данных о божествах, зафиксированных в двух колониях, имевших общее дорийское происхождение: Каллатисе и Херсонесе. Можно видеть, что единовременно, в эпоху эллинизма, произведения искусства теряют местные черты, превращаясь в общие «средиземноморские» или «понтийские» типы.

Из всего репертуара фигурок мы выбрали несколько терракот, протом, представляющих женское божество с руками на груди. В Северном Причерноморье известно большое количество подобных находок, которые связывали с самыми разными божествами: Деметрой (в Ольвии, Херсонесе, Кекинитиде), Корой (в Ольвии), Деметрой или Корой (на Чайке), Афродитой (в Херсонесе и Керкинитиде), неопределимым женским божеством (в Нимфее, Тиритаке, Мирмекии). Среди рассмотренных экземпляров из Альбешти некоторые, вероятно, представляли Деметру, другие – Кору или Афродиту по аналогии с подобными находками из Ольвии и Херсонеса.

Мы рассмотрели целый экземпляр, представляющий Афродиту с Эротами. Реплика этого произведения, относящаяся к III в. до н.э., происходит из Херсонеса, а фигурка, идентичная нашей, происходит из раскопок Каллатиса. Если мы вспомним, что форма для изготовления статуэтки Афродиты с Эротами была некогда найдена в Каллатисе, то мы сможем с большой долей вероятности говорить о сюжете, общем для местных мастерских. Однако изображение Афродиты с голубем в руке является для нас новым. Этот тип принадлежит более древней традиции, он известен в материалах с Тамани и из Ольвии. В Альбешти он представлен несколькими обломками, относящимися ко времени не ранее III в. до н.э. Тип полуобнаженной Афродиты представлен тремя-четырьмя фрагментами, для которых мы можем выделить два типа: полуобнаженную Афродиту и Афродиту, сидящую на скале. Второй из этих типов, который называли «Афродита/женщина/молодая женщина, сидящая на скале», представлен, в основном, в Северном Причерноморье, в Фанагории, Пантикапее, Херсонесе и Горгиппии. Наиболее значительные произведения, относящиеся к этой серии, найденные в Альбешти, имеют аналогии в Херсонесе, датирующиеся III в. до н.э.

Мы отнесли к серии «общих» сюжетов изображения на глиняных алтарях, представляющих греческих богов, участвующих в религиозных церемониях. Порядок этих сцен, их художественные особенности и их идентичные орнаментальные мотивы позволяют сделать заключение о том, что они были изготовлены в мастерской, расположенной в Северном Причерноморье. Возможно также, что их производили в Каллатисе по сделанной в Северном Причерноморье матрице.

Находки из Альбешти происходят из комплексов, связанных с жилыми домами. Наличие в них этих изделий в роли культовых предметов указывает на частный характер этих культов, вероятно также, существование и культов общественных, которые, при отсутствии соответствующих договоренностей, отправлялись в частных домах. Изображения имеют аналогии среди экземпляров, найденных в дорийских центрах Каллатисе и Херсонесе. Следует отметить и присутствие другого компонента – ионийской или ольвийской традиции.

*\*З. Ковачев*

### **Новое свидетельство культа Венеры в Томах**

В городе, жизнь в котором была ключом более чем 2000 лет назад, неизменной задачей археолога остается исследование всех форм городской жизнедеятельности, каждого нового строения, консервация и восстановление выявленных артефактов. Большинство объектов III в. до н.э., открытых в Томах, представляют собой остатки больших и маленьких домов, архитектурные фрагменты, скульптурные и эпиграфические произведения, а также гробницы.

Почти 20 лет тому назад мы высказали ряд предположений о культе Венеры в Томах, основывавшиеся на ее скульптурных портретах, изображениях в произведениях искусства малых форм и на монетах. Но мы не могли определить основной статуарный тип, характерный для этого понтийского города (*Z. Covacef. // Pontica. 1989. Т. 21–22. Р. 319–325*). В 2004 г. был найден торс статуи, голова которой была обнаружена 30 лет назад.

Статуя, собранная из подошедших друг к другу частей, представляла собой изображение Венеры. Исследования, проведенные осенью 2005 г. и весной 2006 г., обнаружили новые статуэтки этой богини. Место, где были найдены все эти фрагменты, а также обнаруженные там статуарные типы, позволяют нам еще раз обратиться к рассмотрению новых аспектов почитания богини Венеры в Томах.

\*A. Dobroliubsky, A. Kzrasnozhon

### **The ancient Greek ritual complex on Zhevahova gora in Odessa**

The plateau of Mount Zhevahova constitutes the watershed between the estuaries of Hadzhibey and Kujalnitsky on the northeast coast of the Odessa gulf. During excavations at this site in 2006 it was possible to study 28 ancient features dated to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. These features are round holes of a depth of up to 2 m. In each hole was found a wide spectrum of cult objects: clay weights for weaving looms unsuitable for practical application, rings, cauri shells, the bottoms of vessels with ritual inscriptions: ОΛΥ etc. The holes were intended for ceremonies connected with fertility, agriculture, and the worship the earth. Before dumping these gifts into a hole, the owners intentionally broke them and thus symbolically «killed» them.

In the central part of the plateau was a «fire altar». It is a completely round hole with a diameter of 5 m and with a depth of up to 4 m. At the bottom of this hole a conical embankment of stamped earth with a height of up to 1.5 m. was erected. Here were found pottery fragments with traces of fire on them as well as bronze arrow heads, ritual «windings», two skeletons of dogs and more. The embankment was shaped as an «*omphalos*», which in Classical Antiquity was thought to be the «center of the Universe». The best known *omphalos* of Classical Antiquity was in Delphi beneath Parnassus. The oldest *omphalos* of Delphi was stone, but externally it did not differ from the *omphalos* on Mount Zhevahova. It is the most widespread emblem of the Great Mother Goddess.

The ancient Greek sanctuary on Mount Zhevahova was probably one of the largest on the northern Black Sea Coast during the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Its location corresponds well to the notion of sacral geography in the world of Classical Antiquity. It was a public sanctuary of the landscape or «state-boundary» type. In the Black Sea region, such sanctuaries were often located in border zones on capes. Less often – because of the small number existing – they were located on small islands, on hills, in wild groves, and in woods. In Antiquity, the border between the spheres of influence of the two neighbouring cities Olbia and Isthria followed the line of the present estuary Hadzhibejsky. The «sacred» mountain Zhevahova was located on this boundary and it specified the Olbian territory's southwestern limit. Similar sanctuaries marked the borders of the entire perimeter of Olbia's territory.

\*E. Redina

### **Ancient funerary traditions in the Greek necropolis of Koshary, 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (Odessa Region, Ukraine)**

The necropoleis of the Greek Northern Black Sea cities and settlements are among the most potentially rewarding and at the same time most difficult archaeological sources. Most Greek inhabitants of the ancient *poleis* in general observed customary Greek funeral traditions and ceremonies. The customs they observed, however, often differed from those of the Greek cities because of a certain conservatism, while at the same time, because of other various reasons, they were in some aspects quite original.

The archaeological complex of Koshary is located on the right bank of the Tiligul estuary where it flows into the Black Sea. It is an extra-urban monument marking the western border of Olbia's

territory. In spite of its remoteness from the center of the *polis*, it preserved Greek culture, not only in its system of house-building, material and spiritual culture but also in its religious funerary practices, which can be traced in its necropolis. Continuous research in the necropolis allows us to reconstruct the system of some of the funeral ceremonies, the normative and ceremonial rituals, and to define general tendencies and the originality of the individual archaeological objects. Based on all of the finds we can assert that Koshary's burial ground belonged to the Greek population.

Foremost in the lay-out of the necropolis obedience to Greek traditions can be seen in its rows of graves, concentration of round burial mounds, and its separation from domestic areas. In the burial ground traces of the original ceremony of the sacral «feeding» of the dead can be seen as marked shallow pits, sometimes located above the heads of the buried. Tombstones and altars are present. The best examples of the use of Greek funeral traditions are the presence of Charon's coins in Koshary's necropolis as well as the construction of funeral buildings and these buildings' inventory.

In spite of the fact that a certain percentage of the burials have Scythian elements we can confirm the stability of Greek funeral traditions among the main population of the settlement of Koshary during more than 100 years from the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

*Ju. Ilyina*

### **A ritual vase from Olbia**

The Hermitage Museum possesses a very rich collection of items from the excavations of B. V. Farmakovskiy in Olbia. Some of them are well known. Among the diverse objects discovered in the necropolis there is a vase commonly known as a 'siphon'. Such pieces constitute a small group of eighteen known examples. The body of the vase is spherical and has a ring-foot. It has an arched hollow handle that opens at each end into the body. There is a single hole on the top of the handle and there are twenty three small holes on the base of the vase. The vase has been filled via the holes in the base by plunging it into liquid in a larger vessel. The thumb over the hole creates pressure thus preventing the liquid from running out until the vase is replaced. By opening or closing the hole it is possible to control the amount of liquid released.

