

Hellenistic Chersonesos: Towards Establishing a Local Chronology

Vladimir F. Stolba

INTRODUCTION

As in the case of many other colonies of the Pontic Greeks, any attempt at establishing a local chronology of Hellenistic Chersonesos is hampered by the scarcity of literary sources and the relatively small number of inscriptions, which may contribute to this task.

Because of their prosopographical data, local amphora stamps – the chronology of which was developed recently by Vladimir I. Kac¹ – are usually considered the most reliable criterion not only for dating archaeological contexts, but also for adjusting both numismatic and epigraphic chronologies. Thus, for instance, the settlement chronology of the Chersonesean *chora* is mainly based on the local amphora stamps as well as on the stamps of Thasos, Sinope and Rhodos, while all other groups of artefacts like amphoras, black-glazed pottery, and even coins, play in fact an auxiliary role, first and foremost because of the degree of precision they may offer. Similarly, the stamp chronology was applied for re-dating one of the central epigraphical documents of Chersonesos, the so-called statement of the land lease (*IOSPE* I², 403).² As stressed by Ju.G. Vinogradov and A.N. Ščeglov, the prosopographical analysis of the inscription is based mainly on “the fundamentally elaborated chronological classification of Chersonesean amphora stamps”.³

We must admit, however, that in contrast to a number of other scholars, both historians and archaeologists, who in their conception rely on the stamp chronology as if it were firmly established, V.I. Kac himself fully realizes the danger of such an idealization.⁴ Although playing a crucial role in establishing a general chronology of Chersonesos, the devising of the chronology for the local amphora stamps still proves to lack so-called fixed points.

CHERSONESEAN AMPHORA STAMP CHRONOLOGY

KAC'S CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

The chronology developed by Kac is based mainly on typological observations. Taking as his point of departure the belief that the composition and

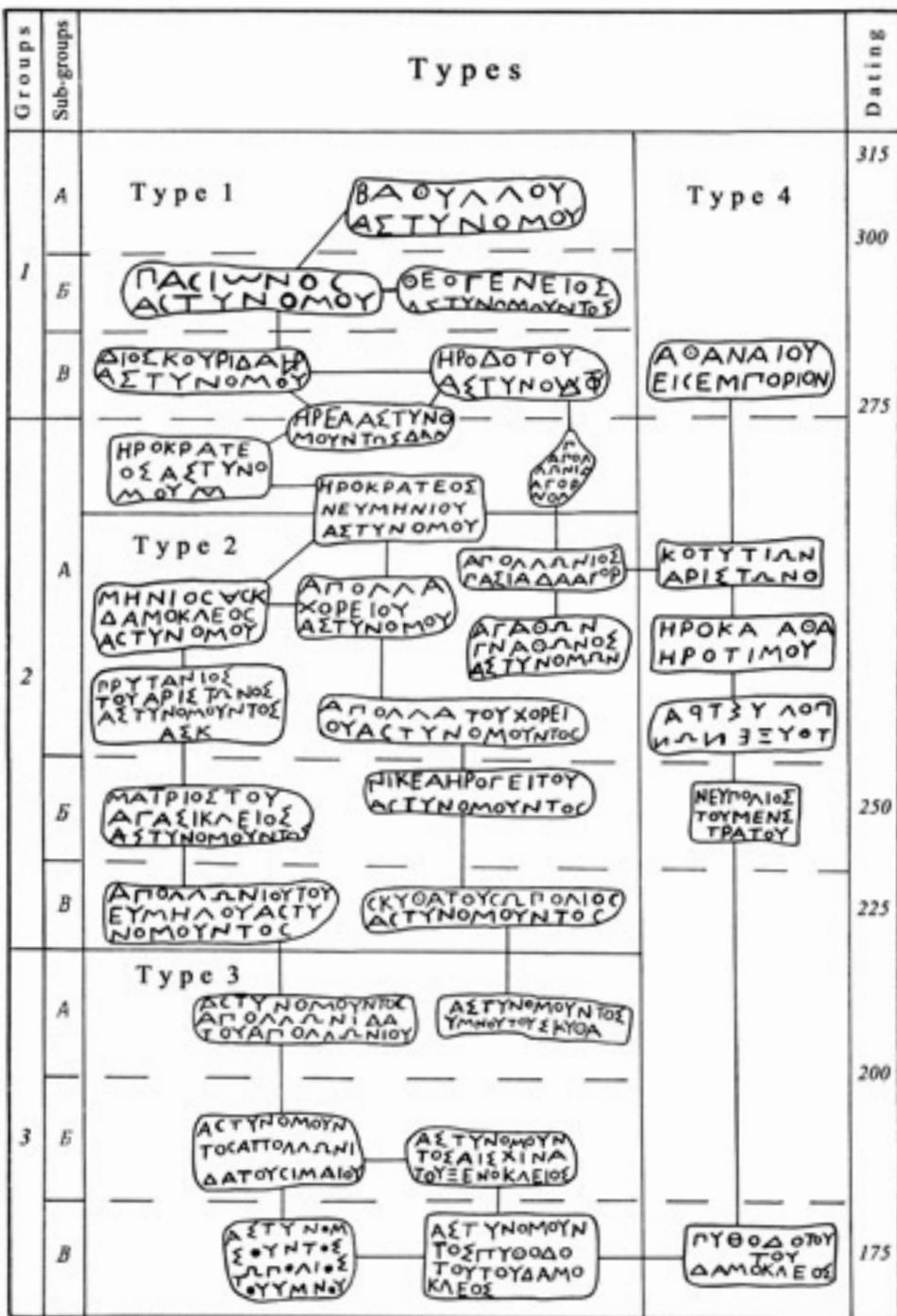


Fig. 1. Typology of the Chersonesean amphora stamps (after Kac 1985).

arrangement of the basic elements of a reading constitute the most important typological feature, he distinguishes four different types of stamps (Fig. 1):⁵

Type 1 comprises stamps containing a name without patronymic, followed by the magistrate's title;

Type 2 is characterized by the legend containing a name with patronymic, followed by the title;

Type 3 is composed of stamps in which the title is put before the name and patronymic;

Type 4 comprises the stamp without any title in the legend.

Whilst according to Kac the first three types apparently represent an uninterrupted chronological sequence and may, therefore, each form a chronological group, Type 4 was considered as atypical variations of all of the three foregoing types of stamps. This typological study resulted in constituting three chronological groups consisting of three to four sub-groups each. The chronological limits suggested by Kac for each sub-group and correspondingly a number of registered magistrates are summarized in Table 1:

Table 1.

Groups		Date	Number of recorded magistrates	Number of years
1	A	325-315	39	40
	Б	315-300		
	B	300-285		
2	A	285-272	48	55
	Б	272-262		
	B	262-237		
	Г	237-230		
3	A	230-215	40	45
	Б	215-200		
	B	200-185		
1-3		325-185	127	140

The first question that arises is: how certain are the dates Kac has arrived at, not only for individual groups and sub-groups, but first and foremost for the most significant points for the sequence, the beginning and the end of the stamping?