The shape of our vase is unusual. There are questions on its ancient name and use. The most ancient siphons were long tubes without a strainer. The name 'clepsydra' was given to our vase because its shape and function reminded earlier scholars of Empedocles' Fragment B 100 and Aristophanes' *Vespai*, 858. Since the word 'clepsydra' became a name of water-clocks and strainer-vases. The use of this vase is not clear. Two main interpretations have been suggested. The first is that it was used for lifting wine out of craters and serve it in a cup. However it is difficult to direct the flow into a cup without wetting the drinker. Also among numerous scenes of symposium in the vase painting there is no such a representation. The second interpretation is that it was used for washing or watering or for some kind of liquid libation. The last opportunity seems more plausible because the vases in question were discovered in the graves and in the sanctuaries of chthonic deities in Eleusis. The clepsydras were used for funerary and chthonic libations in order to imitate rain which purifies and fertilizes the earth.

A man courting a youth is represented between two naked youths from the both sides of the vase. There is Siren under each handle. The painting was attributed to the Painter of Carlsruhe Skyphos by Beazley and can be dated 525–515 B.C. like the skyphoi in Dresden, Carlsruhe, and in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

It is important to note that this rare vase found in the Greek settlement of Olbia on the Northern Black Sea littoral was discovered in burial context typical to these vases.

*\*П. Гулдагер Бильде*

## **Не имеют отношения к Деметре? Группа протом-фимиатериев из Ольвии, участок НГС**

В рамках проекта «Нижний город Ольвии в V в. до н.э. – IV в. н.э. (участок НГС)», организованном Датским национальным исследовательским центром по исследованию Северного Причерноморья и Институтом археологии Национальной Академии наук Украины (Киев), автором были рассмотрены почти 400 терракот, найденных в течение 27 лет раскопок участка НГС. Среди этих находок – 10 фрагментов протом-фимиатериев (курильниц) трех разных типов. 4 фрагмента принадлежат к одному и тому же женскому типу:

НГС О-93-343. Фрагмент плеча

НГС О-91-453+454. Два соединяющихся фрагмента правой стороны и верхней части головы, а также нижняя часть сосуда

НГС О-93-690. Левая сторона с левым глазом и верхней частью головы, а также нижняя часть сосуда

НГС О-92-149. Левая сторона, левый глаз с надбровной дугой и локоны

Похожие фимиатерии ранее были найдены в Ольвии на участке И (Худяк 1940, 89-90, кат. 6-8, рис. 66-68), в доме А, фундамент 1 в восточной части Ольвийской агоры (Леви 1964, 13, рис. 8; Леви 1970, 41, кат. 22, табл. 13.2). Подобный предмет находится на выставке в музее Ольвии (с. Парутино), а очень похожий, но не совсем такой же – в экспозиции Эрмитажа.

Эти фрагменты с курильницами обычно априорно идентифицируют с Деметрой, однако контраст между спокойной позой и матрональным одеянием и дионисийскими атрибутами – танией (головной лентой) над бровью, которая, несомненно, является дионисийской митрой, и двумя коримбами над лентой характерны лишь для Диониса и его свиты, а также для других персонажей, таких как, например, подражающих Дионису участников пиршеств. Эти атрибуты могут указывать только на Ариадну (L. Summerer has suggested the same identification concerning a related bust thymiaterion from Amisos – 1999, 181), жену Диониса, и ее архетипических последовательниц (Guldager Bilde 2005a and b).

От этих четырех фрагментов, представляющих Ариадну, отличаются сосуда двух других типов, найденные на НГС. Два фрагмента представляют собой части женских голов в стефанах:

НГС О-97-149. Верхняя часть женской головы с бровью и правым глазом. Волосы разделены посредине стефаной.

НГС О-01-83. Верхняя часть женской головы с надбровной дугой. Высокая стефана и над ней у виска коримб.

От обеих голов сохранились лишь множество фрагментов, и потому их достаточно сложно идентифицировать. Все же на фрагменте 01-83 можно видеть коримб у левого виска, и потому нельзя исключить того, что этот тип также изображал Ариадну или, по крайней мере, какой-то иной персонаж из окружения Диониса.

Последний тип, о котором следует упомянуть, представлен тремя фрагментами с головами быков:

НГС О-91-77. Верхняя часть головы быка с основаниями рогов.

НГС О-93-25. Голова быка с левым рогом и местом прилепа правого.

НГС О-97-129. Верхняя часть головы быка с двумя рогами.

Близкие фимиатерии были найдены во время раскопок дома Хрисалиска на поселении «За Родину» (Сокольский 1976, рис. 56). Я полагаю, что, по-видимому, по крайней мере, ольвийские быки являлись символами Диониса, который, без сомнения, почитался в Ольвии в образе быка.

Из 10 фрагментированных протом-фимиатериев, найденных на участке НГС, 4 были обнаружены в закрытых комплексах, которые, по другим находкам, можно датировать 140-ми гг. до н.э.

Курильницы в виде Ариадны были продукцией одной, вероятно, местной, мастерской. Протомы-фимиатерии из Ольвии были первыми, обнаруженными в материале частных домов (дома на участках И и НГС), где они, вероятно, помещались в домашних святилищах. Их использование в частной культовой практике говорит о популярности культа Диониса в Ольвии позднеэллинистического времени.

*\*V. Krapivina*

### **A votive lead plaque from Olbia with Heracles and Nike**

Olbia was the only center in the Northern Black Sea coast, where lead plaques were made in the form of double axes, heads of bulls and rams, and also as different divinities and animals. They were produced during the 4<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. A lead plaque with the image of Heracles and Nike was accidentally found near the Western Gates of Olbia (O-2005/Ю3А/1; preserved in the Museum of Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology of NASU). Dimensions: height – 3.2 cm; length – 4.2 cm; height of figurines – 2.9-3.1 cm. In the sector of the Western Gates of Olbia eight votive lead objects were found earlier. They are: four plaques with the head of a bull, one with a double axe, one with a triple Herm, a miniature wheel and a miniature plummet in the form of a pyramid. Most of the objects are dated to the first three quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. According to their iconography the published plaque is more in the style of the Classical period and should be dated no later than the first three quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Earlier this subject was not known on the lead plaques: it is a libation, which is made by Heracles near a Herm after one of his victories, with the figure of Nike symbolizing his victory. Lead plaques with the separate image of Heracles and Nike are known in Olbia, but they are not attested together. As a rule they are dated later – to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

The earliest information about the cult of Heracles in the Lower Bug region is dated to the mid-to the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. This comes from an altar erected by the Olbiopolitai in Hyleia. This cult, however, in spite of its official character was not widespread in the Olbian state. The Olbiopolitai preferred Achilles to all other heroes. Nevertheless, the image of a kneeling Heracles in lion skin with a bow appeared on Olbian silver coins with the name EMINAKO in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. For the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC information about the cult of Heracles is augmented by the plaque published here. In the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC the official worship of Heracles as the protector of the polis increased.

The cult of Heracles is characterized by its dual essence – the Olympic and the Chthonic. Heracles was closely connected with the Eleusinian mysteries, as is known from the images of Heracles in the scenes of the Eleusinian mysteries on red-figured vessels after the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. If the lead images of bull heads and of double axes are connected with the chthonic essence of Dionysos, the lead images of Heracles could likewise be connected with his chthonic essence. Thus the published lead plaque with the scene of a libation, made by Heracles near a Herm is connected with the chthonic essence of the hero. According to its iconography it can be dated to the first three quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

*\*N. Nikolaev*

### **On the cult of a River God in Olbia**

A lead cult statuette of Herakles with unique attributes – a hoe, horn of plenty and Phrygian cap – was found in the environs of Olbia (Katelino-1). The interpretation of the mythological subjects according to R. Graves is given below.

The hoe is the attribute of the fifth of Herakles's exploits – the Augean stables. While commenting upon the myth concerning the Augean stables, R. Graves pointed out that this exploit is closely connected with the plowing, sowing and reaping of the harvest. The second attribute – the horn of plenty – has to do with agriculture, because with a touch of the horn of plenty one could fertilize the ground, and also cause rain. The third attribute – the Phrygian cap – is the traditional headdress of the peasants. According to J. Frazer's variant of the Heracles myth, the hero helped the local River God at harvest time and assisted in calling the spirit of bread and rain to Phrygia.

The cult of Herakles was not connected with the pantheon of the main Olbian deities. Scholars explain the spreading of his cult from the end of the 4th–the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC using the following facts: the outer world at that time was uneasy and alarming, there was much imitation of the coins of Alexander the Great, the city's political orientation and the very fact that this hero was the ancestor of the noble family of Pantakles and Kleombrotos. Thus, our statuette gives reasons to suppose for the first time that Herakles's cult in Olbia also contained an agricultural aspect.

The horn of plenty proves that citizens of Olbia knew the myth about Deianeira. Because of her, Herakles fought Achelous (the man with bull horns, who could turn into a snake or a bull). Herakles broke off Achelous' horn. Having suffered this defeat, Achelous in exchange for his horn gave the horn of plenty as a present to Herakles. Thus, the horn of plenty symbolizes Herakles's struggle against the bull.

Let's consider the hoe as Herakles's attribute. The myth about the Augean stables contains the scene of Herakles's battle against the leader of the white bulls' herd, Phaethon. According to R. Graves, this exploit of Herakles was confused with other exploits – the theft of Geryon's cows, the seizure of the white Cretan bull, and the struggle of Herakles with Achelous. As Graves points out, it seems likely that Herakles's struggle with the bull was blended by the Greeks with his struggle against the river god Achelous.

The third of Herakles's attributes – the Phrygian cap – symbolizes the bull horn, in heraldry it is connected with Herakles's exploits at the Augean stables.

Thus, all these three attributes of Herakles found on the lead statuette – the hoe, horn of plenty and Phrygian cap – are closely connected and probably represent the struggle of the hero against a river god assuming the image of a bull. On these grounds, we can suppose that in Olbia the river god was depicted not only as a man with bull horns (cf. the numerous coins, the so-called *Borysthenoi*), but also in the image of a bull. Taking into account that the bull is mainly regarded as a representative of Dionysus and Zeus in Hellenistic Olbia, the merging of the cult of Dionysus and the River God in the image of a bull probably took place there as well. This author suggests the broadened interpretation of Olbian monuments depicting bulls, including leaden Achelous, which could equally apply to the cult of Dionysus and to the River God.

The author wants to thank the director of the Olbian expedition, the senior researcher of the Institute of Archaeology of Ukrainian National Academy of Science, Ph. D. Valentina Krapivina for the assistance rendered in writing this article.

*\*S. Lyashko, V. Papanova*

### **The Symbol of bull as an element of the Olbio religious symbolism**

The sector «Mansion» (the south-western part of Olbio Necropolis) has been investigated since 2003 [Lyashko, Papanova. 2004. P. 9–34]. The nine rooms, three half-earth-houses, an altar, the cult and funeral rite complexes, and sepulchral edifices were excavated there.



The ash place was of the oval shape and represented a gathering of bones and skulls of bulls and cows, fragments of amphoras, lutherias and black varnished crockery dated back to V–IV c. B.C. The bone remains testify to the fact that the animals were sacrificed.

Besides, four bullheads made of lead (bullrania) and double-sided hatchets (labrisis) were found there. The majority of bullrania were found in the burial mounds and graves. The bullrania and labrisis found in 2003 are not directly connected with burial constructions.

Thus, bullrania are not only a symbol of death and revival but also a symbol of substitute sacrifice. The lead bull head things left on the Necropolis, probably, could serve as a substitute sacrifice during funeral rites days.

The lead heads of rams and double-sided hatchets were found in the Olbia Necropolis' area and its district, namely in the burial mounds, in the graves, in the lower layers of the houses, in the ash places near the western gate of the town. We have considered a definite group of the sacrifice rituals getting focused on their role in the system of the Olbian rites. The symbol (bullrania) has a definite form and personifies a definite divinity of the Olbian pantheon. The symbol of the ram (cattle) in the other context may also imply other symbols (bull-calves figures and specially designed skulls of the cattle) found in the Olbio Necropolis. The circumstances of the finds let bind the latter with the rites of the other cults.

*N. Gavriljuk*

### **Ritual hand-made pottery from Tyra, Olbia, Nymphaeum**

*\*A. Ivanchik, T. Samoylova*

### **Syncretistic cults of Greco-Egyptian gods in Tyras**

The appearance of Egyptian cults in Tyras first takes place after the campaigns of Alexander the Macedonian. Thus, Tyras is no different than the other ancient centres of the Western Black Sea shore. A slightly different picture can be observed in Olbia, where syncretistic cults only became popular in the Roman period, although known in the late Hellenistic period.

The cult of Serapis united the worship of the Greek gods – Zeus, Helios, Pluto, Dionysos and Asklepios – with the cult of the Egyptian Osiris and was related to natural forces, sailing, fertility, the underworld among other things. In much the same way the cult of Isis saw her as the mistress of the elements and of the dead, the Mother of nature, the promoter of sailing and sea-born trade, as well as the goddess of fertility. The cults of Serapis and Isis were, as a rule, performed jointly with those of other syncretistic gods – Horus-Harpokrates and Anubis.

For a long time a fragmentary Hellenistic inscription in which a sacrifice made by a citizen, a certain son of Kratis, to Serapis, Isis, Harpokrates and Anubis was the only testimony of the presence of a cult of syncretistic gods in Tyras apart from a terracotta statuette of Serapis, the finds of scarabs, amulets, representing Bes, Osiris, and the goddess Sekhmet. In 2006 another fragmentary inscription containing the names of Serapis, Isis, and Anubis and dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC was found. For Tyras in the Roman period a fragment of a Latin inscription containing the name of Isis is known. This monument is undoubtedly related to the presence of the Roman military garrison in the city.

*\*P. Guldager Bilde, P. Attema, S. G. Koltukhov, S. B. Lantzov, T. N. Smekalova, V. F. Stolba, T. de Haas, S. Handberg, K. Vinter Jakobsen*

### **The Džarylgač survey project (DSP). The results of campaign of 2007**

The Džarylgač Survey Project (DSP) is a multidisciplinary archaeological survey project which aims at investigating the rural landscape in the hinterland of the ancient settlement of Panskoe at both sides of the Džarylgač Lake. The purpose of the study is to reach a better understanding of the use and function of the north-western Crimean landscape in a diachronic perspective from antiquity until early modern times. The project is a co-operation between the Danish National Research Foundation's the Centre for Black Sea Studies (DNRFCBSS) in Aarhus (Denmark), the Ukrainian National Academy for Scientific Research (Ukraine) and the Groningen Institute of Archaeology (GIA) of the University of Groningen (the Netherlands). The methodologies applied are systematic field walking and collecting of surface finds, geoelectrical, geomagnetic and other surface measurements as well as GPS recording and trial excavations at selected sites. After preliminary research in 2006, the 2007 campaign was the first season during which large-scale surveys were undertaken. The area investigated by DSP comprises four different zones that differ according to relief, soils, land use, archaeological visibility and known archaeological features. These consist of (a) the coastal zone where the majority of the previously known sites are located; (b) the flat inland zone where a few scatters of pottery were recorded in the past; (c) the inland slopes, and (d) the top of the slopes where known archaeological features consist of kurgan burial mounds, cists, wells and deserted Tartar villages.

The need for a significant revision of the settlement history of the north-western Crimean landscape is richly testified in the results of the DSP 2007 campaign. Block survey mapped twenty-three «sites» in the flat inland zone: ten kurgans, in some cases without related artefacts, twelve pottery scatters and one anthropomorphic stele. In general, the majority of the find dates to the Hellenistic period. Virtually all off-site material can be ascribed to this period, as well as most of the kurgans. So far evidence from the pre- and post-Hellenistic periods is very sparse. Two fragmentary stone axes as well as more than 50 pieces of flint were found, but many of the flints were probably of the Hellenistic period and only further analysis will determine which and how many were of Prehistoric date. The evidence collected this year points to the existence of very small dwellings spread around Lake Džarylgač in the flat inland zone, although their relation to the larger Hellenistic sites along the coast remains unclear. Most fields have yielded some Tartar material and two scatters can be dated to this period.

The combination of archaeological and magnetic survey revealed eight settlements on the inland slopes, where previously no settlements have been identified. All of them are situated on the promontories between deep ravines. The surface indications of the settlements are thick layer of ashy soil, lots of animals' holes, dense green grass sometimes with tall thorny vegetation. In many cases one can also see upper parts of standing stones belonging to the walls of small houses. Often hand made pottery and bones are found around animals' holes and fragments of amphorae and jars are on the surface of the sites. The investigations showed that there are at least three phases of settlement: the Bronze Age (sites 1, 2, 5, 6, 8?), the Hellenistic period (sites 1, 2, 3, 5?, 6, 7, 8?) and during Late Medieval Time (site 4). The magnetic survey indicates that the settlements consist of rectangular stone structures with groups of household pits and double stone enclosures of rounded shapes. Stratigraphic data from two trial trenches date the pits and the houses to the Hellenistic period. The location of the settlements is dictated by the geomorphologic and hydrological situation of the area. The promontories provide a natural defence against enemies and also from the cold winds of any direction, and it is easier to dig wells at the bottom of the deep ravines.