EVIDENCE FOR THE STARTING DATE

In his earlier publication from 1985 he considered the late 4th century or more precisely 320-315 BC as the most appropriate starting point of the local amphora stamping.⁶ Nine years of intensive research resulted in pushing this date back by five years, i.e. to 325 BC. A.B. Kolesnikov and Ju.B. Michlin have arrived at almost the same conclusion suggesting that this practice began in the 320s and 330 BC respectively.⁷ Whilst Michlin relies on the local coin chronology, which in itself needs a number of further adjustments, Kac's attempt based on the closed ceramic deposits is undoubtedly to be preferred. However, even in this case the context, which at first glance seemed to be fairly well datable, may cause some confusion depending on which of the existing ceramic or amphora stamp chronologies the scholars rely on.

"Closed" deposits: Chersonesean theatre and Majak

Among the most important deposits, which Kac refers to in order to substantiate the suggested date 325 BC are two collections of amphora stamps obtained by the excavations in the distant *chora* of Chersonesos and in the city itself. The last of the contexts is a fill underlying the ruins of the early Hellenistic theatre comprising over 200 tile and amphora stamps of Mende, Akanthos, Knidos, Thasos, Herakleia and Sinope. The total absence of Chersonesean stamps antedates the accumulation of the layer to the period preceding the introduction of the local amphora stamping. The first of the two mentioned assemblages where, on the contrary, the earliest Chersonesean stamps are well represented comes from the excavations of the farmhouses near the lighthouse of Eupatoria, the so-called "Majak". According to A.B. Kolesnikov, who in this particular point bases his arguments largely on the stamps of Sinope, Herakleia and Thasos, the appearance of these farmhouses dates to the beginning of the last third of the 4th century BC.⁸

Aiming at a more accurate date for his scheme Kac adduced mostly the stamps of five Sinopean officials Antimachos, Gyrittos, Epielpos, Poseidonios and Mantitheos since all of them are represented in both contexts as the youngest and the earliest magistrates respectively. Working from the chronologies of Sinopean stamps elaborated by A.B. Kolesnikov⁹ as well as by N. Conovici, A. Avram and G. Boenaru-Bordea¹⁰ he assigns them to the 320s BC in the middle of chronological group 2. However, one will arrive at a different date when applying the stamp chronology developed more recently by Nikolai F. Fedoseev.¹¹ According to his scheme the activity of the magistrates in question falls into the period between 360 and 330 where Gyrittos and Antimachos, dated to 345-335 and to 340-330 respectively, appear to be the youngest. Epielpos and Poseidonios III, both ascribed 350-340, come close to it, and only Mantitheos, dated to 360-350 BC, seems to be an outsider.

Thasian stamp chronology and its implications

The collection of Thasian stamps retrieved from the fill below the theatre presumed to support Kac's dating, could in fact, corroborate both his own scheme and the pushing up of the Sinopean chronology as suggested by Fedoseev. It depends greatly on how the discussion about Thasian stamp chronology is concluded. From 20 specimens recorded in this assemblage, eight belong to the second period of stamping being solely represented by the eponym Kleitos, who appears to be the earliest official of that period. Therefore, the transitional date from old style Thasian stamps to the stamps of the later period is obviously of crucial importance for the Chersonesean chronology. The same is true for the initial date of the Thasian stamping, since with a fixed number of the old-style eponyms recorded these dates become closely interrelated.

As early as 1956, Virginia Grace publishing the Pnyx material suggested c. 340 BC as the point when the break in the Thasian stamping system presumably happened.¹² Notwithstanding the wide acceptance of Grace's assumption, Kac refers to Y. Garlan, who questions the association between the conquest of Philip II and the Thasian stamping reform and places the transition to the new style stamps about ten years later, i.e. c. 330 BC,¹³ which by a fixed number of the old-style eponyms also means the lowering of the initial date from before 400 BC proposed by Grace to c. 390. To prove this date, Garlan, like A. Avram in recent publication of the Thasian stamps from the Istros excavations,¹⁴ also takes account of the context of the 4th century fill of Pnyx III, which seems to indicate the end of the early-style Thasian stamping. Yet, as stressed by Mark Lawall in his review from 2001,¹⁵ the date of c. 330-326 BC, which both Avram and Garlan regard as a closing date for Pnyx III should now be reassessed in view of the publication by Susan I. Rotroff and John McK. Camp.¹⁶ Working from historical and architectural sources as well as an independent analysis of the ceramic evidence they argue for the period between 346 and 338 BC as the date for the fill of period III.¹⁷ As shown by Lawall, most of the debris constituting the fill should have been deposited before 342.¹⁸

Unfortunately, as it turns out, fill III of the Athenian Assembly and the Agora deposits D19:1 and J13-14:1 discussed by Grace and regarded as providing "the fixed points" for the transitional and initial dates of the Thasian stamping cannot here provide the required precision. Being the earliest Agora deposits thought to support the initial date before 400 BC, both D19:1 and J13-14:1 proved to contain some material of the early 4th century.¹⁹ Allowing some later dates for the earliest series of the Thasian stamps this fact does not rule out the possibility of their being contemporary with the earlier, late-fifth century material of these deposits.

Black Sea evidence for the initial and transitional dates of the Thasian stamping

The Black Sea material can contribute substantially to this discussion supplying additional arguments in favour of the dates put forward by Grace. Owing to the finds in the Olbian storage-cellar of 1947 and grave 51 of 1912, the Thasian old-style eponyms Labro() and Ti() (both of Group B) are reliably synchronized with the Herakleian stamps of the earlier fabricant group (EFG) (Hermantos, Euopis, Nikasion, Rhamphias, Archelas, Dionysios, Herakleidas, Eupamon, Eurydamos, Kallias, Nossos, Onasos, Pyronidas, Satyrion, Silanos I and Theogenes) as well as with the two earliest eponyms Orthesilas and Aristokles of the magistrate group I (MG I).²⁰ According to S.Ju. Monachov both deposits were presumably closed within the second half of the 390s BC.²¹ However, in V.I. Kac's most recent chronology of the Herakleian amphora stamping Orthesilas and Aristokles, who are placed at the very beginning of sub-group A, seem to have been active in the early 390s.²² Correspondingly, the activity of the aforementioned fabricants is assigned to the period between 415 and 400 BC.²³ Even if one assumes the terminal date of the EFG in the middle of the 390s, as suggested newly by Monachov,²⁴ both of the Thasian eponyms recorded, are likely to be placed closer to the beginning of Group B. Otherwise, following Avram's and Garlan's order of the old-style Thasian eponyms the starting date of the stamping should lie about ten years ahead of the activity of Ti().