The DSP 2007 campaign indicate that population density in the north-western Crimea was much higher than was previously suspected. Greek and Barbaric people settled in culturally and economically different biotopes along the coast and on the slopes respectively; however they shared the flat inland area in between, creating a cultural, economic and social symbiosis. The co-dependence of the different settlements is supported by the fact that they were abandoned contemporaneously.

## **Cowrie and other charms from the Panskoe I Necropolis**

The use of cowries as ornaments or charms both for humans and animals has a long history and an extremely broad geography that reaches far beyond its habitat. As far as the northern Black Sea area is concerned, they often occur on necklaces and bracelets found in Greek and local nomadic burials. The archaeological and ethnographical data available allow to regard these finds as an important evidence of deep-rooted religious superstitions, such as the evil-eye belief, etc., among the ancient population of the northern Black Sea littoral.

As an example, the author presents the cowrie-shell pendant from the Panskoe I Necropolis, which along with three glass beads was found in child grave K39 M4. The shell which dome was broken off for suspension belongs to the *Monetaria (Cypraea) annulus* L. species also known as gold ring cowrie, which is generally restricted to the Oman and East-African coast.

The exceptional popularity of cowries throughout many periods and cultures as well as their peculiar shape with a long narrow opening on their undersides has given rise to a heated debate about their meaning and the intention behind their use. The resemblance of their undersides to a half-closed human eye accounts for the assumption that they possessed a protective power against the influence of the evil eye. Attempts have also been made to view it as a symbol of womanhood, fertility, birth and wealth, given the fairly close likeness between the opening of the shell and an image of the feminine *pudenda*. Despite recorded finds of cowries in ancient Greek sanctuaries and ritual contexts, such as the altar of Aphrodite Ourania in Athens, the evidence for this, however, is far from conclusive, as they seem to have been worn by men and by male and gelded animals as often as they were worn by women. On the contrary, the repeatedly suggested association of cowries with the vulva seems to imply their apotropaic purpose too, for since antiquity human genitals as well as the fig hand, which also has a vulvar implication, have been essential features of various kinds of amulets. According to the ethnographical data from the Italian countryside, grasping one's own genitalia works as an effective protection against contamination by the evil eye. At any rate, the cowrie-pendant from K39 M4 seems to provide evidence of a prevalent belief in the evil eye among the inhabitants of Panskoe I and the Chersonesean countryside in general. The other cowries found in the Greek and indigenous graves of the Pontic area are likely to have served as charms too – the function, which they should have had both during the lifetime of their owner and in the afterlife.

The author argues that an apotropaic value might have also been attached to a single crab's claw found in grave K43 M3 of the Panskoe I Necropolis as well as to isolated finds of unnaturally deformed iron nails.

*\*T. Shevchenko*

## **The use of altars in the domestic religion of ancient Chersonesos**

In this paper the altars found in the houses of Tauric Chersonesos are considered as devices for different types of sacrifices to the deities worshipped by the members of an *oikos*. The character of the cult, whether it belonged to Olympian or chthonic deities, and the way that sacrifices were made, either by burning flesh, pouring liquids, or burning incense, influenced the appearance of the altars and their location.

Open hearths found in Hellenistic houses in Block XIX were frequently used as altars for burning and pouring sacrifices mostly addressed to Hestia. Altars in courts believed to be dedicated to Zeus Herkeios were not frequently in use in Chersonesos. More frequently we find *arulae* made of clay and stone there. These *arulae* were used in Chersonesos from the 3rd century BC for burning incense and for pouring liquids, as well as for votives. In the same way, cups on a high stem were used in first centuries AD. In some houses of the Hellenistic and Roman period the use of earthen altars has been ascertained. Some of them were probably used

as a place for sacred deposits, while others were employed for pouring sacrifices to chthonic deities. Altars situated near the entrances to cellars can perhaps be related to the cult of the same deities. Heroized ancestors may have been worshipped in some *oikoi* on altars with a relief depiction of snakes dated to the first centuries AD. The fact that these altars have been found in huge estates, as well as the fact that snakes were depicted on marble gravestones in Chersonesos of the same period, supports that assumption.

Thus, some altars were made for the worship of particular gods, who were either depicted or had their names inscribed on the side of the altar. This particular deity could have been the most necessary or the most favourable one to the members of the *oikos* at the moment of the purchase of the altar. Evidently, however, the same altar, or the same hearth, was used in cults of all other gods worshipped by an ordinary family, because usually – if found *in situ* – there was only one altar in a house.

*R. Kozlenko*

### **Residential area of Kozyrskiy hillfort**

In this article is considering some features of architectural and decorative appearance of houses in the residential area of Kozyrskiy hillfort I<sup>st</sup>–III<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.

*\*V. Artiukh*

### **Notes on Christianity in territory Crimea and Podnestrovie during the first centuries A.D.**

So far much information concerning Christianity's penetration into the Ukrainian territory as early as the first centuries A.D. has been gathered. We have stories of the Apostle Andrew's journey to Scythia as well as of the Slavonic bishop Andronicus being assigned to the area by the Apostle Paul. By the beginning of the 20th century, archaeological remains of early Christian monuments (churches and chapels) were known in the Crimea and in the Bosphoros, and traces of bishop Clement's activity had been uncovered too.

Ancient Roman authors in the first centuries A.D. wrote of the propagation of Christianity among Barbarian tribes on lands located close to the northern-eastern borders of the Roman Empire. The Christianization of barbarian Goths and Slavs in particular followed the instructions of the first apostles. At roughly the same time, bishop Ulfilas translated the Holy Script into Gothic. In the early 2nd century, when Dacia was conquered by Trajan, preachers and missionaries promulgated Christian ideas throughout the region and they became popular among some of the barbarian tribes.

In the 1950s and 60s in the south-western regions of Ukraine and Moldova archaeologists investigating monuments of the Chernyakhov culture discovered inhumation burials without grave goods but oriented to the east-west. Because of these characteristics, some scholars considered these tombs to be Christian burials. In the central Podnestrovie region in the Chernyakhov settlement of Chornivka (Chernivtsi region) a spindle impressed with three crosses as well as a stone mould for making metal crosses was discovered.

In the first centuries A.D. Christian places of worship appeared in the Crimean interior and in caves. A cave church decorated inside with crosses and barbarian signs peculiar to western Sarmatians of the first centuries A.D. in the Podnestrovie (in the village of Stenka, Ternopil region) has been referred to by some scholars.

We may consider the idea that Christianity penetrated into the barbarian multiethnic environment of the Carpathian-Dnestr region from the north-eastern Roman provinces as well as from the ancient cities of the northern Black Sea region and became popular among some of the Chernyakhov tribes. As the Roman Empire fell Christianity was replaced by pagan beliefs.

### **Some features of the funerary constructions and ceremonies of the first Christians of Chersonesos and Panticapaeum**

It is difficult to distinguish between Christian and pagan funerary constructions in the larger centers of the ancient civilizations in the Crimea. Christian inscriptions and Christian symbols are the only reliable elements that allow us to identify Christian burial places. Among the Christian burials in Bosphorus and in Chersonesos are tombs that in no way can be distinguished from the pagan ones. In this paper we will present a recently opened necropolis in Chersonesos. The characteristics of the funeral constructions and the finds in these Christian tombs will be provided, and the marked distinction in the decoration of Christian tombs in Bosphorus and in Chersonesos will be discussed.

### **III. BARBARIAN WORLD OF THE NORTH PONTIC AREA**

*A. Belinsky, S. Dudarev*

#### **Some peculiar features of religious practice of inhabitants of Caucasus Mineral Waters rejoin in the Early Iron Age (according the materials of funeral clothes from Clin-Jar III burial ground)**

During the excavations of Clin-Jar III burial ground, which chronology was determined in the frames X – early VI centuries BC, the representative collection of decorations has been found. The aim of the authors was to characterize and analyze the objects, connected with the dress, played a role of amulets and talismans. The examining of these artifacts helps to know more about ideology and religion of ancient people, in our case – the tribes living at the territory of Kislovodsk basin about 3 millenniums ago. It's impossible without study of these details of funeral decoration of coban culture people to understand it's meaning as entire symbol system. The authors analyze the decoration of head-dress belonged to the warrior-priest buried in the tomb n. 14, excavated by Ja. B. Berezin, the bird-shaped pendant belonged to a warrior from tomb n. 81 and the vast range of ornamentations from the tombs contained women burials, belonged in ancient times to traditional female dress.

*\*A. Skakov*

#### **Late-Colchian finds at the Passes of the Main Caucasus Ridge**

In the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC the original local version of the late-Colchian Inguri-Rioni culture was formed in the mountain regions of Colchis. Two large barrows on the Jantuch mountain (East Abkhazia, the Mountain Tkuarchal) and in Larilari (Svanetia, the Chuber society), and possibly also the barrows Shubara-2 (Central Abkhazia) and Usakhelo (Lechkhumi) go back to this culture. Collective secondary burials with cremation on the spot replaced here individual secondary burials without cremation or with cremation elsewhere. In the second half of the 6th century BC, when the existence of collective secondary burials came to an end in the Colchian lowland and gave place to inhumation, in the Colchian mountains the funeral rite remained unchanged. At the same time an original material culture came into being here, linked most of all with the Kuban-Colchian traditions and characterized by the preservation of archaic types of implements at least till the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Various zoomorphic plastic art objects and fibulas, cornelian and paste (with glaze) beads, bone beads with ornaments, bronze bispitals,

reel and cruciform pendants, round ornamented and open-work plates, and necklaces with an ornamented bulge in the center are typical for the material culture of the Jantuch-Larilari version. In the neighbouring regions, the existence of butterfly clasps, fibulas with annular bulges along the edges of the little arc, reel and cruciform pendants up to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC is not registered.

At the same time the tribes inhabiting this region controlled the principal pass routes over the Main Caucasus Ridge and remained in touch with their neighbours. In the first place we can mark the trade relations with the ancient Colchian *poleis* and the late Kuban tribes of North Caucasus. In addition to this a considerable group of objects tied to the culture of the early nomads attracts attention.

In our opinion the attempts to tie the present objects to the tribes of the Korakces and the Kols, which we localize in the region of contemporary Sochi, are baseless. On the contrary Herodotus pointed to some tribes, who lived between the Colchians and the Caucasus Mountains, while Strabo told about the tribes of the Phtirophages and the Soans, who lived «above» the Colchians and «higher» than the Dioscuriades. We believe that «the power» of the Soans, which Strabo reported, was due to their domination over the staple trade communications, passing here over the Main Caucasus Ridge.

*\*S. Senatorov*

#### **Kizil-Koba pottery with early rim ornaments of the mid – 6<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC from Eastern Crimea**

A group of handmade utensils (nine fragments from eight different vessels) with an early type of rim ornament, which relates to the third stage of the Kizil-Koba culture dated to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, has been attributed to some of the ancient cities and barbarian settlements of Eastern Crimea. This pottery confirms the hypothesis concerning the presence of barbarians from the mountains and foothills of Crimea among the population of the Greek cities and the local East-Crimean barbarian settlements.

*\*A. Tchernyshev*

#### **On the formation of the ancient legend of the Amazons**

The accumulated physical material together with the latest research allows us to address once more the discussion of one of the oldest and most mysterious ancient myths concerning the territory of the North-Eastern Black Sea coast – the myth about the Amazons. The consideration of the «Amazonian question» demands a complex approach as this question involves a number of different issues. Fundamental to the formation of the Amazonian tradition are the deep layers of the ancient mythological consciousness connected with representations of «our» world and the world of the «other», a world occupied by «hostile» people, the barbarians. Among the «wild» barbarians the Greeks placed the Amazons.

The majority of ancient sources placed the Amazons in Northeast Asia Minor, between Sinope and Trapezus in Cappadocia. Their placement here is explained by the widespread the cult of the Great Mother – a female deity of fertility – in this territory. The campaigns of Scythians and Cimmerians may also have had a certain influence on the formation of the myth. The perception of their campaigns as representing a real threat to the Greeks of the cities of Asia Minor could easily have been transformed into a belief in the existence of the wars between the Amazons and the Greek heroes.

The second geographical region where the Amazons were thought to dwell was Caucasus where they more often placed them on eastern coast of the Maiotis (Sea of Azov). Here lived the tribes of the Sauromatians and the Maiotians, whose women had a warlike way of life. This could have

been one more reason for the construction of «Amazonian history». In other geographical regions the mention of Amazons is rather rare.

Thus, the Amazonian tradition was generated on the basis of fundamental archetypes in the ancient mythological consciousness and was supported by information on the real «Amazonian» customs and morals of part of the barbarian world surrounding the Greeks. The Amazonian society was located by ancient authors at the outskirts of the inhabited world and this was pushed further and further away as knowledge about the surrounding territories where real Amazons were not detected expanded. Therefore the Amazonian tradition was very steady in the Greek-Roman literature and, having appeared in the legendary period, it survived the ancient civilization.

*\*E. Ilyushechkina*

### **Maeotian tribes in late Epic traditions: Dionysios Periegetes**

Didactic poetry was enormously popular in the ancient world. Within the framework of this tradition, Dionysius of Alexandria (also called Periegetes) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD wrote a hexameter guide to the geography of the inhabited world and its various regions. Vv. 652–681 of Dionysius' poem contains ethno-geographical evidence for the tribes of the Maeotians, Sauromatians, Sindoi and Cimmerians, which in Antiquity occupied the coastal areas of Maeotis. Dionysius not only used mythical-poetic sources, but also the authentic evidence of the earlier (basically - Ionic) historical-geographical tradition.

Dionysius describes the tribes by the coast of Maeotis in a direction from West to East, i.e. «clockwise». A mention of additional geographical features (for example, the river Tanais, mountains of the Taurus, etc.) helps us to specify the location of the individual tribes. The analysis of these ethnonyms based on the background of the ancient geographical tradition reveals a varying degree of trustworthiness. Maeotians (v. 653) are distinguished as a separate tribe and are placed on the western coast of Maeotis. Dionysius distinguishes the Sarmatians (compare v. 302) from the Sauromatians (vv. 652–658), and he localizes the latter tribe by the mouth of the river Tanais. Their origin he connects with Amazonides, the historical descendants of the Amazons, thus interpreting the data of mythical geography in the spirit of historical geography. The Sindoi, according to Dionysius, traditionally lived on the Asian part of Bosphorus. The Cimmerians were furnished with traditional, especially geographical, attributes and are practically denied any ethnographic content.

The adduced data allow us to outline a group of Dionysius Periegetes' probable sources on region of Bosphorus.

*S. Andreeva*

### **Once more about the ethnical attribute of 'Saii'**

The question of the ethnic attribution of Saii from the Decree in Honour of Protogenes (IosPE I<sup>2</sup> 32) has been discussed since the inscription was published (1823). Most specialists consider them either Scythian or Sarmatian tribe. It seems that both written and archaeological sources allow to attribute Saii to Thracians, maybe the same tribe, which was mentioned by Archilochus (fr. 6 D).

*T. Rjabkova*

### **Stone plate from Hermitage Museum: attribution and dating**

The goal of this article is publication and attribution of the stone plate belonging to the State Hermitage. Presumably this plate derives from a site on Kuban, excavated by N. I. Veselovsky in 1908. Stone plates of the same size broken before burial are the attributes of the early Skythian elite tombs in the regions of Pricubanie, Stavropolie and Low Podonie. Because of the rare finds of these tombs and the absence there of the dying compounds we can refuse the possibility of their practical use. The chemical analysis of the black spots on the surface of the Hermitage's bowl shows that these spots are remains of a lead-based paint based on glutine glue. Such a glue-based paint must have stay for a long period and unlikely that it was used as make up. The shape, size and broken appearance of the Hermitage's plate allow us to treat it as an artifact from an early Skythian elite tomb of Cuban region.

*T. Kuznetsova*

### **Scythian cauldrons: Sacral marker of a social entity**

In the Scythian studies it is traditionally held that bronze cauldrons constitute a part of funeral gifts the Scythians deposited in their burials, and used both in everyday life and religious ceremonies.

According to the data of written sources, Scythian cauldrons were related to the rite of sacrifice to all gods except Ares; they also helped to establish the number of Scythian population (Hdt.). Therefore the thesis concerning utilitarian function of the bronze cauldrons known from the archaeological sites of Scythia needs to be well founded.

The comparative analysis of cemeteries shows that cauldrons in the Scythian society could have played the role of a symbol of major or minor social group. The king of an entity (*basileus*), or a province governor (*nomarchos*) was a «holder» of this symbolic object, and was buried with it. Our investigations point to certain correlation between cauldron parameters and the number of burial mounds in analysed cemetery, as well as the relationship between the number of groups and the number of cauldrons in the dominating kurgan.

The earliest Scythian cauldrons originate from the Kelermes cemetery; no other cauldrons are known from the archaic period of the Scythian culture. A hundred years later after constructing the Kelermes necropolis bronze cauldrons appeared again in the Scythian sites, but this time in the forest-steppe zone, and later on – in the steppe as well.