Allowing for this updating of the Pnyx III chronology and both of the Olbian deposits, the transition to the Thasian new style stamps, and the activity of Kleitos should accordingly be moved close to the date proposed by Grace, i.e. about 340 or the early 330s.²⁵ Furthermore, Michel Debidour recently argued for placing Kleitos among the eponyms of the old style.²⁶ This appears to be more in harmony with a new dating of Sinopean stamps from Chersonesos recorded in the fill underlying the theatre. Also the analysis of a deposit from a cistern below the kiln no. 9 in the south-eastern ceramic workshop of Chersonesos leads to the same conclusion. The stamp of Kleitos being the youngest specimen in this assemblage appears among the stamps that date in general from not later than the middle of the 4th century.²⁷

In this context the finds from the central area U7 in the settlement of Panskoe I²⁸ are also helpful. Here two stamps of Kleitos are recorded in the reliably stratified contexts of the so-called horizon B (Fig. 2).²⁹ Like the fill underlying the Chersonesean theatre, the horizon B of Panskoe I/U7 is devoid of any amphora stamps of Chersonesos, the earliest of which emerge first in the overlying horizon A. The date of horizon B, thus, antedating the start of the Chersonesean stamping, rests mostly on the Herakleian stamps, Attic black-glaze and coin material. The upper sub-horizon of this layer (B₁), which is best represented by an extramural house excavated in 1987,³⁰ revealed the stamps of the eponyms of MG IV Silanos (with a fabricant Aristokles)³¹ and Menoitios (with a fabricant Damophon and a kantharos as an emblem).³² Both of them

Fig. 2. The Thasian stamps of Kleitos from Panskoe I/ U7, horizon B.



are to be found in sub-groups B and C of Kac's MG IV respectively, which are now dated from c. 355 to the beginning of the 330s.³³ Close in time is the lower part of the Chian amphora with a conical toe found in room 117 of the aforementioned house (Fig. 3.1).³⁴ Fragments of similar toes are associated with one of the stamps of Kleitos found in courtyard 18 of the U7³⁵ and are datable to about 350 BC by analogy with the amphora from tumulus 26 (1911) in the necropolis of Elizavetovskoe.³⁶ Indicative also are the upper part of a neck³⁷

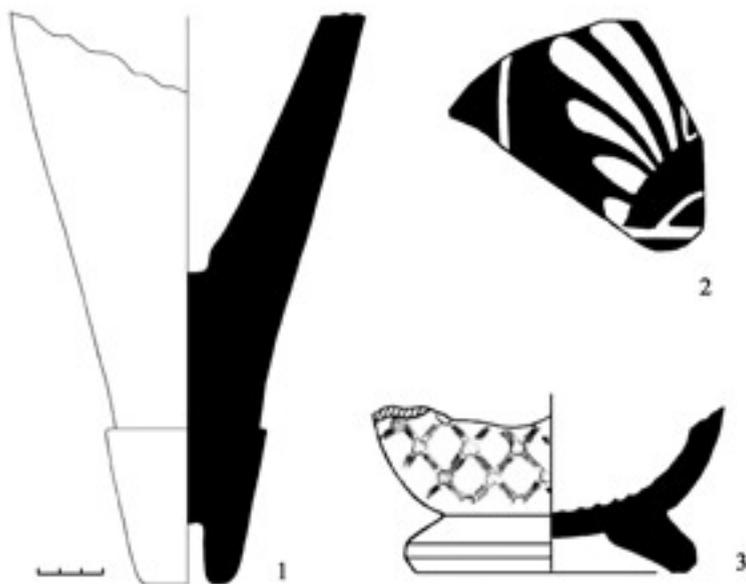


Fig. 3. Panskoe I/U7. Finds from the extramural house excavated in 1987 (sub-horizon B₁): 1) the lower part of the Chian amphora from room 117; 2-3) fragments of the squat lekythoi from room 114.

and massive toes of the Chersonesean amphoras³⁸ characteristic of Types 1-A-1 and 1-A-2 by Monachov, which precede the stamped specimens.³⁹

The black-glazed material unearthed in the aforementioned house excavated in 1987, apart from a few specimens of the earlier period, fits mostly within these same chronological limits. The fragmentary squat lekythos with a red-figured palmette on the front (Fig. 3.2)⁴⁰ as well as one with a net pattern on the body (Fig. 3.3),⁴¹ found on the floor of room 114, represent the early variants of these types, providing a date of around 350, as attested by the presence of both types in Olynthos.⁴² An Attic skyphos of Corinthian type with a zone of cross-hatching above the foot (cf. *Agora* XII, no. 326) as well as a salt-cellar of *Agora* XII, no. 937 type, which come from the same assemblage are dated to somewhere within a period from 350 to c. 330 or to 325 BC respectively. However, all the shapes mentioned are well attested in a number of graves of Panskoe I necropolis, which date reliably as not later than 340 BC.⁴³

The last group of artefacts pertaining to the aforementioned context are the coins. The three Chersonesean specimens found on the floor of room 112 (1 ex.) and in the upper fill of the household pit within the same living unit (2 ex.), all of type Anokhin (1980) 57-59, are clearly associated with the last stage of the house's existence.⁴⁴ A similar coin comes from the layer-B floor of room 9 in the eastern corner of the area U7.⁴⁵ The type constitutes a half denomination of the larger bronze pieces (with a quadriga on the obverse and a kneeling warrior on the reverse, type: Anokhin (1980) 36-56), which were minted for about 20 years between c. 350 and c. 330⁴⁶ and saw even longer circulation.⁴⁷ Our coins being marked with the abbreviated names of the officials belong, however, to the earliest issues of the series at the very beginning of this span.⁴⁸ Their circulation beyond the period of mintage, by contrast with the large fraction pieces, is not attested. This is quite consistent with their state of preservation, which does not show any traces of their being used over any longer period. Correspondingly, the youngest foreign coin found in layer B dates most likely to the period prior to 344 BC.⁴⁹ Thus, the chronology of the coins correlates entirely with that of the remaining part of the assemblage, which in the aggregate permits the dating of the destruction of the house to somewhere in the period from c. 340 to c. 335 BC. Consequently, this supplies a *terminus ante quem* for the horizon B of Panskoe I and the activity of Kleitos.

Finally, there is a body of indirect evidence for an earlier transition to the Thasian new style stamps, which involves the amphora chronologies of the other centres. The first which should be mentioned is a deposit from tumulus 8 of the Čerednikova Mogila barrow group.⁵⁰ Here the single Thasian amphora with the new-style eponym Deialkos is associated with the seven Chian amphoras with a conical toe paralleled in the jars of the first half or the middle of the 4th century,⁵¹ one amphora of Mende dated to the 360s,⁵² and a series of 23 Herakleian vessels, including 14 stamped ones. All of the

Fig. 4. Bronze coin of Chersonesos (Museum Narodowe, Warsaw, inv.-no. 155927; after a cast).



Herakleian stamps are represented solely by two eponyms Amphitas and Bakchos. They start Kac's Group MG IV and date from about the middle of the 350s.⁵³ Assuming that transition to the new style stamps in Thasos took place between 340 and 335 BC it makes the amphora with Deialkos, one of the seven first new style eponyms, less distant from the rest of the assemblage, which seems to me more likely.

Indeed, pushing up the chronology of the Thasian stamps implies an earlier start of the Chersonesean stamping, which is, therefore, most probably to be dated somewhere in the period between c. 335 and c. 330 BC. The question arises, though, whether some other observations or a body of independent material other than stamps can verify the new initial date I think, the answer should be positive. The relatively late appearance of the magistrate stamps compared to the local wine jars, the production of which starts about the middle of the 4th century, is likely to be linked to a radical change in the city's political system and an introduction of the democratic institutions.⁵⁴ This process has also resulted in the appearance of the magistrate names on the local coins (Fig. 4)⁵⁵ that replaced a large issue where each series was marked alphabetically with a single letter. Based on independent criteria these new bronze issues date to the 330s BC⁵⁶ and with some caution may be considered to be contemporary with the earliest local stamps.

TERMINAL DATE OF THE CHERSONESEAN STAMPING

Historical "fixed" point

Coming back to the lower chronological limit of the stamps of Chersonesos we may observe that in Kac's scheme its occurrence turns out to be closely associated with the 80s of the 2nd century BC, mostly due to the desire to link it to the well-known alliance between Chersonesos and Pharnakes (*IOSPE I*², 402) and to the belief that the final destruction of the Chersonesean *chora* took place at that time. In order to set the "fixed points" both for the beginning and the end of stamping, which mark a period of about 150 years, he was forced to reserve more room for each chronological group in the hope that more names would come to light in addition to the 127 different officials hitherto recorded. The gap will be even more ample if we accept the earlier date for Kleitos and accordingly for the earliest Chersonesean stamps. Moreover, the "anchoring point" for the end date does not seem to be evident either, since 179 BC sug-

gested by the *editor princeps* for the Pharnakes' decree and accepted by Kac proves to be the most doubtful of the dates proposed so far. Without going into details of the problem considered thoroughly by Jakob M. Højte,⁵⁷ it has to be underscored that 155 BC proposed by S.M. Burstein and C. McGing for the alliance with Pharnakes and accepted later by W. Leschhorn and others⁵⁸ is more likely to be correct. This will make the gap even wider.

Still, Kac's suggestion of assigning the final destruction of the Chersonesos' "home" *chora* to the late 190s or early 180s BC causes further confusion. So, in the Pharnakes' decree this territory (ἡ κρατούμενη ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτῶν χώρα), in spite of very explicit expression of the pressure on the part of the neighbouring barbarians, is still meant as one, which has to be defended.

Archaeological evidence: the Rhodian stamps

Considering the stamp assemblages from the farmhouses on the Herakleian peninsula, where the latest stamps of Chersonesos are found together with amphora handles from Sinope bearing the names of the officials of the chronological groups 5 (late) and 6, we encounter another problem, namely the one of their correlation with the chronology of the Rhodian stamps. Thus, among the material from the farmhouses in the vicinity of Chersonesos, the stamp of Timourrhodos, a Rhodian eponym of Group 4 is recorded.⁵⁹ M.I. Zolotarev and E.Ja. Turovskij mention another Rhodian stamp of the same chronological group from farmhouse 26.⁶⁰ Here mention should also be made of the Chersonesean settlement of Kizil Jar, situated south of Eupatoria on the Crimean west coast. Along with the stamp of Chersonesos of Kac' Group 2Γ it revealed the Rhodian stamp of the eponym Eudamos.⁶¹ More material has been reported from the excavations in Kalos Limen. Here, V.A. Kutajsov and V.B. Użencev record the stamps of Pausanias III and Pythogenes, the eponyms of Group 4, as originating from the destruction layer of the citadel.⁶² Another Rhodian stamp with the name of Gorgon is connected with a destruction of living-unit 2. This destruction layer yielded also a Chersonesean coin (type Anokhin 168-169) dated independently by Anokhin to 160-150 BC.⁶³ The context of one more stamp of Rhodos found at the site and bearing the name of Aristomachos I remains unspecified.⁶⁴

Here we should also take note of the deposit from a well in the northern area of Chersonesos where the local amphora marked by Simaios, son of Eurydamos, the magistrate of Group 3B, as well as the Sinopean wine jar with a stamp of Group 5 with the name of Hikesios, son of Bakchios, are associated with Rhodian amphora handles marked with the stamps of Group 4. The last-named are represented by the eponyms Heragoras and Gorgon as well as by the fabricant Bromios. In his attempt to resolve this chronological discrepancy Kac, who also refers to this deposit, suggests pushing back the Grace chronology of the Rhodian Group 4 by c. 10-15 years, which would be enough to make it fit his own system. Yet, it seems to be a questionable

method. Furthermore, Kac's book appeared too early to take account of G. Finkielsztejn's research (2001), which independently arrived at much younger dates. This downdating of the Rhodian sequence is entirely consistent with the lowering the closing date of the Pergamon Deposit to the late 160s or early 150s suggested recently by Lawall.⁶⁵ Finkielsztejn places the aforementioned eponyms Timourhodos, Aristomachos I, Heragoras, Gorgon and Pausanias III closely together in the brief period between 159 and 152 BC. They are followed by Eudamos and Pythogenes, which are assigned to about 150 BC.⁶⁶ Hence, it is evident that these dates are also much more in line with the new date suggested for the alliance between Chersonesos and Pharnakes.

Of special note here is a collection of stamps from the settlement of Bol'šoj Kastel'. Here along with the Rhodian stamps of groups 2 and 3 three stamps of the chronological group 5 are recorded.⁶⁷ The latter are represented by the eponymous stamps of Archibios, Aischinas, and Archinos. Finkielsztejn ascribes these officials to period 5c dating them between c. 120 and c. 115. This dating just like the one proposed earlier by V. Grace and Ju.S. Badaljanc creates, however, a considerable gap in the remainder of the stamp collection, which seemingly dates from no later than the middle of this century. This fact forced Monachov to question the dating of the corresponding Rhodian stamps, and, finally, to suggest its radical pushing up by c. forty years.⁶⁸ However, it would be an oversimplification to consider all these stamps a homogeneous assemblage linked up with the Chersonesean presence. On the contrary, the stamps of period 5c seem to be a clear evidence of habitation on a small scale after the site was captured by the Scythians. This also squares with a large quantity of the handmade ware found here, which shapes and fabric find the closest parallel in the late Scythian pottery.⁶⁹

It appears, however, that Bol'šoj Kastel' is not the only of the former Chersonesean possessions presenting such a late body of material. Among the first examples to be referred to are Athenian New Style tetradrachms as well as one of Thasos found at two sites in the western Crimea.⁷⁰ Thus one Athenian coin reported from Kerkinitis bears the names Dionysi(), Dionysi(), and Metro(), and is dated by M. Thompson to 151/150 BC (Issue 46).⁷¹ Another Athenian specimen of New Style Issue 57 with the names of Eumelos, Kaliphon, and Hera() assignable according to the same author to 140/139 BC as well as a tetradrachm of Thasos come from the settlement of Terekly-Konrat, which until the 2nd century BC formed part of the Chersonesean *chora*. As assumed by Golenko and Ščeglov the coins suggest the period when both sites were already taken over by the Scythians. Meanwhile, soon after its appearance Thompson's chronology was debated by a number of scholars, mostly arguing for some younger initial date of the coinage (in the 160s BC).⁷² Thus, accepting 164/163 BC proposed by Boehringer⁷³ as an initial date of the New Style series, we shall arrive at 119/118 and 108/107 BC for our coins respectively. Their connection with a later Scythian population of the sites seems unlikely, for extremely few coin finds associated with the Scythian settlements imply

the non-monetary character of their economy.⁷⁴ Therefore, the finds of the New Style coins are more likely to be linked to the Diophantos campaigns of 110-108 BC,⁷⁵ which perhaps could lead to the subsequent revival of some of the settlements of the former Chersonesean *chora*.⁷⁶