This chronological break probably evidence a period of destabilization caused by the Median and North Caucasian disasters that coincided with the period of opening up new region. Reconstruction of the social organization of the Scythian society and the process of its transformation can be traced by the materials from the sites of the later period.

The emergence of the Scythian cemeteries comprising several groups of mounds, with gigantic kurgans, where a large number of cauldrons are concentrated points to the processes that united the Scythians into powerful entities headed by an autocratic ruler. A cauldron handed over from *nomarchos* to *basileus* as a sacral symbol and a marker of social entity could have been also a symbol of power recognition. As appears from Strabo (VII, 2, 1), such ritual could have also ratified a «treaty of expectancies».

*\*E. Vlasova*

### **The cover plate of a sword scabbard from the Chertomlyk Kurgan**

In the horizontal frieze of the sheet-gold overlay are scenes of a combat between Greeks and Persians. Real historical and popular mythological subjects are probably united in the image. The central figure (6) is perceived as Alexander the Great-Achilles. At the left end of this frieze are two griffins placed heraldically around a palmette; this image may connote the main



Achaemenid god Ahura-Mazda. The choice of the figurative motif shows this object as a Bosphoran or Scythian diplomatic present to the Macedonian ruler.

J. Boltryk

### Covered Sacral Structures of Scythians

Complicated sacral practice of Scythians saved in showing two forms of offering actions: *open* (mounds without any traces of burial places; grounds limited by a ditch or ring of stones) and *hidden* (burrows-catacombs and pits with *bofr*).

Burrows-catacombs looks as a cave – original antimountain. There were in the tumuli connected with Bronze Age, they were found rare under Scythian mounds. Their upper part is round or rectangular pit with one or two burrow motions (6–11 m longwise) in benthic part. In some cases, numerous small steps were done in walls.

At the beginning of motion the burial were arranged in some of steps with extremely modest grave offerings (arrows and rests of eggshell). Doubting of sacral sense of this structures fell off after opening the so-called East manhole (in the depth 15,85 m) in the tumulus of *Kara-T'ube*. The unique complex of *Dvugorba Mogyla* is the most complicated and large sanctuary of European Scythia. It consists of mound without graves with *cromlech* and timber, five underground manholes and pits, five human victims and granite post. A complex dates to the turn of 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Two parallel manholes (38 m longwise and in the depth 8,5 m) and motion (about 52 m longwise) in the tumulus of *Aleksandropol'* (dates to the beginning of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC), probably, linked with votive function as well. Same sacral galleries (length to 55 m) are fixed in tumuli of Eastern Kazakhstan.

Connection of these structures with *chthonic* deities, cults of deceased and fertility is possible. According to such connection in the most interest is Indo-Europeans' imagination of role of mouse and mole in ceremony (connection with a burrow and healing process). Certain parallels can conduct with the artificial cave of *Throphonia*, described by *Pausanius* (IX.37.2–3).

*Pits with bofr* are represented as the round or rectangular wells with the small round deepening (*bofr*) in the middle. Small steps were done in their strait walls. In some cases, such pits signed the center of sanctuary or sacral place. In other cases, they complemented a line of offering structures. Accompanied other elements of sanctuary, they created solid complexes occupying the large areas of steppes spaces.

In European Scythia, the hidden sacral structures are known mainly in steppe regions of the Sea of Azov and of the left-bank of Dnieper river. Researches permit to consider certain spatial and chronologic subject: eastern structures were dated earlier then western, probably, according to the slowly moving of a center of nomadic empire.

B. Raev, A. Simonenko

### «Strange assemblages»: From the Late La-Tène period up to a tomb of Unknown soldier

Over the last few years, scholars often have turned their attention to the so-called «strange assemblages» that include the standard set of the military equipment and a details of the horse harness. As a result of the studies a reliable date for the assemblages has been established. Meanwhile, the meaning of these finds is still under discussion. They are explained as «hoards», funeral sacrificial gifts, and «votive gifts».

The reference to ethnographic and folkloristic parallels allows us to offer the following interpretation of the «strange assemblages». In the military man's unions (Cossacks, e.g.) and in traditional cultures of the North Caucasus a headdress played a special role. A cap (fur caps called papakhas, helmets etc.) was the receptacle of a soul and personified a man. The

identification of «soul=helmet» could be found in the fairy tales and the *Narta* epos of the North Caucasus.

This tradition lives up to this day. It is pronounced in contemporary military funeral ceremonials, in which headdress (service cap, a casque) plays a symbolic part at funerals and in designs of military memorials. The «strange assemblages» are the burial places of the soldiers who have been lost in foreign lands.

*\*М. Олбрых*

### **Боспор, народы степной зоны Северного Причерноморья и Парфия в большой стратегии Митридата VI Евпатора (120–63 гг. до н.э.)**

Поражение Антиоха III, падение Македонии и подчинение западной Малой Азии, по-видимому, продемонстрировали абсолютное господство Рима над царствами западной Азии во II – начале I в. до н.э. Военный авторитет Рима не вызывал сомнений. Митридат VI Евпатор, царь Понта, пытался остановить продвижение Рима в Азии. Добившись контроля почти над всем Причерноморьем, включая Боспорское царство, Евпатор обратил свое внимание на римскую Анатолию и оказался вовлеченным в жестокую борьбу с Римом. Настоящая работа посвящена большой стратегии Митридата Евпатора, преследовавшего экспансионистские цели в Анатолии и в областях, лежащих вокруг Черного моря. Особое внимание уделено его союзникам и подданным на Боспоре и в зоне степей к востоку и к северу от Черного моря.

Время митридатовых войн являются ключевым периодом в установлении римского господства в Азии и Причерноморье. Однако невозможно достоверно реконструировать события, относящиеся к этому времени, ограничившись лишь рассмотрением взаимоотношений между Понтом и Римом. Чтобы нарисовать отчетливую картину политики Евпатора, нужно должным образом оценить политику его союзника Тиграна Армянского. То же следует сделать в отношении политики Парфии. Власть Евпатора распространялась на территории Северного и Восточного Причерноморья, включая Боспорское царство. Своими союзниками Митридат считал скифские и некоторые сарматские племена.

Первые крупные военные операции Митридата были предприняты в странах, расположенных к северу и востоку от Черного моря. Затем он перенес свое внимание на государства Анатолии, предприняв походы против Пафлагонии и Галатии. Следующим шагом было завоевание Каппадокии. Становилось очевидным, что конфликт между Понтом и Римом неизбежен.

Письменные источники описывают радиус действия политики Евпатора. Первый отрывок, приписываемый Мемнону, перечисляет успехи, которых Митридату удалось добиться перед первой войной. Обычно данные этого пассажа трактуют как недостоверные и служащие пропагандистским целям. По моему мнению, эти данные достаточно надежны и дают возможность прийти к интересным предположениям.

Данные этого источника прекрасно согласуются с описанием Аппиана. Евпатор сделал все, что было в его силах, объединив множество живших вокруг Черного моря народов, добился поддержки империи Аршакидов и их вассалов, включая Армению. В политике Митридата Евпатора ключевую роль играли народы Северного Причерноморья. Царь Понта не раз прибегал к человеческим и природным ресурсам этого региона. Он нанимал вспомогательные отряды сарматов, включающие первоклассную кавалерию, в значительной степени способствовавшую успеху его наступательных операций.

Власть Понта пала по многим причинам, но главным было то, что после 70-х г. I в. до н.э. Евпатор нуждался в помощи Парфии. Гражданская война в Парфии, начавшаяся около 80 г. до н.э., в которую был вовлечен и Тигран, аннулировала предшествующие политические

успехи 90–80-х гг., когда Понт, Армения и Парфия фактически создали сильный союз, чрезвычайно опасный для Рима. В 70-х и 60-х г. Митридат остался в одиночестве. Есть факты (например, письмо Митридата), свидетельствующие о попытке Евпатора возродить старый союз с Парфией, но было уже слишком поздно. В последние годы своего правления, особенно во время пребывания на Боспоре, Евпатор начал восстанавливать свое могущество, обратившись за помощью к степным народам, в том числе, к некоторым сарматским племенам, к крымским скифам, но все его планы были сорваны восстанием, которое поднял его сын Фарнак.

*\*S. Yatsenko*

### **Prehistoric tools in burials and dwellings of the ancient cities of the Northern Black Sea Region and the neighbouring barbarian tribes**

Ancient tools were used by Northern Pontic barbarians as amulets, sometimes very powerful ones. Ancient flint instruments (first of all scrapers and also knives and arrows) were found in the hands of the deceased in graves in the Tanais necropolis. The polished stone axes and maces of Neolithic and Bronze Ages were the attributes of the nomadic aristocracy of the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD and in some situations became potent fetishes. Bosphoran Greeks and settled barbarians also used the fragments of such artefacts. Bronze arrows of the Scythian epoch were used in isolated instances.