Numismatic data

Along with the aforementioned Chersonesean coin from the destruction layer at Kalos Limen there is another piece of evidence, which argues for a date later than 179 BC as a terminal point of the Chersonesean stamping. This is the Chersonesean issue of the pseudo-Lysimachos type, first attributed by Henry Seyrig.⁷⁷ Both of the specimens known until now originate from the Ordu (Kotyora) hoard of 1970 published by Christof Boehringer.⁷⁸ The date he suggests, about 150 BC, for the burial of the hoard⁷⁹ seems very likely, and so far there are no reasons this should be reconsidered.⁸⁰ Struck by one and the same die pair the Chersonesean coins show very little if any traces of having been in circulation, proving, therefore, their having been issued shortly before this date. Taking into account the tetradrachms of Demetrios I of Syria – the youngest reliably dated coins of the hoard, which were minted in 158 of the Seleucid era (= 155/154 BC) and also show “leichte Umlaufspuren” – it seems reasonable to assign the Chersonesean specimens to the period around 155-150 BC as well.⁸¹ The fact that Chersonesos undertook the issuing of large silver coins at that very point can hardly be reconciled with the traditional belief that the *polis* had already lost its *chora* by the early 180s BC – a loss which beyond question must have had disastrous consequences for the city’s economy.

In my view, the facts scrutinized above do not substantiate Kac’s claim. Therefore, the devastation of the *chora* close to the city as well as the destruction of Kalos Limen in western Crimea could apparently have taken place fairly soon after the treaty was published, i.e. about 150 BC or at the very beginning of the next decade.

THE RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY OF THE STAMPING: PROPOSED ADJUSTMENTS

Summing up, I would suggest a number of adjustments to the extant amphora stamps chronology of Chersonesos, which are summarized in Table 2 below. Apart from the absolute dates where c. 330 and c. 150 BC were taken as the points of departure some changes have involved an arrangement of the magistrates within two out of the three chronological groups.

Taking into account the extreme palaeographical divergence in the stamps of Pasion assigned to sub-group 1B it seems more likely that we are dealing with two homonymous officials rather than just two different hands of stamp engravers. Whilst four of the dies, namely 1-93, 5-8, show a steady employment

of cursive shapes, the “orthodox” lettering of four others (1-93, 1-4) resembles rather the earliest stamps of the city. The genitive form ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟ with a long O for OY attested in the three out of four dies of the latter group (1-93, 1-3) also points towards an earlier date for Pasion I. As proved by Attic official inscriptions, this orthography, quite common in the period from 400 to 350 BC, becomes very rare towards the end of the century. According to L. Threatte’s data, the latest inscription showing this spelling dates to 302/301 BC.⁸² Furthermore, only this group of Pasion’s stamps appears together with fabricant names applied by an additional stamp. This trait, distinctive of the stamps of sub-group 1B, necessitates the assignment of Pasion I to this same period. For a similar reason, as well as working from the prosopographical evidence Choreios, the magistrate allocated previously to sub-group 1B, was moved to the foregoing sub-group.⁸³

Some re-arranging of the magistrates has also been the case with Group 2. Thus, included in sub-group 2Γ was one formerly unknown official, Nanon, son of Symmachos, attested by a type-2 stamp on the handle of a jug or a small amphora from the settlement of Beljaus.⁸⁴ Nikeas, son of Herakleios, represented by the type-2 stamps and put by Kac into sub-group 2B has been moved to the foregoing sub-group. The typology and palaeography of his stamps invariably with a four-barred sigma resemble closely the stamps of Matris, son of Agasikles, a magistrate of sub-group 2B. Along with Nikeas, son of Herogeitos, and Istron, son of Apollonidas, Nikeas, son of Herakleios, seems to be among the last magistrates recorded in the south-eastern ceramic workshop of Chersonesos.⁸⁵ The fact that all the farmhouses in the closest vicinity of the city perished about 270 BC makes the simultaneous destruction of the workshops situated just outside the city walls more likely than its continuous existence for another 10 years as suggested by Kac.⁸⁶ Moreover, pushing Nikeas, son of Herakleios, up makes it possible to associate his father with a tonymous magistrate of Group 1B, who was active in the late fourth century.

On the other hand, Eumelos, son of Apollonios, Lykon, son of Apollonios, and Matrodoros, son of Lysippos, magistrates of Kac’s sub-group 2B, have been moved to the following sub-group 2B. Previous ascribing of them to sub-group 2B was prompted solely by the fact that the stamps of these officials are known in a relatively large number of dies (Lykon – 3, Eumelos – 4, Matrodoros – 3), a feature thought to be more characteristic of the stamps of the earlier period.⁸⁷ Arguing for an earlier date Kac claims that one stamp of Matrodoros is attested in farmhouse 10 on the Herakleian peninsula, where it is associated supposedly with building period 2. However, as it turns out, the findspot of this stamp supports rather its downdating. In fact, farmhouse 10 does not belong to the closed contexts, and continued to exist even in the first half of the second century BC.⁸⁸ According to the excavation report the fragmentary amphora with the stamp of Matrodoros was found in the courtyard just under the pavement, the construction of which both Kruglikova and

Saprykin relate to the final phase of the house's existence (building period 4) dated widely within the entire 2nd century BC.⁸⁹ Thus, the amphora with Matrodoros might well belong to the last third of the third century. This coincides well with the fact that stylistically these stamps show the closest resemblance to the stamps of the sub-group-2B magistrate Kallistratos, son of Kallistratos.⁹⁰ Moreover, neither Matrodoros nor Eumelos and Lykon are attested in the assemblages listed in Table 2.

The number of the dies known cannot be interpreted as a contra-indication of their later date either, as suggested by the stamps of the group-2B magistrate Dioskouridas, son of Theodoros, known from four different dies.⁹¹ In contrast, the stamps of Eumelos, like the ones of Matrodoros and Lykon, show a consistent use of a lunate sigma, and, what is more important, an omega of a cursive shape in die 1-45, 2 – a pattern not attested otherwise in Group 2, and which is distinctive for the stamps of Group 3.⁹² Finally, Eumelos and Lykon were probably brothers. The stamps of Eumelos's son Apollonios represented like the stamps of Eumelos himself, by Type 2 only are placed by Kac in sub-group 2Γ. If his arrangement of the magistrates is maintained, a supposed break after sub-group 2Б will create a gap of more than 60 years between these two officials, which also provides an argument for moving Eumelos into sub-group 2B.

Similarly, Artemidoros, son of Pasiadas, the magistrate of Kac's sub-group 2Б, should be located closer to, or even before, his brother Apollonios allocated to sub-group 2A. As attested by *IOSPE I*², 414, in the late 4th or the early 3rd century BC their father Pasiadas, son of Artemidoros, exercised the duties of the city's eponym official (*basileus*) and the priest of Parthenos. Allowing for the patronymic of Pasiadas, the *astynomos* Artemidoros is very likely to be the oldest of his sons.⁹³

CONCLUSION

Thus, in view of our reconsideration of the "anchoring points" of the Chersonesean chronology the entire duration of the stamped wine jar production probably embraced a period of over 180 years. Even if the boldest expectations that further fieldwork will reveal new names of the local magistrates are borne out, the gap of about 50 years still remains too big to permit an uninterrupted sequence of the chronological groups. By contrast, there are good reasons to propose a rather long break in the production during the third century BC. The second and the third quarters of the 3rd century BC are known as a period of severe economic decline when the city was totally devoid of its *chora*.⁹⁴ About 270 BC, all the settlements of the distant territory of the *polis* including Panskoe, Mežvodnoe, Čajka, the farmhouse by Vetrenaja Bay, suddenly ceased to exist as a result of a barbarian invasion.⁹⁵ Quite probably, Kerkitis and Kalos Limen, the smaller poleis of the western Crimea,

also suffered the same destruction.⁹⁶ The recent archaeological explorations as well as a reassessment of the material of the previous excavations on the Herakleian peninsula – the main area of Chersonesean wine production – have proved that the farmhouses in the city's vicinity experienced the same fate by the beginning of the second third of the 3rd century.⁹⁷ The coin hoards found in this particular part of the *chora*, the owners of which did not return for their treasures, provide further evidence of it.⁹⁸ Even with the boldest imagination it is difficult to suppose that under such conditions Chersonesos was able to produce wine uninterruptedly and on the same scale. It would be much more natural to assume that due to the withdrawing of the rural population and the emptying of the vineyards in the *chora* Chersonesos did not produce any wine for at least several decades.

The situation changed only in the last third of the 3rd century when stabilized relations with the Scythians allowed the *polis* once again to re-colonize both the distant and the nearest *chora* providing possibilities for the revival of the Chersonesean wine production.

Table 2.

Kac's chronological groups	Suggested chronology (Stolba)	Nos. in Kac's catalogue	Officials	Assemblages										
				Panskoe I ⁹⁹	Majak ¹⁰⁰	Farmhouse 25 ¹⁰¹	Elizavetovskoe ¹⁰²	Ceramic workshop ¹⁰³	Nikonion ¹⁰⁴	Pesčanka ¹⁰⁵	Farmhouse 26 ¹⁰⁶	Novo-Fedorovka ¹⁰⁷	Zapadno-Donuzlavskoe ¹⁰⁸	Farmhouse 46 ¹⁰⁹
1A (325-315)	c. 330-322	10	ANTIBIWN	+		+	+	+			+			+
		15	APOLLWNIDAS I	+			+		+	+			+	
		32	BAQULLOS	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	
		44	EUKLEIDAS	+		+				+		+		
		57	HRONIKOS			+					+		+	+
		68	KRATWN	+		+			+		+		+	+
		112	SWPOLIS	+				+	+		+	+		
		116	SWTADAS			+		+					+	
1B (315-300)	c. 321-304	7	AISCINAS			+	+	+					+	
		9	ALEXANDROS	+	+	+					+	+		
		12	APOLLAQEOS			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	
		20	APOLLWNIOS	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	
		30	ARCANDROS				+	+			+		+	
		34	DAMOKLHS						+	+				+
		47/48	HRAKLEIOS I, II	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+
		52	HROGEITOS								+		+	
		58	HROXENOS		+			+			+	+	+	
		60	QEOGENHS				+		+					
		74	MATRIS			+		+			+	+	+	+
		80	NANWN			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
		88	XANQOS	+	+		+	+			+		+	
		-	PASIWN I (Kac: 1B)			?	?	+						
		109	SURISKOS			+								
		110	SWKRITOS	+		+	+				+	+	+	
125	COREIOS (Kac: 1B)				+						+			

Notes

- 1 Kac 1994. On the previous chronologies of the Chersonesean amphora stamps, see Achmerov 1949; Borisova 1974; Michlin 1979.
- 2 Solomonik & Nikolaenko 1990 = Solomonik & Nikolaenko 1995.
- 3 Vinogradov & Ščeglov 1990, 335.
- 4 Kac 1994, 38-39.
- 5 Kac 1985, 92.
- 6 Kac 1985, 100.
- 7 Michlin 1979, 147; Kolesnikov 1985b, 74;
- 8 Kolesnikov 1985a, 13.
- 9 Kolesnikov 1985b, 69.
- 10 Conovici, Avram & Boenaru-Bordea 1992, 233, who place Group 2 in the period 344-310 BC. In the more recent publication on the Sinopean Stamps from Istros N. Conovici arrives at a later date putting this group between 333 and 296 (Conovici 1998, 51). Following his sequence of the magistrates the *astynomoi* Antimachos, Epielpos, Poseidonios, Gyrittos and Mantitheos ascribed to subgroups IIa, IIb and IIc were in office in 327, 321, 319, 316 and 312 respectively (Conovici 1998, 33). The tile stamp of Thearion dated by the same scholar to about 310 BC appears to be the youngest of Sinopean officials recorded in the fill underlying the Chersonesean theatre. Yet, such lower dates create a considerable gap in the remaining part of the assemblage (stamps of Thasos, absence of the Chersonesean stamps) suggesting rather a change in his arrangement of the officials (their moving to the beginning of the group) or pushing the entire group 2 up closer to the dates suggested by N. Fedoseev (1994, 189; 1999).
- 11 Fedoseev 1999.
- 12 Grace 1956, 123. This transitional date also was accepted by M. Debidour (1986, 313).
- 13 Garlan 1990, 479-483; 1999a, 48-54. On the probable reason for the reform, see Kac 1996.
- 14 Avram 1996, 24.
- 15 Lawall 2001a, 534-535. See also his contribution to this volume.
- 16 Rotroff & Camp 1996. The construction of Pnyx III during the Eubolos' time in power in the 340s was proposed already by Thompson 1982, 144-145.
- 17 Rotroff & Camp 1996, 275. Cf. Camp 1996, 45; Forsén 1996, 55. Compare, however, Rotroff 1996, 35-40, where she still favored the Lykourgan dating for the fill of Pnyx III.
- 18 See his contribution to this volume.
- 19 See M. Lawall's contribution to this volume.
- 20 On these deposits, see Knipovič 1949b, 26-27; Lejpuns'ka 1971, 65; Brašinskij 1965, 21-23; 1984, 135-136, 205; Monachov 1999a, 194-201, 203-205.
- 21 Monachov 1999a, 197, 205. In fact, Garlan (1999a, 45) also takes account of this deposit, in the dating of which he follows Brašinskij (1984a, 135: 380-370 BC).
- 22 Kac 2003a, 267, 275. The deposits from Panskoe I/U7 and Elizavetovskoe, which Kac relies on as substantiating the terminal date of the Heraklein stamping about 275 BC, should be treated with caution. Taking into account the multiple examples from Panskoe I/building U6 (see Kac et al. 2002, 108) the secondary use of the Herakleian amphoras at both of these sites can certainly not be excluded. Cf. also