*\*A. Puzdrovsky*

### **Ritual objects from burials of «priestesses» in the necropolis of Ust'-Alminsk**

In 1996–2006 in the necropolis of Ust'-Alminsk burials dating to the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD were excavated. Among the number of rich and varied objects found (amphorae, weapons, bronze and silver vessels, gold decorations) were also ritual objects: a vessel of marble and alabaster with zoomorphic handles, hand-made incense-burners, silver figures of a stag and an eagle, various amulets of bronze, glass, iron, petrified, sea shells and other substances. Similar finds have been made in the rich Sarmatian barrows in the Lower Don Basin Region, the Lower Volga Basin Region, the Kuban Basin Region, and the south of Ukraine. Kits of amulets are discovered in isolated female burials as well as in grave vaults with multiple burials belonging to a Sarmatian «priestesses».

*\*M. Ryabtseva*

### **Some aspects of the presence of Goths in Bosphorus in the late 4th-6th century AD**

Determining the presence of the Goths in Bosphorus in the late 4th-6th century AD is in our opinion a major problem. This subject has partially been dealt with by A. I. Aybabin, A. K. Ambroz, M. Kazansky, N. N. Bolgov, E. Ya. Nikolaeva, but a thorough study is lacking. German tribes are already the cause of genuine interest, because of their great movement throughout European territory as carriers of a unique culture. The Bosphoran Kingdom appears during all the historical periods of its existence as an original state formation, mixing components of Greek and barbarian traditions. In the present paper we shall try to establish the character and degree of the Goths' presence in the territory of Bosphorus in the late 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Based on the literary tradition (Ammianus Marcellinus, letter of Ioannos the Chrysostomos at 404) A. A. Vassiliev has proposed that in the 350–360s Bosphorus was part of the sphere of influence of Hermanarix' Empire, or was perhaps even seized by German tribes. M. Kazansky

has noted that the question of Gothic authority over Bosphorus in the period mentioned is entirely uncertain, but definitely objects of the Gothic elite entered in numbers and was employed by the Bosporan elite.

German tribes probably settled in the territory of Bosphorus as allies as is testified by the well-known find of a Runic inscription found on Mount Opuk, one of the obvious proofs of their presence in Bosphorus during the late 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century AD. There are also many archaeological sources revealing German objects characteristic for the Danube region dating to this period in Bosphorus: Chernyakhov gray-ware ceramics, small typic fibulas such as Ambroz I, and crests.

By the following important moment of presence is ready on Bosphorus is the question on Gotha-trapezitas or tetraxitas (Procopius). During the Byzantine influence on Bosphorus the practice of attraction of the barbarians in quality foederats of empire has proceeded, about what tell at Theophanus and Malalas. But the material culture does not differ from the culture of the inhabitants of Bosphorus, making up an important element in the so-called «cultures of the South-Russian steppe».

It is possible to distinguish separate elements inherent to Gothic tribes living in Bosphorus in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD based on burial data, in particular, features of female costumes. Except for in Panticapaeum and its nearest environs, Gothic influence is very scanty. In the necropolis Nyznee-Zamorskoye, Sirenevaya bay, Cape Zyk some German finds have been discovered: the *umbo* of a board such as Ziling, fibulas etc.

#### IV. EPIGRAPHIC AND NUMISMATIC MATERIALS

\*V. Kac

##### **The problematic Herakleian fabricant Etim. On the date of the latest barrows of the Scythian nobility**

In a solid monograph devoted to the barrows of the Scythian Gerros (Mozolevskij, Polin. 2005), which recently appeared, an attempt is made to revise one of the fundamental dates in the history of Greater Scythia. This is the dating of the final phase of the construction of the large barrows belonging to the Scythian aristocracy, the majority of which in the opinion of one of the authors of the monograph (S. V. Polin) were constructed in the mid- to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

S. V. Polin has analysed in detail all finds made in the most recent Scythian barrows, including monuments which traditionally are considered to belong to this group: the Alexandrovskij Barrow and Barrow 9 of Peski. The most reliable chronological markers for deciding the date of construction of these monuments are of course the ceramic vessels deposited in them, in particular the stamped Herakleian amphoras, especially those of the Herakleian manufacturer Etim found in both barrows.

S. V. Polin has tried to prove that Etim's activity falls within the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. However, the arguments brought forward for the substantiation of such a dating, do not appear convincing. This manufacturer belongs to the earliest phase of the late fabricant group, which seemingly came on the scene shortly after 306 BC. At that time the Herakleian tyrant Dionysios had accepted the title of *basileus*, and in that city various *polis* institutions had been abolished. It is noticeable that in none of the numerous funeral complexes containing Herakleian magistrate stamps of the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, are stamps of the late fabricant group encountered. Thus, there is no basis for lowering by 20–30 years the date recently established for the Alexandrovskij Barrow and Barrow 9 of Peski.

\*N. Fedoseev

## Ritual feast of Zmeinyj barrow in Juz-Oba necropolis

In the paper, the division of the Zmeinyj Kurgan into two kurgans I and II is refuted. Instead it is argued that A. Ashik, N. P. Kondakov and A. Bobrinskoy investigated one and the same barrow. The amphorae from Chios, Mende, Thasos, and Peparetos as well as the amphora stamps allow us to determine the date of the construction of the barrow very precisely, namely to the first half of the 380's B.C., and we can also conclude that the funeral feast of the Zmeinyj Kurgan judging by the mere quantity of the amphorae had no equivalent. The remains of the funeral feasts and the finds in the burial chamber allow us to assume that a VIP of the Bosporan Kingdom was buried here.

*\*N. Pavlichenko*

## A new inscription from Hermonassa dated to the period of Pharnakes, son of Mithradates VI Eupator

This paper presents a new monument found in 2003 in Hermonassa: a marble block with the inscription:

[FÖ]ðcñ âáóéëÝùð ÖáñíÛêîð  
[öéë]îñùìáβîð v ÌO v jÝñáéá  
[ôyð] èâOð EÁðüëëùíé dð-Þí.

The characters of the inscription and the mention of the name Pharnakes allow us to date it to the second half of the 1st century BC. The fact that Pharnakes II is named öéëîñþîáéíð (compare Dio Cass., 37, 14, 2; App., Mithr., 113) allows us to narrow the date even further and to attribute this dedication to the initial stage of his reign.

*\*I. Emetz*

## An epigraphical puzzle from Parthenium

In Parthenium has been found a small fragment of the rim of a red-glazed vessel from the 2nd century AD. On its exterior a graffito with a number of lines is incised:

[---]Μίκος H---]  
[---XP 'άμμ[ι ?---]  
[---XP 'άμμ[ι ?---]  
[---'ά]μμ ---]  
[---] X?  
[---]APO[---]  
[---'ά]μμ[ι---]

In the first line can be read the name Μίκος, known in the Bosporan Kingdom. In the second line the monogram XP is clearly visible, and letters AMM [I ---] follow. The same combination is repeated in the third line. It cannot be excluded that 'άμμ[ι] is dat. pl. from the word 'έγω and, thus, in combination with XP, it should be understood as «Christ to us». The word ['ά]μμ is repeated in the fourth line. In the fifth line only part of a single letter is preserved. In the sixth line the letters [---] APO [---] can be read. In the last line the word ['ά]μμ[ι] is probably repeated again.

It cannot be excluded that this is one of the earliest epigraphic testimonies to the occurrence of Christianity in the Bosporan Kingdom. But such an assumption meets a number of difficulties. Owing to the absence of direct analogies, it is probably necessary to refrain from a conclusive interpretation of this inscription.

### **ἩΑἶαδὸ Gades in Bosporan epitaphs (preliminary observation)**

Hades is mentioned in thirteen gravestone epitaphs, which came from Panticapaeum (12 inscriptions) and Gorgippia (1 inscription). The epitaphs are dated from I BC till AD I apart from the inscription CIRB 731, which can be attributed to AD II. In the Bosporan epitaphs Hades means the three different mythological ideas: it is the king of the Underneath world, it is the house of king Hades and it is the kingdom of dead persons. The Bosporan epitaphs invest Hades with follow epithets as *dyspentes*, *barys*, *baskanos*, *pentimos*. They are well known in some inscriptions from the other parts of the ancient world such as Asia Minor, Phasos, Rodos, and Central Greece. However they don not testify by literature authors. On the whole, religion notions about the Underneath world formed in the different periods of the Greek history from Homer, it was the idea about the king Hades, till the Hellenistic time, which gave the idea about Hades as the kingdom of dead persons. They all can be traced in the Bosporan epitaphs mentioning Hades.