- Stolba 2003, 292. For a possible fixed point for the termination of the magisterial stamping, see Stolba 2003, 291.
- 23 Kac 1997a, 216; 1997b, 45; 2003a, 272, 275.
- 24 Monachov 2003, 124.
- 25 Cf. Debidour 1986, 330, who suggests c. 345-335 BC for the entire group I of the new style stamps.
- 26 Debidour 1999, 84-89.
- 27 The deposit remains unpublished. It is briefly mentioned in Borisova 1958, 152 with an erroneous date for the fill of the cistern: the 4th to the mid of the 3rd century BC. More detailed information is available in the excavation report: Borisova 1957, 6-7. See also Kac 1994, 71.
- 28 For the general characteristic of the amphora assemblage from Panskoe I/U7, see now Monachov 1999a, 509-521.
- 29 The first of the stamps with a retrograde *rho* comes from the fill of the drain in the courtyard 18 (find list 67/125). The second (find list 68/110) was found in room A-8 and has a *my* in the field. The last find was accompanied by the two Herakleian stamps of Archelas (early fabricant group) and Kyros (an eponym of the end of MG II of Kac's system datable to c. 375 BC). One more Thasian amphora handle with a name of Kleitos supplemented by a *delta* comes from a chance find in 1973 (find list 108/4). Monachov (1999a, 518) mentions the two last stamps only.
- 30 On the context of the house of 1987, see in detail Stolba 1991, 78-84.
- 31 From sector A-9 in the eastern part of the central area U7, find list 70/29.
- 32 From extramural house of 1989, room 114, find list 176/23; Stolba 1991, 83.
- 33 Kac 2003a, 276.
- 34 Find list 179/10b.
- 35 Find list 67/129. From the same context comes one Sinopean amphora stamp (find list 67/117 [293]) with the names of the *astynomos* Nikomedes and the fabricant Archiptolemos (Grakov's group I), who was also active at the beginning of group II. Fedoseev (1999, 34) puts the activity of Nikomedes around 365 BC, whilst according to Conovici (1998, 25, 51) his activity should be dated to approximately 345/340 BC.
- 36 Monachov 1999a, 339, pl. 146.3.
- 37 Find list 174/9.
- 38 Find list 67/122.
- 39 See Monachov 1989a, 46-47.
- 40 Find list 176/82.
- 41 Find list 181/42. In the find list the specimen is erroneously recorded among the material from room 119. According to the excavation notebook it was found in room 114.
- 42 See Robinson 1933, 175-179, nos. 408-463, pls. 141-144, especially nos. 408 and 420 (with a palmette decoration). Cf. Ivanov 1963, pl. 49, no. 70. For lekythoi with a net pattern, see Robinson 1933, 181-185, pls. 146-147. Cf. Ivanov 1963, pls. 53-54.
- 43 E.g.: Tumulus 48, grave M1 (Monachov & Rogov 1990b, 138, pl. 10: c. 360-340 BC): squat lekythos with a net pattern, Corinthian-type skyphos with a zone of cross-hatching, Attic moulded-rim kantharos similar to *Agora* XII, no. 698; Thasian bi-conical amphora of Type I-B; grave M04 (Monachov & Rogov 1990b, 138, pl. 4: c. 400-380 BC): amphora of Murighiol type, squat lekythos with a net pattern,

- thick-walled cup-skyphos with a red-figured decoration attributed to the Jena-painter. See also Rogov & Tunkina 1998, 159-175.
- 44 One of the coins bears an abbreviation ΣΑ. On the two others the name is not preserved. The lower fill of the pit also revealed an earlier cast coin of Istros. On this find, see Gilevič, Stolba & Ščeglov 1991, 22-23 (note erroneous dating of the context).
- 45 The same room also revealed a small bronze coin with a lion's head on the obverse and a star on the reverse (type: Anokhin 27-32). The specimen comes from the fill above the layer-B floor and dates to about 350 BC. For dating, see Anokhin 1980, 15-16, 129.
- 46 Zograf 1927, 379-397; following him Anokhin 1980, 18, 38-39; Gilevič 1987, 55. Cf. Saprykin 1980, 56, who assumes even an earlier date: 362-350 BC. The lowering of the "orthodox" date of the issue proposed recently by E.Ja. Turovskij (1997, 14) lacks any sufficient argumentation. Cf. review by Kovalenko 1999, 202-210, especially p. 205.
- 47 Gilevič 1987, 55.
- 48 Anokhin 1980, 16-17, 38; Stolba 1990, 145.
- 49 According to Gilevič (1989, 19-20), the poorly preserved coin belongs to one of the Thessalian mints (Larissa?). For the chronology of the bronze coinage of Thessaly, see Rogers 1932. Cf. Martin 1985, 43.
- 50 Polin 1994, 55-57; Monachov 1999a, 340-348.
- 51 Monachov 1999a, 341, 344, pl. 149.9-10; Monachov & Rogov 1990a, 138-139, pl. 5.36-36.
- 52 Monachov 1999a, 345-346, pl. 150.1.
- 53 Kac 2003a, 276.
- 54 Stolba 1990, 151.
- 55 Type: Anokhin 1980, nos. 60-67.
- 56 Anokhin 1980, 19.
- 57 J.M. Højte, The Date of the Alliance between Chersonesos and Pharnakes (*IOSPE* 1², 402) and its Implications (this volume).
- 58 Leschhorn 1993, 79-82. See also Ehrhardt 1987, 107; Sherk 1991, 239 as well as my comment in Tochtas'ev 1997, 363 note 1.
- 59 Kac 1994, 74.
- 60 Zolotarev & Turovskij 1990, 80.
- 61 Lancov 1989, 82-83.
- 62 Kutajsov & Užencev 1997, 80-81.
- 63 Kutajsov & Užencev 1991, 90; Užencev 1994, 183. For the date of the coin, see Anokhin 1980, 142.
- 64 Užencev 1997, 118. According to Zajcev (2003, 13, 18) the Chersonesean stamps of Groups 3Б and 3В are recorded in the layers of Scythian Neapolis, which reveal also the Rhodian stamps of periods 4 and 5 and date accordingly to the 160s-120s BC.
- 65 Lawall 2001b, 574; 2002a, 295-324.
- 66 Finkielsztejn 2001, 193.
- 67 Bogoljubova 1988, 235; Monachov 1999a, 566.
- 68 Monachov 1999a, 566-567.
- 69 Apart from amphoras the finds from Bol'shoj Kastel' remain unpublished.
- 70 Golenko & Ščeglov 1971, 41-47; Ščeglov 1978, 42, fig. 11; Daševskaja 1991, 21, 50.
- 71 Thompson 1961, 28.

- 72 Lewis 1962; Boehringer 1972, 22-27; Mørkholm 1984; Price 1989, 239.
- 73 Boehringer 1972, 26. See also Mattingly 1990, 67-78, who strengthens this dating by adducing additional hoard evidence.
- 74 See, e.g., Daševskaja 1991, 22; Vysotskaja 1994, 140.
- 75 The evidence from Scythian Neapolis where the latest Rhodian stamp is represented by the period-5c magistrate Aratophanes II assigned by Finkielsztejn to 109 BC (see Zajcev 2003, 17, and his paper in this volume) proves that the destruction of the Southern Palace by the troops of Diophantos took place in this year or, what seems more likely, in the following year 108 (probably during his second campaign against the Scythians). This fact taken together with the find of New Style Issue 57 from Terekly-Konrat eliminates the dating of the Crimean campaigns of Diophantos to the period earlier than 110 BC suggested by some scholars (e.g. Vinogradov 1985, 645; McGing 1986a, 47). For the chronology of these campaigns, see discussion by Ballesteros Pastor 1996, 45-46, with literature. Along with the Athenian *stephanophora* there is another coin issue, which can also be reliably linked to the campaigns of Diophantos, namely the Mithridatic bronze specimens of type "Ares/sword". Their finds in the destruction layers of Scythian Neapolis (Zajcev 1994, 115; 1995, 78-79, fig. 6.70; 1999, 129, fig. 1; 2003, 79, fig. 9.32, 86, fig. 16.67: horizon D1; 1 ex.) and the fortified Scythian settlement of Ust'-Alma (Vysotskaja 1989, 41; 1994, 13; 3 ex.) connected with this event prove that type "Ares/sword" was struck prior to 108 BC. Cf., however, the most recent revision of Imhoof-Blumer's chronology suggested by F. de Callataÿ (2002, 159), who assigns this type to the period c. 95-90 BC.
- 76 A brief revival of the settlements is suggested also by the Chersonesean bronze coin of the first third of the 1st century BC found in Južno-Donuzlavskoe. See Stolba & Golencov 2000, 276-278, no. 4, 277 fig. 1.4. Cf., however, Vnukov 2001, 168: "several of the region's settlements were restored in the early 1st century BC but it is unclear whether they were Greek or Scythian and what kind of connection they had with Chersonesus"; Ščeglov 1978, 134: "the archaeological facts show that Chersonesos apparently being rendered lifeless by the continuing wars was not able to re-colonize and to develop the region anew".
- 77 Seyrig 1971, 25 = 1986, 185.
- 78 Boehringer 1975 = CH I, 80 = CH VIII, 442. In Boehringer's publication it is incorrectly called "the Trabzon hoard". On the find circumstances, see Arslan & Lightfoot 1999, 42, note 70.
- 79 Boehringer 1975, 52.
- 80 Some later date of the hoard burial (c. 140-120 BC) assumed by Arslan and Lightfoot (1999, 43) lacks any solid proof.
- 81 The hoard also contained at least 20 New Style Athenian tetradrachms of Issues 4, 7-8, 10-13 (Boehringer 1975, 50-51, nos. 126-138; Arslan & Lightfoot 1999, pl. 70, nos. 976-982), which will fall in the period from 161/160 to 152/151, if we accept 164 BC as an initial date and assume annual coinage without gaps from the start.
- 82 Threatte 1980, 258-259: "No example of O for OY on a stone text of the third century is very convincing"; See also Teodorsson 1978, 41, 77.
- 83 Choreios, which derives from the Dionysos' cultic name Χορείος (see Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 680 b; Bechtel 1917, 531; Tochtas'ev 1997, 394-395), is not a common name in Chersonesos. So, it is attested as a "coin magistrate" on a series of Chersonesean bronze coins from the last quarter of the 4th century (320-310 BC according to Anokhin 1980, 133, no. 73), who is apparently the same person as the *astynomos*

- in question. The sub-group-2A magistrate Apollas Choreiou is likely to be his son. This linkage suggests the positioning of the latter closer to the middle of sub-group 1B rather than towards its end. At any rate it must be earlier than Syriskos attested on the following issue of local coins. The second and the last cluster of evidence for this name dates already to the late 3rd – first third of the 2nd century BC: 1) Choreios (on two denominations of bronze coins; Anokhin 1980, 140, nos. 144 and 146: “210-200 BC”, whose dating seems to me a bit too early); 2) Choreios Lykonos, *astynomos* of sub-group 3A, presumably the same person with the “coin magistrate”; 3) Lykon Choreio, *astynomos* of sub-group 3B; 4) Ariston Choreio, *astynomos* of sub-group 3B. As proved by the patronymic of Choreios, both Lykon, named according to Greek tradition after his grandfather (on this custom, see, e.g., Angermann 1893, 17-18; Fränkel 1935, 1624), and Ariston should be his sons. Cf. an earlier arrangement of magistrates by Kac (1985, 108), where both Pasion and Choreios are allocated to sub-group 1B.
- 84 I am very much indebted to A.S. Golencov, who acquainted me with a squeeze and a photograph of the stamp. Inv. no. Bel. 96/4: NANW[NOS S] | UMMAC[OU A] | S[TU]NO[MOUN] | TOS. The two *mys* in line 2 are in ligature.
- 85 The last of these three officials seems to be Istron, for according to Koscuško-Valjužinič’s report on the excavations of the ceramic workshop among the numerous amphoras found in the kiln 28 jars bore the stamps of this magistrate. See, Koscuško-Valjužinič 1900, 157; 1902, 23; Monachov 1984, 123. Use of a barred sigma in the stamps of Nikeas, son of Herakleios, also might point towards their earlier date than Istron as well as Eumelos, Lykon and Matrodoros, in whose stamps we find invariable employment of a lunate sigma.
- 86 Kac 1994, 63.
- 87 Kac 1994, 63-64.
- 88 Kruglikova 1983, 50; Saprykin 1994, 31.
- 89 Kruglikova 1983, 48-51; Saprykin 1994, 34.
- 90 See Kac 1994 (Part 3: Tablicy keramičeskich klejm), pl. 30, die 1-66, 1 (Kallistratos) and pl. 34, die 1-78, 1 (Matrodoros).
- 91 Kac 1994, 93, no. 42.
- 92 The sole case of an earlier employment of a cursive omega is the group-1B magistrate Pasion (Kac 1994, pl. 39, dies 1-93,6-8).
- 93 Cf. Fränkel 1935, 1624.
- 94 Nonetheless, the first signs of the crisis should date even earlier. See Stolba (forthcoming).
- 95 Ščeglov 1978, 128; Kolesnikov 1984, 85; 1985a, 13-16; Lancov 1994, 92; Kolesnikov & Jacenko 1999, 307; Daševskaja & Golencov 1999, 167; Hannestad, Stolba & Ščeglov 2002, 280-281.
- 96 Kutajsov & Užencev 1994, 55; Užencev 2002, 13.
- 97 Zolotarev & Turovskij 1990, 78, 84.
- 98 For the hoards account, see now Gilevič 1999.
- 99 The Monumental Building U6: Monachov 1999a, 503; Kac et al. 2002, 119-123. The finds from the excavated areas outside the building U6 are adduced according to Monachov 1999a, 516 and the find lists of 1979-1994.
- 100 Kolesnikov 1985b, 86-91.
- 101 Monachov 1999a, 524-529.
- 102 Brašinskij 1980, 196-198; Daniil’čenko & Marčenko 1988, 33-34; Monachov 1999a, 487-497; Kac 2001, 85-91.

- 103 Archives of the National Preserve "Tauric Chersonesos", file 795/4-3, inv. nos. 36438-36442, 36571.
- 104 Kac 1994, 47-49; Brujako 1998, 19.
- 105 Kovalenko 1991, 30-31.
- 106 Kac 1994, 47-49.
- 107 Lancov 1994, 94-97.
- 108 Daševskaja & Golencov 1999, 166.
- 109 Monachov 1999a, 522-524.