A. Kovalchuk

### **The Tile with the Name of Aphrodite from Kepoi**

There was a certain kind of tile stamp discovered during archaeological exploration in Kepoi. That particular sort of stamp was discovered at the site of the ancient settlement and in its neighborhood.

Those stamps on severely fragmented ceramics do not include a full name, thus reconstruction of the legend could not be done with absolute precision. The most extant stamp includes the following Greek letters: ΑΦΡΟΔΙ[...].

Y. A. Saveliyev suggests to reconstruct this name as Aphrodisii (□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□), as it had been mentioned in other lapidary inscriptions in the Northern Black Sea region. This reconstruction has been accepted by V. F. Gaidukevitch.

Direct exploration of material in the museums convinced us that probably a more correct reconstruction of name in the stamp legend should be different. There is a clear letter «tau» but not «sigma» after «yota» on one of the ceramic fragments in the Taman museum.

There is a general consensus on the assumption that stamps on the Bospor tiles include the names of governors or owners of the industrial; enterprises who belonged to the upper class of the Bospor society. But the tiles coming from Greece, Italy and Asia Minor one could also find the names of community and buildings, names of astynoms, gods and goddesses, heroes etc.

Hence, it is possible that there was the name of Aphrodite imprinted on the ceramics discovered in Kepoi. This hypothesis could be confirmed by the geography of the findings. All the stamps (except one from Phanagoria) were found in Kepoi. Another important confirmation of our hypothesis is the cult of Aphrodite that existed in the Kepoi region and has been verified and confirmed by numerous archaeological findings.

A. Namoylik

### **Graffiti on black-glazed vessels from Demeter's sanctuary in Nymphaeum**

The article is devoted to the analysis of graffiti on black-glazed vessels from the excavations of Demeter's sanctuary in the Bosporan town Nymphaeum. The majority of the graffiti belongs to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Most inscriptions are dedicants' names abbreviated to 1–4 letters. Some graffiti are pictures or non-letter symbols which probably had sacred meanings. Graffiti

including deities' names allow us to assume that at this sanctuary the citizens worshipped not only Demeter, but also Herakles, Aphrodite and Apollo. Dionysos, Dionysos-Iakhos, Hermes, Hera, Apollo Iatros and Zeus Soter were also likely to be worshipped there.

*\*A. Kulikov*

### **On the question of Archaic Kyta's location based on new numismatic evidence**

Kyta (Kytaion) has been mentioned in ancient Greek sources since the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, but there is no confirmation of such an early dating of the city based on archaeological material. The earliest layers of Kyta have been traced at various places in the city, but they are not earlier than the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. It seems that not the city, but the imposing ash hill sanctuary of Kyta was the first to appear on the Black Sea shore in late 5<sup>th</sup> century just in contrast to the older well-known sanctuary on the top of Cape Takil (6<sup>th</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC).

The author analyses new numismatic finds from Kyta and the nearest Archaic Greek settlement Chatr-Tau, which is located a mile westwards from sanctuary of Kyta, and suggests that we should consider Chatr-Tau to be Pre-Kytaion. He supposes that political reasons in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC forced the Greek colonists to abandon their unfortified rural settlements and local sanctuaries in order to consolidate their presence around a new holy place by making it the real city-fortress of Kyta.

*O. Mel'nikov*

### **Nymphaeum, Scythian leader ΣΑΜΜΑ(...) and the two treasons of Gilon**

The Ashin's message about the «Gilon's treachery» analyzed in the work once more. Scythian are considered as the «enemies» to whom «Nymphaeum was betrayed» by Gilon. Two Gilon's treacheries are supposed. First treachery – connivance during the establishment of the Scythian protectorate on the Nymphaeum in 405 B.C. (after Agospotam). Second – he betrayed Scythians in Spartakids benefit in spring 403 B.C. Scythian leader ΣΑΜΜΑ(...) became a potential Gilon's relative from the side of his future wife – scythian woman. The chronology of the Nymphaeum coins with the legend «ΣΑΜΜΑ» is Obtaining on the basis of the political situation in Bosphorus in the end of the 5 c. B.C. and information about the «Gilon's treachery».

*V. Strokin*

### **The three stroke for numismatics of Bosphoros III–II B.C.**

The author is publish three type of rarity bosporan copper coins III–II B.C., which was founded on the Taman peninsula. 1. Av.: head of Apollo, right; stamp (unknown for the coins of this type): head of Athena, right. Rev.: eagle with open wings, facing, ΠΑΝ (Fig. 1. 1, 2). 2. Av.: head of Poseidon; two stamps, which was minting for very rarity sequense: 1) head of satyros; 2) head of Athena. Rev.: fore-part of ship, left, ΠΑΝΤΙ (Fig. 1. 3). 3. Av.: head of Apollo, right. Rev.: bow in quiver, ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑ/ΠΑΙΤΩΝ (Fig. 1. 4). The coins of this type was certain with monogram only (Анохин. 1986. С. 144. Табл. 6. 188, 188а). The publisher coin don't have it and probably was minting together unique drachm of the same type in the begining of II B.C. (Анохин. 1986. С. 144. Табл. 6. 186).

*A. Tereschenko*

### **About one type of silver coins attributed to Panticapeum**

The article deals with several silver coins: avers – male head with hair uncurled, to the right (attributed as Apollo), reverse – dolphin to the left, with a sign below. Some native scholars (H. H. Gil', K. V. Golenko) attributed them to Panticapeum emission. But the style of avers representation is absolutely untypical for Bosporan monetary iconography. So is the symbol which cannot be explained and has no analogies in Panticapeum coinage. These details provoke doubt in this attribution. It may well be that on the avers of the items the images of Poseidon were presented; the coins themselves were probably produced in the cities of Asia Minor.

\*A. Gavrilov, I. Shonov

### **Late coinage of Theodosia and the pantheon of the Theodosian *polis* (on the numismatic material from a farm house)**

In this paper, detailed information is presented on the numismatic material found in the ancient farmhouse Juzhnoe, which is located in a valley 9.5 km to the west of ancient Theodosia between the ridges Tetja Oba and Bijuk Janycar. The numismatic material is represented by coins of Panticapeum and Theodosia. The coins show that the farmhouse was constructed at the end of the third- the beginning of the fourth quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

All stages of the so-called financial crisis are reflected in the numismatic material found at the site, and the site also provides us with the largest collection of late Theodosian coins of a known provenance. Among the coins there is also a new, hitherto unknown type that supplements our knowledge of Theodosian coin issues of that time. In particular, this issue testifies that in the beginning of the 260's BC in Theodosia, for a short period of about 15 years, independence and democratic rule were restored and the city acted, as an independent *polis* in the *chora* at which the local coins were mainly aimed. This interval of independence was the result of the nomads' pressure on the North Pontic *poleis* and their territories. Apparently, the Bosporan Kingdom had been considerably occupied by this problem, so its ruling class had no time for Theodosia and its environs on the periphery of the empire. Theodosia was obliged to settle affairs with the nomads themselves and could partially restore the *chora* and, moreover, independence.

The last and final coins were minted by Theodosia during the lifetime of Pairisades II probably at the end of his rule (the late 250s-beginning of the 240's BC). The monetary symbols of Theodosia's last issue testify that the Olympian deities: Apollo, Athena, Demeter, Dionysos, Herakles were worshipped at *polis* level and played an important role in the cultural-political relations with other cities of Classical Antiquity.

\*S. Finogenova

### **New finds of *tesserae* in the Taman Peninsula**

Because of their limited number and the poor preservation of their images, it is only recently that ancient lead *tesserae* have begun to draw the attention of scholars. In the process of their studies researchers have presented various interpretations of their use. Some consider them as monetary certificates; others argue that they provided the citizens of the *polis* access to some kind of privileges free-of-charge.

Until recently in the Northern Black Sea Coast *tesserae* were exclusively known from Chersonesos. The Taman *tesserae*, which are from a private collection and have no known provenance, were first known in 2003. Two years later, a lead *tessera* was found *in situ* in a Hellenistic layer in the excavation of Hermonassa, and the following year two further *tesserae* were found. It has subsequently been recognized that local collectors are in possession of about 20 more *tesserae*. On the majority of them we find images of various characters: renderings of gods, cult symbols, masks etc., which may be connected with the religious festivals testified to in inscriptions from Hermonassa and Phanagoreia. These small objects provided the participants



with free access to distributions of sacrificial meat or grain. It is possible that *tesserae* were distributed to members of the *thiasoi*, also found in these cities. The Taman *tesserae* expand our knowledge of various parts of the life in the cities of the Northern Black Sea region.